

INTERACT – RESEARCHING THIRD COUNTRY NATIONALS’ INTEGRATION AS A THREE-WAY PROCESS - IMMIGRANTS, COUNTRIES OF EMIGRATION AND COUNTRIES OF IMMIGRATION AS ACTORS OF INTEGRATION

Co-financed by the European Union

Integration Policies in Denmark

**Per Mouritsen
Christine Hovmark Jensen**

INTERACT Research Report 2014/06

INTERACT
Researching Third Country Nationals' Integration as a Three-way Process -
Immigrants, Countries of Emigration and Countries of Immigration as Actors of
Integration

Research Report
Country Report
INTERACT RR2014/06

Integration Policies in Denmark

Per Mouritsen*

Christine Hovmark Jensen**

* Professor of Political Theory and Citizenship Studies at the Department of Political Science and Government, Aarhus University

** Research assistant at the Department of Political Science and Government, Aarhus University

© 2014, European University Institute
Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies

This text may be downloaded only for personal research purposes. Any additional reproduction for other purposes, whether in hard copies or electronically, requires the consent of the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies.

Requests should be addressed to mpc@eui.eu

If cited or quoted, reference should be made as follows:

Per Mouritsen, Christine Hovmark Jensen, Integration Policies in Denmark, INTERACT RR 2014/06, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, San Domenico di Fiesole (FI): European University Institute, 2014.

THE VIEWS EXPRESSED IN THIS PUBLICATION CANNOT IN ANY CIRCUMSTANCES BE REGARDED AS THE OFFICIAL POSITION OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

European University Institute
Badia Fiesolana
I – 50014 San Domenico di Fiesole (FI)
Italy

<http://www.eui.eu/RSCAS/Publications/>
<http://interact-project.eu/publications/>
<http://cadmus.eui.eu>

INTERACT - Researching Third Country Nationals' Integration as a Three-way Process - Immigrants, Countries of Emigration and Countries of Immigration as Actors of Integration

Around 25 million persons born in a third country (TCNs) are currently living in the European Union (EU), representing 5% of its total population. Integrating immigrants, i.e. allowing them to participate in the host society at the same level as natives, is an active, not a passive, process that involves two parties, the host society and the immigrants, working together to build a cohesive society.

Policy-making on integration is commonly regarded as primarily a matter of concern for the receiving state, with general disregard for the role of the sending state. However, migrants belong to two places: first, where they come and second, where they now live. While integration takes place in the latter, migrants maintain a variety of links with the former. New means of communication facilitating contact between migrants and their homes, globalisation bringing greater cultural diversity to host countries, and nation-building in source countries seeing expatriate nationals as a strategic resource have all transformed the way migrants interact with their home country.

INTERACT project looks at the ways governments and non-governmental institutions in origin countries, including the media, make transnational bonds a reality, and have developed tools that operate economically (to boost financial transfers and investments); culturally (to maintain or revive cultural heritage); politically (to expand the constituency); legally (to support their rights).

INTERACT project explores several important questions: To what extent do policies pursued by EU member states to integrate immigrants, and policies pursued by governments and non-state actors in origin countries regarding expatriates, complement or contradict each other? What effective contribution do they make to the successful integration of migrants and what obstacles do they put in their way?

A considerable amount of high-quality research on the integration of migrants has been produced in the EU. Building on existing research to investigate the impact of origin countries on the integration of migrants in the host country remains to be done.

INTERACT is co-financed by the European Union and is implemented by a consortium built by CEDEM, UPF and MPI Europe.

For more information:

INTERACT

Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (EUI)

Convento

Via delle Fontanelle 19

50014 San Domenico di Fiesole

Italy

Tel: +39 055 46 85 817

Fax: + 39 055 46 85 770

Email: mpc@eui.eu

Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies

<http://www.eui.eu/RSCAS/>

Abstract

In Denmark immigration has been politically very salient, and since the mid-1990s immigration has been negatively associated with the rising numbers of Muslims in the population. Integration policies over the last fifteen years have become increasingly comprehensive and thickly textured, focusing not only on labour market participation and education, but also on the civic dimensions of social and political participation, liberal-democratic norms and substantial welfare-state egalitarianism, as well as identity and loyalty. Local municipalities are responsible for the implementation of most policies and generally adopt a pragmatic approach. Since 2011, when a social-democratic-led government came to power, integration policies have become less politicized. Various programs, hitherto collected in one designated Ministry of Integration have now been placed under different ministerial jurisdictions and are connected, more than previously, to existing programs that target vulnerable citizens.

Key words: integration, civic integration, the Danish Integration Act, citizenship, Muslims

Table of contents

Introduction	7
Integration as a subject of public and political debate in Denmark.....	7
Muslims as the main target group in the Danish policy discourse	8
The focus of integration measures in Denmark.....	9
Official actors in Danish Integration Policy	10
The Integration Act.....	11
The role of the Danish municipalities.....	12
The engagement of non-state actors in Denmark	13
Conclusion.....	13
Bibliography	15

Introduction

In January 2013 immigrants and their descendants formed 10.7% of the population in Denmark. Of these 8.1% were immigrants, of which 58% were of non-western origin. Since 1980 the number of non-western immigrants in Denmark has more than sextupled. In light of this development Denmark is obviously facing an integration challenge (Statistics Denmark 2013: 7). This report offers an overview of the role of integration issues on the public and political agenda in Denmark. It looks at how integration is perceived, and at whom integration measures are targeted. Furthermore, it deals with integration work means and measures in Denmark, as well as the role played by both state and non-state actors in the integration process.

Integration as a subject of public and political debate in Denmark

Immigrant integration has been on the Danish political agenda since the 1980s, and it has been particularly salient since the mid 1990s. The *Gastarbeiter* (*gæstarbejdere* in Danish) work-immigrants (mainly from Turkey, Pakistan and Yugoslavia) started to come to Denmark in the late sixties. They were succeeded, following the work immigration stop in 1973, by waves of family reunification and a growing number of refugees (especially from Lebanon, Iraq, Iran, Bosnia and Somalia). At this point, in the 1980s and 1990s, integration became a subject of public and political debate. It was not until the mid 1990s though, that these debates had a significant impact on electoral behavior and party programs.

However, from the mid-nineties Denmark has seen a long period in which integration was an intensely politicised issue: not to mention immigration, refugees and questions of citizenship acquisition. These issues were the main topics during the election campaigns in 1998, 2001 and 2005 and had a crucial impact on the outcome of elections. This development was very much influenced by the strong and increasingly professional and ‘modern’ new right party, the Danish People’s Party that was hostile to immigration. This party, which on traditional welfare issues is close to the Social Democrats, is much less extreme than some other far right European parties, for example, the Front National in France or the Freedom Party in Austria. When the Liberals and Conservatives took office in 2001 they depended on the Danish People’s Party as an external coalition partner. This gave the People’s Party significant influence over the government and drove it to take a very restrictive stand on immigration policy. Significant tightening of immigration policies became effective after 2001, with various laws being passed to reduce the number of immigrants coming to Denmark. As elsewhere in Europe asylum laws were restricted, along with rules on family reunification, with a so-called 24-year rule preventing young people from bringing a foreign born spouse to Denmark, forcing a sizeable number of couples to reside in southern Sweden, from where they would commute to Copenhagen (Bech and Mouritsen 2013). It also became considerably more difficult to get a permanent residence permit, and the rules on naturalization became stricter: this was the case in terms of the required period of legal stay, the language requirement, a difficult knowledge test, and proof of financial self-support. Also in this period, integration requirements and targeted policies – including the length, content, and conditionalities attached to the official integration program – came high on the agenda (Mouritsen 2011; Mouritsen 2013; Mouritsen and Olsen 2013). Given the importance to Danish voters of these topics, the Social Democrats and eventually even, to some degree, the democratic left Socialist People’s Party were pushed to take increasingly tough stances.

The media too has played an instrumental role in placing immigration and integration issues on the agenda. Among topics frequently debated are: high unemployment figures; the crime level of immigrants and descendants; the lack of gender equality and differences in child-rearing patterns pertaining to girls and boys in traditional (Muslim) immigrant families; residential segregation in deprived neighborhoods (‘Ghettos’); and the wearing of headscarves. Last but not least, as will be

seen below, debates have increasingly centered on the supposed incompatibility of immigrant (read Muslim) and Danish values. Such values are perceived as both universal and liberal (gender equality, reflective autonomy, capacity for participatory democracy, secularism, freedom of speech etc.) and as particularly ‘Danish’, and as rooted in a cultural and historical heritage. Immigrants, it is assumed, will have difficulty accessing this heritage, unless they have been in the country for a very long time. Debates have, above all, concerned the need to defend these values, not only by restricting and managing the number of new immigrants, but also by molding and socializing those already here with heavy-handed measures. The ‘tone’ of the immigration debate in Denmark when the liberal-conservative government took office was harsh and shrill, certainly compared to neighboring Norway and Sweden (Brochmann and Hagelund 2010; Mouritsen 2006; Mouritsen *et al.* 2009).

Over the last few years the situation has changed somewhat (Lægaard 2013). Immigration and integration no longer overshadow other questions to the same degree: questions such as welfare state reform, taxes and the financial crisis have to some extent taken their place. Immigration concerns certainly, though, have not disappeared. Most features of the restrictive immigration and integration policy remain in place, with some notable exceptions. There has been some liberalization of citizenship and permanent residence policies (and most recently the introduction of dual citizenship acceptance). There has also been a reversal of the previous government’s restriction of social benefit levels to the newly arrived, who had not yet been employed. Political discourse has become rather less confrontational under the new center-left government, which took office in 2011. Its governmental platform program speaks, for example, of the need for more inclusion, equal treatment and tolerance (Danish Government 2011), tapping a majority sentiment that restrictions had now gone far enough or too far (Lægaard 2013). Furthermore a change of leadership and a more centrist strategy in the Danish People’s Party has led even this spearhead of anti-immigration to adopt a somewhat less confrontational approach.

Muslims as the main target group in the Danish policy discourse

The main target group in immigration and integration discourse are immigrants from non-western countries, above all, Muslims. The politicisation of integration and refugee issues has focused particularly on Muslims as a minority who are said to be particularly difficult to integrate into Danish society. Muslim values are often perceived as being incompatible with liberal Danish values and norms, and as a cultural barrier to successful integration on the labor market (‘cultural flexibility’), e.g. inhibiting gender equality.

This adversarial discursive relationship, where Islam and civic-liberal values are made into incompatible or at least conflicting systems, as elsewhere in the West, were affected by the events of 9/11. Before this time, necessary integration was mainly seen in terms of labour market participation and self-support, with questions over values and political loyalties somewhat more subdued. Reservation towards Muslim ‘culture’ in Denmark was also significantly influenced by the cartoon crisis in 2005, though this was also an occasion for a majority to distinguish between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ Muslims: most of the Danish Muslim population was, in fact, acknowledged to have reacted quite moderately to these events.

Even so, this event placed the freedom-of-speech-trope centrally in the culturalised secular-liberal-Danish values versus Islam-fundamentalism-discourse which raged in the following years. At the same time this particular event was the culmination of a critical debate on Muslim integration in Denmark and opposition towards mosques, Muslim cemeteries and headscarves. This reflected a deeper and older layer of Danish nationalism, though one that remains semantically linked to a comprehensive political liberalism, emphasizing individualism, social equality and autonomy. Here cultural diversity *per se* is regarded with suspicion, not least because of a fear that it will jeopardize social cohesion and cause Denmark’s extremely high solidarity and trust levels to fall. The perception that Islam is incompatible with liberal values has caused greater intolerance or at least suspicion

towards certain specific Islamic practices. At the same time most people will distinguish between Islam and Islamism, with Muslims as a group – immigrants and descendants – increasingly being seen as citizens (Mikkelsen 2008; Mouritsen and Olsen 2013).

The focus of integration measures in Denmark

The focus of integration in Denmark has developed with time as the number of immigrants and refugees has increased and the challenges have become greater. The first wave of immigration in the 1960s and early 1970s mainly consisted of foreign workers from Turkey, Pakistan and Yugoslavia. The goal of integration was to meet problems in regard to labor regulation and housing conditions, incidents of racism etc. Integration was not used as a concept; indeed the prevailing understanding was that most of these people would want to, and were also expected to, return to their home countries. As in some other European countries, notably Germany, Danish politicians would stress that Denmark was not an immigration nation.

Throughout the 1980s, when it became apparent that many guest workers stayed and that the number increased through family reunification, critics would increasingly point to economic burdens. They would charge, for example, that immigrants exploited the welfare state, not least because the level of unemployment among immigrants became considerably higher than that among native Danes. Unemployment among immigrants has been a salient issue ever since and the most important goal of integration for all the political parties remains to ensure that immigrants become more self-supporting; not least because of the very real challenges over the future financing of the welfare state, which have been debated since the mid 1990s.

Since the mid-late 1990s though, immigration has also been increasingly associated with the perceived dangers of a multicultural society, and this is reflected in the focus of integration measures. While labour market integration and language competence remain important, increasing emphasis is put on: political and value integration; on the capacity for active citizenship in civil society and local communities; and on identification and loyalty. Also – primarily for instrumental purposes of ‘cohesion’, a requirement for cultural integration in a ‘thicker’ sense includes attempts, for example, in integration courses, to teach immigrants both historical knowledge and knowledge of the everyday cultural life worlds of Danes. There is now a quite tough knowledge test to be sat when applying for full Danish citizenship. But there is also the comprehensive understanding of cultural and societal integration, which informs the Danish Integration Act (Brochmann and Hagelund 2010; Mouritsen *et al.* 2009).

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

In principle, therefore, the official Danish integration policy supports the pluralistic integration of ethnic minorities, based on equal citizenship. Certainly this policy aims to ensure that immigrants are able to participate in society on an equal footing with native Danes (Ejrnæs 2001). However at the same time it is obvious that an appreciation of Danish norms and values is also seen as part of successful integration. Immigrants are not to discard aspects of their identity which are incompatible with Danish public culture. Danish public culture is perceived and presented as liberal, egalitarian and secular, and these values are deeply ingrained in a specific, relatively uniform way of life, associated with: the welfare state’s institutions, such as schools and kindergartens; specific forms of child rearing; and ways of ‘doing’ associational activity. Again, the debate has especially focused on Muslim ‘culture’ as fundamentally different and, therefore, a threat towards social cohesion and trust,

which are the base of the Danish welfare state, so that diversity as such is seen as a problem (Mouritsen and Olsen 2013).

Official Actors in Danish Integration Policy

Until 2011 Denmark had a specific Ministry for Integration issues: The Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration Affairs. This ministry was dismantled with the change of government in October 2011, and many immigration policies are now being processed as broader social, educational and labour market policies by other sectorial agencies. The special ministry had been established in 2001 when Anders Fogh Rasmussen became Prime Minister. He linked the administration of immigration and citizenship issues to a broad administrative portfolio covering the otherwise largely decentralised policies of integration. Its main purpose, at least in political terms, was to signal a new and harder line on immigration and integration, as had been promised during the election campaign.

When the new center-left government, led by the Social Democrats decided to close the Ministry of Integration down, it was therefore a symbolic break with the harsh rhetoric of the past decade. But it also showed a determination to deal with integration in a more matter-of-fact way. It meant emphasizing its connection to broader issues of education, employment and social works, and the need to integrate policies and administration with existing ministerial divisions and competencies. This was to make them more effective and targeted, given that some of the issues at hand involve both immigrant descendants and other marginalized or vulnerable individuals of Danish ethnic descent.

Since October 2011 integration has, therefore, been dealt with by a number of ministries. The Ministry of Children and Education is now responsible for instruction in Danish as a second language. The Ministry of Social Affairs and Integration is responsible for matters with regard to political and social integration including prevention of radicalization. Matters pertaining to the integration of refugees and immigrants into the labour market and education system have been handed over to the Ministry of Employment. Finally, the Ministry of Justice is responsible for matters related to asylum, visa and family reunification (nyidanmark.dk 2011).

However, the actual implementation of the Danish Integration Act takes place at the local level in the municipalities. According to the Integration Act the municipalities are responsible for providing immigrants with an integration program. They play an important role, to be developed below, in the daily work on integration in Denmark (Integration Act: §16).

The so-called integration councils, as well as some other non-state actors, which will also be addressed further below, have also played a role in Danish integration policies, at least in principle. In the local work on integration, the municipalities may establish local integration councils in order to seek consultation on integration related issues. Such councils will consist of representatives from the local refugee- and immigrant associations (Integration Act: §42; Mikkelsen 2008: 150). The Ministry of Social Affairs and Integration, in a similar way, seeks advice from concerned parties among immigrants and refugees, in the Council of Ethnic Minorities, with its 14 members, elected representatives from the local integration councils (The Council of Ethnic Minorities 2014; Integration Act: §§43-44).

However, traditionally, neither the central nor local consultation bodies have been very effective. Unlike Sweden, Danish governments never sought to create effective 'corporate' channels in the form of semi-official or state-sponsored ethnic community organisations, which could be used for consultation, communication and legitimation of policies. Policies are more top-down in this area than is otherwise the case in a country where various interest groups have historically played a significant part in policy formulation. There is, indeed, a tendency to select 'good' immigrant representatives for such bodies, which do not necessarily represent broad ethnic constituencies, thus rendering the regular electoral representation of immigrant groups more important. Luckily, at municipal level, such

representation is quite good, because of the specific features of the electoral system, which tends to favour political entrepreneurs with ethnic constituencies of a certain size.

The Integration Act

According to the 1999 Integration Act all newly arrived refugees and family-reunified are obliged to follow an integration program in order to be eligible for social security benefits. The municipalities are responsible for providing this program, which lasts up to three years (Integration Act: §16). Participation in the integration program is also a key condition for obtaining a permanent residence permit and is generally seen as one of the ways that these new-comers show a ‘will’ to integrate. Immigrants, on the other hand, who come to Denmark to work on a green card, their accompanying family members, as well as students, au pairs and all EU citizens are subject to a different set of rules. They are offered an introduction program, also provided for by the municipality, but this is not compulsory (Ministry of Employment 2014).

The integration program, as well as the introduction program encompasses: instruction in Danish; courses on social conditions in Denmark; courses on Danish culture and history; as well as job related activities. The programs are based on a detailed plan for each individual (Ministry of Employment 2014).

The municipalities are, furthermore, required to ensure that young people aged 18 to 25, who receive social security benefits and who lack sufficient qualifications, apply for admission to an appropriate education, when this is considered achievable (Integration Act: §16a).

An amendment to the Integration Act was adopted 1 July 2013, whereby municipalities must offer all newly arrived refugees and also family-reunified an ‘integration plan’. The plan is not compulsory. The purpose of the plan is to coordinate all of the various integration initiatives – e.g. in schools, sports clubs, the locality, relating to work training – which affects an individual, so as to make sure that these work together in the best possible way. Furthermore, this same group of people is, due to the new amendment, offered a health check to make sure that health related problems are not a barrier to successful integration.

Last but not least refugees and reunified families are required to sign both a compulsory Contract of Integration and a Declaration on Integration and Active Citizenship. The Contract of Integration encompasses a range of specifically defined goals and milestones of successful integration, as well as an agreement about the tools and measures to achieve these goals. The term ‘contract’ implies that the immigrant must in fact sign a piece of paper thereby committing him or her to its content. The municipalities are bound to make sure that the contracts are met and in principle sanctions are imposed when they are not (Integration Act: §§19-20). In the Declaration on Integration and Active Citizenship refugees and reunified families are further asked to confirm their willingness to obey Danish law, to respect democratic principles, to learn the Danish language, to acknowledge principles of gender equality, to respect liberty of conscience and freedom of speech, to refrain from carrying out terrorism etc.; a list of not unreasonable requirements for the most part, but including some that are quite insulting (nyidanmark.dk 2014).

A distinctive feature of the Danish approach to integration is that generally all immigrant groups are eligible for many of the same policy tools, such as language courses. But, as already mentioned, refugees and reunified family members are distinguished from migrant workers, accompanying family members, students, au pairs and EU-citizens, since these ‘other’ categories are not obliged to follow an integration program to the same extent as the former. The Integration Contract and the Declaration on Integration and Active Citizenship are, likewise, only required for refugees and reunified family members. The kind and extent of integration requirements depends, then, on the migrant category an immigrant belongs to. However, generally speaking, no special integration policies focusing only on some nationalities exist, as all nationalities are supposed to be treated equally.

The role of the Danish municipalities

As emerged in the previous section municipalities are very important actors in the implementation of the Integration Act; indeed, the day-to-day ‘integration work’ is very much a municipal affair. In addition, local integrations policies have been set up in several of the Danish municipalities, particularly where the numbers of immigrants are highest, including Copenhagen, Odense and Aarhus.

An example of this is found in the municipality of Aarhus (the second largest city in Denmark), which formulated an integration policy in 2007 and revised it in 2011/2012. This integration policy was set up as a series of guiding integration goals, which embrace all ethnic minorities in the municipality, and which is not focused on particular ethnicities. The integration policy, however, does not lay out in any detail, the specific means for these integration goals. Rather the goals are supposed to be incorporated as part of the daily work in all the relevant municipal authorities, be it the Department of Employment, the Department of Children and Young People, or other departments (Aarhus Municipality 2013a). This, in fact, takes place to a considerable extent. This means, for instance, that street level officers in the Department of Children and Young People must ensure that children with Danish as a second language are assisted to overcome challenges in the educational system: e.g. using the municipality’s various schemes, including mentoring facilities, homework assistance, and screening of language ability etc. (Aarhus Municipality 2013b). Also, integration in Aarhus is measured on various parameters, such as developments in education, active citizenship and employment among immigrants, to make sure that integration is moving in a positive direction (Aarhus Municipality 2013c).

Generally speaking, the Danish welfare state uses significant resources locally for various *targeted* programs. These relate to education, social work, health care, employment, and crime prevention including early outreach, focusing, in particular, on designated socially deprived areas, e.g. suburban public housing estates, which are quite closely monitored. Some of this work, on a project-to-project basis, will also target specific ethnic groups.

How each municipality in Denmark ‘does’ integration, apart from the binding rules of the Integration Act, will, however, vary according to the different focus, integration approaches and levels of challenge that they face. So the municipalities of Copenhagen and Aarhus approach bilingual children in public schools differently.

In 2005 the Danish parliament made it possible for municipalities in Denmark to deny bilingual children the free choice of school if they do not speak Danish at a sufficient level (Retsinformation 2010). In Aarhus it was, therefore, decided to disperse bilingual children with poor language skills to schools where they could meet more children of Danish origin (‘bussing’), whereas in Copenhagen the choice of school remains free. The administration there will only try to encourage, but not force, bilingual children to choose specific schools (Kofoed *et al.* 2010: 11-12). The integration tools, therefore, to some extent differ depending on which municipality an immigrant is located in.

The engagement of non-state actors in Denmark

Denmark is often considered to be a country with a widespread associational life, which is conducive to an efficient civil society, widespread social trust, social cohesion and integration. But associations also represent sectional interests and, thus, a large number of immigrant associations are not in themselves evidence of successful integration. To have a positive effect on integration it is, of course, of vital importance that immigrant associations cooperate with the surrounding society and the state.

So what characterizes Denmark here? In the 1960s and 1970s the first immigrant associations were established and since then many have followed. To begin with it was especially immigrants from Yugoslavia, Pakistan and Turkey, but also Chile and Africa, who formed associations. Today, however many nationalities are represented in associational life, but Turks – particularly Kurds – Pakistanis and Somalis remain the more prominent. Immigrant associations are commonly organized along national lines and in addition to the nationalities already mentioned there are also quite a few Iraqi and Lebanese associations. Due to lack of research though, it is difficult to get a clear picture of the extent or difference between various nationalities. Often though, the associations are relatively small and are located in Copenhagen and Aarhus. They are sometimes organized in umbrella organizations, of which some are multiethnic, trying to safeguard the interests of immigrants in Denmark. Traditionally they have to some extent also been behind state financed activities promoting integration; however, the umbrella organizations in Denmark are sometimes financially hard-pressed as a result of a lack of state support.

It is difficult to create an overview of these associations, given that no official list is available. There seems to be no entirely new research in the field, only some from the beginning of the millennium. This research indicates that immigrant associations in, for example, Aarhus provide a frame for cultural activities and social intercourse, working to some extent to maintain connections to the country of origin, for example, through instructions in mother tongue and culture, as well as religious activities. However some also provide courses and guidance on social conditions in Denmark, while cooperating with the local integration councils and other local authorities, suggesting that immigrant associations also make an effort to promote integration (Mikkelsen, 2008: 110-124; Tøgeby, 2003: 124-139). Due to a lack of research in the field though, it is difficult to say with certainty to what extent immigration associations support integration.

Conclusion

Denmark is a key example of a North-Western European country, which has moved increasingly towards civic integration policies. This means policies that conceive of ‘integration’ in terms of the need for newcomers to adopt the behavioral capacities, mental dispositions and norms which characterize a ‘good citizen’ (*medborger* in Danish). A good citizen is someone who is able to ‘function’ and contribute to the economic, political and social life of his or her new community – and thereby ‘deserve’ its equal treatment and rights, particularly the social rights of the welfare state. These capacities, dispositions and norms are conceptualized in a relatively ‘thick’, comprehensive and culturalised way.

The agencies of the state, in the modernist tradition of Scandinavian welfare state social interventionism, do not see it as appropriate to leave its prospective citizens alone to find their own way into society. This citizen-building ambition has historically led to national level policies, particularly immigration and citizenship policies, as well as discourses, which have been tough or even illiberal and intolerant. But, depending on the political view point of observers, it has also translated to quite effective, pragmatic policies at municipal levels, where most of the action is in terms of integration. Here, immigration issues are much less politicized, and the traditional Danish thirst for cultural homogeneity is offset by more ‘metropolitan’, progressively inter-cultural policies and

discourse. Over the last fifteen years educational attainment and also until recently (until the beginning of the economic crisis in 2008) labour market integration, in a European perspective, has been going quite well, most likely, at least in part, as a result of the drop in refugee numbers from the early 2000s (Læggaard 2013).

Whereas, from 2001-2011 'integration' in some respects really meant assimilation, and was connected to a securitized political agenda of national cohesion, driven forward by the Danish People's Party, a political rebalancing is now taking place. The key goals of labour market integration, education and also active citizenship (e.g. civil society participation) remain in place. But there are also ambitions not to accept (or at least not to remain neutral towards) illiberal practices, even where such practices take place within the confines of peoples' homes and private lives, such as unequal treatment of girls and boys and political radicalism. However, the approach of the new government from 2011, led by Social Democratic prime minister Helle Thorning-Schmidt has been less ideological, less obsessed with 'dangerous' diversity, and more pragmatic.

Bibliography

- Aarhus Municipality. 2013a. *Integrationspolitik* [online], available on: <http://www.aarhus.dk/da/politik/Politikker-og-planer/Mangfoldighed/Integrationspolitik.aspx> [Accessed 9 June 2014].
- Aarhus Municipality. 2013b. *Understøttende indsatser til børn med dansk som andetsprog* [online], available on: <http://www.aarhus.dk/da/omkommunen/organisation/Boern-og-Unge/PA/PI/Indsatser-for-6-18-aarige-boern-og-unge/Boern-med-dansk-som-andetsprog.aspx> [Accessed 9 June 2014].
- Aarhus Municipality. 2013c. *Integrationsbarometer* [online], available on: <http://www.aarhus.dk/da/politik/Politikker-og-planer/Mangfoldighed/Integrationspolitik/Integrationsbarometer.aspx> [Accessed 9 June 2014].
- Cochran Bech, E. and P. Mouritsen 2013. Restricting the Right to Family Migration in Denmark: When Human Rights Collide with a Welfare State under Pressure. In E. Jurado and G. Brochmann (eds.), *Europe's Immigration Challenge: Reconciling Work, Welfare and Mobility*. London: I.B. Tauris, pp. 159-184.
- Brochmann, G., and A. Hagelund 2010. *Velferdens grenser*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Danish Government. 2011. *Regeringsgrundlag: Et Danmark der står sammen*. Copenhagen: Folketinget.
- Ejrnæs, M. 2011. Integrationsloven – en case, der illustrerer etniske minoriteters usikre medborgerstatus. AMID Working Paper Series, No. 1, Aalborg: Aalborg University.
- Integration Act 2013. *Bekendtgørelse af lov om integration af udlændinge i Danmark* [online], available on: <https://www.retsinformation.dk/Forms/r0710.aspx?id=158056#Kap1> [Accessed 9 June 2014].
- Kofoed, J., P. Allerup, J. Larsen, and A. Torre 2010. *Med spredning som muligt svar - følgeforskning af københavnermodellen for integration*. København: Danmarks Pædagogiske Universitetsskole.
- Lægaard, S. 2013. Danish Anti-Multiculturalism? The Significance of the Political Framing of Diversity. In: P. Kivisto and Ö. Wahlbeck (eds.), *Debating Multiculturalism in the Nordic Welfare States*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 170-196.
- Mikkelsen, F. 2008. *Indvandring og integration*. København: Akademisk Forlag.
- Ministry of Employment. 2014. *Tilbud til nyankomne udlændinge* [online], available on: <http://bm.dk/da/Beskaeftigelsesomraadet/Flere%20i%20arbejde/Integration/Tilbud%20til%20nyankomne%20udlaendinge.aspx> [Accessed 9 June 2014].
- Mouritsen, P. 2006. The Particular Universalism of a Nordic Civic Nation. Common values, state religion and Islam in Danish Political culture. In: T. Modood, A. Triandafyllidou and R. Zapata-Barrero (eds.), *Multiculturalism, Muslims and Citizenship: A European Approach*. London: Frank Cass Publishers, pp. 70-93.
- Mouritsen, P. 2011. Beyond Postnational Citizenship. Access, Consequence, Conditionality. In A. Triandafyllidou, T. Modood, and N. Meer (eds.), *European Multiculturalisms: Cultural, Religious and Ethnic Challenges*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 88-115.
- Mouritsen, P. 2013. The resilience of citizenship traditions: Civic integration in Germany, Great Britain and Denmark, *Ethnicities*, 13, no. 1: 86-109.

- Mouritsen, P. and T. V. Olsen 2011. Denmark Between Liberalism and Nationalism, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 36, no. 4: 691-710.
- Mouritsen, P., L. Lindekilde, L. Lex, T. V. Olsen 2009. *Immigration, Integration and the Politics of Cultural Diversity in Denmark: Political Discourse and Legal, Political and Educational Challenges*, Integrated country report from the project 'A European Approach to Multicultural Citizenship. Legal, Political and Educational Challenges' (EMILIE). Athens: ELIAMEP.
- Mouritsen, P. and T. V. Olsen 2013. Liberalism and the Diminish Space of Tolerance. In: J. Dobbernack and T. Modood (eds.), *Hard to Accept: New Perspectives on Tolerance, Intolerance and Respect*. London: Palgrave, pp. 127-156.
- nyidanmark.dk 2011. *Integrationsministeriet er nedlagt og ressortområderne overgået til andre ministerier* [online], available on: http://www.nyidanmark.dk/da-dk/nyheder/nyheder/udlaendingeservice/2011/oktober/ministeriet_nedlagt.htm [Accessed 9 June 2014].
- nyidanmark.dk 2014. *Erklæring om integration og aktivt medborgerskab i det danske samfund* [online], available on: <http://www.nyidanmark.dk/da-dk/Ophold/permanent-ophold/integration-og-aktivt-medborgerskab.htm> [Accessed 9 June 2014].
- Retsinformation. 2010. *Bekendtgørelse om lov om folkeskolen* [online], available on: <https://www.retsinformation.dk/Forms/r0710.aspx?id=145631> [Accessed 11 June 2014].
- Statistics Denmark. 2013. *Indvandrere i Danmark 2013* [online], available on: <http://www.dst.dk/pukora/epub/upload/17961/indv2013.pdf> [Accessed 10 June 2014].
- The Council of Ethnic Minorities. 2014. *Vi er rådet for Etniske Minoriteter* [online], available on: <http://www.rem.dk/sw313.asp> [Accessed 9 June 2014].
- Togeby, L. 2003. *Fra fremmedarbejdere til etniske minoriteter*. Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag.