



Problematising policy: Analysis of change and continuity in
Danish integration policies from 1999, 2005, and 2015

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Abstract

This paper studies selected Danish integration policies from 1999, 2005, and 2015, and analyses change and continuity in the problem representations, and their underlying assumptions of integration, citizenship, and nation. Through the methods of WPR and CDA, the findings show how migrants' contribution and participation to the Danish society through employment, language, and culture courses is the most essential part of the Danish integration philosophy. A change in assumptions and language use regarding integration and contribution to the nation was observed from 1999 to 2015. However, arguments of how migrants should show active citizenship are consistent in 2005 and 2015. The Danish integration philosophy is discussed, by showing how the field very much relies on constantly "fixing" perceived problems, which has resulted in more than 20 amendments in integration policies.

By studying problematisations in policy, this study contributes with detailed evaluation of the Danish integration philosophy in the last decade.

Keywords: Danish integration policy, discourses, citizenship, nation, WPR approach

Word count: 150

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1. Introduction

In Denmark, the first law on integration was implemented in 1999. Since then, more than 20 amendments have been made in the area (Danmarkshistorien.dk AAU, 2019). An extensive political effort has dominated the field regarding policies on integration that especially affect refugees and migrants from non-Western countries. The notion of “fast integration” by committing and participating in society has been an overall discussion among politicians and implemented as political strategies and initiatives over the last 20 years. This amount of changes and amendments raise questions of the effectiveness of approaches towards the integration area. In practice the many changes have entailed uncertainty and shifting requirements for both migrants coming to Denmark, but also to a great extent for those who have been living in the country for many years. The modifications of programs and language courses have been numerous, and to some scholars the results of the various changes have been difficult to point out (Søndergaard and Hoffmann-Hansen, 2015). To other scholars results of stricter immigration and labour market integration policies have shown that they do not automatically lead to greater labour market integration (Jakobsen et al., 2019, 326). But one thing is certain. Through the years, the tightening of social benefits to migrants have affected particularly children, single parents and diseased citizens, which have caused an enormous amount of pressure on municipalities and not least the social workers that are responsible for the citizens’ employment plans (Barkholt, 2016).

Since the start of the 2000s, the political election themes have in particular revolved around migration, refugees, and integration in Denmark. This was lastly demonstrated in the 2019 election last summer, where also smaller rightist parties with hostile positions towards migrants received great media coverage (Karkov and Hohnen, 2019; Larsen and Bagge, 2015; DR, 2001; Møller Stahl, 2019). But regardless of the wide discussion on the area in recent years, one question is, if the overall political direction on integration in fact has changed drastically over the last 20 years? Or is there just a lot of attention to an area, where policies have stayed the same? The rise of populist parties, beginning with the Danish People’s Party in 1997, have undoubtedly brought awareness towards “the threat of immigrants” and related integration issues (Christiansen, 2016). As such, the field of integration has become highly politicised and debated the last 20 years.

The common perception on policy is that it *fixes* problems and issues in society. But what happens if we scrutinise the policies and investigate these “problems”? Carol Bacchi (2009; 2016) operates with the approach of *What’s the problem represented to be* (WPR) to create a tool for analysis of how

policies *constitute* problems. Thus, turning the attention to how societies are governed and the problematic matters thereof. By following the WPR approach, a critical examination of policies will bring up representations and underlying assumptions of specific policies. Previous research in the area of integration policy has to a great extent dealt with specific policies and their influence on immigrant groups, the political integration programs over time, and the issue of differences in employment rates between immigrants and native-born Danes (Diop-Christensen, 2015; Nekby, 2008; Clausen et al., 2009; Liebig, 2007). Notions of “good citizenship” as a policy concept have appeared since 2000, and subsequently entered the broader public discourse. In the Danish case, it has been construed as showing “good *medborgerskab*”. Discourses create our understanding of reality, which in Denmark has led to explicit emphasis on the value of adapting to Danish norms and culture, participating in society as well as being self-sufficient, and thereby contributing to the welfare state (Mouritsen, 2012, 97). By using the WPR approach, it is possible to analyse how policies give shape to “problems”, but without addressing them. In this study, I aim to apply the approach to enlighten not just what issues policies bring forward, but specifically how underlying assumptions and presuppositions contributes to the discourses that shape our understanding of our nation and society. In this way, we can be more critical towards policy. Because the underlying dimensions of language use and the discussion of policymaking is an important matter in the pool of political influence.

1.1. Aim and research questions

The focus in this study will be the analysis of three documents, the Integration Act of 1999¹ and integration plans of 2005 and 2015, as they all consist of integration issues regarding immigrants in Denmark. By applying the WPR approach and parts of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to the material, this paper first aims at identifying and investigating underlying assumptions and problem representations in the selected policies. Second, the aim is to discuss the relevance of a Danish integration philosophy, and its underpinnings.

To attain the aims and guide the study, the following research questions will be examined and answered:

¹ The law was passed in 1998 but valid from 1999. In previous literature it is referred to both as the Integration Act from 1998 and 1999. In this paper I will refer to it as the Integration Act of 1999.

1. What problem representations can be identified in Danish integration policies from 1999, 2005 and 2015, and what underlying assumptions about integration, nation and citizenship can further be exposed?
2. Have these representations and assumptions changed over time?
3. Based on the issues analysed in the selected policies, is it then relevant to talk about a specific Danish integration philosophy? If so, is it consistent or constantly changing during the period from 1999-2015?

1.2. Relevance and contribution

Danish integration policy and attitudes towards migrants have been a broad academic topic for many years. From studying political parties, as the Danish People's Party and their influence in politics and the public, to how migrants experience the life under the legislation in the area. In line with other studies, this study takes its departure in policy – what is written and what is legislated. But it aims to do it with a critical perspective on policymaking, which is provided by the WPR approach. Thus, the contribution of the study is found in how the Danish integration policies might create problems when addressing them as “problems”, and thereby constitute broader discourses in society about migrants. Furthermore, through the method of critical discourse analysis and in particular Fairclough's concept of intertextuality, this study of change and continuity in discourses will hopefully contribute to existent literature on Danish integration policies through times.

1.3. Outline of the thesis

The paper will start with covering the previous literature, which is relevant to this study. Ensuing, the theoretical framework will provide assistant conceptualisations and insight, which will later aid the analysis. The theoretical framework is followed by the chapter on methodology. This chapter aims at discussing the study's research design as well as the material and methods applied. The chapter on analysis will scrutinise the material and be divided in subtitles, which will follow the content of the research questions. Subsequently, the paper will progress with the discussion of the Danish integration philosophy, before making the paper's concluding remarks.

2. Previous research

The purpose of this chapter is to bring forward previous studies in the field of integration policy. The first section will present previous studies concerning Danish integration policies, and thus assist with background knowledge and historical context. Since my study is concerned with Danish integration policy, previous studies in this field are relevant to present. Following, studies on labour market integration as well as policy problematisations will be reviewed. Labour market integration has been and is still a significant issue in Danish integration policy and various studies on the matter have been conducted. Employment and labour market integration are an important element in this study's material, as in Danish policy employment is often connected to assumptions of citizenship and contribution to the nation. Some studies about problematisations of policy, will also be presented, as my study's foundation will be to follow the WPR approach, in which policies are problematised and critically analysed. Lastly, the chapter will revolve around different variations of Danish citizenship and how "good" and "bad" citizenship have been studied before. Concepts of citizenship, integration and the nation are interesting for this study, because of its aim to analyse the underlying assumptions in the policies regarding these subjects. The previous studies will both help to delimit my study as they build a foundation for it.

2.1. Danish integration policy

To gain the amount of background knowledge and understanding of the Danish context of political shifts and policymaking, I will first present contextual background in this field.

Employment policies were targeted at young unemployed people in the early 1990s, but in the late 1990s it was also directed at immigrants with key terms such as *self-sufficiency* and *autonomy*. The burden of integration shifted to the individual immigrant, by laying the responsibility on him or herself (Bak Jørgensen, 2011, 96).

The forming of policies regarding integration in Denmark began in 1998 and terminated temporarily with the *Act of Integration*, which came into force in January 1999. The new law reflected the centralised approach towards integration in the country, and furthermore it stated labour market integration as an explicit goal for the first time in Denmark targeting the immigrant population. The first act was implemented by the government, which at that time consisted of the Social Democrats and Social Liberals, but in 2001 the government shifted. The new government consisting of the Liberal Party and the Conservative Party, with decisive support from the Danish People's Party,

established the Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration, which centralised the national approach to integration, that before was separated into eight different ministries (Bak Jørgensen, 2014; Emilsson, 2015). Furthermore, the government prioritised to let immigrants enter the labour market as an important part of the integration into the Danish society (Østergaard, 2007, 397-398). During the last 15 years, the trend in Danish policy has been lying on restrictions and sanctions with the aim to change the composition of immigrants in the country. This has been done by managing the migration system, among others by making it more difficult to obtain family reunification and asylum (by abolishing the *de facto* protection category), while it has been easier to enter the country as a labour migrant or student (Bak Jørgensen, 2014).

Another main goal in Danish policy has been to promote self-sufficiency, by making labour market participation both the means and the end of integration. New policy has encouraged immigrants to manage their own integration. During the years, immigrants have been required to sign an “integration contract” and a certificate of “active citizenship”, to obtain permanent residence or to get family reunification (*Opholds- og selvforsørgelseserklæring*) (Bak Jørgensen, 2014). These contracts emphasise the newcomers' *active participation* in the Danish society, by being self-sufficient, participating in the Danish labour market as soon as possible and attending activities regarding integration in the respective municipalities (Retsinformation, 2016; UIM, 2019).

In 2011, the power in government changed, this time to the Social Democrats, the Social Liberal Party and the Socialist People's Party. The change entailed a reversal of the centralised oversight of immigration and integration, as the Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration was abolished. The Ministry's responsibilities were divided across other ministries (Justice, Employment, Children and Education, Social Affairs and Integration). The main goals regarding integration were consistent with earlier policies, but the governance structures were changed. Bak Jørgensen draws the attention to how the former ministry symbolised a particular restrictive policy direction that the new government wanted to make its distance to, especially if it were to be supported by the left-wing party, the Unity List. But the restructuring can also be seen as a way to mainstream integration policy, he argues, because the new approach was to fold integration efforts into overall policy (Bak Jørgensen, 2014, 3-5). Mainstreaming in policy is defined as policies which are targeted towards specific groups, instead can be transferred to more generic policies, and then in theory target the whole society. In Europe, some governments rethink their policy approaches this way, because of

society's ever-increasing diversity. The targeted groups have varied from ethnic minorities to second and third generations with immigrant background (Scholten et al., 2017, 284-286). Scholten et al., claim that Denmark in recent years has shifted to more mainstream approaches, even though the government do not refer it in this way (ibid., 299). However, focus in policies regarding migrants have also been pointing to culture, values, and identity in the process of becoming a citizen and integrating oneself into society (Mouritsen and Olsen, 2013).

In 2005, the Danish integration policy was reshaped with the action plan *En ny chance til alle* (A New Chance For All) and the government strategy paper *Noget for Noget* (quid pro quo). Since then, amendments to these policies have been implemented in different – often more restrictive – ways. The primary focus has been to keep people employed to maintain the welfare services, and the integration discourse has been placed within a broader welfare discourse (Bak Jørgensen, 2011, 97).

2.2. Previous literature of labour market integration in Denmark

The employment of immigrants has been a significant strategy in the Danish integration approach through the last 20 years. Consequently, different studies done on labour market programs and their effects have been conducted. Clausen et al. have found that the best results on labour market programs are subsidised private sector employment. Though, the problematic issue is that these programs only constitute 2% of the programs offered (Clausen et al., 2009, 415). Getting migrants integrated into the Danish labour market has been a key factor in governing and policies as long-term unemployment could be a threat to full and equal citizenship. Goul Andersen stresses how unemployment, in the contrast to employment, affects the potential of citizenship status, and how, especially European welfare policies focus on employment to reach social integration and citizenship (Mouritsen et al., 2009, 9; Goul Andersen, 2002, 179). Both improvement of language skills and language course participation has in earlier research shown its positive effects to avoid long-term unemployment among immigrants (Clausen et al., 2009).

Reducing the recipients of social benefits in Denmark, has through the years been the overall labour market policy (Bak Jørgensen, 2014, 13). Different requirements and restrictions to “make work pay” as well as mandatory placements of refugees, have been implemented, and thus discussed among researchers looking at integration and labour market outcomes (Diop-Christensen, 2015; Brodmann and Polavieja, 2011; Larsen, 2011, 142-143). However, it has been examined that stricter immigration and labour market integration policies do not necessarily lead to better integration, as well as such policies do not seem to be the only way to reach integration (Jakobsen et al., 2019, 326). Focus on

women's integration and contribution to the labour market has as well been present in policies and in research, discussing the path between migrant women as family orientated and labour market contributing (Caswell et al., 2011, Harley, 2007). Contributing to the welfare state has among other countries, been of great importance in the Danish approach, and in many contexts, according to Brochmann and Hagelund, it is construed with three key factors: democracy, citizenship, and moderation. With the increase of migration, the Nordic welfare states have come to face the dilemmas of multicultural societies (Brochmann and Hagelund, 2012, 1, 16).

The literature above has mostly studied how policies impact either the migrants, which they concern, or the societies in which they are implemented. Anders Ejernæs points to how previous research has been dominated by how differences in culture, education, and language affect migrants' job opportunities. What he examines is then how developments in the labour market and in private companies have affected minorities' job opportunities (Ejernæs, 2008). Not studying migrants as a "problematic issue" as such, but rather focusing on the changing structures in the labour market.

This study's aim of looking not only at the integration issues, but also at the problem representations in specific policies, questioning and critically analysing the language will further contribute to the field. The following will then review studies concerning the problematic aspects of the policies.

2.3. Problematisations of policy in previous literature

The focus in the previous sections has been on actual policy development and regulations in the area. The studies I will focus on in the following, offer new perspectives on policies. Namely, the focus is on problematisations in policy and how we are governed through them. As I am going to include the perspective of problematising policy, these previous studies regarding problematisation will be a relevant foundation.

The problematisation of policy and attention to how "problems" are construed and constituted in politics have been a focus in the following studies. Gareth Mulvey examines how the New Labour in the UK made policies that construed asylum seekers as a threat. In this context, immigration in the country has been subject to continual change, where immigration policy should "fix" the perceived problems (Mulvey, 2010, 439). Asylum seekers and refugees were presented as unwanted where labour migrants became wanted, and in this case the outcome was that many migrants were "othered" by the policies. The responsibility of the lack of integration, defined by the UK government, was put on the migrants (ibid., 456). In Sweden, policy has also been problematised, by studying how the

perceived problems of migrants' labour market integration have not been "fast enough". In Sweden, discourses of cultural differences have been presented as cause of migrants' lack of employment (Wikström and Sténs, 2019, 75, 67).

The perspective on the responsibility of the integration in UK is an interesting perspective, and relevant to my study, but in a Danish context instead. Furthermore, the Swedish example concerning "fast employment" and causes of lack of employment, are as well interesting to examine in a Danish context. Previous Master's and Bachelor's theses have focused on problematisations in specific Danish policies regarding migrants and integration (see Raasthøj Hansen, 2018; Dix Lind, 2019). However, problematisations in Danish integration policy, and focus on underlying assumption of integration and citizenship, have to my knowledge, not been examined before with focus on change and continuity over time. The analysis of this paper will thus contribute to the field of integration policy, by examining problematisations and change in Denmark.

2.3. Various meanings of "citizenship"

The underlying assumptions in the problem representations will be analysed with focus on citizenship and integration. How the government of the time justifies the integration approach and its underlying assumptions about the nation, is a focus point of this study. The following previous research concern different use and meanings of citizenship in Denmark.

One of the Danish values, argued by politicians and visible in the policies, is the capability to support oneself economically. Self-sufficiency is a key factor when seeking to be granted any kind of residence, and to do so, regular employment, education or labour market program participation is essential. Per Mouritsen and Tore Olsen (2013) have in policies found that labour market participation is intricately connected with being a member of society, thus showing commitment to the integration process (all this summed up in the Danish *medborgerskab*).

As argued above, Danish citizenship depends on participation in society, which first is self-sufficiency by being a part of the Danish labour market. Consequently, the succeeding paragraphs will revolve around the necessity of the Danish citizenship (*statsborgerskab* and *medborgerskab*).

The discourse of citizenship in Denmark has been with focus on Danish national identity and culture, where loyalty to this understanding, including language and history knowledge, has been important (Mouritsen and Olsen, 2013, 693). Citizenship and the discourse of civic integration has been noted in the *civic turn*, where civic virtues have been essential from temporary to permanent residence, and

from there to full citizenship (Mouritsen, 2012, 87). The Danish case is described as ethno-nationalism in a more civic, democratic, and state-centered way than others (as for example the German or British case) (ibid., 89). The understanding of “good citizenship” in Denmark appeared around 2000. These policies were connected to the integration of Muslim migrants, and from that it was brought into a broader discourse of integration (ibid.). The emphasis in the Danish case is on *medborgerskab*, which means membership in society with what it entails of equal welfare rights and the feeling of being “one of us”. But it also relies on contribution to social and political life. *Medborgerskab* is distinguished from citizenship as legal nationality, and in 2001 (with the Liberal-Conservative government), the centre of official discourse has been citizenship as *medborgerskab*. There is no naturalisation without showing *medborgerskab* (knowledge of culture and language) first, which also entails Danish language, history, and culture. Helen Krag argues that the categorization of *medborgerskab* is excluding in society, as it does not enhance the exact same rights as legal citizenship, thus making it somehow a second-class membership (Krag, 2007). Korsgaard (2002) defines citizenship as the legal and political status of the individual, while he defines *medborgerskab* as the perception of one’s own identity and belonging. Krag argues in contrast to this, that the state does not use *medborgerskab* in Korsgaard’s sense. She argues that the state’s use is with interest in the legal position and not in identity and belonging (Korsgaard, 2002, as cited in Krag, 2007, 220). Another phenomenon is the notion of *danishness*, which has been shown importance in public discussions, and especially among right-wing parties, where the Danish People’s Party stand as the largest and most influential one. With *danishness* being understood as specific Danish values and culture grown over generations, citizenship stands as a reward for obtaining and showing the importance of Danish values (Mouritsen, 2012, 97-98).

3. Theoretical framework

Theoretical concepts and perspectives, which will be helpful in the examination of the Danish integration approach, will be outlined in the following section. The purpose of the theoretical framework is to inspire and delimit the aim of the study, and not to test or develop completely new theory in the research field. I found that the perspectives and understandings of integration, citizenship and nation are important to present and discuss, as these issues are present in the material. The theoretical framework and the insights which will be presented, are also going to help me conduct the analysis and discussion.

Denmark, as well as the rest of Scandinavia, is a relatively new immigration country. These countries might face different challenges than countries such as the US, Great Britain, and France, who rely on other traditions. Adrian Favell argues that national solutions towards integration rely on different versions of “philosophical liberalism” (Favell, 1998). The aim of my study is to reach a discussion about the Danish “philosophy of integration”, and even if there is any such philosophy that is relevant to discuss.

3.1. Integration and public philosophies

The emergence of various “ethnic dilemmas” has been defining characteristics across western societies, as it appears to challenge the theory and practice of liberal democratic politics. The integration of new ethnic groups who have come and stayed in western European countries has challenged the countries’ understanding of society and national identity. The meaning and content of citizenship has been debated publicly and in research, where it leads to fundamental questions about values, cohesion and the identity of liberal democratic states. Moreover, it also challenges the liberal standards the societies are supposed to live up to (Favell, 1998, 1).

The debate in Europe currently evolves around citizenship and integration for immigrants and ethnic minorities (Favell, 2001, 360-361). Drawing on his earlier research and experience in western European countries (mainly Belgium, Britain, France and the Netherlands), Favell examines and reviews current European integration research (Favell, 2001, 349-350). He examines different “philosophies” of integration, which is based on understandings of citizenship, nationality, equality, public order, and tolerance. To say something about a given country’s “public philosophy”, these underlying political assumptions need investigation. This “public philosophy” sets and founds consensual ideas and linguistic terms, that can be analysed into its respective context (Favell, 1998, 2). Each individual nation-state of Europe has in the long migration-settlement process implemented a series of policies or social interventions, that might constitute an integration policy. This could be laws or policies regarding legal and social protection, naturalisation and citizenship rights, multicultural initiatives, cultural practices, and language and cultural courses in the host society’s culture (Favell, 2001, 351).

Following this, I will be able to discuss the Danish integration philosophy in this study, by analysing the Danish policies’ interpretation of citizenship, nationality and contribution.

Per Mouritsen and Tore Olsen (2013) allege, that in the Danish case the national integration philosophy relies on equal social and democratic participation, which they phrase as “civic

perfectionism” (Mouritsen and Olsen, 2013, 692). The rural-based Denmark that was combined with the celebration of language and heritage in the end of the 19th century results in the political-cultural vocabulary often used by politicians and intellectuals nowadays in debates about migration and integration. National belonging is undeniably interconnected with the Danish language (ibid. 696-697). The focus on equal social and democratic participation is particularly interesting for my study, as these issues have been highly discussed among politicians in connection to integration in Denmark. Consequently, I will by analysing the material be able to present these perspectives.

Favell argues that “integration” is rarely problematised in politics, let alone its entailed assumptions. Political actors talk about integration as being a process into “one, single indivisible (national) state, and one, simple, unitary (national) society” (Favell, 2001, 351). Consequently, I aim to problematise policy and analyse its underlying assumptions, to contribute to the research field on Danish integration policy with another perspective than the effectiveness of such integration policies.

Charlotte Hamburger questioned back in 1990 the fundamental outlines of the Danish integration approach. Her argument was, based on a study on the immigration declaration from 1983, that despite the aim of integration, the Danish approach was built on the principles of assimilation (Hamburger, 1990, 206).

Integration accepts some idea of permanent settlement, but other words that might be politically unfashionable can describe some of the same process. These words could be: assimilation, absorption, acculturation, accommodation, incorporation, inclusion, participation, cohesion, enfranchisement, or toleration (Favell, 2001, 351-352). The opposite definitions of integration, such as disintegration, incohesion, disenfranchisement and intolerance), Favell argues, force us to accept “integration” as a necessity. Integration, in that sense, sounds more complex and as a mutual or organic two-way process (Favell, 2001, 353). By defining the language used in the policies and their underlying assumptions through discourse analysis, the aims of this study will be clarified.

Because of immigration, the conceptual boundaries of belonging and membership become relevant issues to the nation state (Geddes and Scholten, 2016, 5). With “civic integration”, where different language, society and history tests are required to demonstrate knowledge, it becomes difficult for migrants to obtain membership and belonging. In the Danish case in various ways, immigrants must adapt to the society, but they do not become legal citizens or have the same rights as citizens. Sara Goodman explain it as a creation of disparity in society where identities are separated into those who hold citizenship status and who do not. With the implementations of civic integration, follow debates about membership, national identity, and belonging (Goodman, 2012; 2010).

3.2. Aspects of citizenship

When defining the national identity, classifications and categorisations are essential principles, as we need to perceive and judge other societies in order to define our own. With Richard Jenkins' notion of identity and the knowing of "who is who", understandings of belonging and communities of "us" and "others" are embedded (Jenkins, 2014). In line with Jenkins, Favell notes that:

"... as thinkers in the phenomenological tradition would readily point out, all talk about who 'we' are depends in part on a simultaneous definition of 'others', those whose differences enable us to see who we really are." (Favell, 2001, 359).

In the wake of the 1990s globalisation, the Scandinavian countries have among others returned to a nation-building idea of integration (Favell, 2001, 386). Politicians and media in Denmark, a small and cohesive state with a strong idea of identities, have had extensive debates about national identity and belonging. This has been visible especially in stricter regulations and requirements in the naturalisation process. The appearance and consistency of these matters regarding integration and related presuppositions, are what my study is interested in. And notions of citizenship and the nation will assist the aim of identifying the underlying assumptions.

Citizenship comes along with the social and state structures of the nation-state. In some contexts, the idea of citizenship is the idea towards tolerance, recognition, and diversity (Favell, 2001, 358). Defined by Rogers Smith, citizenship is a "certain sort of membership" (Joppke, 2013, 1). More negative sentiments on citizenship are seen with Rogers Brubaker's view on citizenship as something "externally exclusive" and "internally inclusive", which allows only one formally equal membership in society (Joppke, 2013, 6, 14). As Samers and Collyer concede, citizenship and nationality are exclusionary in the sense of difficult accessibility for others (Samers and Collyer, 2016, 312).

With Will Kymlicka's *Multicultural Citizenship*, the debate on citizenship was set in the context to supplement traditional human rights with minority rights. The argument was that if liberalism should remain consistent with its principle of freedom and equality, it had to accept minority rights (Joppke, 2013: 23). Charles Taylor described multiculturalism as the state's public recognition of minority groups, where recognition could be seen in two different kinds of politics. Namely, politics of universalism, where equal dignity of all individuals was essential, and the politics of difference, that strived to recognise and protect the identity of an individual group (Joppke, 2013: 98). Opposite

Taylor and Kymlicka, Chandran Kukathas argued that the liberal state is not able to deliver recognition, as the heart of liberalism is “politics of indifference” (Joppke, 2013: 98-100).

However, the restrictiveness of citizenship kept being an issue especially in Germany, and even more in the Netherlands, Denmark, and Austria through the 1990s and early 2000s. The liberal idea of citizenship was not accessible to everyone. Growing concerns, especially after the acts of terrorism in 2001, have been to the failing of immigrant integration in Europe. Civic integration and stricter requirements for immigrants have followed the fear of failing integration (Joppke, 2013: 53)

Christian Joppke distinguishes between the Dutch and the British ways of obtaining citizenship. In the Dutch sense you have to become Dutch and then you can apply for naturalisation, whereas in Britain, British naturalisation is seen as the beginning of the process to becoming a citizen (Joppke, 2013, 58). In the Netherlands, Austria and Denmark, national rhetoric has invaded the citizenship domain, which is shown in legislation where populist right-wing parties have had direct or indirect impact (Joppke, 2013, 61). In Denmark, this is demonstrated especially by the Danish People’s Party’s raising popularity during the last decade. Greater expectations of migrants in the integration process have led to the Dutch mantra, that integration has to be a “two-way street”. Meaning that immigrants should take greater responsibility in the integration process, by for example mastering the country’s language (Joppke, 2004, 247-248). In continuation of this, the responsibility for the integration process is going to be accessed in the study at hand.

In the beginning of this chapter, I drew attention to how integration challenged western liberal states. In continuation hereof, Francis Fukuyama (2006) draws closer attention to the European struggle between radical Islamism and liberal democracy. The integration of Muslim minorities is in most European countries addressed strongly by right-wing parties. Arguing how (radical) Islam is antiliberal, the right-wing political parties find Muslim groups incoherent with the democratic, liberal state. According to Olivier Roy, identity among Muslim minorities becomes problematic when immigrating to Western Europe, as the identity of the Muslims is no longer supported by the outside society. This is exemplified by the Danish *Handshake Law*, which has become a debate in the Danish society (Fukuyama, 2006, 10). Of this law, which is a part of the Danish integration and naturalisation process, Liav Orgad argues “how states that seek to protect liberty can eventually produce exactly the opposite result” (Orgad, 2010, 105), adding the question of liberal or illiberal actions in the process of integration. On another note, Hollifield believes that “migration states” are caught in a liberal

paradox, where the state is obligated to keep the economic well-being intact as well as provide security for its citizens (Samers and Collyer, 2016, 162; Geddes and Scholten, 2016, 11).

These aspects of liberal dilemmas and paradoxes are relevant to have in mind when eventually discussing the Danish integration philosophy. Even though the study does not focus solely on liberal or illiberal arguments, I think these perspectives will give the assumptions of the analysis more dimensions, as well as assist in the overall understanding of the Danish integration philosophy.

The theoretical framework outlined above will assist the aim of first, to analyse the underlying assumptions of integration, citizenship, and nation. Second, to discuss the Danish integration philosophy. By applying methods of CDA and WPR, change and continuity in the policies will be discussed, as well as problem representations in the policies.

4. Methodology

The chapter will start with introducing the research design and reflections on the study and its inductive and deductive approach. Further, validity and reliability of the study will be discussed as well as broaching philosophical and ethical considerations in relation to discourse analysis. Why and how the material was selected, and the reflections and considerations involved in process of sample collection will also be elaborated on.

Reaching the section of method, I will clarify how the approaches of CDA and WPR will be important and relevant in reaching the study's aim. The important aspect of what parts of the methods that will come into use, and how they can complement each other in the analysis, will be accounted for. The final part of this chapter will be on the study's delimitations.

4.1. Research design

This study is referred to as case-based research, by which the aim is to study a single case in depth. A case should be defined by the researcher with the aim to either empirically and inductively or theoretically and deductively answer questions of the chosen subject. Case-based designs are more flexible than other designs, and because of the research frame, the cases often become more familiar to their researchers, which might lead to deeper insight. Case-based research is not able to analyse large numbers of cases, and therefore this type of research leads to specific knowledge of the specific

case studied (6 and Bellamy, 2012, 103-105). Furthermore, this research paper is a qualitative study, which at most times is inductive in its relationship between theory and research. Epistemologically, it urges to understand the social world through interpretation, while the ontological standpoint is constructivist (Bryman, 2012: 380). The main difference between inductive and deductive reasoning is its relationship to theory and research. Whether the study goes from theory to data, or from data (research) to theory. But as Bryman argues, it should be seen more as tendencies rather than hard and clear distinctions (Bryman, 2012, 24-27; 6 and Bellamy, 2012, 74-75, 213).

In the study at hand, a clear distinction of inductive and deductive is impossible to depict. It is inductive in the way that it is data driven, and the material was what made me interested in the subject. The starting point in observations or findings lean towards an inductive study. But since the purpose of the study is not to develop theory, but rather explore theoretical perspectives and have them as referring concepts to support the analysis, the study also indicates a deductive approach.

Language is an important part to the social researcher because understanding how and where language is used, is a way to understand the social world and its members (Bryman, 2012, 522). Discourse analysis is the study of language and it accepts any form of language as data, and usually uses longer texts as the object of study (Somekh and Lewin, 2004, 146). The different ways of using discourse analysis may only have that in common that it is *study of language*. “Language” as talk, communication, or discourse, or “language” as structures or rules that underlay the “talk” (Johnstone, 2017, 1). To Michel Foucault, discourse was the way an object formed the concepts and comprehensions of that object, and in that way a discourse is more than just language. Many different versions of discourse analysis have since engaged social researchers. A variant is critical discourse analysis that draws its theories and approaches on Foucault’s work linking language to the significance of power and social differences in society (Bryman, 2012, 528, 536). Bryman refers to Philips and Hardy, who define a discourse as “an interrelated set of texts” (Bryman, 2012, 536). Subsequently they argue that “social reality is produced and made real through discourses, and social interactions cannot be fully understood without reference to the discourse that gives them meaning” (Bryman, 2012, 536).

4.1.1. Validity and reliability

Reliability is the consistency in a given study, meaning whether the results in a study are reproducible or not. High reliability predicts that a study is possible to be reproduced with the same results as before. Particularly in quantitative research, reliability is an important factor, given that an unreliable

measure would not give the research consistency (Bryman, 2012, 46). If the specification and structure of concepts are insufficient, both the validity and reliability are affected (6 and Bellamy, 2012, 132). An even more important factor in research, Bryman argues, is that of validity, which concerns how we are measuring something. If we measure what we intend to measure, if the method that we chose can help answer the research questions, and if our interpretations are objective and not far-fetched, the validity is high. Internal validity has to do with precision of the study, whether what we claim is what our data shows, whereas external validity is the ability to generalise beyond the specific research context (Bryman, 2012, 47; 6 and Bellamy, 2012, 21). In discourse analysis, the interest is in the details of the text, and it focuses more on the particular rather than on the general. In that way, research is able to show how human interaction works, rather than making generalisations about the results. Johnstone claims that discourse analysis, “rather describe the small differences between different particular cases than generalise about mostly shared features in a way that would facilitate comparisons of large sets of cases” (Johnstone, 2017: 34), thus attaching great importance to the obtainment of internal validity. The more precise, consistent, and transparent I can be when analysing language, specific words, and context, the more reliable the research will be. The study using discourse analysis must be solid, comprehensive, and transparent in order to reach high internal validity (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002, 173).

4.1.2. Philosophical and ethical considerations

It is a difficult task to treat discourses as discourses, when they are familiar and close to the writer who are part of the culture they aim to study. The analyst will share many common-sense understandings from the material, which can be difficult for the analysis, as it should study exactly these taken-for-granted issues (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002, 21). As a Dane I am quite familiar with the material and the society I aim to study. It will be important to distance myself from the material, in order to make my inferences as objective as possible, but as I am living in this reality of the discourses of Danish politics, it will be impossible to completely exclude my prejudiced reality.

The ontological position of this study takes its understanding in constructivism, where social phenomena and categories are in constant revision. The constructivist view saying that social institutions are “constructed” entails that the institutions only exists because of people’s actions, beliefs, and desires (Bryman, 2012, 33; Rosenberg, 2015, 138). In discourse analysis language is

employed to present categories in particular ways. Through interactions and language, the social world and its categories are built and constituted (Bryman, 2012, 34).

Ethics in this research touch upon different aspects. Naturally, the analysis and discussion must be as objective as possible, in order not to lead any far-fetched conclusions. Additionally, the aim is to present the language, words, and arguments as objective as possible and try to expose the meaning of the words in the context of the discussion. As the material consists of publicly available data, this research will analyse and discuss issues found in the material, and not any individuals or personal statements. Furthermore, it is important to me as the writer and researcher to be aware of the ability to create a discourse within the discourses that I am trying to analyse.

Through conducting the analysis, I have encountered the challenge of being somehow caught in the discourse that I aim to study. The problem of the various categorisations of “migrants” in the material, have led me to be clear on my own use, as it is not possible for me to step outside the discourse. I am not interested in defining what a migrant is, but *how* it is presented and used in policy. Therefore, to stand as impartial as possible, I will be using the term that the given documents use. This is the reason why in the analysis, various terms of migrant will appear.

4.2. Material and sample selection

With discourse analysis it is possible to make qualitative claims by studying how and why something occurs. Every choice in the data collection and the following analysis is choice of what to include, but also the importance of what not to include (Johnstone, 2017, 17-19). The data used in discourse analysis are often publicly available, consequently giving more focus and emphasis on the analysis instead of the collection of data (Bryman, 2012, 530).

The material for this study will be three selected policies on integration by the Danish government. The selected policies consist of the law on integration from 1999, and integration plans from the government of 2005 and 2015. The material has been chosen from these specific years in order to make the best possible ground for examining change and continuity within the study’s grasp. In the analysis, more emphasis and elaboration might occur on the two last policies, which is due to what I reach from the findings. However, the 1999 policy is as important as the others in order to analyse the development of the policies. The selection might affect the results, as the limit of the material has

to be consistent with the study's extent. However, I believe that with the chosen material, I will still be able to reach conclusions that meet the aim of the study.

4.3. Methods

To approach the material, reach the aim, and answer the research questions in this study, I will use parts from two methods. Carol Bacchi's *What's the problem represented to be* (WPR) approach is going to help to address and question the different problems that the policies display. With this approach it is possible to problematise the issues raised in the documents. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Norman Fairclough's model will help to address the intertextuality, and thereby the continuity and change of the policies. With combining different parts of each approach, it will help to address the aim of the study in the best way possible, I believe. Exactly which parts of the methods I will use, and how it will be done, are going to be elaborated in the following chapter. First, I will present the different methods, WPR and CDA. Subsequently, I am going to elaborate on how I will combine and apply the approaches to the material.

4.3.1. What's the problem represented to be (WPR) approach

Carol Bacchi approaches policy by asking questions about its source and how it operates. Generally, "policy" is associated with a program, a course of action, and understood as "the activities of state institutions and of other agencies and professions involved in maintaining social order" (Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016, 18). Whereas public policy is used to describe government programs. Policy texts can be: documents, organisational files and records, legislation, judicial decisions, bills, speeches, interview transcripts, media statements, program contracts, research reports, and also statistical data (Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016).

The WPR approach challenges most approaches to policy, and it argues that the task of government is to address and solve existing problems. The WPR approach considers how governmental practices produce "problems" as particular kinds of problems (Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016, 14-16).

The underlying assumption in society is that policy is a good thing that fixes things. Policymakers are the ones who *fix* things, but within this assumption lies the understanding that there is a problem that needs to be *fixed*. The problem is most times not explicitly elaborated. Here, Bacchi's approach "what's the problem represented to be?" (WPR approach) intervenes. She stresses that it is important to make the problems that the policies try to fix explicit, and it is vital to scrutinise them. Additionally,

elaboration on the meaning of “problem” is essential in the approach. Bacchi’s main critique is that “policies *give shape* to ‘problems’; they do not *address* them” (Bacchi, 2009, x). The attention to the problem in policies, sparks the need to understand the meaning. In general, problems are understood as either something that is difficult to deal with, or a puzzle or a challenge in society that needs to be “solved”. Sometimes these understandings are combined. In WPR, the meaning of “problem” is different, as it is a particular policy proposal that implies some kind of change (ibid., xi). The main focus in the approach is to direct attention to how different “problems” in society are represented, and how we are governed through these policies. The WPR approach thus studies problematisations, rather than the problems which the government present in policy. Bacchi argues that governments are active in the creation, or production, of policy problems, rather than reacting to them. And her suggestion that policies *constitute* problems is a new dimension to the research field (Bacchi, 2009, 1-2).

In following the WPR approach, these following questions can be asked to a given material:

1. What’s the problem (of the subject being discussed) represented to be? (within a particular policy/policy proposal)
2. What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the “problem” (problem representation)?
3. How has this representation of the “problem” come about?
4. What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the “problem” be thought about differently?
5. What effects (discursive, subjectification, lived) are produced by this representation of the “problem”?
6. How and where has this representation of the “problem” been produced, disseminated, and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted, and replaced? (Bacchi, 2009, xii).

4.3.2. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Different pioneers are found in the field of CDA, among others Norman Fairclough, whose arguments I will take as a point of departure. Fairclough is inspired by Michel Foucault’s analysis of discursive practices, and the primary focus in CDA is on social relations and not entities or individuals. Discursive practices are produced and consumed among others through texts, from where the social world and its ideas are constituted. Talk, written texts, and other ways of communication are included

in “social relations”, but so are more abstract objects as language, discourse and genres. CDA is the analysis of language use in social interactions, where the concrete text is the focal point along with its linguistic-discursive dimensions. CDA is not the analysis of the discourse(s) itself(s), but the dialectical relations between discourse and objects, elements, or moments. CDA is *critical* as it focuses on the “wrongs” in society and how these “wrongs” could be “righted” (Howarth and Torfing, 2004, 6-8; Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002, 61-64; Fairclough, 2013, 3-7). The analysis is not just the analysis of discourse (texts), but also its relation to elements of the social process (Fairclough, 2013, 10-11).

To Norman Fairclough, the detailed text analysis is important, but he also emphasises that text analysis is not enough alone to understand discourses. He urges the significance of linking the text to societal and cultural processes and structures. Social practices are shaped by social structures and power relations, and by analysing these practices we can understand “how people actively create a rule-bound world in everyday practices” (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002, 66).

Fairclough operates with a three-dimensional model for CDA, where the focus of the analysis is:

1. Text: the linguistic features of the text
2. Discursive practice: processes relating to the production and consumption of the text
3. Social practice: the wider social practice to which the communicative event belongs (ibid. 68).

The purpose of the model is to provide an analytical framework for discourse analysis. With this practice, texts can only be understood in relation to other texts or its social context (ibid., 71).

As expressed by Marianne Winther Jørgensen and Louise Phillips, “critical discourse analysis is intended to generate critical social research, that is research that contributes to the rectification of injustice and inequality in society” (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002: 77). When analysing in the three different levels formed by Fairclough, the important tools are metaphors, wording, and grammar.

By following the model's second level and looking at the discursive practice, questions towards the production and consumption are essential. When looking at the broader social practice at the third level, there are two aspects stressed by Fairclough. The first part is the discursive practice and the relationship to its order of discourse. The second aspect is what Fairclough defines as the “social matrix of discourses”, encompassing the non-discursive, social, and cultural relations and structures (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002, 86).

The reproduction of discourses and how they are changed are a high priority in Fairclough's approach. He argues for studying change by looking at specific texts and point to how they draw on earlier formations, and furthermore, if the same discourses are in one text or in across a series of texts (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002: 138-141). Fairclough focuses on change through the concept of intertextuality, where both reproduction and discursive change can be analysed (ibid., 7).

When different discourses are articulated together in a communicative event, *interdiscursivity* occurs. And when discourses are combined in new and complex ways, discursive and social-cultural change occurs. *Intertextuality*, which is a form of interdiscursivity, is how all communicative events draw on earlier events. It is impossible to use words and phrases that are not used before. When texts explicitly draw on other texts it is called *manifest intertextuality*. The text can be seen as a link in an intertextual chain, where texts in a series incorporate from another or other texts. Fairclough sees intertextuality and interdiscursivity as both stability and instability, and continuity and change. By drawing on existing discourses and developments these can be examined (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002, 73-74).

4.3.3. Combining approaches and application of methods

To approach and answer the research questions, I will combine parts of the CDA model with the WPR approach, though the main focus will be on WPR. The WPR approach differs from the "linguistic turn" and CDA, as the latter focus on content and linguistic construction. Instead the texts selected for analysis in WPR provide only the starting point. The WPR approach does not usually involve a study of modes of language use or rhetoric. It uses the texts as different steps to the reflection of governing forms (Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016, 18). By using both CDA and WPR my aim is to use the linguistic text analysis in the reflection on problematisation of policy and governing forms. The textual level is important and will be carried out by analysing the linguistic feature of the texts in metaphors, wording, and binaries. Consumptions of the material will not be a part of this study, but production – as part of intertextuality – will come to use. The level of social practice will be applied to some extent, as the context of the material will be enlightened, and the previous research will assist in perspectives to social practices. But the main reason for using Fairclough and CDA is because of intertextuality and the text-level when studying change and continuity. Here, this method is essential, and therefore relevant for my study. However, it is important to stress that the main method used in the analysis will be the WPR approach. The CDA model will be used to support the assumptions found by following the WPR approach. The CDA model is prioritised in order to depict any change or continuity in the discourses. With Fairclough's intertextuality and together with WPR, I will be

able to problematise and critically analyse the policies and their change. The methods do not measure the same, but they do not disagree either. Combined, they will guide me to reach the aim and fulfil the research questions of this study.

However, not all steps in the WPR approach will be relevant or feasible in this study. Thus, the analysis will be guided by the first three steps in the approach. In the following, I will briefly present the steps in WPR which will be used in the analysis.

The first step – *What's the problem represented to be?* – will assist in pointing out what problem or problems the policies present. There might be several representations of problems, but the aim is to identify them in the given policy (Bacchi, 2009, 2-4). The second step – *what presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the "problem"?* – will identify what lodges within the problem representations (Bacchi, 2009, 5). By looking at binaries and how hierarchy is implied, it can be visible how one side is shown as more valued or important and thus excluding the other side. Besides binaries, it is also important to examine and scrutinise key concepts and categories, to understand which meanings they give to problem representations (ibid., 8-9). I will investigate the concepts of employment, citizenship and nation, and integration in the policies.

The third step is: *how has this representation of the "problem" come about?* This step aims to “highlight the conditions that allow a particular problem representation to take shape and to assume dominance” (Bacchi, 2009, 10). This is done by looking at two perspectives: the development and decisions that contribute to the problem representations, and the recognition of problem representations existence over time and across space (ibid.).

4.4. Delimitations of the study

The focus of this paper has been delimited to the analysis of policies from 1999, 2005, and 2015. The analysis will solely be based on this material, and the study will not analyse public debate or media, as this scope would be too large. The time span of the material is also a necessary aspect of the limitations. As I want to study change policies over a certain amount of years are needed. The law in 1999 starts the following years policymaking regarding immigrants, which is why it is chosen. The 2015 policy is one of the latest policies available, and the 2005 policy appears between the first and the last one. Focus in the analysis has been on the issues regarding employment, citizenship, nation and integration, and their interconnectedness. How effective the policies and regulations have been in society, or how they have affected migrants in their everyday life is not a part of this study.

Delimitations of the method has been necessary too. As explained previously, some parts of the CDA model and WPR approach will be applied. The CDA model has been delimited to mainly the text level, also including the production. Intertextuality is the most important when studying change. To some extent the level of social practices will be included, but this is not the main focus. Furthermore, the WPR approach will be delimited to the first three steps as this offer: identification of problem representations within the selected policies, analysis of the conceptual underpinnings, and examination of their origins and mechanisms (Bacchi, 2009, 12).

5. Analysis

I will examine the material in the following chapter by following the parts of the WPR approach and parts of the CDA model presented previously. As mentioned previously, the main focus will be on following the WPR approach. However, the textual level in the CDA model will be used to depict language use and wordings which are present in the policies underlying assumptions. Furthermore, intertextuality become important when examining change and continuity in the policies.

The analysis will be divided into three sections. First, I will identify the problems presented and portrayed in the policies. This section will end with a brief overview and tentative conclusion on whether the presentation of the problems has changed over time. Second, I will examine the key concepts and assumptions found in the material with focus on employment, citizenship, nation, and integration. And third, I will analyse, based on the two previous sections, if the problem representations and assumptions have changed over time. In all sections, I will go through the policies one by one to create an overview of the changes in the best possible way. The theoretical framework in the study will assist in identifying and analysing the underlying assumptions and presuppositions in the policies. Direct quotations² from the material as well as secondary literature will assist my inferences and analysis.

² Note that all quotations and words pointed out are translated from Danish to English by myself. If the words have a special meaning or I find it necessary to include the Danish word or sentence, it will be written in the text for the reader to know. All the original Danish policies are publicly available and can be found online. For further accessibility look at the bibliography.

5.1 What's the problem represented to be in the material from 1999, 2005, and 2015?

The Integration Act was implemented 1. of January 1999 by the government consisting of the Social Democrats, the Social Liberals and the then Centre Democrats. Before this law, the state had the responsibility for the integration initiatives the first 18 months after refugees had obtained residence permits. After the 18 months, the responsibility was transferred to the municipalities, and the Danish Refugee Council managed tasks such as Danish language training. With this law, the responsibility for the integration of refugees became solely that of the municipalities (Bolvig and Arendt, 2018).

The law stated three overall purposes. The first was that newly arrived foreigners should be ensured equal participation in society, political life, labour market and in the religious and cultural life. Next, the ones who arrive in Denmark need to become self-sufficient fast. Thirdly, the purpose of the integration law was to give the foreigner an understanding of the values and norms of the Danish society. The integration plan within the municipalities consisted of courses in social conditions and Danish language training. Furthermore, the foreigner should be enrolled in a “deployment plan” which encompasses education possibilities, company internship and individual job training (The Government, 1998).

The problem representations can be identified almost solely from the law's small introduction. The first chapter of the law states its purposes and aims, as mentioned above. The word “contribute” is used, not in direct relation to immigrants, but in the meaning that the law is going to contribute to the different outcomes in society. The first problem represented is that newly arrived foreigners do not have the same opportunities to participate in society. In another way, the problem is that migrants do not participate in the same way as other citizens. Therefore, this law aims to “fix” this. Second, newly arrived foreigners are not self-supported fast enough after arrival, which is also going to be “fixed” by legislation. Thus, another problem representation is self-sufficiency, and the importance of this, in order to be in the country. Last, the law aims to make immigrants reach an understanding of Danish fundamental values and norms. Thereby, lack of knowledge is problematised and needs “fixing”.

Consequently, the problem representations expressed in the Integration Act are the lack of participation, lack of self-sufficiency, and lack of cultural knowledge among immigrants. Nevertheless, neither the language or wording is particularly harsh, but rather straightforward and practical. Through the policy the areas described are the municipalities' tasks, housing, introduction programs and introductory benefits. Example of the latter is when written: “foreigners who are offered an introduction program [...] are under the rules of this chapter, entitled to introductory benefits for

up to three years...” (The Government, 1998). This almost anonymous use of language and wording are consistent throughout the rest of the document. Even though no particular language use stresses further problems, the document is still of important value for this context. First, this policy is the beginning of many policies and initiatives to come in this area. Second, it does constitute problems on different aspects concerning migrants in Denmark, which in the following years become more distinct in the policies.

A new chance for all was the integration plan released in 2005 by the government at that time consisting of the Liberals and the Conservatives and supported by the Social Democrats and the Danish People’s Party. In this way, the agreement was broad and supported by the largest and most influential parties in Danish politics. The document begins with the following:

“It is the government’s clear aim that the integration must be improved. There must be common support to the society’s fundamental values, which are democracy and gender equality. More immigrants must work, the young immigrants and descendants should have an education to the same extent as young Danish people, and the ghettoisation should be broken with.” (The Government, 2005, 5).

The focus in the introduction of the document is to list the Danish values which are presented as democracy and gender equality. Furthermore, the focus on that more immigrants should be employed, and young descendants should be enrolled in an education, makes the point clear that, immigrants and descendants are not a part of the labour market or the education system. Lastly, “ghettos” should be dealt with, as immigrants are described as living in isolation, which is a problem to the society. The introduction of this policy from 2015 bears the headline “problems and challenges”, and in this way stating the issues clearly (The Government, 2005, 5). It is phrased as an “unacceptable matter” that many immigrants and descendants are living on the fringes of society. Their isolation from the rest of the society is strongly stressed (ibid.). Hence phrasing the main “problem” to be parallel societies in Denmark, where immigrants and their families live without any contact to Danish values and norms, which this policy aims to “fix”. Furthermore, by using the metaphor “living on the fringes of society”, the government paints a picture of how immigrants are standing outside the community, where they do not contribute to the mutual obligations in society. The use of the word “ghetto” in this policy is first of all connected to isolation, as mentioned above. However, the use of “ghetto areas” and “ghettoisation” are furthermore used in connection to prevention of crime, fundamentalism, and

extremism (The Government, 2005, 40). Specific connotations of not following the law and living away from the rest of the society are thus associated to living in these “ghetto areas”.

The slogan “a firm and fair immigration policy” is emphasised in connection to balance the immigration to the country, which means fewer migrants to Denmark. On a side note, another problem presented in the policy is that of marriage between people under 24 years old. With the *24-year old regulation*³, the government claims that some marriage patterns prevent young people from getting an education and become a part of the labour market. Self-sufficiency is additionally stressed as an important principle (The Government, 2005, 5).

The “problem” represented in this policy is the isolation of immigrants from the broad Danish society. The isolation implies the missing contact to Danish norms and values as presented above. Furthermore, it implies the missing connection to the labour market, which points to increased effort to get young people to take an education, and thereby enhancing their chances of employment. The notion of being an “active citizen” is also connected to education and employment, as well as an economic argument stating the importance of getting immigrants employed in order to contribute to the welfare state (The Government, 2005, 6-8). In the concluding remarks, joint responsibility is emphasised with the words “everyone plays an important role” (ibid., .9), here passing along the message that the nation as a whole (and also the migrants) plays a key factor in the process of integration. The focus on how the local Danish community together with migrants, play a decisive part in the integration process, does not only apply for this policy, as we will discover in the following.

In 2015, the government consisting of the Social Democrats formulated the integration initiative *Everyone must contribute — refugees and immigrants employed faster*. The very first line in the policy is: “There is unrest in the world and historically many people are fleeing. That also affects Denmark where we have received more refugees lately” (The Government, 2015, 3). With this opening, the government clearly addresses the numbers of refugees seeking towards Europe in 2015. It is a strong narrative way of opening, which appears serious as well as vivid. The document follows by stating that “they [refugees] shall not live on the fringes of the society without a job. But on the contrary, they must contribute their part to the Danish society” (The Government, 2015, 3). Hence, the ones arriving in Denmark must “contribute to the Danish society” by taking labour. The word

³ The regulation prevents family reunification if one of the involved is under 24 years old. It does not hinder the marriage but solely residence permit. The regulation was implemented in the Immigration Act by the Liberal/Conservative government and supported by the Danish People’s Party and the Social Democrats. The aim was to prevent forced marriages and marriages of convenience (Berlingske, 2011).

“contribute” is mentioned several times in the policy, making it clear that nothing is “free” and becoming a part of society is not just easy and straightforward. The most important thing in the integration process is to become a part of the community, which is done by participating in education or employment. Furthermore, it is mentioned that more than half of the refugees and immigrants that have come to Denmark years ago stand outside the labour market today. Thus, using an exclusionary language towards a specific group in society. It is further underlined that the requirements set by the government must be met in order to be a part of Denmark (The Government, 2015, 3).

The problem presented here are immigrants who have no job, and thus do not contribute and participate in society. The problem of immigrants being “passive citizens” is enhanced, and the aim of the policy is to “fix” these problems by making immigrants “active citizens”, which presupposes willingness to participate in the different labour market training programs. As in the policy from 2005, the social surroundings in the shape of the local community are underlined as an essential part in the integration process (The Government, 2015, 4).

5.1.1. Have the problem representations changed over time?

The various “problems” that the policies present have now been outlined in the Integration Act from 1999, and the following initiatives in 2005 and 2015. The focus in this first step has been to point out the several representations of the problems in the selected documents. By focusing on what is stated as problems and in what way, the concept of policies as something that “fixes” things, comes into perspective. The discourses of the problems are created in the policies, but without any clear notion of *why* these things need “fixing”. Determining how the problem representations in these three documents has developed — or not — I will present them briefly in the following overview.

The 1999 law

This law on integration is enacted because of the immigrants’ lack of participation, self-sufficiency, and knowledge about Danish values and norms. Wording and language are simple and straightforward without any particular loaded words or statements.

The 2005 policy

The “problem” presented in this policy is the immigrants’ isolation from the rest of the society. Isolation in disadvantaged neighbourhoods (parallel societies) that keep them from the labour market and from being an “active citizen”.

The 2015 policy

“Passive citizens” are presented to be the problem in this policy. The missing contribution to society, in terms of labour and social integration, is enhanced. There is emphasis on how important it is to contribute to society.

This brief overview reveals that from the beginning, there has been an extreme focus on active versus passive contribution to society. Even though the end goal seems to be the same for all three policies, the means and arguments have become stricter and more directed at specific groups in society. Especially the policies from 2005 and 2015 use the same phrasing about contribution and active citizenship, and further the exact same phrase on how some immigrants live “on the fringes of society”. Worthy to point, is how being an *active* citizen in contrast to not being one, enhances how citizenship works as exclusionary means. If you become a citizen, by meeting the criteria of contribution (both socially and economically), you have the same rights and possibilities as other citizens. But you will have to “earn” it, relating the Danish integration to the Dutch one, presented by Joppke (2013). Even though the Danish government has changed from being right-centred in 2005 to being left-centred in 2015 their attitudes towards integration have in general remained the same. The law from 1999 does not have the same language use as the others, which might be rather normal with it being the foundation of the integration policy.

I will in the following section identify and analyse in depth the different key concepts and assumptions which underlie the problem representations presented above.

5.2. Analysing the policies’ key concepts

By following the WPR approach and studying the underlying presuppositions and assumptions, it is important to ask what is assumed, what is not questioned and what is taken for granted in a given policy (Bacchi, 2009, 5). The assumptions and presuppositions that lodge within problem representations are the focus for this next step in the approach. I have divided the section into four focal points that I found necessary to analyse in the material: unemployment, citizenship and belonging to the nation, integration and the categorisation of migrants. The policies will again be analysed one by one in each section, in order to be able to examine any change further in the analysis.

5.2.1. “To work must pay off”

In the beginning of the law from 1999 (chapter 1), employment is mentioned in connection to the law’s aim, and stressing the equal opportunities for immigrants to participate in the society’s work-related life. Following this, the aim of fast self-sufficiency is mentioned as well (The Government, 1998). Being employed is thus set as a cornerstone in the Danish society along with other aspects in life such as religion and culture. To become a part of the country, employment is necessary to strive for fast. It is described very straightforwardly that immigrants should be offered a course that combines both labour and education (The Government, 1998.). It is only in the beginning of the document that self-sufficiency is mentioned as one of the purposes of the law, and no other places in the government is self-sufficiency in connection with labour mentioned. Though it is not as stressed in 1999 as in the following policies, employment or education are enhanced and constituted as an important factor.

In *A new chance for all* from 2005, employment is mentioned much more and used in statistics and graphs in order to justify the government’s arguments. First, it is shown that especially women from non-Western countries have low employment rates and the government’s goal is to get more immigrants and descendants employed by the year 2010 (The Government, 2005, 6-7). By focusing on how many immigrants that are *not* working, the government can justify the “problem” of unemployment amongst these groups. In common debates it can be difficult to contradict these “facts” and thereby they strengthen the perception of immigrants being unemployed and then unwilling to contribute to society. It is assumed that people (and especially women) do not get easily employed in the Danish labour market. These further assumptions point to the reason for not wanting to contribute to the country.

Education is enhanced as young people's way into the labour market, and it is written that getting a job without an education is difficult (The Government, 2005, 10-12). Thus, making the idea of education a direct way to employment and participation in society. Young immigrants and descendants are described as not having an education to the same extent as young native Danes (The Government, 2005, 5). This comparison emphasises the text’s focus on the lack of employment and education, not only among adult immigrants, but also among their children.

The long-term goal is set by addressing parents and future generations and by saying, “it means very much for children that their parents have a job and thus are satisfied with their lives” (The

Government, 2005, 23). It is emphasised that if parents get employed, then their children will most likely be able to do the same, and not end on social security benefits. Thus, the “problem” represented as unemployment does not make room for other truths. It is argued that satisfaction in life comes with being employed (at least for this group of people). But is it only possible to be satisfied with one’s life if you have a job? Or saying it the other way around, if you have a job is it then not possible to be miserable in life? When policies state these “truths” of employment versus unemployment they make assumptions of how to “fix” the problems they present but in an indisputable way of rights and wrongs.

The government use the wording “make work pay”, meaning work should be favoured over social benefits (The Government, 2005, 23). It is done by giving unemployed people on social benefits “better economic incentives to take labour” (ibid.), which sounds rather positive and helpful in some way. It means that the amount of money on social benefits is going to be lower which, according to the government, will make people find employment instead. By phrasing it this way, the government’s underlying assumption is that being on social benefits is not an acceptable position. Furthermore, an assumption of these statements could be that people without jobs prefer this position instead of being employed. The principle of “quid pro quo” to the state is emphasised and it is necessary to “contribute” to society if you want to be supported too (ibid.).

“Too many immigrants have in many years passively received social benefits. Many have not learned to speak Danish. Many do not have the necessary requisites to participate in the society on equal terms as everyone else, even after living many years in Denmark.” (The Government, 2005, 17).

The problematic “passive” positions of immigrants in Denmark are underlined, thus constituting the language around migrants and perceived challenges that follow them.

The headline in 2015 *Everybody must contribute - refugees and immigrants employed faster* implicates what it aims to address. Namely, an initiative focusing on getting more immigrants into the labour market. The government stresses that more than every second non-Western immigrant stands outside the labour market. “Those people who come to Denmark must of course work”, is emphasised alongside arguments of how the labour market offers the best setting for learning about the Danish society and the language (The Government, 2015, 3). Once again employment is stressed as the *most important thing* when settling into the country. Language and society knowledge are essential too, but this can be done at the workplace, it is explained. And the people targeted are

immigrants who stand “outside” and therefore are not “inside” the society, where contribution and participation are valued. By using the wording “of course” it is underlined that contribution to society consisting of active labour market participation, is the commonly known understanding of being in Denmark.

This initiative seems to focus more than before, on what immigrants and refugees coming to the country have of education merits and former work experience. However, the aim of this progress is still to get people into the labour market faster (The Government, 2015, 10). No matter how long one is supposed to be in Denmark, everybody must work, the government asserts. Referring back to the principle of “quid pro quo”, saying: if you are going to stay here, you have to contribute (ibid.)

Another new initiative introduced with this policy is that “every third-country citizen who has been on social security the last six months must work” (The Government, 2015, 4). The work could be “useful jobs” (Danish: *nyttejob*), company internship programs, or a wage subsidy job. If they do not participate in this without a valid reason, their social security amount will be lowered or withdrawn (ibid., 6). The interesting notion of this is, that it only applies to third-country nationals, making it very clear that the aim is to target a specific group of people in the country. The goal is to make this group of people go from “passive” support to an active everyday life with education or labour (ibid., 4). The current effort is not good enough, the government believes. As it is now refugees and immigrants are almost “clients” in society and not a part of it, they argue. To be a part of society you get a job and join the community. With the new initiatives made, “third-country nationals need to contribute more for the benefits” (ibid., 15), and the government ensures how refugees and family reunificated individuals shall contribute to society to a higher extent than before (ibid.). By using the metaphor “clients”, the assumption of immigrants is that they just “shop around” in the welfare state, which others contribute to and participate in. Immigrants are made passive, as “clients” are someone who gets something from someone. It is emphasised that they need to start contributing and participating to the society, instead of just being “clients” (The Government, 2015, 3).

5.2.2. “Active” citizenship

The word “citizenship” is only mentioned in the Integration Act from 1999 when describing that the law does not apply to citizens from the Nordic countries or from EU countries. In no other places is it mentioned or expressed in connection to terms and conditions. The word “citizen” is mentioned one time in the beginning, describing how immigrants shall be secured participation equal to other

citizens. Besides these few examples, no other emphasis or remarks are written about the matter (The Government, 1998). The word “country” is only mentioned a few times in a context of practical matters, and “nation” is not mentioned at all (ibid.). Even though the exact words are not mentioned, there could still be underlying assumptions about the nation and any associations to it. Only the beginning when describing the aim of the policy, implies to have some associations to the nation. This being understood as a place where you participate politically, economically, and culturally. Other than these examples, no associations of nation are found.

In 2005, the introduction is phrased in this way:

“It is completely indefensible that a large group of citizens live isolated – and often in isolated residential areas – from the rest of the society. The government will work determinedly to assure that foreigners become an active resource in the Danish society. The society needs that. And we owe it to our new fellow citizens.” (The Government, 2005, 5).

The government here states several problems in society, and they stress that the new citizens should be an “active resource” in the Danish society (The Government, 2005, 5). Furthermore, for young people education is a condition for becoming “active citizens in social and democratic connections” (ibid., 7). To understand and commit to society and the local community, education is emphasised as an extremely important asset. If you become an active citizen, who understands and respects the nation’s values, then other things such as extremism and criminality will be prevented too (The Government, 2005, 7). Thus, a valuable and contributing citizen is one that can understand the society and its norms. To be a part of society, some kind of “activeness” or willingness is necessary. Targeting effort, especially towards young immigrants and descendants is important to prevent them from opposing the nation. Defining contribution to the nation as being “active” in society (getting a job, learning the language, following the Danish norms etc.), produces unwanted “quality” in the nation, namely “inactiveness”. Sharply concluded, inactiveness then consists of the opposites: unemployment, poor language skills and non-Danish values and norms. None of these are wanted in the society, and if one cannot live up to the “active” definitions, one will be excluded. These binaries where one is considered more valuable than the other, are important when understanding the underlying issues of a given policy (Bacchi, 2009, 6).

The government has in this policy from 2005 updated “the citizen handbook” (Danish: *medborgerhåndbogen*), where migrants coming to Denmark can obtain the knowledge of the Danish

society, values and norms. The material entails assignments and exercises about: the labour market, school and education, upbringing of children, democracy, principles of freedom and equality, and the welfare state's principle of obligations and rights (The Government, 2005, 56). The difficulty of meeting the Danish requirements on citizenship (and *medborgerskab*) apply into Goodman's notions of civic integration. Immigrants must contribute and meet different requirements, but they still do not have the rights as legitimate citizens (Goodman, 2012; 2010).

In 2015 it is stressed that:

“Newly arrived citizens must both become a part of the labour market community and as far as possible have a solid network in the local community. Both are important matters, to become a part of the Danish society.” (The Government, 2015, 13).

The “strengthening of citizenship” is in this sense combined with the importance of being a part of the labour market, and furthermore being a part of the labour market entails being a part of the community, thus belonging to the Danish society. Loyalty to the understanding of Danish citizenship, identity and culture as discussed by Mouritsen and Olsen (2013), is thus applicable to the understanding of membership and loyalty and respect to the nation in the shape of employment.

Labour and Danish language training must be supplemented with an effort to become an “active citizen”. In Denmark *medborgerskab* is strong, and people here trust each other, the government points out. It is important that people feel respected and acknowledged as equal citizens. The government argues that, in Denmark, the trust is strong to political participation and the society's institutions, but there are occurring challenges with immigrants and descendants as the voting rates are lower than for native born Danes. At least these are problems that the policy brings forward, and in that way assist in the discourse. It is written that gender roles from the citizens' original countries might stand in the way for full participation in Danish society. Participation, both socially and democratic, is one of the most important Danish values, which Mouritsen and Olsen call “civic perfectionism” (2013, 692). “Contribution” in connection to citizenship is greatly emphasised, as if one shows contribution, one can be embraced by society, justified with the argument that “the Danish welfare system is built on that [contribution]” (The Government, 2015, 6).

In line with previous studies on the subject (Mouritsen, 2012; Krag, 2007), these findings identify the emphasis on contribution to Danish social and political life. The understanding of how to contribute, and thus be a “good citizen”, are analysed to be active in society in the sense of labour and willingness

to achieve knowledge of Danish values and norms. In the previous research I highlighted different arguments of the understanding of *medborgerskab* and legal citizenship. The analysis in this study suggest, in line with the argument by Helen Krag (2007) that showing *medborgerskab* does not necessarily leads to the same rights as legal citizenship.

5.2.3. Towards mutual responsibility

The Integration Act stresses the introduction program that includes a course in “the understanding of society” (Danish. *samfundsforståelse*) and Danish language skills as a part of the integration strategy. Following, an “action plan” will be formulated based on the individual’s requisite and skills. The plan should be targeted towards introduction to the labour market or education (The Government, 1998). The integration of migrants through the labour market and with assisting courses on language and culture, are the essential part of the integration approach in 1999. As mentioned in the very first section of the analysis, the law aims to secure newly arrived foreigners with the same possibilities as other citizens to contribute to society. Furthermore, the law aims to contribute immigrants to be self-sufficient and to impart understandings of Danish values (ibid.). These formulations and choices of wording suggest that the main responsibility for integration lays at the official Denmark. The government and the municipalities will provide with guidance and legislations which will integrate foreigners into the Danish society.

The government stresses clearly in 2005 that integration should be improved (The Government, 2005, 5).

“The voluntary networks and associations can play an essential role in the everyday integration into the civil society. It is important that the municipalities to a higher extent, consider the voluntary actors in the integration effort.” (The Government, 2005, 22).

The nation as a unity is meant to take responsibility in the integration process. But the social and ethnic division of the Danish society is not contributing to these processes. When living in “ghettos”, immigrants and refugees have poor contact with the Danish language and culture, the government stresses. Furthermore, the connection to Danish networks and labour market is missing in these areas. The government emphasises how “ghettos” make a barrier for social and ethnic integration, determining that “the goal is therefore to develop the areas into places where residents can live a life full of all the opportunities and future prospects, which the society offers” (The Government, 2005,

29). The assumptions of poor contact to the Danish society and labour market enact the “problems” of these residential areas where many immigrants live. Worthy to mention here is the use of “ghetto” in the policy, which can be a study of its own. This study does not involve a discussion of the meaning of “ghetto”, but rather what assumptions the word is connected to, which is isolation, low participation in society and unemployment.

In the 2015 policy, the local community (neighbours, citizens, and local companies) are also emphasised as having an important part in the integration process. “We want a community where everyone contributes with what they can. That is why we put the extra efforts to get refugees and immigrants employed faster” (The Government, 2015, 4). The joint responsibility in the integration process is not solely the state’s responsibility, which was also the case in the policy from 2005. Different integration programs and language courses are required on immigrants in order to get full access to society. These different strategies on civic integration show the nation-states’ resilient nature (Goodman, 2012, 692).

The Danish process of being a citizen lean towards the Dutch approach, where the main goal is to first become a part of the nation with what it entails, regarding language and culture knowledge, and self-sufficiency so that you do not burden the welfare system. In the Danish case, after becoming a part of the nation (*medborger*), it is possible to seek naturalisation. Furthermore, the integration process is not only the state’s responsibility in 2005 and 2015. Local communities, volunteer organisations, co-workers and neighbours bear a great responsibility too. As well as the immigrants’ need to show willingness towards being a part of the society. In the 1999 policy, the integration process suggests being more the state’s responsibility, as it aims to secure immigrants’ self-sufficiency and impart Danish culture knowledge to foreigners. In all policies labour market integration as both the means and the end of integration is present, which is in accordance with previous research in the field (Bak Jørgensen, 2014). Labour market participation is connected to being a member of society, but the participation also ensures migrants’ commitment to the integration process (Mouritsen and Olsen, 2013).

5.2.4. Varying denotations of “migrants”

The aim of this section is to look for categories in the policies and enlighten how they give meaning to problem representation (Bacchi, 2009, 5). I have chosen to look at how migrants have been

categorised in different terms, to examine if how they are categorised have an impact on the problems represented in the policies.

In the 1999 document, people coming to Denmark are referred to as “foreigners” when saying something about general conditions. It is then specified that, with foreigners, refugees and immigrants are meant. Only a few times are “immigrants” mentioned and sometimes denoted as “refugees” (The Government, 1998). In the 2005 policy, the following denotations are mentioned: foreigners, refugees, immigrants, the newly arrived, descendants, and individuals with other ethnic backgrounds than Danish. The latter is mostly used (but not always) when talking about young people, for example “A great part of the young people with other ethnic background than Danish would like (...) an education...” (The Government, 2005, 9). At other passages, the exact difference in use is difficult to point out, take as an example: “the aim is to introduce initiatives which can contribute to better integration of newly arrived, and poorly integrated refugees, immigrants and descendants into the Danish society” (The Government, 2005, 53). Here it is not clear what is meant and included with the different terms. Non-western immigrants are mentioned only a few times, mostly in graphs and statistical forms. In this way the government can use the term to underline what group of immigrants, the policy aims to enhance in statistics, thus backing up the problem representations of the policy.

In the 2015 policy, again foreigners, immigrants, descendants and newly arrived are used. But “people with other ethnic background than Danish” is not mentioned a single time. Instead, “immigrant background” is used when talking about young people, for example: “as a new national goal, more young people with immigrant background must take an education.” (ibid., 17). Non-Western immigrants or citizens are used when talking about unemployment or people standing “outside the labour market”. An example would be: “today too many non-Western immigrants stand outside the labour market” (The Government, 2015, 15). The ones standing outside is not a part of the contribution to society, and thus not a *real* part of the nation. “Third-country national” is used a couple of times, but only when talking about social benefits. Thus, assuming that mostly non-Western immigrants or third-country nationals are “outside” the labour market, and the society, which call for special legislation. The word “new Dane” (Danish: *nydansker*) is only used when talking about *medborgerskab*, and how to include migrants into the cultural life of Denmark. It stands in connection to words as democracy, associations, discrimination, and other citizens (ibid., 13). The Assumption connected to the term “new Dane” (*nydansker*), is when used the individual is part of the society and the rights which follow.

It is clear how different categorisations and denotations develop over the years and become more differentiated and with different connotations attached e.g. how young people are named and addressed differently. Yet, at the same time the different meanings are not clear as some categorisations are used uncritically without clear connections to what is meant. Though, the meaning of “non-Western immigrants” and “third-country nationals” used in the 2015 policy in relation to being outside the labour market (not contributing to society, one would assume), these assumptions underpin the governments representation of the problems of unemployment among immigrants. In this way the policies reinforce categorisations of people, to present the “problems” in society (Bacchi and Eveline, 2010, 112).

5.3. Have the underlying assumptions changed over time?

Having identified different problem representations and underlying assumptions in the policies, I will now focus on the essential assumptions of the policies. This is done by following the third step of the WPR approach, and highlighting the conditions of the problem representations, by looking at the development of the representations’ assumptions over time (Bacchi, 2009). Furthermore, Fairclough’s concept of intertextuality comes into play, where reproduction and discursive changes are analysed (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002: 138-141). By seeing how the different texts reproduce or draw on previous texts, change and continuity are possible to examine.

As already mentioned with the categorisation of immigrants, it is possible to see how the terms of “migrants” and the assumptions attached to them have changed to some extent over time in the policies. I will go through the policies one by one and gather the findings on the key concepts and assumptions from the previous section. In this way I will be able to see change and consistency in the material.

The 1999 law

Regarding unemployment, the policy only specified the “problem” of the lack of self-sufficiency in the beginning. Later, education is mentioned as an important way into the Danish labour market.

The underlying assumptions of the nation and being a citizen are only found in the beginning as well. Here, participation — both economic and cultural — are mentioned as a main aim of the policy. However, despite the document being targeted at “foreigners” (including refugees and immigrants), it does not really connect any social or national groups of society to the policy. Integration is under

the state's and municipalities' responsibility, as it will impart knowledge and understanding to foreigners as well as secure that they can become self-sufficient.

The 2005 policy

There is more mention of the importance of labour, and people (especially women) from non-Western countries are emphasised as being unemployed. Young immigrant people should be enrolled in an education to be able to find a job. Assumptions of “a vicious circle” in immigrant families are made, saying that if the parents are unemployed and living on social benefits, there are great risks that their children will too. This might be true at some point, but it is important to specify that these “facts” stated in the text might not be the only truth. Furthermore, the assumption that being employed equals having a good life is made, which could also be questioned. The government aims to “make work pay”, meaning it should be adverse to be unemployed. Being a part of the labour market means being a part of the nation. Loyalty and membership in terms of knowing about Danish culture and values are emphasised. New citizens must be “active citizens”, meaning that they must work, learn the language, and participate in the local community. It becomes a matter of “active” versus “inactive” where the latter is seen as not contributing and therefore not a part of the society. Furthermore, the “Citizen Handbook” (*Medborgerhåndbogen*) is included as a way to become a “good citizen” (Danish: *en god medborger*) in Denmark. Civil society is enhanced as bearing an important responsibility for the integration process. When immigrants live in “ghettos” the integration becomes exceedingly difficult, as they become out of touch with the Danish society. How and where the immigrants live is emphasised to be a “problem” to the integration process.

The 2015 policy

Immigrants should show more contribution to the nation, and especially non-Western immigrants are said to not contribute enough, as they stand outside the labour market. A new rule that states that third-country nationals must after six months on social benefits be enrolled in some kind of work is implemented. The argument is that immigrants do not contribute enough as it is right now. Contribution and *medborgerskab* are important, and the “active citizen”-argument is emphasised again. Furthermore, there is great emphasis on “contribution”, especially in connection to the welfare system. If people want to have the benefits, they must “contribute” (by working). Meaning a “good citizen” is a contributing citizen. Which sharply concluded would be, that if you are unemployed you are a “poor” citizen. Wanting to achieve knowledge of Danish culture and values is showing willingness to be a part of the society and the nation. Again, the local community is important when

it comes to the responsibility for integration and everyone living in Denmark should contribute to this process.

Joppke argues that the national rhetoric has invaded the citizenship domain in several European countries, hereunder Denmark, because of populist right-wing parties, who have had impact on legislation (Joppke, 2013, 61). In 2005, the integration policy was broadly supported by political parties on the centre and by the Danish People's Party. The DPP have had strong opinions and requirements to foreigners and immigrants living in Denmark. Therefore, the emphasis on "active citizenship" and making work pay by reducing social benefits, could very well be influenced by their political positions. Thus, the findings in this study are in line with Joppke's argument of how national rhetoric have had influence on the citizenship and membership domain.

In 1999 it is clearly stated that immigrants are ensured equal participation as other citizens. This is also mentioned in the policies from 2005 and 2015. But in the later policies the local community, neighbours, colleagues, and volunteers are also mentioned as an essential part of the integration process. A slight change in the discourse of responsibility is therefore possible to determine from 1999 to 2015. Another difference in the policies is the talk about "ghetto areas". In the 1999 policy, there is no mention or arguments about immigrants living in specific areas in society. Only in 2005, the governments address and problematise immigrants and descendants who live in these "isolated neighbourhoods". The policy consists of a section dedicated to improving some neighbourhoods as an action against "ghettoisation" (The Government, 2005, 54). The use of "ghetto" might have become mainstream in Denmark, as the word is generally used by politicians and in policies, as this case shows. These findings show that the discourses in this case has changed from 1999 to 2005. The policy from 2015 mostly concerns with employment among immigrants and thus "ghettoisation" or issues of living in isolation is not mentioned.

The different policies draw on each other by using some of the same phrases and words. The phrase how immigrants are "living on the fringes of society" is mentioned in the exact same way in 2005 and 2015. The aim of self-sufficiency is a clear argument that appear in all three policies. However, the connections to membership and contribution become much more pronounced in 2005 and 2015. The intertextuality can therefore be seen as both instability and stability, as some discourses change slightly, and some stay the same. The policy from 2005 stress that "the challenge [with integration] is still extensive. It will take more than three years to right the last decade's misunderstood

consideration of stand idly by-ness”⁴ (The Government, 2005, 6). The government at that time refers to previous policies in the field, and how they have not been good enough. In 2015 the new government then emphasises how “the failure of the past must be avoided. It [integration] must be done better now.” (The Government, 2015, 3). Here the texts allude to previous texts, and thus are combined in an intertextual chain (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002, 74).

6. Discussion

In this chapter, I will continue with the findings from the analysis and discuss if and how changes can be observed. In the first section, I discuss the different problem representations and the identified underlying assumptions in the policies from 1999, 2005, and 2015, to delineate change and consistency of discourses in the documents. The arguments are built on the analytical results, as well as perspectivated to previous literature and theory. Subsequently, I will, in line with the third research questions asked in the beginning of the paper, elucidate if a specific kind of Danish integration philosophy is relevant to talk about, and if so, if it is changing or consistent. This section will also draw on the theoretical framework and previous research.

6.1. Discussing change and continuity of Danish problem representations and their underlying assumptions

Addressing the study’s two first research questions, I aim to discuss the change in problem representations and underlying assumptions of the policies. The policies from 1999, 2005, and 2015 all emphasise the importance of contribution and participation among all citizens. This is done by explaining and highlighting self-sufficiency as the best possible achievement for new citizens.

In the analysis, the findings showed how the “problem” of immigrants’ lack of participation and contribution to society was presented. These issues were argued not to be in accordance with what it meant to be a part of the Danish society, and thus a contributing citizen. “Equal participation” among Danes, was emphasised in the policy of 1999, meaning that everyone who would want to be in Denmark had to equally participate in social and political life, as well as in the labour market (The Government, 1998). The problem represented to be in 1999, was found to be the missing participation

⁴ Danish: *misforstået laden-stå-til-hensyn*

among foreigners. Though the tone and language in 1999 was different from the initiatives that followed later, the problem representation, and issues of immigrants in society were already present.

In 2005, the problem was presented and phrased as issues with immigrants who live in isolation, and therefore not able to participate or contribute to society. “Disadvantaged neighbourhoods” or “ghettos” were addressed to be places where immigrants had poor or no contact with the Danish society, which was bad for the integration and aim of self-sufficiency among them. The notion of being an “active” asset in society was introduced, which entailed finding a job and supporting oneself and the family, as well as adapting to Danish values and norms. Furthermore, regulations regarding how “it must pay off to work” were implemented (The Government, 2005, 23). The assumptions on how a “good” and “active” citizen should participate are thus expressed more in this document, in contrast to the 1999 policy. More and further elaborated notions have been found in the 2005 document. By stating the “problem” to be unemployment among immigrants, the policy justifies stricter requirements on social benefits and in labour market programs. These requirements and tightening of programs are implemented to “fix” the problems that the policy construes.

The position of the immigrant in society is problematised again in 2015. The immigrants’ lack of contribution and participation in society is stressed as an important political matter, thus presenting the problem to be the “passiveness” among immigrants and their descendants in the Danish society. As in 2005, the focus is on how labour market participation and having a job in Denmark are important values to understand and conform to. A “good” citizen is an individual who makes an effort to become self-sufficient, learning the Danish language and conforming to Danish norms. But the process of integration, both in 2005 and 2015, are emphasised to be a joint responsibility also in the local community, where neighbours, volunteers, and colleagues are meant to be important factors in the successful integration of immigrants.

As demonstrated in the analysis of this paper, the underlying assumptions in the law from 1999 are not described in the same way as in the later policies. In 1999, cultural and economic participation is mentioned in the beginning of the document, thus stressing how immigrants need to participate in society to become a part of it. Labour market participation and contribution to society to prove “active” citizenship and willingness integration, are more underlined in the texts from 2005 and 2015. There is here an emphasis on how benefits and the welfare state are not something that are “just provided” without expectations and willingness to contribute in return. A kind of worthiness must be shown in forms of getting employed or enrolled in an education, in the documents from 2005 and

2015. The essential of Danish culture in all documents is referred to as self-sufficiency, because in that sense the migrant will not become a burden to the welfare state, but instead a participant in it.

The policies from 1999, 2005 and 2015 all problematise immigrants in the society, categorising them as being “outside”, and not contributing or participating. The different governments can therefore stress the importance of policies concerning these issues. The problem representations are thus analysed to be the same from 1999 to 2015. However, the law from 1999 differs from the others, as it does not emphasise the same notions of “active citizenship”, but only focus on contribution and participation in society as essential virtues. In 2005 and 2015, the assumptions of “active” versus “passive” citizenship are much more emphasised and discussed as a requirement to immigrants and newcomers to the country. The meaning of how to become a contributing part of society is stressed more explicit in the policy from 2005 and 2015. Statements on who is responsible for the integration process (the local community, neighbours, volunteers etc.) are present in the policies from 2005 and 2015, but not stressed in 1999. The categorisations of immigrants are likewise different from 1999 to 2005 and 2015. Descendants of immigrants are becoming a bigger part of the society, which could be the reason why they are only mentioned in the policy from 2005 and 2015, and not in 1999 (Geddes and Scholten, 2016, 16). But the distinctions between the different categories become unclear through the years, as descendants blend more into the society (ibid.).

The documents which constitute the material in this study problematise the same issues. They aim to “fix” the same problems, but they differ in how they underpin the assumptions and they enhance them to a different extent.

6.2. A Danish integration philosophy?

The rising immigration to western countries has led to the implementations of policies concerning understandings of citizenship and fundamental national values. By Favell, this has been described as the “ethnic dilemma” of liberal democratic states (Favell, 1998). The various policies on the integration of immigrants into the Danish society, is yet another example of these implementations. The material of this paper, consisting of policies from 1999, 2005, and 2015, have shared similarities in how the Danish approach towards integration should be. Similarities in how contribution and participation in terms of employment are an important value that must be met to become a full member of the nation. This foundation in being “active” is essential to describe the public philosophy of integration in Denmark. The welfare state must be contributed to, instead of being taken advantage

of, in order to sustain it. On the basis of these findings, this study positions itself in line with previous research, which argues how the integration discourse is placed within a broader discourse of welfare. It shows, as other European policies on the matter, that employment is essential to reach social integration and membership of the nation (Bak Jørgensen, 2011; Mouritsen et al., 2009). Following the increase in migration, Denmark has come to face the dilemmas of multicultural societies in the same sense as other Nordic states have (Brochmann and Hagelund, 2012). However, multiculturalism as public recognition of minority rights has not been given particular focus in the Danish context. Rather the Danish approach can be described as striving towards universalism, where equal rights of all individuals are essential (Joppke, 2013). Denmark, as other European states, have in research drawn attention to the liberal or illiberal practices. Integration policies can be caught in this dilemma, as some actions (requirements or regulations on the area) can in the sense appear as illiberal. In this way, states become caught in a “liberal paradox”, where the state is open to free movement of goods but more resistant to free movement of people (Samers and Collyer, 2016, 162; Geddes and Scholten, 2016, 11). How this is connected to the Danish integration approach can be seen in the ways resistance towards free movement has been visible in Danish legislation, as well as immigrants living in Denmark being met with special regulations on social benefits. Furthermore, specific laws (e.g. the *Handshake Law*) which are not a part of this study’s material, have been challenging the liberal aspects. Regulations for non-western immigrants have been mentioned in the analysis and are also examples on specific legislation towards some groups in society.

By acknowledging the regulations and requirements and following the Danish culture, migrants can come closer to the sense of belonging, to the nation, and the attainment of full citizenship and rights. This study finds, along with Mouritsen and Olsen (2013), that the emphasis on equal social and democratic participation is essential when describing the Danish integration philosophy. Despite what Mouritsen and Olsen stress, I found that contribution and some kind of readiness to become “active” in society, also are a great part of the integration philosophy. The meaning of “active contribution” was in the material expressed in different forms. First, the expectation on learning the Danish language, culture, history etc. through different courses offered by the municipalities. Second, to aim at educating yourself or being employed, in order to be self-sufficient and not be a burden for the welfare state. If the migrant shows her or himself to be self-sufficient, a great step towards citizenship and acceptance is taken. Even though different social values are listed and emphasised in the policies, the one thing that definitely is construed in all three documents is “self-sufficiency”. In this way, the

findings show that the integration philosophy has been consistent in its urge to promote self-sufficiency and employment as the most important values.

By studying problematisations in policies, the critical perspective becomes important in order to examine discourses on the area of integration and employment. The constant political problematisation of migrants' missing participation and contribution assist the discourses to become a large part of society. The constant reinforcement of unemployed migrants and descendants constructs the discourses on the matter. Instead of addressing the issues, the policies are presenting the problematic issues as almost one sided. Discourses create our understanding of the world and society, which might not always reflect the reality. These arguments and ideas of "good citizenship" that the policies construct, enter the broader discourse in society and become real in the sense of what challenges migrants will meet.

When discussing the Danish integration philosophy, I will highlight Charlotte Hamburger and her study from 1990. She studied the Danish model of integration on the basis of a policy document from 1983, where she argued how the policy showed to lean more towards assimilation, than in fact the integration that it aimed at. Her observation on how the term "immigrants from third countries" is an extremely broad category, both socio-economically and culturally, is an interesting point to draw attention to. Immigrants' different qualifications are not considered, she argued (Hamburger, 1990, 315). Regarding the policies from 1990, 2005, and 2015 in my study, the focus on the migrants' qualifications seem to have a more important place. In the policies, individual action plans are emphasised, in order to adjust it to the individual migrant. This is of course what the policy stresses, another point could be how migrants' qualifications were considered in reality. However, that is another discussion that would not be possible to have here, but worth to mention after all. Another point Hamburger asserts, is how assimilation policy indirectly can legitimise and reinforce prejudices or racist positions towards immigrants (Hamburger, 1990, 317). As the findings in this study's analysis show massive focus on unemployment among immigrants, these attitudes will also be found as prejudices in public society. This drawback on the policies' problem representations is important to emphasise, as well as how the discourses on migrants reproduce themselves through politics. The vocabulary used in connection to integration has great imprint from processes connected to national self-understanding and the nation state (Brubaker, 1992 as cited in Geddes and Scholten, 2016, 15). These connections are visible in the Danish policies, as well as associations to "civic integration" in connection to citizenship.

So, how relevant is the Danish integration philosophy to discuss? It is important, I would argue, as the different strategies towards integration and migrants influence the discourses that we all are a part of. As mentioned before, discourses create reality. To migrants, the reality becomes difficult to manage, because of problematisations of specific issues and regulations and stricter requirements. From the material of this study, some changes have been found, however, they have followed the same line in general. Different concepts and aspects regarding contribution and participation have been elaborated and developed further in the policies which followed. The focus that these policies and attached issues of migration have had the last 20 years have followed the development of arguments in the policies. Or perhaps the other way around. The study's delimitation to focus on the policies from 1999, 2005 and 2015, definitely influences the extent of the arguments. However, the findings still show both continuity in governments' problem representations, and change in assumptions regarding nation, citizenship, and integration. The analysis of this study shows some consistency in the Danish integration philosophy through the years. However, requirements and regulations in the integration area have been tightened and become stricter. The various amendments and policies, including the ones in this study, disclose that the policy field in Denmark is very much about showing that *something* is done – taking action and “fixing” the perceived problems in society. The consequences become visible in how the discourses on unemployed immigrants influences the everyday life and public in Denmark. On a practical level, the consequences of change are visible to social workers who try to manage the different regulations. A critical view on how we are governed though the policies will hopefully bring awareness to how some problems might be produced by policymakers and only addressed one way constructing one truth.

7. Conclusion

It has been examined how different perceived problems about integration have been represented in Danish policies from 1999, 2005 and 2015. By identifying problem representations and the underlying assumptions about integration, citizenship and nation, change and consistency were possible to analyse. Theoretical perspectives concerning integration philosophies and citizenship would assist to identify assumptions and presuppositions regarding the issues in the material.

The findings showed that the problem representations were quite consistent through the years, as they all problematised how migrants were standing outside the labour market and thus not contributing or participating in society. Though it showed consistency in the policies, there were emphasised

statements of contributing to the nation in the policies from 2005 and 2015. Regarding the analysis of the underlying assumptions, the findings indicated that some change was present. The integration law from 1999 did mention self-sufficiency and Danish values and norms as achievements in order to be a part of the Danish society. However, the policies from 2005 and 2015 showed to engage much more in how migrants were lacking contribution and what “real” participation should be. The formulation of being an “active citizen” was implemented and applied to the expectations of migrants. In this way, a change in the discourses over time was depicted.

Furthermore, the aim of the study was to unfold a discussion of a Danish integration philosophy. Drawing on previous studies and research, this study’s findings agreed with how the Danish approach very much relies on participation in society in terms of being employed and engaged in the nation. The Danish integration philosophy relies on how the individual can support the welfare state, and not undermine it. The WPR approach and CDA to some extent were used to reach the findings. The WPR approach’s main focus is problematisations of policy, while CDA engage with rhetoric and language use as well as interdiscursivity and intertextuality. The aim was to follow the WPR approach while analysing the texts using some of the tools from CDA. In this way, intertextuality, in terms of change and continuity, could be examined.

By studying problem representations and assumptions in Danish integration policy over time, this research paper will contribute to existing literature in the field of integration. Generalisability has not been a focus, but instead the findings show extensive focus on active versus inactive citizenship through time, thus contributing with detailed knowledge in the field of Danish integration policy. How policymaking creates and affects discourses about immigrants, refugees, and integration, is a further contribution to existing literature. The discussion about different approaches, or philosophies – in this case the Danish one – is important, as well as the critical scrutiny of policies on the area, to be aware of how we are governed. The study would benefit from further research involving wider material, as well as more aspects concerning liberalism, belonging, and forms of governance. Furthermore, discussions on how the majority creates a language for the minority in terms of contribution, participation, and active citizenship could be examined in other ways by including other types of material. The WPR approach and CDA were delimited to reach the aim within the study’s extent. Yet, further investigation could benefit from unfolding the methods further and thereby getting deeper knowledge of the discourses and their underpinnings.

By critically examining the different integration policies, the Danish policy field in this area has shown to be about doing *something* and “fixing” perceived problems in society. Awareness hereof, and the continued questioning of policy problematisations are crucial when analysing discourses in society.

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