The Costs of Integration – an Attitudinal Study of ethnic Danes, non-Western Immigrants and Policymakers

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Abstract

This comparative study attempts to explain the perceived unsatisfactory level of integration of non-Western immigrants in Denmark by examining a possible schism between attitudes towards integration of elite policymakers and ethnic Danes and non-Western immigrants.
So far no in-depth studies of attitudes towards immigrant related issues have investigated the attitudes of policymakers. This thesis addresses this gap with a study of attitudes, which applies a theoretical framework combining rational choice theory with dimensions of social capital.

The study focuses on the non-economic costs, especially social transaction costs that immigrants and Danes encounter in the process of integrating immigrants. An on-line questionnaire was distributed to Danes and non-Western immigrants collecting attitudinal quantitative data. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with policymakers: politicians and bureaucrats at local and national level and representatives of ethnic councils.

The study suggests that ethnic Danes and non-Western immigrants have rather similar attitudes towards structural integration, but they differ significantly in their attitudes towards cultural integration. While education, trust and having an out-group friend are significant determinants of the attitudes of Danes and their acceptance of social transaction costs, education and trust in out-group have limited impact on attitudes of non-Western immigrants. It is suggested that ethnic and religious factors are important predictors of attitudes of non-Western immigrants.

Policymakers and ethnic Danes seem to have a similar pattern of social contact with immigrants. There are, however, indications that differences of attitudes between Danes and immigrants may be provoked by policymakers' way of discussing integration. This is more salient among Parliamentarians and bureaucrats. This study shows that social interaction between immigrants and ethnic Danes is important in order to incorporate immigrants on equal terms with Danes, but the policymakers' discussion of integration may alienate Danes and immigrants and influence negatively their readiness to integrate.

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Abbreviations

Political parties

DF: Danish People's Party (Dansk Folkeparti)
SF: People's Socialist Party (Socialistisk Folkeparti)

Institutions

MRII: Ministry of Refugees, Immigration and Integration Affairs
MI: Ministry of Integration. Part of Ministry of Refugees, Immigration and Integration Affairs.
MSI: Ministry of Social Affairs and Integration
CUREC: Central University Research Ethics Committee

Surveys

EVS: European Value Survey
ESS: European Social Survey
ISSP: International Social Survey Programme
MIPEX: Migration and Integration Policy Index
ASDI: Attitudinal Survey of Danes and Immigrants

Definitions

Statistics Denmark, unlike Office of National Statistics in the UK, separates immigrants, second generation immigrants (descendants) and Danes.

Immigrants: Defined as people born abroad whose parents were both (or in cases where only one parent is known, that parent) foreign nationals or born abroad. This concept covers both immigration due to work, family reunification and refugees (MRII, 2001).

Descendants: People born in Denmark where both parents are born outside Denmark and were non-Danish citizens at the time of birth of the descendant (ibid, 2001).

Ethnic Danes: People born to parents of whom at least one is a Danish citizen born in Denmark (Statistics Denmark, (ibid, 2001).

Non-Western immigrant: In Denmark a Western immigrant is defined as originating from an EU country, Iceland, Norway, Switzerland, USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. A non-Western immigrant is from all countries other than those listed above (Statistics Denmark, 2009).
In the thesis the term *immigrant,* if nothing else is indicated, refers to a non-Western immigrant. It will also, if nothing else is indicated, refer to both immigrants and descendants. *Immigrants* and *ethnic minorities* will be used interchangeable.

Citizen: In Danish the term "borger" is used to denote a "citizen". But, in Danish any person with legal residency, but irrespective of citizenship, is described as a "borger". Therefore, a citizen does not by definition have Danish citizenship.

The idiomatic term *Danes* refer to ethnic Danes, which is common in existing literature (Matthiessen, 2009).

Chapter 1: Introduction

1. Setting the stage for researching integration of immigrants in Denmark

This thesis sets out to examine possible explanations for the discrepancy between the vast public investment in integration of non-Western immigrants in Denmark and the relatively poor outcome of integration. The research takes the form of a comparative study of attitudes of policy makers and ordinary citizens (Danes and immigrants) towards issues related to integration. The initial section of this chapter will describe the setting in which this study is carried out.

Until the middle of the 20th century more people left Europe than arrived at its shores, but during the second half of the century Europe has experienced a net immigration of particularly non-Western immigrants (Matthiessen, 2009). In Denmark a limited number of non-Western immigrants arrived in the late 1960s, but from the late 1980s the character and magnitude of migration changed. Failed states and ethnic conflicts with vast movements of populations generated a huge number of refugees representing a very diverse group of people seeking asylum (Eastmond, 2011). The newcomers presented an enormous challenge to the country and its development due to the cultural and economic differences that have emerged in the wake of immigration (Gundelach, 2011a). Integration of non-Western immigrants into the welfare state has become a central research concern (Larsen, 2011).

Homogeneous states, such as Denmark, have become multi-ethnic and multi-cultural. That challenges the cohesion of society. Danes perceive their society to be blessed with a high degree of social equality and an absence of hierarchies. Such thinking does not establish equal worth of differences. It assumes that a fundamental homogeneous unit is a prerequisite for equality and regards obvious differences as inappropriate (Johncke, 2007). The focus on homogeneity is associated with a unique Nordic value system of universality based on the assumption that the state is "good" and that legislation can ensure equality for all citizens (Stenius, 1997:170). However, the question remains, whether normative universalism and contesting views of cultures can be reconciled (Mouritsen et al, 2013). Integration of immigrants has become a public welfare concern and the main responsibility of integration of immigrants is left with governmental institutions.

Over the years Denmark is perceived to have adopted assimilatory integration policies. The public discussion on immigration has not been limited to a debate about the volume of immigration, but has increasingly included the extent to which immigrants must adapt to (what are considered to be) the norms and values of the society. Hence, ethnic origin has become an important marker of

difference, requiring, in the view of the public very comprehensive integration measures (Olwig et al, 2007).

However, in the Migration and Integration Policy Index[1] (MIPEX, 2012), which evaluates integration policies in 40 countries, Denmark scores below average. According to an OECD report in 2007 (Liebig, 2007) the rating is also reflected in integration outcomes, as Denmark has one of the poorest outcomes of integration, measured as employment rates and educational attainment of immigrants and descendants[2]. The latter two parameters of integration have improved since the millennium, but big groups of immigrants and a growing number of descendants are still left with very poor academic skills and outside the labour market. While employment rates of immigrants in Denmark are higher than in most OECD countries, the difference in employment rates between Danes and immigrants is bigger than in most comparable countries (OECD, 2012). The marked social differences have been accentuated by an apparent increased segregation of Danes and non-Western immigrants. This is observed in the labour market and housing patterns as well as in the social and cultural domain (Nannestad, 1999:218). In the main municipalities of Denmark housing estates have developed with a high concentration of immigrants. Many of those immigrants have very restricted contact with the surrounding society, and they are believed to have maintained the norms and values of their country of origin. This contravenes the assimilative approach the majority of Danes have towards integration of immigrants (Mouritsen et al, 2009) and exemplifies the dilemma between immigration realities and population preferences (Emmenegger et al, 2012).

Though Denmark asks much of its immigrants compared with other EU countries, it has persistently been very willing to finance integration programmes[3] (Collett, 2011). However, there is a notable mismatch between integration outcome and the comprehensive effort by the welfare state to promote integration. This is the puzzle that motivates this research. The main aim of the thesis can be formulated thus:

"to investigate the paradox that Denmark invests a vast amount of resources into the integration of immigrants and still achieves relatively poor integration outcomes, culturally and structurally[4]."

[1] MIPEX measures integration policies in 31 countries (EU countries, USA, Australia, Japan and South Korea). It uses 146 indicators in six policy areas: labour market, family reunion, long term residency, political participation, access to nationality and anti-discrimination.

[2] Descendants: People born in Denmark where both parents are born outside Denmark and were non-Danish citizens at the time of birth of the descendant. (MRII, 2001).

[3] The budget for integration increased in Denmark from 163.6 million euros in 2008 to 241.4 million euros in 2011, an increase by 68% (Collett, 2011).

[4] Structural integration includes integration at the same level as the majority population with regards to participation in the labour market, education and political participation (Schierup, 1993)
Cultural integration includes integration at the same level as the majority population with regards to religion, norms and moral (ibid:1993).

This chapter is structured into five parts following the introduction. Firstly, the research link between my MPhil and this thesis is outlined. Secondly, the meaning of integration is discussed. Thirdly, previous research on and theoretical approaches to integration of immigrants in Denmark are briefly reviewed. In the fourth section, the aim of this thesis and the development of a theoretical framework, of research questions and a research methodology are introduced. This section will also include a brief account of the theoretical contributions of the thesis. Finally, this chapter will close with a provision of the structure of the thesis.

1.1. MPHIL to DPhil: A Researcher's journey

Before proceeding I will present the main findings of my MPhil dissertation and trace the progression of ideas, which have lead to the research. The thesis builds on my MPhil entitled*: A comparative study of integration policies and outcomes for non-Western ethnic minorities in the UK and Denmark, and in the case of Denmark a study of the influence of attitudes among native Danes and non-Western immigrants on integration.* The dissertation compared different integration outcomes in the UK and Denmark and set out to offer possible explanations for the outcomes in Denmark. A qualitative approach was chosen for the investigation of Danish integration outcomes, interviewing non-Western immigrants and ethnic Danes.

The framework for the analysis of these interviews was social capital. The conceptual pair of 'bridging social capital', which connects an individual to the wider society and 'bonding social capital", which binds a person to his or her narrow social group, was applied (Nannestad et al, 2008).

The comparison of secondary data[5] of integration outcomes in the UK and Denmark revealed that rigorous employment policies in Denmark seemed to have improved labour market participation compared with that in the UK[6]. However, it also showed that the more assimilative policies in Denmark have failed to promote participation in societal life by descendants and their inclusion in the educational system. Multicultural policies in the UK seem to have been more successful providing a better inclusion into the society and social mobility of ethnic minorities. But, the findings must be read with some caution, as the study did not control for externalities, such as ethnicity, length of stay or social provisions.

The interviews of ten Danes and 22 non-Western immigrants (including descendants) showed that the immigrants and the Danes had similar views of structural integration, but they had very divergent views on what should be expected from immigrants in terms of social integration. The

[5] The dissertation made use of data from Statistics Denmark and Office of National Statistics in the UK

[6] These findings were based on 2008 data. The financial crisis has since hit the employment of non-Western immigrants harder than Danes and increased the gap in employment rates between the two groups in question.

findings also suggested that Danes and immigrants have very limited social contact with each other. They blamed each other for lack of interest in establishing inter-ethnic relations.
The Danes clearly expressed an assimilatory attitude towards integration, which did not correspond with the more multicultural attitude of the immigrants. It was essential for the Danes to establish a consensus around some fundamental values in the society. The solidarity of the Danes appeared to depend on whether the immigrants would accept these terms, and until that has been proven the Danes saw it rightful that the newcomers did not enjoy the full social rights of the welfare state.
Most immigrants felt integrated and they predominantly perceived integration in structural terms. Ethnic identity stood out as a pivotal point. The immigrants did not see themselves as Danes only but as people with dual nationality. Therefore, the forced assimilation of attitudes seemed incongruous with their self-identification. The social capital needed to engage with Danes seemed to exist but the terms for exchanging the capital in the market were not acceptable.

The above findings demonstrate possible adverse effects of an assimilative approach to integration. However, the dissertation also highlighted the drawbacks of immigrants disengaging from society. Attitudes held by some immigrants were very inimical to their integration into society, and their attitudes challenged the balance between accepting diversity and for the society to uphold values that form its moral structure. The interviews also revealed that younger immigrants living in a neighbourhood with high concentration of immigrants and residents outside the labour market disconnected themselves from social interactions with Danes. It was also notable that they lacked networks advancing their chances to find work placements. These findings suggest that ethnic neighbourhoods with a high percentage of residents who are economically inactive may restrict the social capital needed for integration into the wider society.

The MPhil suggests that immigrants and Danes have different expectations to integration. Immigrants may feel well integrated, yet Danes do not accept them as integrated. Their yardsticks are different. This miscommunication follows from the weak contact between Danes and immigrants, which seems to be enforced by the housing pattern of many immigrants.
The above findings indicate that bridging capital, in the shape of trust and reciprocation, and rational choice are important features of interaction between Danes and immigrants and ultimately integration. The Danes would not "risk" granting newcomers the full benefits of the welfare state unless they accept the norms and values that support it. Against this, the immigrants would not "risk" assimilating culturally if they have to give up their ethnic identity.

This thesis builds on these findings. Varying conceptualisations of integration by different social groups is a key element of my research, and social capital and rational choice theory are centrally located within the theoretical framework of the thesis.

1.2. What is integration?

In chapter two I will discuss integration more comprehensively. At this stage I will restrict the presentation to a narrow conceptualisation of integration.

Johncke (2007) differentiates between a political and social denotation of integration. The political perspective focuses on the level and the character of integration of individuals or groups in society, while the social approach seeks to develop a theoretical understanding of the social processes leading to integration and some social order (Olwig et al, 2007; Johncke, 2007). Olwig et al (2007) argue that in daily talk integration is spoken of as a political project, which aims at incorporating foreigners into society. The thesis applies both conceptualizations of integration. Integration is studied as the end product of social and political processes. But the thesis also aims at identifying factors leading to integration and thus providing an understanding of the mechanisms behind it.

Integration is a normative concept and distinctively positive (Johncke, 2007). In the context of immigration integration refers to some kind of co-existence between a minority and a majority population, and it can take place at various levels of society (Olwig, 2007).

From a macro perspective integration refers to characteristic of a social system, e.g. society (Entzinger et al, 2003:6). An integrated society is characterized by groups or individuals interacting, and social cohesion becomes the ultimate positive marker of integration (Schmidt, 2002; Entzinger, 2003; Joopke, 2007). At group level integration can be seen as a process "where immigrants are brought into an active and coordinated compliance with the on going activities" (Mikkelsen, 2001: 13). Within this process we can distinguish between an institutional (structural integration) and a normative (cultural integration) dimension of integration of immigrants. The former include participation in the labour market, educational system, etc., while the latter relates to cultural orientation and identification (Enzinger et al, 2003:8).

States choose different strategies to come to terms with immigration. Integration models have been developed to deduce some kind of parsimony of these strategies. The models are generally based on level of acculturation immigrants are met with, and they each signify a type of integration regime. By acculturation we understand to the extent immigrants are expected to take over elements of cultural environment of the recipient country without completely abandoning their culture of origin (Enzinger et al, 2003:9). In daily talk the regimes are classified as assimilative or multi-cultural. The assimilation model implies a significant cultural adaptation, while the multicultural model describes a society that facilitates the support or further development of the identities of ethnic communities (ibid, 2003:15). This thesis operates with three models applied by Bhikhu Parekh (1998). They include a nationalist model (assimilative integration policies) and two multicultural models (liberal and pluralistic integration policies). These models will be explained in

chapter 2. Denmark is considered to lean towards the nationalist model (Rasmussen, 2000; Mikkelsen, 2001; Ejrnæs 2002; Togeby, 2003; Mouritsen et al, 2009).

1.3. Ideas of the thesis – and those which have preceded it.

The research of integration of immigrants in Denmark has commonly applied an ethnocentric approach (Andersen, 2002; Fridberg, 2005; Necef, 2009). In that perspective attitudinal studies of Danes and immigrants have ascribed the lack of integration of immigrations to discrimination and intolerance on the part of Danes. The media and politicians are believed to have governed the public debate and mobilized less tolerant and more assimilative attitudes amongst Danes. Such attitudes are significantly more prevalent among people of low education and low income (Blum, 1986; Gaasholt et al, 1995; Mikkelsen, 2001).

As an alternative to the ethnocentric approach Professor Peter Nannestad[7] developed a theory of aversion towards ethnic minorities based on a cost benefit analysis of solidarity (Nannestad, 1999). This is an element of rational choice theory (Nannestad, 2004). The theory claims that attitudes at societal and individual level may arise by from costs perceived to be related to immigration. These are the transaction costs. Some may be non-economic, and Nannestad talks of *social transaction costs* (Nannestad, 1999). If everybody knows and accepts the institutional frames (norms and values) within society, interaction will naturally follow. The problem is that many of these institutions are very cultural and group specific. The more homogeneous the society is, understood as common knowledge of and consensus about institutional frames for social interactions, the lower will the social transaction costs be (ibid, 1999). A social transaction cost for Danes may be, for example, accepting halal meat in public institutions, while shaking hands with men in the fulfilment of a public duty may represent a "cost" for an orthodox Muslim woman.

Social transactions costs may not grow through concrete contact with ethnic minorities, but rather as a result of changes that the society has felt obliged to make in order to adapt to immigration and the growth of ethnic minorities (ibid, 1999).

So far, the theory of social transaction costs has only been applied in a very few, mostly economic studies of Danes, comparing attitudes towards immigrants with general unemployment rates and the magnitude of immigration in society (Andersen, 2002). In chapter 3 the theory of social transaction will be discussed more comprehensively.

1.3.1. Aim of thesis

Findings of the MPhil indicated that attitudes of Danes and immigrants were, to some extent, governed by rational choice. Each held divergent views of what integration entails, and they held different expectations as to the effort the other part had to make in order to advance integration.

[7] Peter Nannestad is a Professor at Department of Political Science and Government at the University of Aarhus, Denmark. He is a prolific publisher and his work focuses on welfare state policies and integration of immigrants into the welfare state.

This divergence between their attitudes obstructs inter-ethnic relations and cultural integration and thus indirectly structural integration. A more extensive and structured comparison of attitudes of immigrants and Danes may shed some light on this conundrum. The thesis, therefore, sets out to investigate the paradox between the vast investment in integration of immigrants in Denmark and the poor integration outcome by researching the difference between the understanding of integration, and expectations concerning it, held by immigrants and Danes. This may reveal some fundamental obstacles to integration and to the participation of immigrants in the wider society.

Previous attitudinal studies have not included policymakers. However, in view of their status knowledge of their attitudes seem essential when researching integration outcomes using attitudinal studies. They are major players in the public debate and are believed to influence the opinions of ordinary people significantly (Gaarsholt et al, 1995; Mikkelsen, 2001). Their formulation of benefits or disadvantages of a multi-cultural society are considered to have a major impact upon the success of integration policies (Entzinger et al, 2003).
Policymakers include elite bureaucrats as they are expected to have considerable influence on policy making and not least on implementation of policies. Mills (1999) notes that modern societies are less political and more administrative, and senior bureaucrats have a great deal of discretionary power Olwig (2011). In accordance with this assessment several studies have found that New Public Management ideology[8] has strengthened administrative influence at the cost of politicians' impact on policy making (Kleven et al, 2000; Dalsgaard, 2000).

Researching the literature on policy making it became evident that policy position (local vs national) is a factor very much affecting policymakers' relation with electorates and their views and influence on policies (Kleven et al, 2000; Dalsgaard, 2000; Kitschelt, 2000; Laver, 2001). Elitist theories also claim that policymakers generally hold more liberal and tolerant views than the public and that policymakers are recruited from the more elite section of society (Gibson et al, 1991; Sullivan et al, 1993). The effect of education, therefore, indicates why integration policies are often more permissive than the public would like (Citrin et al, 2008: 46). Hence, it is fair to assume that policymakers may have views more in line with the elitist section of the population (predominantly the better educated), and that policymakers' expectations and understanding of integration are more congruent with those of this group.

On this basis the research of attitudes is extended to include attitudes of politicians and bureaucrats at national and local government level. The research seeks to unravel possible divisions between the attitudes of elite policymakers, Danes and immigrants towards integration and issues related to it. Such differences may help to explain the relatively poor outcomes of integration policies in Denmark.

[8] New Public Management: The theory holds that introduction of market oriented management will lead to higher efficiency. More responsibilities are delegated to smaller units within the bureaucracy.

Investigating the above division the study also aims at building on the theory of social transaction costs and develop a theoretical framework combining social transaction costs with a social capital perspective, see below. This framework explores how the attitudes of native Danes and immigrants and their expectations to each other are governed by social transaction costs and their stock of certain dimensions of social capital.

However, it is not the aim of the thesis to construct a model that can offer universal explanations to integration outcomes. It only sets out to highlight a few dimensions of integration. Neither does it offer any direct insight into lack of structural integration. The approach taken predominantly concentrates on social relations and more fundamental attitudes that may advance or impede cultural integration of immigrants and thus indirectly affects their participation in the educational system or the labour market.

1.4. Developing the theoretical framework of the thesis.

A theoretical framework for this research must be able to meet two requirements: firstly, to provide insights into how various factors may affect attitudes of the actors; secondly, to relate the different factors to each other and by so provide a coherent understanding of the attitudes expressed (Pitidol, 2013:6). However, at this stage it must also be kept in mind that a fixed theoretical framework may not be fruitful as it is not advisable to approach the research burdened with preconceived theories (Lewis, 2003:49).

In researching integration of immigrants and the effect that immigrants have on the cohesion of societies, an increasing number of studies employ a social capital approach (Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000; Alesina et al, 2000; Torpe, 2003; Delhey, 2005; Nannestad, 1999, 2006; Nannestad et al, 2008; Gesthuizen et al, 2009; Dinesen, 2012). Social trust, membership of voluntary organisations and inter-ethnic contact are commonly dimensions of social capital, which are applied as indicators for upholding social cohesion in a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society.
Different studies do not show the same degree of social contact between Danes and immigrants. Though evidence is limited better educated Danes appear to have less contact with immigrants (Juul, 2002). Such assumption correlates with the tendency that immigrants hold low skill jobs and live in state subsidised multi-storey flats (Matthiessen, 2009).

Nannestad (2008) states that integration demands cooperation between immigrants and the natives. Building on the conceptions of bonding capital, which is group-specific and seen as inward looking and bridging capital, which is based on general trust and outward looking and not restricted to certain group specifications (ibid, 2008; Putnam, 2000), Nannestad deploys a "model" for analysing integration. He states that social capital, in its bridging and bonding dimension, may be one of "the missing links in formulating a coherent theory of integration or lack thereof, combining

the transaction cost approach from economics and the norm approach from sociology" (Nannestad, 2008: 609).
Thus, the theoretical framework incorporates elements of social capital and social transaction costs by investigating how contact with out-group members, and also social trust and membership of inter-ethnic organisations relate to acceptance of social transaction costs.

Applying the framework to Danes and immigrants the framework seeks to determine how attitudes of native Danes and immigrants and their expectations of each other are governed by social transaction costs. Researching social transaction costs may reveal to what extent people are willing on a personal level to accept incorporation of different norms and ways of living and throw light on their interest in socializing with out-group members. In the case of elite policymakers the framework aims to assess how social transaction costs, which they have experienced personally may influence their views. But the objective is also to clarify how policies advocated by them affect the distribution of social transaction costs among immigrants and Danes, and to determine whether such distribution affects the thinking of policymakers. The social capital aspect is mainly limited to the extent that elite policymakers have social contact with immigrants, as the interviews with elite policymakers did not collate data on other aspects of social capital.

Employing abstract notions in the analytical framework presents a methodological challenge. Firstly, the operationalization of the abstract notion of social transaction costs presents a discussion on how to conceptualize it. Secondly, applying the theory of social transaction costs requires us to find actual examples of such costs in the sampled population. It is important to emphasize that throughout the design phase it is essential to assure that constructs are valid and reliable. Construct validity refers to correct formulation of operational measures for the concepts being studied. Reliability denotes accuracy and precision of measurement (Yin, 1994; Dooley, 2002).

1.5. Research questions and methods employed to investigate them.

On the basis of the findings of my MPhil, the theoretical framework of the thesis and the review of previous research carried out on integration of immigrants two sets of research questions have been formulated. While focusing on key elements of the theory of social transaction costs the questions aim at disclosing any divergence of understanding of and expectation between elite policymakers and the general population regarding the integration of immigrants in Denmark, and testing the theoretical framework of social transaction costs and social capital.

Policymakers

The research questions that will be investigated with regards to the policy makers include:

- *How do the elite policymakers perceive integration and the challenges to society that integration of immigrants represents?*

- *How do policymakers' policy position, educational level and nature of their relationship with the public influence their attitudes? What is the level and nature of elite policymakers' contact with immigrants?*

Indicating a hypothesis testing approach to the analysis the following hypothesis is developed from the findings in the literature and research questions:

Hypothesis 1:

> *Policy makers tend to be governed by views dominated by the better educated part of the population and they endure lower social transaction costs than the public*

The study of attitudes of policymakers employs a case study method. This will be further discussed in chapter 4.

A qualitative study employing semi-structured interviews was the chosen mode of data collection for the investigation of policymakers. 42 semi-structured interviews were conducted with elite policy makers at national and municipality level. They included 17 Parliamentarians, 17 councillors, 3 senior civil servants at the Ministry of Refugees, Immigration and integration (MRII), 3 senior civil servants at local administrative level and 2 representatives, respectively of the national and a local ethnic council. Two interviews were carried out with academics, who are prominent scholars within their fields of research (related to integration of immigrants). They have regularly contributed to the public debate and as such sought to influence policy making. The interviews were conducted on the basis of topic guides.

<u>Danes and immigrants</u>

The analysis of the data collected amongst ordinary Danes and immigrants will be guided by the following research questions:

- *To what extent does level of education correlate with the extent and the nature of the contact ethnic Danes and immigrants have with each other?*
- *How do attitudes to various issues related to integration differ between Danes and immigrants? How does educational level and level of contact between ethnic Danes and immigrants correspond with these attitudes?*

On the basis of the research questions and the theories that the less resourceful are not as likely to accept social transaction costs and the better educated have less contact with immigrants, the following hypothesis is constructed:

Hypothesis 2:

> *Native Danes and non-Western immigrants' acceptance of social transaction costs is positively correlated with educational status and negatively correlated with their social contact with each other*

However, the proposition on social contact is expected to be less pronounced for immigrants. The better educated immigrants may be more likely to work and to live in environments dominated by Danes. It is expected to affect their social mixing with Danes positively.

For researching attitudes of Danes and immigrants a quantitative cross sectional survey design has been adopted. On-line questionnaires were used in order to collect data from Danes and immigrants. Data were collected from three sample sites. One sample consisted of employees at the municipality of a large provincial town in Denmark. Members of a labour union and immigrants attending a language school made up the second and third sample, respectively. In total, 577 people answered the questionnaire. Out of those 117 were immigrants with a non-Western background. The rationale for employing three sample sites rested on the need to construct a sample with a diverse socio-economic profile and a sufficient number of immigrants, see chapter 9. Prior to collecting data the study of the thesis and its applied methods were approved by the Central University Research Ethics Committee (CUREC).

1.6. Contribution of the thesis

The thesis will hopefully demonstrate the advantage of employing a multi-discipline framework and help to remove any reservations concerning the use of theories from economics in immigrant studies. Applying the combined concept of social transaction costs and social capital as the analytical framework will add an original contribution to the comprehensive understanding of factors influencing integration of immigrants in a welfare state. By including three main actors, immigrants, Danes and elite policymakers, in the same comparative study and applying a rational choice theory as the explanatory framework we may get a more balanced insight into their attitudes without victimizing any of the actors. In a rational choice context they are all rational, active players. However, Nannestad points out that the theory of social transaction costs is teleological, and the employment of an alternative theoretical framework must not be seen as a rejection of more conventional approaches to researching integration of immigrants. The contribution of this thesis rests mainly from the different perspective that it offers of the contention between a homogenous welfare state and its new members who are unfamiliar with its conventions and expectations.

1.7. Structure of the thesis

The thesis has eleven chapters. This chapter introduces the thesis, indicating a gap in the current research into the integration of immigrants and outline the theoretical framework and research questions.

Chapter 2 is the first of two chapters reviewing the literature in order to establish an understanding of some of the central elements contained in the concept of integration, and provide a basic understanding of the environment in which integration takes place. This chapter concerns an understanding of the concepts of identity and integration. Identity is a key component of

integration, and the review examines it at group level in the shape of ethnic identity and at national level, making a distinction between national identity and nationalism. This investigation leads to an inquiry into what constitutes integration. This section also includes a brief review of the principal discussion in the literature regarding integration strategies: the compatibility of multi-culturalism and the welfare state.

Chapter 3 provides a description of Denmark and in particular the welfare state. The welfare state is central to the national identity of Danes, and it forms the framework for the inclusion of immigrants into society. A review of the attitudes of Danes is divided into two dimensions: how these attitudes are being expressed in the public debate and how the Danish Government through integration policies formulates them. Finally, an overview of integration outcomes will conclude this section of the chapter.

Chapter 4 formulates the theoretical framework. As the development of the framework must be seen in the context of conventional approaches to the studying of attitudes of Danes and immigrants this chapter initially presents a review of previous attitudinal studies. This leads to the presentation of the theoretical framework. The aim of the framework is stated. It incorporates social capital and the theory of social transaction costs. The content of those two concepts are discussed. The chapter outlines the analytical tools, bridging and bonding capital, and other dimensions of social capital related to integration of immigrants. Opposing views on solidarity, the diversity argument versus post-materialism, are discussed. The theory of social transaction costs is presented and factors affecting an individual's experience of social transaction costs are sketched out. Finally, the chapter closes with an outline of the application of the framework in the thesis.

Chapter 5 presents the research methodology adopted for studying attitudes of elite policymakers. Initially the chapter explains why the study of elite policymakers is approached as a case study and the benefits of doing so.

Next, the research design is outlined. It includes a description of the characteristics of *elite interviews*. The interviews were semi-structured and conducted on the basis of topic guides. The objectives and rationales of the interviews are drawn up. This is followed by an account of the sampling of interviewees, which includes a description of the sampling sites and a depiction of the sample frame. A purposive sampling method was adopted. Finally, the applied structure and strategies for the conduction of interviews is described, and the analysis of data is sketched out.

Chapter 6 is the first of three chapters drawing on the attitudes of policy makers. First the chapter presents a profile of the policy makers and the political makeup of the Danish Parliament. The chapter then illuminates elite policymakers' perception of integration and its biggest challenges. The elite policymakers are then quizzed about their views on the structural integration of immigrants. The examination also encompasses interviewees' understanding of the concept "Danish norms and values". Their views on the impact that immigration may have on the welfare

state and the role of Islam in society are also discussed. The chapter closes with an analysis of their expressed views within the theoretical framework and on the basis of their policy position.

Chapter 7 follows up on the previous chapter**.** It investigates the attitudes of elite policymakers towards certain policies on integration. Initially, attitudes towards Start Assistance are presented. However, the main focus of the chapter is on the extent to which the interviewees accept that the state can interfere in the private lives of immigrants. This section includes the positions of elite policymakers on policies affecting gender role, marriage pattern, housing pattern of immigrants and bussing ethnic students. The presentation of the findings concludes with a demonstration of the Centre Left politicians' change of attitude towards integration policies. The discussion of the findings is presented under three headings: Pros and cons of Start Assistance, perspectives on cultural integration and the policy changes of the Left.

Chapter 8 explores the elite policy makers' relationship with the public. The chapter focuses on factors shaping the attitudes of the elite policymakers, such as public opinion, level of contact with immigrants and ethnic organisations and policy position. Regarding policy positions elite policymakers self-assessment of their influence on policies are laid out. Secondly, interviewees' contact with immigrants and their views will be compared with their educational background. The analysis of the findings is done within the framework of social transaction cost, and from the vantage point of the policy position of the elite policymakers and the impact of the public debate.

Chapter 9 outlines the methodology of the quantitative survey of attitudes of Danes and immigrants. The chapter starts out by discussing what constitutes suitable research data for this research and reviewing the suitability of international surveys. The investigation reveals that primary data collection is necessary in order to answer the research questions.

The chapter moves on to outline the research design. It includes a description of mode of data collection (an on-line questionnaire), sample strategy, sampling sites, procedures for collecting data and a description of the composition of the questionnaire. This section is followed by an account of the mode of data analysis. External validity of the survey is briefly discussed. The sample is very biased along gender and educational lines, and statistical weights are introduced. Finally the chapter presents the profile of the sample. The data on these parameters are tabulated and compared with data from Statistics Denmark on the general population.

Chapter 10 covers the quantitative survey of Danes and immigrants. This chapter compares the attitudes of Danes and immigrants. It demonstrates the relation between education and social relations with out-group members and various attitudes related to integration. First the chapter presents a descriptive analysis based on the findings of the attitudinal survey of Danes and immigrants in the thesis. That is followed by inference analyses. Ordered logistic regression models are employed for the analyses. First the association between level of education and the extent and form of social contact between Danes and immigrants is presented. Another set of models test the relationship between attitudes of Danes and immigrants and predictors of those

attitudes. The models also employ mediating variables. The characteristics of mediating variables are outlined and their relationship with dependent and independent variables in the models are demonstrated. The findings of the analyses lead to a discussion examining social contact between Danes and immigrants and a comparison of their attitudes. The discussion focuses on determinants of attitudes and immigrants' and Danes' acceptance of social transaction costs.

Chapter 11 concludes the thesis by comparing the findings of the study of elite policymakers and the survey of Danes and immigrants. The comparison focuses on the different actors' social contact with out-group members and possible differences in their attitudes. The chapter highlights the main findings and discusses them in a policy context and within the concept of social transaction costs. The discussion leads to some suggestions for re-evaluating existing integration policies. Finally, the chapter closes with some thoughts on the contribution of the thesis, and some acknowledgement of the limitations of the thesis and the theory of rational choice.

Chapter 2: Conceptualization of key features of integration

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2. Introduction

This chapter is the first of two chapters, which deals with the complexities of the concept of integration and its interrelationship with the social environment in which it evolves. The chapters outline an investigation of integration of immigrants in Denmark as well as formulating relevant research questions. The review of the literature outlines key components of integration and the circumstances in which integration of immigrants in Denmark and this research project proceed.

This chapter provides an understanding of the concepts of identity and integration. Integration is a highly politicized concept, attributed different values according to political orientation. It is, therefore, purposeful to review what integration implies and how different perceptions of ethnic and national identity and integration leads to diverse integration strategies. Initially, the first section of the chapter discusses what an ethnic group constitutes and how group identification is believed to be associated with national identity. This investigation leads to a review defining integration and outlining integration strategies. Particular interest is given to the compatibility of normative universalism and multiculturalism as this relationship is very pertinent in a Danish perspective.

Finally, the chapter provides a brief summary of the conceptualization of identity and integration.

2.1 Identity.

Many dimensions of identity affect the process of integration. Integration involves some degree of identification with the social environment, and it is associated with the term *belonging* (Schmidt, 2007). However, forms of identity and belonging find themselves in a process of transmutation at a time when societies become multi-ethnic, and globalization provokes a stronger ethnic, regional and individual consciousness (Smith, 1983; Hedetoft, 2006a; Kaspersen, 2007). In "eras of rapid social mobilization, people have an overriding need to feel that they belong to a community, hierarchy or belief system" (Smith, 1991:356).

Commentators disagree on defining the meaning of "nation", "ethnic group" and national identity. Contrary to popular sentiment, but in line with the view of "true humanism" that humanity cannot be divided into gender, race or ethnicity (Kaspersen, 2007:581), commentators increasingly define ethnicity along social lines, concentrating on relational dimensions. In the following review the changing definitions of national and ethnic identity will be considered in the context of societies becoming multi-ethnic and multi-cultural. An understanding of how nations and ethnic groups are conceptualized will help us to analyse individuals' self identification and their attitudes towards the level of assimilation to which immigrants must conform.

2.1.1.Ethnic identity

Commentators disagree profoundly how ethnic groups relate to a nation and in particular what constitutes ethnicity. Ethnic groups are commonly demarcated culturally, but the literature reveals that many commentators find such ascription too delimiting and define ethnic groups in relational terms, see below.

Cultural demarcation

Ethnic groups are commonly perceived as people with a common language, religion and culture and with specific customs shared within the group and by so establishing a shared identity (Miller, 1995). In European countries one dominant ethnic group often defines the national identity. With culture being a dominant marker of ethnicity, it may be hard for incoming ethnic minorities to find values within that national identity with which they can identify (Miller, 1995). Ethnic groups often see themselves as extended families, where common descent and common physical features and culture, is more dominant than in most national identities and that makes assimilation to and from other groups problematic (ibid, 1995).

Social demarcation

Many see the prominence of cultural properties as markers of ethnic identification that serves to differentiate immigrants from the majority population (Benhabib, 2002; Hervik, 2006). Concerns are raised that reification of cultural identity overlooks social characteristics and leads to discrimination of ethnic groups. It is claimed that discrimination of immigrants in recent years has transformed from ideological racism to a more subtle discrimination on cultural grounds (Hervik, 2006: 263).

Some commentators (Schmidt et al, 2000; Benhabib, 2002; Østergaard, 2007; Agius, 2013), search for more dynamic definitions of identity. They reject a cultural definition, as those assume that identity is static and complete (Agius, 2013). Approaching identity in such a manner suggests that contrasting identities cause disorder (ibid, 2013:243). This group of scholars study identity in discursive terms, meaning various forms of representation and practices (ibid: 2013). Benhabib (2002:62) argues that ethnic groups are "loose associations" of voluntary immigrants, whose uniqueness are bounded in their family lives and in voluntary organizations.

2.1.2. National identity

National identity is represented by the "ideas" around which a nation is claimed to unite (Østergaard, 2007), while the ideology of national identity is nationalism. It covers the process of forming nations and the consciousness of belonging to a nation (Lane et al, 2002; Østergaard, 2007).

Territorial borders demarcate the nation state, which is defined in judicial and political terms (Gundelach, 2001). Two antagonistic notions of what constitutes the idea of a nation and national

identity have developed (Gaasholt et al, 1995). However, both notions state that national identity is foremost about *feeling of belonging*.

Cultural nations

Some commentators see nations as cultural nations with natural unifications of ethnic groups, defined by common physical characteristics, historical faith and cultures and with a historical affinity to their own territory (Smith, 1983; Østerud, 1991; Larsen, 2008). Smith (1991:365) states that an "ethnic nucleus" is essential for developing a national identity.

Miller demonstrates that nations share beliefs and mutual commitments, and national identity is an essential identification for the individual citizen, as it links him to a certain geographical space (Miller, 2000). Nations appear to attribute to themselves a higher degree of homogeneity than their people actually display, but it provides people with a sense of belonging and a common historical identity. Nations are ethical communities with common public cultures, and its members owe special obligations to it fellow members, which they do not owe to people outside the nation (ibid, 1995). Miller (1995) talks about ethical universalism and ethical particularism, the latter meaning that one gives more weight to special relationships, such as countrymen.

Many commentators see nation and state as two overlapping entities (Østerud, 1991; Larsen, 2008). Other authors emphasize that nation and state are two different entities, just as ethnicity is not necessarily the basis of a nation (Miller, 1995; Gundelach, 2001). Most commentators find that Denmark is a strong cultural nation where state and nation overlap, not just because of common history, but because the welfare state itself is an integral part of the national identity (Gundelach, 2001; Østergaard, 2007).

Imagined community

Other commentators see nations as "imagined communities". Identity is foremost a discursive concept in which the nation is an abstract idea that manifests itself in certain historical circumstances (Smith, 1988). Nations are communities based on subjective ideas about nationality. People share a mental image of their country, its various characteristic features and an idea of what is distinctive for the national character (Hvenegård-Lassen, 1996; Parekh, 2000).

The more radical proponents of the imagery in creation of a national consciousness represent a rather Marxist view of nation-building. They see the imagery as an attempt to control mass mobilization. Gellner (2008) claimed in his seminal work, Nations and Nationalism, that the imagined community serve economic objectives. He argued that national movements and ideologies emerged first, and then suitable national identities equipped with fabricated stories and lies were constructed to serve the upholding of the economic order of a society.

2.2. Nationalism

Nationalism as a political and cultural entrenched ideology is of fairly recent date (Thøgersen et al, 2011). Being an essential political discourse that legitimizes political aspirations it becomes a political instrument (ibid, 2011; Østergaard, 2007). In relation to globalization and the need to associate with the local community A. D. Smith (1983) points out how ethnic nationalism becomes part of European identity politics, as Western politics transform from class politics to politics separated into local ethnic, regional, national and global levels. In his argument, that nationalism is a political ideology, he emphasizes three main objectives of nationalism: national autonomy, national unity and national identity (Thøgersen et al, 2011). Hitherto, A.D. Smith (1983: 171) defines nationalism as "an ideological movement, for the attainment and maintenance of self-government and independence on behalf of a group, some of whose members conceive it to constitute an actual or potential nation like others".

Other commentators find this definition too romantic. In line with the above Marxist argument, they condemn nationalism as a "protecting guard " of the majority population (Smith, 1983), who assign their own nationality precedence over other nationalities (Andersen et al, 2011; Borre, 2011). They "create forced unity out of diversity, coherence out of inconsistencies, and homogeneity out of narrative dissonance" (Benhabib, 2002:16).

2.3. Integration

This section of the chapter concerns the concept of "integration". It will provide analytical tools for investigating individual behaviour and preferences of immigrants and Danes in their interaction with each other or lack thereof. It also seeks to define what integration entails and outline the most conventional integration strategies to help in the analysis of integration policies in Denmark. That will focus on their compatibility with the maintenance of the welfare state, as this is a central point in the discussions with Danish policymakers.

Analyzing integration we can differentiate between social and system integration, which echoes the difference between political and social integration. Theories of social integration depart from the individual or group perspective. They are concerned with social contact between members of ethnic groups, or ethnic discrimination and adverse structural conditions (Coenders, 2003).

System integration refers to policies of a state, both in terms of granting rights to ethnic minorities and of matters that influence the minority's social and economic conditions. Applying an analysis of system integration involves investigating the political framework, within which integration takes place, and various actors' compliance with state policies.

First, various definitions of integration will be presented. Second, within the paradigm of social integration various integration theories will be discussed. This will lead to a discussion of national strategies to integrate immigrants into society.

2.3.1. Political denotation of integration

In the context of immigration, integration refers to some kind of co-existence between a minority and a majority population, and it can take place at various levels of society. It is equally a very powerful notion that determines who fits and who does not fit into society (Olwig, 2007). Commentator, such as Parekh (1998), Rasmussen (2000), Togeby (2003) and Nannestad (2008), commonly use integration as a paradigm that includes all strategies incorporating minority groups into the majority society, while the public often equates integration with assimilation, (Parekh, 1998).

Definition of integration

The previous chapter distinguished between a political and social denotation of integration. It was highlighted that we in our daily talk speak of integration as a political project that aims at taking up foreigners in society. Integration is a normative concept, which is unmistakenably positive and clearly associated with social cohesion (Olwig et al, 2007, Johncke,2007). Ejrnæs (2002: 2) states that "the intent of integration is used as a positive concept, which legitimizes a number of policies and actions aimed at immigrants".

Social cohesion is a key concept in the literature on integration of immigrants. Scholars (Mikkelsen, 2001; Schmidt, 2002; Jopke, 2007) emphasize that integration encompasses not only the individual's position in relation to society but also the cohesion of society. However, social cohesion does not necessarily mean justice or equality of outcome (Collins, 2003). But it may refer to the construction of a collective identity, to society's capacity to maintain order and resolve conflicts and assure equal opportunities for all (Jensen, 2001; Joopke, 2007).

In line with the latter dimension Coleman (1999:135) defines integration as "opportunities to immigrants to move freely in the geographical, social and economic space". In opposition to this, particularly Danish scholars see integration more comprehensively as a process where ethnic minorities become socially and economically equal with the majority population (Mikkelsen, 2001; Schmidt, 2002; Rasmussen, 2006; Nannestad et al, 2008; Thomsen, 2008). Social citizenship is the key instrument to include immigrants in society; that is emphasizing participation, rights and duties to promote a feeling of belonging (Schmidt, 2002:69).The latter definition, compared with the former by Coleman, includes normative aspects that infer relational dimensions of integration. The thesis will depart from this definition of integration. Hence, when analyzing integration of immigrants, Danes and their contribution to the integration process must, therefore, also be investigated.

2.3.2. Social integration

Social integration departs from an individual or group perspective and concentrate on relationships between immigrants and the native population. It is commonly analysed within the paradigms:

intergroup contact and resistance theories. Where the former paradigm often analyses integration from the perspective of immigrants' ability or willingness to accept acculturation, the latter theories are based on defensive or exclusive attitudes of the native population impeding integration of the newcomers. Which vantage point is taken to analyse integration will strongly affect any conclusions made. Measures investigating social relations are prone to put immigrants at fault, focusing on parallel communities while giving less attention to immigrants' disadvantaged position. In contrast, resistance theories tend to victimize immigrants explaining integration outcomes from the perspective of discrimination.

Intergroup contact

Intergroup contact theory claims that increased interaction between members of ethnic groups enhances integration as it reduces prejudices. It is based on the assumption that lack of knowledge about each other is an important source of aversion (Allport, 1979; Pettigrew,1998; Mikkelsen 2001), while interaction leads to adaptation of other cultures through acculturation (Kankaras et al, 2012). It is believed that the main determinants of this mechanism are duration of immigration spells and equal social status of contacts (ibid, 2012).

Resistance theories

Other perspectives approach the integration process from an ethno-cultural perspective. The European Monitoring Centre for Racism and Xenophobia emphasises prejudice and discrimination against immigrants, which are referred to as *ethnic exclusionism* (Coenders, 2003). The term encapsulates "a multitude of social phenomena related to majorities that try to or set out to exclude minorities" (ibid: 2003:1). Ethnic exclusionism is believed to grow with an increased influx of immigrants (ibid, 2003). This, however, seems to contradict the theory of intergroup contact. Social status, degree of religiosity and ethnicity are believed to affect the mechanisms (Kankaras et al, 2012).

Conflict or Contest Theory states that "if a basic welfare interest or attained values are threatened, or one appears to loose out in the competition of goods of the society, it may lead to negative reactions, either against those who obtain a relative gain or against the system, which allows them their gains" (Hernes et al, 1989:28). Equally, if members of an ethnic group feel unfairly treated by society, the more likely they are to regard members of other ethnic groups as threats (Kankaras et al, 2012).

2.3.3. System integration

System integration is commonly divided into various categories based on the state's policies on upholding ethnic minorities' cultural characteristics (Parekh, 1998). In a European context, three models, the nationalist, the liberal and the plural model are relevant for analysing integration regimes.

Nationalist model

This model seeks to ensure that newcomers alter their practice and assimilate[9] into a common national culture, adopting a common language and national identity to assure a stable and cohesive state and thereby build up bonds of solidarity (Parekh, 1998; Banting et al, 2003).

The prominence of consensus on universal values and a nucleus culture is central for the thesis of assimilation (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1990; Mikkelsen, 2001). Assimilation implies various stages of inclusion, from marginalization in society to upward economic mobility. In that process the immigrant familiarizes himself with the dominant culture and acceptable social behaviour. Social contacts extent to people outsid own ethnic group, and own traditions are given up as the immigrants merge with society in a non-submissive harmonious synergy (Park, 1974). Naturally, Proponents of assimilation tend to analyse integration within the theory of intergroup contact.

Most scholars (Schierup, 1993; Parekh, 1998) find that assimilation is an incoherent doctrine. Society is never homogeneous, and it is, therefore, unclear to what one has to assimilate (Entzinger et al, 2003). Further, with individualization there is no national consciousness to secure durable integration (Beck et al, 2001). Critics of assimilation also point to discriminatory and racist undertones of the concept. When membership of society is measured in cultural conformity, ethnicity is turned into a barrier for integration (Schmidt, 2002), and the preservation of a national uniform culture may simply breach the human rights of individuals to uphold their own identity (Benhabib, 2002).

Liberal model

It is also referred to as the bifurcationist model. Citizens share a common political culture and a broad view of national identity. The unity of society is located in the public realm, whereas diversity belongs to the private realm, which includes not just family but also neighbourhood and communal associations (Parekh, 1998; Banting et al, 2003).

Parekh (2000) argues that a combination of a mono-cultural public realm, which is institutionalized, with a multi-cultural private realm will most likely lead to the former undermining the latter and the establishment of an illegitimate reification of national and ethno-cultural identities over other forms (Benhabib, 2002:60).

Plural model

In the pluralist model the society is split into partly independent sections, which amalgamate at a higher level to form a societal unit (Schierup, 1993). The public realm institutionalizes diversity, and facilities, such as special rights, should be created to further develop ethnic groups' identity (Entzinger et al, 2003). Prevailing political values, ceremonies and national identity should be

[9] Assimilate means according to Collins Dictionary: "absorb or to be absorbed or incorporated" (Collins Dictionary & Thesaurus, 2002, Harper Collins Publishers).

revised in order to reflect the diversity of the society. The private realms are not to be left as totally separate from the public realm, but must be supported and encouraged to develop as equal and publicly recognized pillars of the whole community. Parekh talks about "community of communities" (Parekh, 2000). Within the liberal and pluralist model preferential treatment in employment is favoured in order to curb existing socio-economic disadvantages or discrimination (Young, 1990; Kymlicka, 1995; Jensen, 2001). It follows that investigation of integration in a society displaying either a liberal or plural model of integration commonly takes place within the framework of resistance theories.

Some authors, such as Rasmussen (2001) consider both the liberal and plural models as resting on a multicultural approach to integration whereas Parekh (2000) and Modood (2007) see the liberal model as a hybrid of assimilation and multicultural traits. Authors agree that multiculturalism is based on the perception that an individual's autonomy is inextricably bound to his cultural defined identity, and that mutual recognition of individuals entails a mutual recognition of cultures. But those leaning more towards the liberal model emphasize that while immigrants are given rights that will protect them against unfair adjustment burdens, such as special educational offers and exemptions on dress codes, they at the same time must adjust to the norms and regulations of the society (Brochman, 2002; Togeby 2003).

2.3.4. The compatibility of normative universalism and a multicultural integration model

A multicultural approach to integration is often depicted as inevitable in light of increased globalisation and the multi-ethnic composition of societies. The question is whether normative universalism and a pluralist and contesting view of cultures can be reconciled. (Barry, 2001; Benhabib, 2002). Hence, this question is of particular interest in Denmark with its comprehensive welfare state.

Reservations about multiculturalism rest mainly on a conflict between the entitlement of special rights to minorities and the sustainability of the welfare state and a liberal society (Banting et al, 2003; Togeby, 2003). Barry (2001) argues that multi-cultural policies do not promote equality, but divert efforts away from universalistic goals. He claims that ethno-cultural fragmentation is antithetical to interpersonal trust, and mutual solidarity is a prerequisite for effective government. Kitschlet et al (1997) and Goodhart (2004) indicate that cultural diversity may threaten the redistributive schemes of the welfare state. They ask the question whether the welfare state is faced with a trade-off: To continue economic redistribution within a stable, fairly ethnically homogeneous community or to give up the welfare state in favour of ethnic pluralisation.

Many scholars oppose this viewpoint. Banting et al (2003) refer to studies[10] done in OECD countries, which investigate whether growing levels of ethnic diversity and multicultural policies undermine the support for the redistributive welfare state. They found that countries with large

[10] The sample of countries included western countries with democratic political institutions. The measures in the survey were trust, public spending as a % of GDP, child poverty rate, inequality and redistribution.

foreign-born populations over three decades had no problems either sustaining or developing social programs. A study by Taylor-Gooby (2005) of European welfare states reached a similar conclusion. He demonstrates that left-wing politics counteract the effect of ethnic diversity on welfare states in Europe. However, Koning (2013) demonstrates on the basis of a study of 14 Western welfare states that, despite weak evidence that immigration leads to the majority population withdrawing its support for a redistributive welfare state, immigration has made people more selective towards whom they want to show solidarity.

2.4. Summary of the conceptualization of identity and integration

This chapter describes how ethnic groups and nations define themselves and how these perceptions are associated with the understanding of *integration*. Identity, at group and national level, is an essential component of integration and it is closely associated with a feeling of belonging. Cultural demarcation is central when defining ethnic and national identity. Conventionally, ethnic groups are perceived as people with a common language, religion and culture. Nations are natural unification of such groups, which have a common culture and historical affinity to their own territory. Denmark is by most commentators described as a cultural nation where nation and state overlap.

At a time when nations become multi-ethnic many commentators lean towards a social demarcation of ethnic groups, emphasizing relational dimensions in their definition. In line with this, commentators talk about nations as "imagined communities, which are based on subjective ideas of what constitute characteristics of a nation. The section on identity finishes with an account of nationalism and how this concept has become part of European identity politics.

The second part of the chapter deals with the political and social denotation of integration. Commentators agree that integration denotes some kind of order and is closely associated with social cohesion. We can differentiate between social and system integration. Social integration concerns contact between members of ethnic groups. Theories on social integration revolve around the effect of social contact between members of ethnic groups, magnitude of influx of immigrants and competition of goods. Finally, the chapter describes integration strategies adopted by a state. Commonly, integration policies are divided into an assimilative model or two representations of multiculturalism (liberal and plural model). Most commentators find that Denmark leans towards an assimilative integration regime.

Chapter 3: The case of Denmark

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3. Introduction

This chapter provides a brief description of Denmark, as it is essential to understand the economic, cultural and political contexts into which immigrants are expected to integrate. Integration is a two way process involving immigrants and the recipient society (Danes) and it aims at maintaining a coherent society. This involves equal participation of immigrants in the civic life, in the labour market and in political processes. In order to analyse what is understood by *coherence* of the Danish society, we must then look at what constitutes the fundamental values of this society and how its citizens are expected to behave and contribute to uphold those ideas. This also includes examining integration policies that the government finds relevant for sustaining the coherence of the society.

In Denmark the welfare state provides an important framework for maintaining coherence and thereby also the incorporation of immigrants (Olwig, 2011). The review, therefore, focuses on the factors seen as essential for the development and maintenance of the welfare state and cultural traits of the country. It also outlines the immigration to Denmark, attitudes of Danes towards immigrants and Danish integration policies and their outcome.

Danish identity is closely linked to the welfare state and the debate on immigrants mainly concentrates on the sustainability of the Danish welfare model in light of the increased number of immigrants. Questions are raised whether it is financially viable to uphold a high level of social security and free health care and education and whether the newcomers identify themselves with the values that underpin the welfare state.

In light of the above conundrum the description of the nation state of Denmark, focuses initially on theories of the founding values of the welfare state and its importance for the national identity. An examination of attitudes of Danes towards immigrants will follow the description of the welfare state. The assessment will be carried out at two levels. By looking at the public debate, attitudes of ordinary Danes will be presented. At national level attitudes are inferred by outlining integration policies implemented by the Danish governments. Such inquiry will enable us to construct a frame of reference when analysing attitudes extrapolated from the interviews with policymakers and ordinary citizens. In Denmark, the tone of the public debate on immigrants and in particular on the role of Islam in society has been a focal point. These issues have also been discussed with policymakers from the perspective of their relationship with ordinary citizens. Therefore, this section looks at commentators' view of the public debate on immigrants and Muslims in Denmark and the relationship between policymakers and ordinary Danes in this debate.

As an introduction to the section covering attitudes of Danes an outline of immigration and a numeric account of ethnic groups in Denmark will be presented. Finally, an overview of integration outcomes will conclude the chapter.

3.1. The welfare state in a historical perspective

Denmark is a small country that has lost territorial grandness. It has evolved into a modern state largely through cooperative movements based in a rural, agricultural society (Olwig, 2011:180). It has built up a national identity of a *folk,* with a strong territorial identification. After the reduction of the Danish conglomerate state in 1864[11] Denmark developed into an ethnic state with a view of its identity denoted by blood, birth and language (Agius, 2013). A democracy emphasizing the participation of ordinary people emerged based on peasant enlightenment, and at the turn of the 20th century the urban working class was incorporated into this ideal of enlightenment and social solidarity (ibid: 2013). This development was promoted under the slogan "Denmark for the People" (Kærgård: 2010: 150). To this day that slogan reflects Danes' conception of themselves and their country as very authentic and anti-elitist (Jørgensen, 2006). Social liberalism, face to face solutions and social leveling in public life are, according to Danes, virtues of their culture (Mouritsen et al, 2009).

3.2. Founding values and characteristics of the welfare state

As in other European nations the building of a welfare state became part of the nation-building process (Wolfe et al, 1997) and today there is an overlap between the nation state and the welfare state (Larsen, 2008). The latter is understood as the institutionalization of welfare as a social system of rights in a state concept (Rasmussen, 2006). The Danish welfare state is founded on a commitment to egalitarianism upheld with state intervention and regulation. It is based on the universalist 'Nordic model', characterized by a system of generous, universalistic income transfers (Nannestad, 2004:298) and social rights based on citizenship/residence and not contribution (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Olwig, 2011).

The strong cultural notion of equality has manifested itself notably in attitudes towards income and gender (Olwig, 2011). Though inequality has grown in Denmark since the 1990s (Baadsgaard, 2005) and the proportion of the population living in relative poverty has grown along an increase of non-western immigrants (Kærgaard, 2010), Denmark still has one of the lowest income inequalities in the world (OECD, 2011). Both men and women display high labour market participation as a result of a strong commitment to employment, which Andersen (2007) sees as an implicit cultural precondition of the Danish welfare state. Work is almost a constitutional right, because unemployment poses a threat to the welfare state (Stenius, 1997).

[11] In the 18th century Denmark was a conglomerate state that included the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, Iceland, Norway, the Faroe Islands and Greenland. With the loss of Schleswig and Holstein a conflict between German and Danish culture and language within the state ceased.

Students of social policy often idealize the Scandinavian welfare states, and scholars have studied why this region has been successful in developing a model state. Several authors point to the fact that the countries have been very homogeneous culturally in terms of ethnicity, religion (Lutheran) and language (Karvonen, 1999; Gundelach, 2011). This "sameness" might have mediated the development of nations reconciling to a nationalism in which consensus, equality, open democracy and solidarity are core values (Kærgård, 2006; Campbell et al, 2006; Schmidt, 2011; Agius, 2013). Such, solidarity has broadened from class to nation, which implies that everybody must do their share (Stjernøe, 2005). Kærgård (2006) contends that the combination of the smallness of Denmark and its homogeneity foster a high level of social cohesion and social capital. On the basis of the European Value Survey 2008 Gundelach (2011) concludes that social trust is the norm of the Danish society, and Denmark is regarded as a "high trust country" (Delhey, 2005).

The welfare state forms the framework of the lives of all Danes (Joncke, 2007). Hansen (2002: 58) notes that while building the welfare state it "came to represent internal unity and solidified a popular nationalism akin to democratization from below". *Folkestyre* (rule by the people) is at the centre of Danish political discourse and policy (Agius, 2013:245). In a political structure described as pragmatic and conciliatory (Karvonen, 1991) there is a tradition of strong political participation, both individually and collectively, through organised groups (Castles et al, 1987). In Denmark an important element in the education of democratic principles and procedures is also a rich tradition of voluntary organisations and voluntary work (Boje, 2007).

3.2.1. Important institutions in the Danish welfare state: *Folkeskolen* and *Folkekirken*

Two unifying institutions within the welfare state are the state school, *folkeskolen,* (the people's school) and the state church, *folkekirken* (The People's Church). Folkeskolen's encompassing nature underlines the principles of equality, and it is an important instrument for equipping citizens with key values of the society, such as democracy, reciprocity and equality (Ministry of Education, 2009). However, until recently nearly 96% of students in elementary and lower secondary education attended folkeskolen, but by 2011 that number had dropped to 84% (statistics Denmark, 2013a).

Danes strongly emphasize that Denmark is a secular country. Paradoxically, *Folkekirken*, The Evangelical Lutheran Church, is a state church, financed entirely by the central Government. Parish councils administrate local churches, but generally the public takes very little interest in the running of their local church.

The church never interferes in political debates. Traditionally, religion has no role in public life and religious symbols are generally not found in the public room. Gundelach et al (2007) describe the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church as the world's weakest monopoly church. In the interview

with Peter Gundelach[12], he argues that Danes foremost see the Church as a Danish cultural rather than religious institution unifying people around certain ceremonies, such as baptism, weddings and Christmas. Membership is voluntary and 80% of the population are members[13] (Lutheran Church, 2014). However, few Danes associate themselves with Christian scriptures, and only 2% attend Sunday services (ibid, 2007).

Still, Christianity and nation are closely connected as this symbiosis operates as a "metaphysical backdrop" for Danish mentality (ibid:1, 2007). Gundelach et al (2007) write that there are strong protestant traits in the Danish society. The idea of a universal welfare state and the notion of equality is believed to be rooted in the Lutheran doctrine that we are all equal in our relationship with God. The Grundtvig[14] Lutheran notion of awakening emphasizes open-mindedness, tolerance and liberty, epitomized in standing up for one's belief rather than insisting on one's rights (Mouritsen et al, 2009).

3.3. Composition of immigrant population in Denmark

Prior to the arrival of the first guest workers in the late 1960's only Northern European immigrants were seen in Denmark. But since the 1960s and up till recently the annual intake of immigrants has come primarily from non-Western countries. By the time of an immigration stop for guest workers in 1973 about 19.000 people had been recruited mainly from Turkey, Pakistan and the former Yugoslavia (Rasmussen, 1997).

Overall the immigration policy in Denmark has been to say "no" to guest workers but to accept immigration on humanitarian grounds (Nielsen, 2004). After the suspension of guest worker inflow the composition of immigrants changed. Now it consisted largely of refugees and members of the families of the migrant workers and refugees[15] (Matthiessen, 2009). In the 1980's Denmark received a limited number of refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia and Chile, and it was not until the late 80's that immigration really took off with the arrival of Iranian, Lebanese and Iraqi refugees. Later there were also Tamils and Palestinians followed by Somalis and especially Bosnians.

In the period 1992 - 2001 Denmark granted political asylum to a higher proportion of asylum seekers than any other country (Nielsen, 2004) totalling around 65.000 (Statistics Denmark, 2006). By 2011 around 25% of all immigrants, 106.236, had refugee status (Statistics Denmark, 2011).

Simultaneously family reunification grew dramatically from a few thousands in the late 80's to 10.950 in 2001 (Statistics Denmark, 2006) and accounted for 40% of all immigration in the 90's

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12 [12] Professor Peter Gundelach, Department of Sociology, University of Copenhagen. One of two scholars interviewed for the thesis.

[13] Members of the church pay a church tax, which is income based. The tax is paied in conjunction with income tax.

[14] Grundtvig is a Danish priest from the 19th century; perceived to be the spiritual father of *folkekirken*, and his person is closely linked to Danish nationalism. His words in a song "when few have too little and less too much" have become the dogma of the welfare state.

[15] In Denmark there are no official estimate of illegal immigrants. Compared with other European countries the number of illegal immigrants is insignificant, though some rejected asylum seekers have been known to overstay their permit.

(Liebig, 2007). Immigration laws were tightened in 2001. The number of residence permits granted to asylum seekers dropped from an average of 5000 a year to 2250 in 2011 while family reunifications in the same period fell to 2914 (Statistics Denmark, 2012a).

3.3.1. Immigration to Denmark 2001-2011 and projections for the future

In the first decade of the millennium the composition of immigrants changed. Economic immigrants from A8 countries[16], particularly from Poland, dominated immigration. By January 2011 there were 29.864 Poles in Denmark (Statistics Denmark, 2013b), making it the second largest immigrant group in the country.

In 2011 the number of immigrants and descendants from non-Western countries in Denmark amounted to 372.836, or 6.7% of the total population, with the Turkish community being the biggest, numbering 60.031 (Statistics Denmark, 2013b), see table 3.1. It is estimated that 85 - 90% of non-Western immigrants are Muslims. The non-Western immigrant population has doubled within two decades and now accounts for about 66% of all immigrants. With higher fertility rates among some non-Western immigrants (Pedersen, 1999) and with 69% of descendants being under 15 years of age[17] (Statistics Denmark, 2013b) the population of non-Western origin is set to grow much more than the native population and reach 728.000 by 2050, equivalent to 12.1% of the population (MRII, 2009).

[16] A8 is an acronym for the 8 Eastern European countries that joined the EU in 2004. They are the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia

[17] Estimate made on own calculations of figures in Statbank, FOLK1 (Statistics Denmark, 2013b)

Table 3.1: Immigrants and descendants in Denmark according to number, ethnic composition, type of immigration, onset of migration and prevalent religion in country of origin, 2011

Country of origin	Immigrants	Descendants	Total	Percentage of all foreigners in Denmark	Percentage of total population	Ethnic Composition	Original type of migration	Migration onset	Religious composition
Turkey	32.479	27.552	60.031	10.7	1.1	Turks & Kurds	Guest worker	1960s	Muslim
Iraq	21.326	8.336	29.662	5.3	0.5	Iraqis	Refugees	1980s	Muslim
Lebanon	12.057	12.032	24.089	4.3	0.4	Palestinians	Refugees	1980s	Muslim
Pakistan	11.730	9.422	21.152	3.7	0.4	Pakistanis	Guest worker	1960s	Muslim
Bosnia	15.775	4.563	20.338	3.6	0.4	Bosnians	Refugees	1990s	Muslim
Somalia	10.050	6.893	16.943	3.0	0.3	Somalis	Refugees	1990s	Muslim
Yugoslavia	10.765	5.980	16.745	3.0	0.3	Serbs	Guest worker	1960s	Christian
Iran	12.477	3.209	15.686	2.8	0.3	Iranians	Refugees	1980s	Muslim
Vietnam	9.025	5.117	14.142	2.5	0.3	Vietnamese	Refugees	1970s	Christ./Buddhist
Morocco	5.207	4.820	10.027	1.8	0.2	Moroccans	Guest worker	1960s	Muslim
Other non-Western countries	116.533	27.488	144.021	25.6	2.6				
Non-Western total	257.424	115.412	372.836	66.3	6.7				
Western countries	171.480	18.201	189.681	33.7	3.4				
Denmark			4.998.111		89.9				
Total	428.904	133.613	5.560.628	100.0	100.0				

Source: Compiled data from Statbank, Statistics Denmark 2013

3.4. Attitudes of Danes towards immigrants

As outlined in the introduction of the chapter the attitudes of Danes are divided into an investigation of attitudes expressed in the public debate and through integration policies implemented by the Danish governments. The inquiry into the public debate includes a review of attitudes towards Muslims and of the debate in an international perspective.

3.4.1. The public debate: attitudes of Danes

Many commentators argue that the social capital inherent in the Danish welfare state is exclusionary as Danes' perception of egalitarianism and its application within the welfare state accentuates cultural homogeneity (Knudsen, 1997; Forsander, 2004; Li, 2004; Jensen, 2007; Mouritsen et al, 2009; Larsen, 2011; Olwig, 2011). Equally, equality is commonly transformed into meaning "sameness", understood as agreement and consensus (Mouritsen et al, 2009), while "belonging" is associated with being on the labour market (Rasmussen, 2000). Many immigrants may struggle to fulfil those fundamental ideas of the welfare state or object to them, and their loyalty comes into question. (Forsander, 2004; Olwig, 2011).

The public debate on immigrants in Denmark has taken place within this framework of homogeneity. The debate began in 1980s, initially on humanitarian and compassionate grounds (Hedetoft, 2003). In the 1990s the debate increasingly revolved around cultural issues. It moved from conditional tolerance into a polarized debate on Muslims, assimilation and marginalization of immigrants (Hedetoft, 2006a; Campbell et al, 2006; Schmidt, 2011). Integration became a question of culture (Jørgensen, 2006). The debate revealed an increasing polarization of Danes (poorly versus highly educated) and between intellectuals and right wing politicians (Mikkelsen, 2001; Andersen, 2002; Kærgård, 2003; Hedetoft, 2006; Johncke, 2007; Mouritsen et al, 2009). Andersen (2002) points out that attitudes towards immigrants are part of a broader set of values, which lend to a polarization of a "new left" and "new Right".

The Right-wingers adopted a nationalist agenda and spoke of the economic and cultural threat that immigrants represented to the welfare state (Olwig, 2011). Based on the notion of refugees being the "unwanted other" (Eastmond, 2011) terms such as "refugee of convenience' crept into the Danish vocabulary. Increasingly, the agenda of this group focused on the incompatibility of Islam with Danish values (Citrin et al, 2008; Jensen, 2007). In opposition to this the "Left wingers" spoke of the marginalization of immigrants and discrimination against them, down-played cultural and religious differences and scolded the right-wingers for "racial outbursts" and for appealing to the "indre svinehund"[18] (inner beast).

[18] The expression comes from German "Der innere Scweinhund". It dates back to World War 1 when it was used by German soldiers to describe cowardly attitude and an abject conduct. It was later used to describe how the Nazis appealed to the lowest instincts in the human being (Schack, 1993).

At the national election in 2001 the immigrant question became the main political battleground (Kærgård, 2006). Dansk Folkeparti, The Danish People's Party[19] (DF), was the main proponent of nationalist and anti-immigration views, and it created a feeling of "them" and "us" (Hedetoft, 2006), the latter group being the "good, tolerant guys".

The public debate on integration has until recently concentrated almost solely on non-Western immigrants. Concerns about cultural and systemic integration are focused on non-Western immigrants. But it must be noted that there is an increasing resentment towards immigrants from A8 countries. It is claimed that they often work below the official minimum wage tariff, push down wages and take jobs from Danes. However, by 2010, by the start of this project, it was hardly an issue and this group did not represent integration problems as such. It can be argued that the developments in immigration patterns have overtaken the thesis to some extent.

3.4.2. The public debate: attitudes towards Muslim immigrants

This section will briefly outline common views on Muslims. The terms *Muslim* and *immigrant* have become interchangeable at a time when the debate on immigrants has increasingly shifted towards a discussion about the compatibility of Islam and the values of the Danish welfare state (Luchau, 2004). Hence Islam is "increasingly becoming the point of condensation for the aversion to strangers" (Jensen, 2009:68).

Schmidt (2007) outlines two main positions in the debate on Muslims: She labels them *Islam sceptics* and *Islam inclusives*. The *Islam sceptics* contrast Islam with the so-called particularity of Danish values that stem from Lutheran Protestantism: democracy, individualism and liberalism (Schmidt, 2007; Jensen, 2009, 2008; Mouritsen et al, 2009). Islam sceptics find Islam to be incompatible with those concepts and accuse Islam as being an oppressive and a determinant religion (Jensen, 2008). They object to religion transforming the public domain, as they maintain that religion is a strictly private affair (Luchau, 2004; Kærgård, 2006; Schmidt, 2007). The counterparts of the *Islam sceptic*s are the *Islam inclusives*. They do not accept that integration should be considered from a religious perspective and object to any generalization about Muslims. They downplay the relationship between religion and social attitudes and reject claims that Muslim values obstruct the acceptance of the values of the Danish welfare state (Schmidt, 2007). Secondly, the *Islam inclusives* emphasize that there are huge differences between Muslim fundamentalism and the attitudes of the great majority of Muslims in Denmark. Studies on Muslim attitudes towards democratic values inside and outside Denmark verify that Muslims are as strongly attached to democratic values as non-Muslims. Gundelach (2009) refers to a survey of Danes and immigrants

[19] The Danish People's Party was formed in 1995. It is an offspring of a populist right wing party, Fremskridtspartiet (The Progress Party).

in Denmark[20] showing that Muslims emphasize family values (weak secularization) more than Christians but that Muslims and Christians show no differences in attitude towards democracy[21] (strong secularization).

The Islam inclusives contend that the discourse of the *Islam sceptics* has lead to a polarisation between Muslims and Danes. Muslims are being portrayed as un-Danish. Muslims' loyalty to Denmark is questioned and many scholars critical of *Islam sceptics* identify an Orientalist argumentation[22] in which Muslims are constructed as "otherness" of Danish identity (Hervik, 2003; Jensen, 2007, 2008; Jacobsen, 2009). This creates a polarization between Danes and Muslims (Jensen, 2009). Within the main body of Danish literature on immigrants the discussion of the attitude of Danes towards Muslims fall within the "globalization argument". The negative attitude of Danes is a function of the uncertainty and diffusion of identity globalization precipitates, and Muslims become symbols for the invasion of global forces in the local community (Schmidt, 2007:85). However, though Andersen (2002) does not discount the globalisation argument he provides a more pragmatic explanation of the attitude of Danes based on findings of the 1998 ISSP survey. It showed that Danes have the most negative perception of religion of all the nationalities surveyed. Danes simply have an aversion towards religion, particularly if taken seriously, and they are critical of the intolerance and inherent conflicts to which it may lead (ibid, 2002).

3.4.3. Attitudes of Danes in an international perspective

Due to the Danish debate on immigrants foreign media have often depicted Denmark as xenophobic and unfriendly towards immigrants (Andersen, 2002; Matthiessen, 2009). The picture appears more nuanced when studying attitudes towards immigrants and diversity in international surveys. Eurobarometer 2000 shows that Denmark is above the EU average in professing a welcoming attitude towards refugees, and in the EVS 2000 Denmark score above average supporting both "multicultural optimism[23]" and "assimilation" (EUMC/SORA, 2001). Based on findings in EVS2002 Danes favour cultural homogeneity more than another other country (Citrin et al, 2008). In terms of tolerance Danes are very divided; in an EU context Danes have a high

[20] The survey was conducted in 2006 and included immigrants who had been in Denmark for at least 3 years. 500 people from each of the following ethnic groups constituted the sample: Turkey, Pakistan, West Balkan, Iraq, Iran, Vietnam and Denmark.

[21] An attitudinal survey conducted by Inglehart and Norris also showed that within the sample of respondents there was no difference between Muslims and Christian in their attitude towards democracy, but on matters related to family and sexuality Muslims were more secularized.

[22] Oriental argumentation refer to Edmund W Said's seminal book, "Orientalism" in which he demonstrates how "difference" is manipulated into meaning that Islam is anti-Western and is used to create the Orientalist distinction "them" and "us" (Said, 1979)

[23] The dimension "multicultural optimism" is defined as "attitudes towards the enrichment of a society's cultural and social life by minority groups". "Cultural assimilation" is measured as promotion of cultural assimilation of minority groups (EUCM/SORA, 2001: 17)

proportion of "intolerance" (20%), but also the highest proportion of actively tolerant[24], 33%, (EUMC/SORA, 2001).

A number of commentators (Andersen, 2002; Mouritsen et al, 2009), with reference to international surveys, point out that there is no trend to the radicalisation of Danes. Danes are no more xenophobic than other EU nationals (Andersen, 2002; Mattthiessen, 2009). However, Danes are very divided on issues related to immigrants, and they are sceptical of multiculturalism and political correctness (Andersen, 2002; Kærgård, 2006). Jørgensen (2006) notes that in a consensus state such as Denmark with a high degree of universalism, a debate on integration generates strong feelings. Matthiessen (2009) notes that these feelings are expressed publicly in accordance with Danish practice of expression of freedom. Similar opinions are most likely common in other countries, but they are suppressed by political correctness.

3.5. Danish Integration policies

In the days of the guest-workers in the 1970's the notion of integration was not on the agenda, as their presence was temporary, and therefore any rights, such as political or social rights shared by the native population, were not relevant. As many guest workers stayed integration was the obvious next stop and they were expected by the public to assimilate (Coleman, 1999).
However, from the 1970s and in the 1980s the liberal establishment promoted immigration and integration policies based on equal rights and participation in society with great consideration for the immigrant's cultural background (Schierup, 1993; Necef, 2001; Nannestad 2004; Jørgensen, 2006). A government paper of 1990 states: " It is important, that this [integration] takes place without the individual against his will looses his characteristic features entrenched in his cultural background" (Home Office, 1990:25).

Responding to the changes in the immigrant population in the 1990s and the integration debate the political focus changed from concentrating exclusively on regulating the inflow of non-Western immigrants to emphasizing integration of the immigrants in the labour market and culturally (Mikkelsen, 2001; Mouritsen, 2009). Danish integration policies changed from a "soft" liberal equality of rights model tolerant of diversity towards a stricter civic integrationism (Mouritsen et al, 2013: 695).
At the turn of the century the programme of the Liberal Party, the dominant party in the Centre Right government in Denmark 2001 – 2011, stated: " The policies of Venstre [the Liberals]… seek to secure that Denmark will not become a multi-cultural society. We do not want a Denmark where the Danes are reduced to a fortuitous ethnic minority, and where our own freedom is suppressed.

[24] SORA classifies "actively tolerant" as people who are not disturbed by the presence of minority groups. They agree that minority groups enrich a society and they do not demand assimilation. "Actively tolerant" people tend to be better educated and more optimistic (EUMC/SORA, 2001).

Danish Christianity, history, culture, perception of democracy and our ideas of freedom must be the foundation on which Denmark rests" (Rasmussen, 2000).

3.5.1. The law on integration and its objectives

In line with a strong belief in state intervention, integration of immigrants is a responsibility of the government (Eastmond, 2011; Olwig, 2011). The welfare system provides an important framework for the incorporation of immigrants (Olwig, 2011). Integration policies in Denmark are formulated within this system, based on the law of integration. It was introduced in 1999 and it encompasses refugees and immigrants through family reunification. The objects of the law are:

1. Equal participation in the political, economical, employment, social, religious and cultural life.
2. Quick economic independence.
3. Understanding the fundamental values and norms.

(Home Office, 1998)

The Centre Right government that entered office in 2001 tightened immigration and integration policies (Mouritsen et al, 2009). Integration of immigrants had gained centre stage in the political debate and the government established the Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration Affairs.

The Centre Right government stressed that integration policies must uphold a coherent and democratic society and prevent the development of parallel communities (MRII, 2006; The Government, 2010). In the dominant discourse, parallel communities "represents both a situation where a class of citizens [residents] are excluded from the material reciprocity and dignity of the welfare community, and where these individuals share different and opposing (illiberal) values which stand in the way of their full access to this community" (Mouritzen et el, 2009:27). In "Marshall terms" the Government emphasizes the importance of being equal citizens through social citizenship. It enshrines rights but also a responsibility to contribute to society, through education and employment, and to integrate culturally and politically. Part of being a citizen includes the duty to vote[25] and participate in voluntary organisations and parental work at educational institutions (MRII, 2011).

3.5.2. Main integration policies outlined under the law on integration

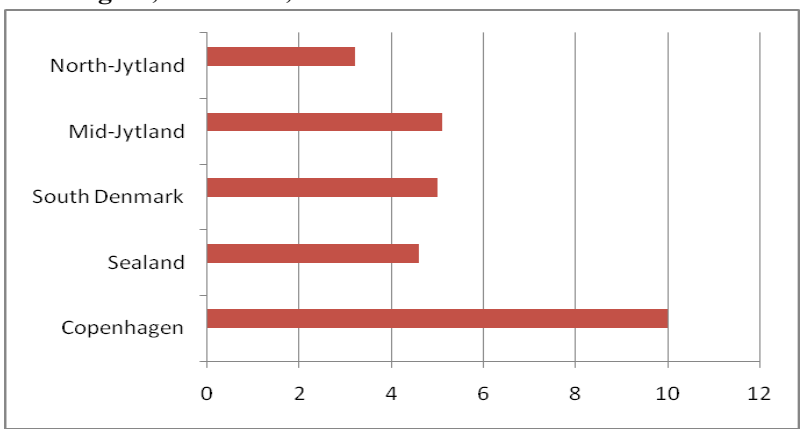
Since then the objects of the integration law have mainly been developed through four major policies: dispersal of refugees, an introduction program, the use of conditionalities and restriction of immigration.

[25] In Denmark immigrants can vote in local elections after three years of residency.

Dispersal of refugees and introduction program for immigrants

The dispersal programme places acknowledged refugees in municipalities countrywide, to avoid geographical concentration of immigrants[26] (Coleman, 1999). The rationale behind this policy is to enhance the minorities' integration and to divide the cost connected with the immigrants among municipalities (MRII, 2009), see figure 3.1. However, within regions there is a tendency for ethnic minorities to move into areas with a high proportions of other immigrants and to cities with state-subsidized housing and better working opportunities than in rural areas (Matthiessen, 2009).

Figure 3.1: The ethnic minority population as a percentage of total population by government office region, Denmark, 2008



Source: (Statistics Denmark, 2009).

Municipalities must offer all new immigrants covered by the law of integration a three year introduction program, which concentrates on language skills, civics education and activation either in education or in employment (MRII, 2004). Participation is not compulsory, but failing to participate in the weekly 30 hour programme involves a cut in the allowance of participants, which amounts to about 70% of standard social assistance (MRII, 2004; Rasmussen, 2006).

Policies to restrict immigration and improve labour marked participation

The poor integration of Western immigrants in the labour market at the turn of the century was identified by the government to follow from a combination of factors, such as lack of qualifications and incentives to work. Low participation in the labour market was also linked to the high number of people entering Denmark through the family reunification program, as these immigrants generally are low skilled. According to OECD (2005:84), Denmark receives more low skilled workers than other OECD countries.

Overall, integration policies have become more prescriptive. Start Assistance[27] for immigrants was introduced with the aim of increasing incentives to work and preventing Denmark becoming a

[26] Refugees are bound to stay the first 3 years within the municipality where they are placed. About ¾ of refugees and their families whom are placed in rural communities or provincial towns move after three years to a big city, primarily to Copenhagen and its suburbs, Odense, Aalborg and Aarhus.

[27] In principle, Start Assistance also applied to Danes if they had lived outside Denmark. However, 80% of those targeted are estimated to be immigrants. (Liebig, 2007, MRII, 2004). The Centre left Government, that

"welfare magnet" (Jensen et al, 2007). Start Assistance was designated for those who had not lived in Denmark in seven of the last eight years, and it amounted to about 70% of regular social assistance. This was a unique break with the country's egalitarian tradition of granting everybody equal social rights (Mouritsen et al, 2009). Still, it must be noted that it is commonly argued that Start Assistance represents a benefit transfer bigger than what newly arrived immigrants receive in most other European countries. However, it has not been possible to verify this claim in recent literature.

The government has also since 2001 implemented general workfare and social policies, de facto targeting immigrants[28]. Integration policies became embedded in labour policies (Andersen et al, 2002). Recipients of social assistance must participate in activation schemes and be seeking employment, and it is a duty for social claimants under 25 years of age to begin education. An obligatory integration contract with a declaration of intent to integrate and honour active social citizenship has been introduced. The contract contains employment and educational targets set for the immigrant (MRII, 2006a). Failing to meet the targets may be sanctioned by reducing entitlement to social assistance and refusal of permanent residence (Mouritsen et al, 2011).

In order to concentrate integration efforts on the immigrants already in the country and curb immigration severe restrictions on family reunification have been introduced. The new rules prohibit reunification before both spouses are 24 years of age and if the combined attachment to Denmark of the spouses is smaller than their combined attachment to any other countries. The ruling is commonly referred to as *the 24 year rule*. The legislation is also aimed at minimizing the number of forced marriages involving a person from outside Denmark (Schultz-Nielsen et al, 2009).

3.5.3. Cultural integration

With the increased emphasis on cultural integration and its linkage to the lack of systemic integration, the Centre Right Government focused on immigrants' housing patterns. In the big cities neighbourhoods have emerged with a high concentration of immigrants and burdened with conventional social problems. The Government has mapped these areas and officially classified them as "ghettoes"[29]. The Government closely link "ghettoes" with parallel living (Mouritzen et al, 2011), and integration policies are increasingly aimed at these areas.

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took office in autumn 2011, after the conduction of the interviews, has since scrapped Start Assistance. This will be discussed in chapter 7.

[28] Social assistance has also been reduced for spouses, and an absolute limit to a family's benefit payment has been introduced (Andersen, 2007).

[29] The term described areas which qualify for two out of three criteria: 1. Over 50% of residents within an area with 1000 residents who had a non-Western background. 2. Over 40% of residents between the age of 18 - 64, and within an area with 1000 people, who were outside the labour market or not in education. 3. More than 270 people out of 10.000 who had a criminal sentence (Government, 2010). By 2011 29 neighbourhoods were classified as ghettoes in Denmark. The incumbent Government still classify neighbourhoods as ghettoes, but has cancelled ethnicity as a qualifying criterion.

The state uses specific indicators for cultural integration (Entzinger et al, 2003), and requirements of cultural skills, such as language and civic understanding, have been increased (Rasmussen, 2006). It is stipulated that all citizens must recognize equal status regardless of gender and religion, respect freedom of expression and show tolerance towards different values and norms (MRII, 2007).

Citizenship policies are the key elements of cultural integration policies. In 2006, the Government introduced mandatory declarations on "integration" and "active citizenship " for people applying for family reunification and permanent residency (MRII, 2006a). These declarations stipulate that an applicant must learn Danish and acquire knowledge of norms of gender equality. The declaration also stretches into the private realm underlining the equal status of husband and wife, bans on domestic violence and physical punishment of children (ibid, 2013:698). Naturalization has been further tightened as length of stay to qualify for citizenship has been extended from 7 to 9 years (MRII, 2004). As a result the number of naturalizations has dropped significantly from 20.423 in 2001 to 3911 in 2011 (Statistics Denmark, 2013c). Dual citizenship is not accepted in Denmark and citizenship is based on the principles of *jus sanguinis* (Jensen et al, 2010)[30].

The central government has also imposed legislation on municipalities to implement activities, such as financial support of non-ethnic sport organizations in order to recruit members from ethnic communities (MRII, 2009a). Inter-ethnic organisations are seen not just as a forum to interconnect with Danes, but also as " a school of democracy, as an opportunity to learn cooperative behaviour" (Adam, 2008:165).

The stronger emphasis on adhering to Danish norms has also meant economic assistance to ethnic organisations and requirement for municipalities to offer mother tongue teaching in schools and set up ethnic councils[31] have been scrapped (Togeby, 2003).

3.5.4. Education of young immigrants and descendants

More recently the government has shifted its attention to young immigrants and descendants, recognizing the problem of poor academic achievement and the danger of radicalization of immigrant youth. The academic underachievement has been ascribed to cultural and structural features of the Danish education system; e.g. informal teaching, over-reliance on parental assistance and absence of formal marking (Mouritsen et al, 2013). The government has responded to these issues. The initiatives taken illustrate a basic thinking behind the intent of education of immigrants: acquisition of Danish language and norms and values adequate for market functionality.

[30] In the Parliamentary year commencing autumn 2014 the Governemnt plans to put through legislation that allows dual citizenship.

[31] Ethnic councils are advisory bodies for local municipality councils. Members are appointed by the municipality or elected by immigrants within a municipality.

3.5.5. Legislation on discrimination

Legislation on discrimination has never been an integral part of integration policies in Denmark (Rasmussen, 2006) and no positive rights are granted to immigrants (Mouritsen et al, 2009). In 1996 a law on differential treatment on the labour market was introduced just as a Board of Equal Treatment was set up in 2009. But the law of 1996 and the Board both deal with discrimination of all types, and they are not especially race related (Rasmussen, 2006, Ligebehandlingsnævnet, 2014).

3.5.6. Assessment of policies

Integration policies in Denmark are driven by the notion of equality (Olwig, 2007). In order to preserve the coherence of the society and preserve the welfare state immigrants must be equal and contributory members of society. That creates a contradiction between assimilatory policies and the right to uphold individual culture and privacy (Hedetoft, 2006).

Kilinc (2006) claims that in post industrial society the utility of immigrants has diminished and they have become a burden. Some commentators find that a humanitarian and compassionate attitude towards immigrants have been replaced by policies of national interest and utility (Hedetoft, 2003). Concession of social rights has become a pivotal contested issue. Many commentators find that the gradual reduction in entitlement to social assistance (Eyrnæs, 2001) and cultural privileges (Dahl, 1989) is in conflict with social citizenship and with the principle of solidarity in a universal welfare state. Other scholars take a more defensive attitude of integration polices and view them from the perspective of upholding the welfare state and its values. Nannestad (2001) points out that with legal residence as a criterion for social rights, there is no longer a strong incentive to work and learn the language or to adjust to the new environment. This is particularly true for immigrants with limited education, as they will take up low paid jobs. Jensen et al (2007) suggest that Denmark will act as a "welfare magnet" for this group of immigrants whom Necef (1998) argues may develop apathy and lack of self-respect due to dependency upon welfare state goods. Rasmussen (2006) simply points out that the overriding aim of the policies might be governed by a determination not to accept deep social divisions in Denmark along ethnic lines.

3.5.7. Actors in the policy making process

Since 2001 The Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration Affairs has coordinated integration polices[32]. The responsibility carrying out integration work rests with the municipalities. Since 2004 a scheme has been in place that rewards municipalities financially for effective integration programmes. Non-governmental organizations and particularly ethnic organizations

[32] The current Government has abolished MRII as an independent ministerium. The Ministry of Integration is now under the domain of the Ministry of Social Affairs.

play a more limited role compared with other countries, which is ascribed to the nature of the Danish welfare state (Liebig, 2007).

3.6. Systemic integration outcomes

Integration outcomes are traditionally measured within the framework of systemic integration, of which educational attainment and employment are the main indicators. Though cultural integration attracts much attention employment rates and educational attainment remain the cardinal dimensions measuring integration. In the following overview outcomes of these parameters of integration will be presented briefly. The overview relies on administrative data from Statistics Denmark.

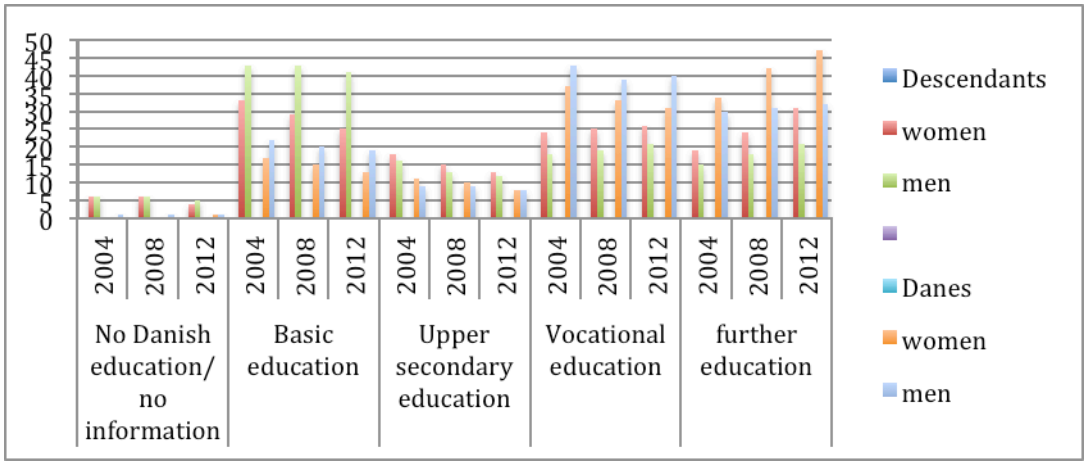
3.6.1. Educational attainment

Education is perceived as greatly enhancing an immigrant's chances for permanent employment (Blume, 2007). However, looking trans-nationally we find a distinctive lower educational level among immigrants and descendants, which leads to a continuation of a low paid employment pattern (Platt, 2007), and Denmark is no exemption to this picture. A plausible explanation is the constraints of socio-economic background of the descendants interacting with cultural factors (Castles, 2000; MRII, 2005).

The review of educational attainment focuses on descendants only. This group is born in Denmark, and it has, in principle, received the same educational opportunities as Danes. Figure 3.2 shows that a big gap remains between Danes' and descendants' educational attainment[33], though female descendants have made considerable progress. It is very noticeable that 41% of male descendants against 22% of Danish males leave school with no higher than basic qualifications. A PISA survey in 2009 focusing on ethnic students in Denmark showed that 32% of ethnic students, against 13% of Danes, leave school with dysfunctional reading skills (Egelund et al, 2009). Secondly, among descendants there are numerous and increasing dropouts from the educational system, in particular from vocational training. By 2010 55% of descendants in vocational training, against 32% of Danes, dropped out from such training programmes (Statistics Denmark, 2011a). A study by Colding (2006) controlling for socio-economic background showed that family background did not explain the gap in drop-out rates between descendants and Danes.

[33] Figures do not extend further back than 2004. Before this data Statistics Denmark assess that there are too few descendants within the age group of 25 – 39 to make statistics on (MSI, 2012)

Figure 3.2: Highest completed Danish education in percentage for descendants with a non-Western background and Danes within age group 25-39, according to gender



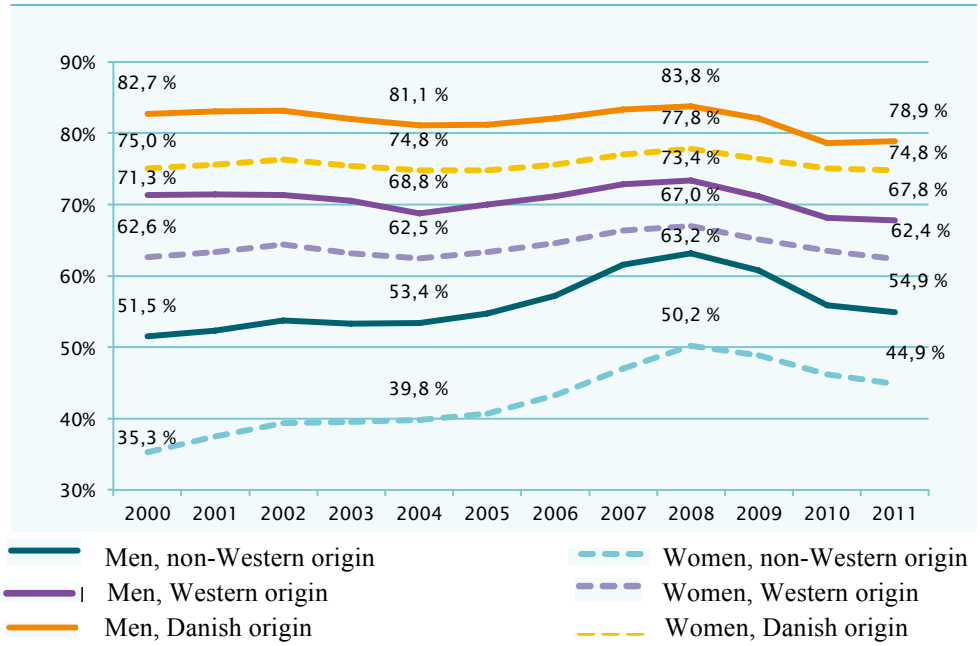
Source: MSI, 2012

3.6.2. Employment

In the 60´s and 70's the immigrants in Europe provided low-skilled labour for the manufacturing industry, whereas they now are found in service industries (Schrover et al, 2007). In Denmark low employment and very high unemployment rates for immigrants in the 1990s were superseded by much improved employment rates, particularly for women, in the first decade of the new millennium, see figure 3.3. Statistics Denmark states that the initial high unemployment was much related to length of stay and type of immigrants Denmark received in the nineties (Statistics Denmark, 2012a). They were refugees, who did not come directly to work and who came from countries that culturally and occupationally were very different from Denmark (ibid, 2012). Racial discrimination seems to be a minor explanatory factor for the discrepancy in employment rates of Danes and immigrants (Matthiessen, 2009).

However, the financial crisis led to a severe setback. Around 2008 unemployment rates grew much more drastically for immigrants than for Danes, see figure 3.4, and in percentage a higher number of non-Western immigrants than Danes and Western immigrants have withdrawn from, or failed to enter, the labour market. It seems to confirm the theory that immigrants hold less job security (McGregor, 2007).

Figure 3.3: Working age employment rates in percentage by country of origin and gender in Denmark from 2000 – 2011



Source: Fakta om Integration (Facts about Integration), Ministry of Social Affairs and Integration,2012.

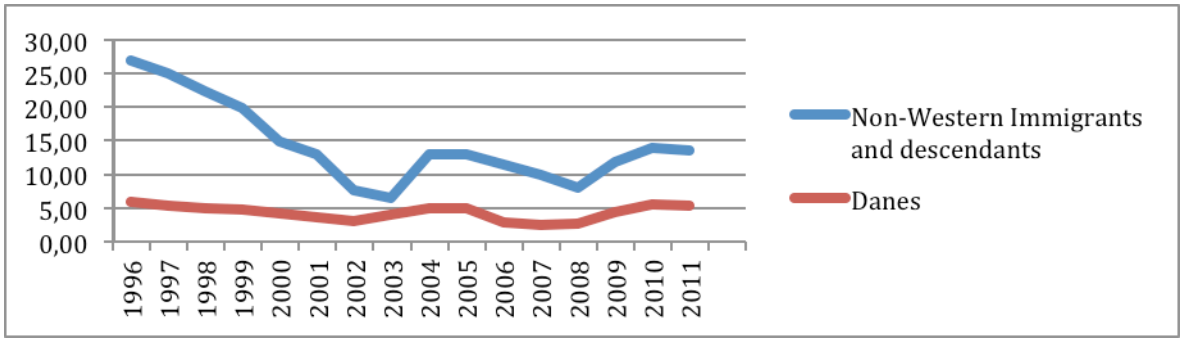
However, looking at number of people at work, there is a noticeable difference between descendants and their parents' generation, se table 3.2. Still, the employment rates for descendants are remarkably lower than for Danes.

Table 3.2: Employment rates for non-Western immigrants and Danes in percentage according to gender 2011

Employment rate			
	men	women	total
Non-Western origin			
Immigrants	54,1%	43,9%	48,8%
Descendants	67,3%	61,4%	64,4%
Total	54,9%	44,9%	49,7%
Persons with Danish origin	78,9	74,8	76,8

Source: Fakta om integration (Facts about Integration), Ministry of Social Affairs and Integration, 2012.

Figure 3.4: unemployment rates in percentage for immigrants (including descendants) and Danes in Denmark 1996 -2011



Source: compiled figures Stattistics Denmark 2013f.

Table 3.3: Employment rates of non-Western immigrants in percentage according to nationality and gender in Denmark 2011

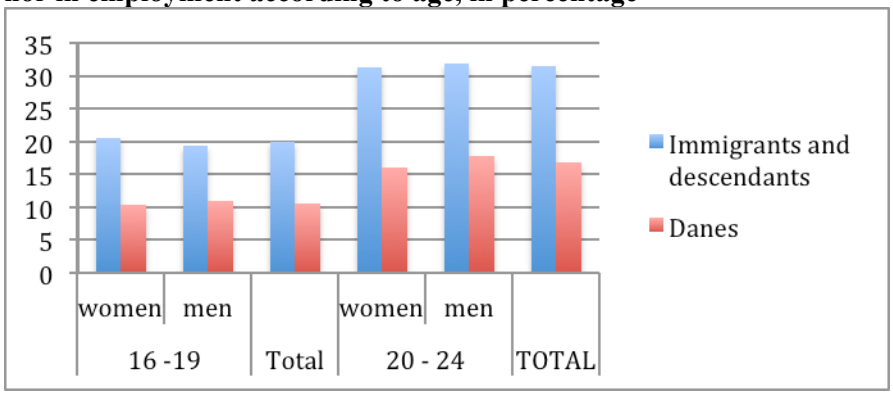
	Number of people			Employment rate		
	numbers			Percentage		
	men	women	total	men	women	total
Turkey	15,359	14,140	29,499	61	42	52
Lebanon	6181	5090	11,271	42	22	33
Pakistan	5464	4755	10,219	60	32	47
Bosnia	7994	7842	15836	50	48	49
Somalia	4811	4116	8927	31	27	29
Yugoslavia[1]	4717	4632	9349	53	44	48
Iran	6692	4607	11,299	51	47	49
Vietnam	3834	4259	8093	64	56	60
Morocco	2324	2281	4605	56	39	47
Danish origin	1,587,556	1,556,902	3,144,458	75	72	74

Source: Compiled figures from Indvandrere i Danmark (Immigrants in Denmark), Statistics Denmark, 2012)
[1]: Yugoslavia before the split up

It is also noteworthy that there are big national differences. Immigrants from Vietnam and Sri Lanka display employment rates of around 60%, while immigrants from such countries as Somalia and Lebanon endure employment rates of 29% and 33%, see table 3.3. Traditional gender roles appear to persevere in many ethnic groups, also for those with the highest employment rates. Only 32% of Pakistani women work against 60% of men.

Breaking the social heritage is a prominent issue in Danish integration policies. Though an increasing number of descendants attain further education, a big gap within the immigrant group is developing between the "achievers" and the "non-achievers". Looking at figure 3.5 we see that nearly one third of descendants in the age group 20-24 are neither in education nor in the labour market. It is apparent that many descendants with an ethnic background are not in contact with two key institutions of the society, the education system and the labour market.

Figure 3.5: Immigrants, descendants and Danes who are neither undertaking an education nor in employment according to age, in percentage



Source: Fakta om integration (Facts about Integration), 2012, Ministry of Social Affairs and Integration.

3.7. Summary of the case of Denmark

Apart from a relatively small number of guest workers arriving in the sixties mass immigration in Denmark did not take off before the 1980s. The main bulk of immigrants were refugees who arrived on the family reunification program. Today non-Western immigrants make up 6,7% of the population with Turks being the biggest ethnic group.

The immigrants have come to a country where a universalist welfare state frames the lives of a very homogenous population in terms of ethnicity, religion and language. The immigrants are met by a strong feeling of nationalism revolving around consensus, equality, democracy and solidarity. The State Church and state school, *Folkeskolen,* are important institutions of the state. Though Danes identify themselves vaguely with Christian scriptures and a declining number of students attend *folkeskolen* these institutions are very instrumental in building up a high trust society.

Since the 1990s, multicultural approaches towards immigrants have been replaced by assimilative policies. The coherence of the society has become a key concern of integration policies. An increased emphasis on cultural integration is mainly driven by a fear that parallel societies could develop that leave immigrants with no sense of responsibility to participate in the wider society. The debate on immigrants has concentrated on the compatibility of Islam with a secular democratic society. However, the debate has been very polarized, alienating Muslims and Danes. It has split Danes into two groups, "them" and "us", based on their level of acceptance of immigrants and Islam. Still, International surveys show that Danes are not explicitly more critical of immigrants compared with their European compatriots.

High labour market participation is a fundamental precondition for the Danish welfare state. However, high entrance barriers to the labour market in terms of skills and high minimum wages combined with low economic incentives keep many immigrants outside the labour market. During the first decade of the new millennium employment for immigrants of both gender improved significantly, but the financial crisis drove immigrants into unemployment at higher rates than Danes.

In latter years many descendants' poor educational attainment have become a major policy concern. While many descendants, particularly young women, do well, an increasing number of ethnic youngsters are left without any qualifying skills and out of the labour market.

Restriction of immigration, primarily through tightening of family reunification, has become an important integration tool. Access to social benefits has been restricted in order to press immigrants into the labour market and deter more immigrants from coming to Denmark.

Chapter 4: review of attitudinal immigrant studies in Denmark and introduction of the theoretical framework.

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4. Introduction

This chapter primarily concerns the theoretical framework of the thesis. But, as the development of the framework must be seen in a historical perspective of attitudinal immigrant studies in Denmark it seems fitting to present a review of these studies. Therefore, this chapter contains two segments. First, the main trends in the research of attitudes of Danes and immigrants towards integration of immigrants will be presented. This will be followed by a description of the theoretical framework of the thesis.

4.1 Research on attitudes of Danes and immigrants towards the integration of immigrants

In Denmark there has been much research on non-Western immigrants, though this field has a short tradition in Denmark. However, the scope of literature is more limited when it is narrowed down to attitudes of Danes. The overview of Danish research on attitudes of Danes and immigrants presents some of the main studies undertaken. The presentation will be outlined according to the theoretical framework applied in surveys, highlighting how research interest has changed over time. This approach provides an explanation for the theoretical framework of this thesis.

4.2. Central approach to research: intolerance and ethnocentrism

4.2.1. Research on the attitudes of Danes

A dominant feature of Danish research on immigrants has been an intolerance/ethnocentrism approach, which emphasizes low tolerance and prejudices that grow from below but is mobilized from the top by the media and politicians (Andersen, 2002; Fridberg, 2005; Necef, 2009). In a fierce critique of Danish researchers Necef (2009) writes that the governing principle of Danish researchers is the assumption that those in power are hostile towards immigrants. Necef argues that researchers must acknowledge that cultural differences exist between Danes and immigrants and the reaction of Danes towards immigrants are not necessarily an outcome of intolerance and fear.

Gaasholt and Togeby (1995) undertook the first major quantitative study of the attitudes of Danes towards immigrants. 1675 persons were interviewed. This study has since been the main reference for attitudinal studies of Danes. The study showed that Danes had very ambivalent and at times polarized attitudes towards immigrants. Educational level was positively correlated with level of tolerance. The authors viewed the attitudes of the well educated as an expression of "post-materialist attitudes" (see below), and they found that mental resources, such a cognitive skills and positive views about one's own situation, were critical of the level of tolerance towards ethnic

minorities (Mikkelsen, 2001). The authors, agreeing with Mikkelsen[34] (2001) argued that the media and politicians have a decisive influence on attitudes of Danes. The authors claimed that people have some fundamental, but perhaps very ambivalent, attitudes and feelings towards immigrants. However, as Danes have limited contact with immigrants and limited personal knowledge of them, their main impressions of immigrants are obtained through the media and statements from politicians (Gaasholt et Togeby, 1995).

Some authors, such as Gundelach (1992), relates attitudes of Danes to relative deprivation, but Gaasholt et al (1995) rejected the competition theory. They argued that neither in the labour nor housing market do Danes, including the less resourceful, and immigrants compete with each other.

In 2002 approximately1500 Danes were surveyed by J.P.F.Thomsen (2006) in order to investigate their "ethnic goodwill" and tolerance[35]. The survey showed that education is positively correlated with goodwill and tolerance. Skilled and unskilled workers have a bigger aversion towards ethnic minorities than professionals.

Thomsen also showed that frequency rather than intensity of contact between Danes and ethnic minorities was more important for promoting ethnic goodwill. Therefore, regular social contact with an immigrant colleague at work compared with actual friendships may foster a bigger reduction in negative prejudices about immigrants.

Peter Gundelach et al (2011a) conclude from comparing EVSs between 1981 to 2008 that Danes at the individual level have become more tolerant towards immigrants. However, a majority of Danes believe that immigrants will become a threat to society. At group level Gundelach points out, that the media have a major negative influence on attitude of Danes. At individual level attitudes towards immigrants are affected by the increase of social trust and trust in institutions and engagement in societal life, such as membership of voluntary organisations.

4.2.2. Research on the attitudes of immigrants

Within the paradigm of ethnocentrism and intolerance, social exclusion is a dominant feature in earlier surveys of attitudes of immigrants. Surveys of immigrants have concluded that they generally consider themselves well integrated (Mikkelsen, 2001; Togeby, 2003; Schmidt et al, 2000). Experience of discrimination depends much on the social resources immigrants possess and how integrated they feel. However, Flemming Mikkelsen (2001) highlights in his book, *Integrationens Paradoks* (The paradox of Integration) that though the majority of immigrant are socially and economically marginalized, they feel well integrated, but not necessarily Danish.

[34] Flemming Mikkelsen investigated Danes' attitudes towards ethnic diversity using data from Eurobarometer 2000.

[35] Goodwill is understood as acceptance of cultural differences between the majority population and ethnic groups, while tolerance refers to views of social and political rights of ethnic minorities., such as exemption for Muslims in legislation and allowing building of mosques .

Many well-educated immigrants feel less integrated, presumably because they have experienced downwards mobility in Denmark. Mikkelsen and Togeby have also shown that contact with Danes is positively correlated with immigrants' assessment of their own integration. Mikkelsen (2001) finds that about 50% of immigrants have a Danish friend, but 45% share their spare time exclusively with non-Danes.

4.2.3. Studies targeting Muslims

In the last ten years a limited number of qualitative studies of Muslims in Denmark have been made. They mainly focus on women and young Muslims in Denmark (Schmidt, 2004, 2004a, 2007; Maia Consult, 2009; Asserhøj, 2011).

The studies have primarily looked into the difficulties young Muslims, and particularly women, have in expressing their Muslim identity. Several studies have illustrated the predicament of honouring the expectations of their parents and socializing with their Danish peers. The studies have revealed that a Muslim identity is constantly challenged by Danish identity. Equally, a transnational identity (Muslim communities across borders) may be difficult to encompass in a secular society. On the basis of a number of studies of the public and political debate it is being claimed that "Muslim" has been constructed as "otherness" compared to "Danishness". Muslims are being marginalized in the sense that they are not proper Danes (Jacobsen, 2009; Jensen, 2007, 2008; Hervik, 2003).

4.3. Central approach to research: labour market participation and the interplay between the welfare state and immigrants.

The high number of immigrants outside the labour market has generated much political and academic interest in immigrants' participation in the labour market. Statistics Denmark provides a wide range of administrative data in these areas and publishes annually comprehensive books of demographic and socio-economic data on immigrants. In the thesis most data on the living conditions of immigrants, including employment and education, have been drawn from Statistics Denmark.

The first big study of immigrants' living condition in 1999, was published by G.V. Mogensen and P.C. Matthiessen (2000). It indicated that discrimination on ethnic grounds was an entrance barrier for a number of immigrants, but overall Matthissen (2009) concludes that discrimination of ethnic minorities in the labour market presents a minor factor in the explanation of their poor employment rates. Matthiessen shows that employment is influenced by language proficiency in Danish, ethnicity and economic incentives. Among other factors social contact with Danes also have a positive impact on job prospects (ibid, 2009). In later years economic incentives have often been researched. Researching the effect of Start Assistance (reduced social assistance for immigrants the first 7 years after being granted residence, see page 35) indicates that the policy has had a positive effect on employment rates of immigrants (Rockwool Foundation, 2009). However, though

Rosholm et al (2010) mainly confirm the above findings, they find that those with the poorest labour market prospects are not very responsive to economic incentives.

4.4. Central approach to research: social capital

Though discrimination as an excluding factor has not been ignored, cultural barriers are given more prominence in the explanation of immigrants' lack of inclusion into society. At the same time the concept of social capital has become a much used analytical tool in studies of integration of immigrants and how cultural and ethnic diversity affect the coherence of the recipient society.

Since the millennium many studies within a framework of social capital has been carried out in Denmark or in other Scandinavian countries. The studies operate at two levels:

1) Individual behaviour and attitudes towards values and norms seen as fundamental in Denmark.

2) Social trust in the perspective of ethnic diversity and the coherence of the welfare state.

4.4.1. Attitudes of immigrants towards norms and values in Denmark

The most comprehensive study of immigrants' attitudes towards norms and values in Denmark has been carried out by the MRII and published in 2007 under the title "Values and Norms in Denmark – among foreigners and Danes" (MRII, 2007). The findings have frequently been referred to in other Danish studies. The sample of respondents included 3000 immigrants, 1000 descendants and 500 Danes[36].

The survey revealed that immigrants in Denmark constitute a very inhomogeneous group. Generally, immigrants in Denmark agree more with values and norms in Denmark than people in their country of origin. But, while Iranian and Vietnamese immigrants showed liberal attitudes, attitudes of Turks, Iraqis and Pakistanis tended to differ from Danes'. This was particularly evident on issues related to gender and marriage. Turks and Pakistanis were more religious, and Iranian Muslims held more liberal attitudes than Muslims from other countries.

Immigrants with a higher level of education and attachment to the labour market had a bigger tendency to embrace norms and values in the Danish society. However, these determinants of attitude could not sufficiently explain the differences between attitudes of Danes and immigrants. Ethnicity, and not denomination, appeared to be the most important factor. The survey also showed that there was only a small difference between attitudes of immigrants and descendants, and that descendants had become more religious in the last three years prior to the survey (2002 - 2005).

4.4.2. Social capital and the coherence of society.

A crucial aspect of social capital is social trust, understood as "the belief that the generalized other, with whom one may potentially interact, will behave decently" (rephrasing of Dinesen et al, 2012:273). Trust is crucial for social cooperation and norms of reciprocity (Putnam 2000; White,

[36] The survey included immigrants from Turkey, Pakistan, Ex-Yugoslavia, Iraq, Iran and Vietnam and descendants from Turkey and Pakistan.

2003) It legitimises the welfare state as it endorses its citizens to pay taxes without calculating personal gains (Torpe, 2003).

Social trust and ethnic diversity

Ethnic diversity is claimed to reduce social trust in society. However, Torpe (2003) concludes in a quantitative study that there is no evidence that social trust[37] and other dimensions of social capital, associational and political participation, have weakened in Denmark. But by 2012 Dinesen et al (2012) suggest on the basis of a study using same dataset as Torpe, but extending it to 2009, that ethnic diversity does affect social trust. However, the impact of ethnic diversity is limited, and the authors emphasize that ethnic diversity does not seem to be a threat to social cohesion in Denmark (Ibid, 2012: 289).

A number of studies have measured levels of social trust of immigrants. Non-Western immigrants generally originate from low trust countries and therefore it appears that there is a trust gap between immigrants and Danes (Dinesen, 2010). There are two main positions on identifying social trust. One suggests institutional quality, the other perceive trust as a cultural feature.

Institutional hypothesis

Nannestad et al (2006) demonstrate that institutions such as the legal system, police and government in immigrants' countries of origin and in Denmark affect trust in people in general. Personal resources, like education and income, also enhance social trust. They consider that cultural variables, like religions or saliency of religion, have a weak impact on social trust. They conclude that by improving the educational level and the material wellbeing of the population and quality of institutions, social trust in society will increase. The research was based on data from the 1999-2000 wave of the World Values Survey and from a survey of social capital amongst non-Western immigrants in Denmark.

Cultural hypothesis.

In a study of social trust among immigrants from Turkey, Pakistan and the former Yugoslavia surveyed in 1988 and 1999 Dinesen suggests that restrictive upbringing, understood as insulating a child from the world outside the control of the parents, affects trust negatively. Early experience of discrimination or identification with Denmark do not have any impact on social trust (Dinesen, 2010). Dinesen states, that many immigrant parents try to protect their children by controlling their contact with others (ibid, 2010).

Participation in associational life has a high priority in Danish integration policies, see above. However, Nannestad et al (2008) find in a survey that only 18% of immigrants were members of an inter-ethnic organisation, and a study of descendants using the same data set as Dinesen shows that

[37] Social trust was operationalized on one variable: "Do you feel that you can trust most people, or do you think that you have to be careful in relations with other people". The empirical basis for the study was national surveys and the 1999 World Values survey.

organizational participation, ethnic or non-ethnic organisations, have no significant impact on building social trust (Togeby, 2004).

4.5. Central approach to integration: rational choice theory

Within "rational choice theory[38]" Nannestad (1999) has applied a very different approach to the research of attitudes of Danes. He does not disregard discrimination, but he rejects the notion that attitudes are governed primarily by prejudice (racism) or the media. In a longitudinal quantitative study of attitudes of Danes towards immigrants over a period of 10 years[39] he claims that attitudes at societal and individual level are directed by experience of the economic and non-economic costs caused by immigration. He shows that over time, the level of unemployment and the size of immigration are factors determining attitudes towards immigrants. Nannestad demonstrates that aversion towards immigrants is more prevalent among less resourceful Danes. By 1999 he found that the aversion towards immigrants was not shared by a majority of the population, but it had increased during the 1990s.

4.6. Summary of research of attitudes of Danes and immigrants

Research on attitudes of Danes and immigrants has focused on ethnocentrism and intolerance. Attitudes of Danes have conventionally been interpreted in post-materialistic terms. Ethnocentric attitudes are correlated with lower level of education and tolerance with higher level of education. Media and politicians are believed to have a decisive influence on shaping attitudes of Danes.

With growing attention to the incorporation of Muslims in a secular society a number of qualitative studies have been conducted, focusing on lack of acceptance of Muslims and their religious identity being labelled as anti-Danish.

An increasing number of studies adopt a social capital perspective. These studies have revealed that besides social structures, ethnicity is an important determinant of immigrants' attitudes towards norms and values in Denmark. A few studies have assessed social trust in society, and they conclude that ethnic diversity has not reduced generalized trust. Studies show that institutions of society, and to a smaller degree restrictive upbringing, influence social trust of immigrants.

As an alternative to the ethnocentric approach Nannestad researches attitudes of Danes towards immigrants within the "rational choice theory". He shows that attitudes towards minorities fluctuate with the extent of immigration and that the aversion develops anti-cyclically with economic developments. In the study, attitudes of Danes are also related to their educational attainment and income level. But, the study does not correlate aversion towards immigrants with measures of social capital, which otherwise have received more prominence in immigrant studies.

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[38] Rational choice theory is inspired by economic behavioural theories. It stipulates that an individual's behaviour is governed by calculations of benefits

[39] Study based on data from a survey carried out by IFKA (Institute for Market Analysis) every third month in the period from 1987 to 1996. 600 persons above the age of 15 were interviewed by telephone. The sample changed every third month.

Further, a study of attitudes of immigrants in Denmark within the "rational choice theory" has not been carried out.

4.7. Development of a theoretical framework

My MPhil dissertation, which forms the foundation for this study, employed a social capital approach in a comparative study of attitudes of Danes and immigrants. The study indicated that their attitudes to some extent were governed by rational choice. Expanding the study, it seems natural to develop a theoretical framework combining a rational choice theory with social capital and build on past approaches. Not least so, as it has been mentioned in the literature that a combination of social capital and a transaction cost approach from economics may be one of the missing links in constructing a coherent theory of integration of immigrants or lack thereof (Nannestad, 2008:609). Incorporating *rational choice* in a theoretical framework studying attitudes towards issues related to integration of Danes, immigrants and policymakers has, to my knowledge, not been performed. This approach will, therefore, offer an original contribution to the research of integration of immigrants and may reveal some dimensions of integration previously overlooked.

The thesis sets out to build an original theoretical framework, linking social capital with the theory of social transaction costs, investigating factors influencing attitudes of policymakers and ordinary citizens (Danes and immigrants) towards integration of immigrants in Denmark. On the one hand social capital theory claims that the essence of organized action inheres in the formation and utilization of relationships, which enable action and a competitive advantage over others (Fussell et al, 2006). On the other hand social transaction costs theory focuses on those costs associated with human interaction and relationships and adaptation to accommodate those unfamiliar to oneself. The framework builds on the theory of social transaction cost developed by Professor Peter Nannestad (1999). It has primarily been applied in economic quantitative studies. By linking it to dimensions of social capital and applying it not only to an attitudinal investigation, but also to a qualitative study, I aim to demonstrate its wider analytical potential. In this thesis the framework will hopefully contribute to a better understanding of factors determining attitudes of Danes, immigrants and elite policymakers and thus explain a possible schism between those attitudes.

Initially, this section of the chapter sets out to present the aim of the framework before conceptualizing social capital and social transaction costs. Definitions of social capital are presented and central dimensions of the concept will be described. Particular interest is devoted to the norms of trust and solidarity and theories offering opposite perspectives on the impact of ethnic diversity on solidarity. Outlining the theory of social transaction costs and its relationship with social capital will follow this section. Finally, a brief outline of the application of the framework in the thesis is presented.

4.7.1. Aim of the theoretical framework

Within the aim of the thesis a theoretical framework is formulated. The objects of this framework is threefold: firstly, to elucidate various determinants of attitudes towards integration of immigrants in Denmark. Secondly, to relate rational choice of individuals with theories of social capital and develop an argument for a connection between social capital and social transaction costs. It is believed that an individual's stock of social capital is positively related to the acceptance of social transaction costs. Thirdly, this framework allows an analysis of social structures' impact on attitudes towards integration from the perspective of maximizing the welfare of individual actors and the society.

Developing a framework within a rational choice theory based on the relationship between social capital and transaction costs offers a different perspective on integration but it does not devalue research done within a more conventional framework of "intolerance". Aversion towards immigrants is a complex phenomenon and the employment of a rationality approach does not imply the rejection of other approaches (Nannestad, 1999a).

In this research it is a challenge to identify manifestations of the theory, which is based on concepts that individually may be rather abstract, and transform findings extrapolated from two very different settings and research approaches into a cohesive analysis. However, the topics discussed with policymakers are of such character that an analysis limited to the concepts of social capital and social transaction costs would not produce comprehensive answers. Therefore, the framework must not be exclusive but allow other dimensions to be included when appropriate for addressing the research questions.

4.8. Definitions of social capital

Social capital is a multi-dimensional concept, which is grounded in individual behaviour and attitudes (Brehm et al, 1997), but it can also be defined at group level referring to values and norms prescribing cooperative and trustworthy behaviour that facilitates overcoming obstacles to collective action that otherwise would hinder the development of society. (Coleman, 1988; Boje, 2007; Keefer et al, 2008).

There are many approaches to social capital. Most authors draw attention to the relationships dimension. Social capital comes about through the changes of relations among persons that facilitate action, as social capital exists in the relations among persons (Coleman, 1988; Hazleton et al, 2000; Fukuyama, 2001). Among most scholars the dominant components of the relational dimension of social capital are social trust, civic norms and civic involvement. As such social capital is productive. It makes it possible to achieve certain objectives, which otherwise would be unobtainable if social capital was absent (Coleman, 1990:32).

The definition of social capital by Putnam (2000) encapsulates these components. He conceptualizes social capital as networks and civic engagement, within which norms of the society and reciprocity, cooperation and trust are dominant features that "can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions" (ibid:167). The framework of the thesis will take its departure from this definition as it includes fundamental determinants of integration. Trust is an essential precondition for integration and cooperation. Attitudes towards various norms of a society are indicative of not only an assimilative or multicultural approach to integration but also sense of reciprocity, identity and feeling of belonging. Finally, civic participation and networks provide a measure of engagement with the wider society and level of parallel living, see page 34.

4.8.1. Dimensions of social capital

Dimensions of social capital, which are included in Putnam's definition of the concept, are operationalized as predictors or mediators of an individual's acceptance of a social transaction cost, see below. These dimensions, trust, civic participation and social contact, will be described. The concept "solidarity" is discussed in more details as this dimension is indicative of the coherence of the society, the ultimate goal of integration.

Analytical tools of social capital: the conceptual pair of bridging and bonding social capital

Analyzing integration and social exclusion of ethnic minorities using a social capital approach, Putnam (2000) introduces the analytic tools of *bridging* and *bonding* capital. Bonding capital is group-specific and based on concrete trust (Nannestad, 2008:610). It is seen as inward looking and tends to reinforce exclusive identities and homogeneity. Bridging capital is based on general trust, and it is outward looking and not restricted to certain groups. It is perceived as a means to form broader identities and instigate reciprocity, (Putnam, 2000).

A conventional application of *bridging and bonding* in immigrant studies is an emphasis on the internal solidarity, *closure*, of immigrant groups (Coleman, 1988). High levels of social capital might be found within immigrant communities with distinct phenotypical or cultural characteristics, which may increase prejudices against them. However, the group itself may also hold high degree of social control over its members and place particularistic demands or enforceable trust upon them, thereby constraining individual expression and advancement, which Banfield (1967) identified as *amoral familism*.

Spatial ethnic concentration is often associated with closure leading to amoral familism. However, several commentators (Nannestad et al , 2006, 2008; Platt , 2009; Larsen, 2011) contest that closure or bonding inhibits bridging a wider contact to the community. Nannestad et al (2008) have shown that among a group of immigrants[40] in Denmark bonding produced positive externalities and it did not limit the formation of bridging capital. Platt (2009) finds that social capital within groups of

[40] Data were collected from a sample of first generation immigrants from five different ethnic groups in Denmark at the time: Turks, Pakistanis, Somalis, Palestinians and immigrants from the former Yugoslavia.

immigrants has both protective and supportive value and that higher level of social participation was associated with groups who were more geographically concentrated.

4.8.2. Social structures

Besides relationship, social structure is frequently identified as a dimension of social capital (Coleman 1990; Putnam, 2007; Boje, 2007; Hazleton et al, 2007). Oorshot et al (2005) claim that in general social capital is class and resource related, while Coleman (1988) states that social capital may be rooted also in ethnic group or cultural patterns. The causal order of these dimensions is often difficult to assess and social capital explanations are therefore commonly seen as teleological, indicating that other explanations must be considered as well (Nannestad et al, 2008).

4.8.3. Trust

Social trust is at the core of social capital and it represents two dimensions: interpersonal trust, (horizontal trust), and trust in institutions (vertical trust) (Oorschot et al, 2005). Bjørnskov (2008:272) denotes interpersonal trust as: "the trust we place in other people on whom we have no specific information and whose individual reputation we consequently can know nothing about". According to this line of thinking the source of trust is primarily cultural – established through socialization processes (Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 1995; Inglehart, 1997; Uslaner**,** 2000).

Another position contends that social trust is a collective property. Social trust within a population is regarded as an important factor for the level of social and political development in society (Gundelach, 2004; Delhey, 2005). Some commentators claim that trust in institutions (rule of law, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, voice and accountability) is the most important determinant of social trust in society (Kumlin et al, 2007; Nannestad et al, 2006; Delhey, 2005).

In accordance with those authors claiming that institutional quality matters certain features of the welfare state foster social capital (Rothstein, 2001; Torpe, 2003; Oorshot, 2005; Delhey, 2005; Bjørnskov, 2008). Universal social programs that provide for a more even income distribution are believed to induce trust in both institutions and interpersonally, as people look at each other with less suspicion (Rothstein, 2001; Oorschot, 2005; Bjørnskov, 2008).

The thesis focuses on interpersonal trust, as personal contact between Danes and immigrants is perceived as a pivotal determinant of an individual's acceptance of a social transaction cost (Nannestad, 2004).

Several authors operate with a "trust radius" (Fukuyama, 1996, 2001; Bjørnskov, 2008). They argue that people trust those to whom they are fairly similar to or with whom they share common values (Forbes, 1997; Messick et al, 2001). This is in line with the congruency theory stating that there is a "natural tendency for people to associate with and be more comfortable with others having similar belief and systems" (Rokeach et al., 1960:161). Such fragmentation is mostly measured along two dimensions: income inequality and ethno-linguistic and religious diversity (Bjørnskov, 2008). Income inequality is generally negatively correlated with social trust, while

commentators disagree on ethnic diversity's impact on trust. There is evidence showing that more ethnic homogeneous societies have higher levels of trust (Alesina and La Ferrara, 2000; Uslaner, 2000; Costa and Kahn, 2003). However, a study by Jan Delhey of 60 nations[41] shows that ethnicity matters, but it looses its strength controlling for wealth and good governance (Delhey, 2005). Similarly, a study of 28 European countries refuted a relationship between social capital, including trust, and ethnic diversity in European societies. Instead they posit that economic inequality and democratic institutions provide a better explanation of cross-national differences in social capital in Europe (Gesthuizen et al, 2009).

4.8.4. Civic participation

According to the Tocquevillean-Putnamian model, civic engagement and involvement in voluntary organizations are essential for the formation of social capital (Adam, 2008; Howard et al 2008). Associational life is regarded as "a school of democracy and as an opportunity to learn cooperative behaviour." (Adam, 2008:165).

However, in the context of civic participation, trust is often seen as the catalyst and not an outcome of socializing processes. Some commentators (Stolle,2001; Torpe, 2003) point out that socio-economic structures are positively correlated with participation in these organizations, and they claim that it has not been sufficiently proven that voluntary organizations generate trust.

4.8.5. Norms: reciprocity and solidarity

Norms are an essential part of social capital; particularly those of a prescriptive nature which endorses people to act in the interest of the collectivity (Coleman, 1988). A central part of trust is based on obligation or reciprocity. The yardstick of social capital is the idea of reciprocity and trust (Putnam, 2000), which are regarded as civic virtues that encapsulate how a citizen is supposed to behave (Torpe, 2003). At macro level the norms of reciprocity become an element of a society's social capital that enables people to make assumptions about the behaviour of fellow citizens (Brehm et al, 1997).

The feeling of sympathy and commitment to other citizens we may regard as social solidarity and a dimension of reciprocity. S.Juul defines solidarity as a moral commitment between people, who are dependent of and connected to each other. The commitment institutes a bond, which includes them as members of a community (Juul, 2002:16). The extent of the social solidarity can be envisioned within Durkheim's idea of *mechanic* and *organic solidarity*. The mechanical solidarity includes those to whom one is closely related , such as next of kin or people with similar social or professional status, and it forms a collectivity within which members follow established norms and rules (Giddens, 1978). It derives from the consensus of collective conscience and it has a moral character in the shape of cooperation (Giddens, 1972). But as we approached modern times mechanical solidarity was replaced by organic solidarity, which is a form of cohesion or

[41] Data from Wave 3 of the World Values Survey (55 countries) and Wave 2 (11 countries). 60 countries made up the sample of countries from all regions of the world, but mostly Europe.

relationships between groups (Giddens, 1978). In the welfare state it is important that people trust that everybody have the same feeling of reciprocity and make equal efforts to contribute (White, 2003). It relies on organic solidarity.

4.8.6. The diversity argument and conflict theory.

Two rival perspectives of upholding solidarity dominate the discussion on the sustainability of the welfare state: the diversity and post-materialism argument (Janmaat et al, 2009). These perspectives on the welfare state are congruent with the diametrically opposed *contact* and *conflict theories*. In the following these arguments will be outlined.

The diversity argument is based on the assumption that solidarity is based on a feeling of community that is constituted by people who have something in common (Janmaat, 2009). Growing diversity will compromise social solidarity as it weakens interpersonal trust and communal cohesion (Fukuyama, 2001; Janmaat, 2009). Much research, mostly within a US context, show that there is a negative correlation between ethnic or racial heterogeneity and support for welfare expenditures (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993; Alesina et al, 1999; Luttmer, 2001; Anderson & Paskeviciute, 2006). On the basis of a comparison between welfare regimes in Europe and the US Alesina et Glaser (2004) conclude that European welfare regimes will become less redistributive as they transform into American levels of cultural/ethnic diversity. Authors such as Goodhart (2004) claims, that one of the biggest challenges of the developed world is the clash between sharing and diversity. It is a clash between mechanical and organic solidarity. He predicts that the universal risk-pooling society becomes less sustainable, and the society will have to do a trade-off between solidarity and diversity. The liberal democracies are said to experience the "progressive dilemma" (Goodhart, 2004).

This school of thinking is in line with the *conflict hypothesis*, which claims that "for various reasons, but above all contention over limited resources, diversity fosters out-group distrust and in-group solidarity" (Putnam, 2007: 142). Supporters of the conflict theory hinge their thinking on mainly two theories: Firstly, people are less likely to trust others who are different from themselves and with whom they do not share a common identity (Fukuyama, 1996; Forbes, 1997; Putnam, 2007). Secondly, immigrants and ethnic minorities retain cultural traits that do not assimilate with the majority culture. Immigrants from non-Western countries come from low trust countries characterized in Durkheim's terminology by mechanic and not organic solidarity, which inhibits them from gaining the social capital needed to operate in the society (Dinesen, 2010; Goodhart, 2004).

Critique of diversity argument and conflict theory

The critique of the *diversity argument* mainly focuses on its absence of identifying socio-economic factors. Putnam (2007) finds that though ethnic diversity appears to obstruct the formation of social capital in terms of social trust and participation in the local community, socio-economic factors are

the main barriers. People living in ethnically diverse places tend to be poorer and less educated (ibid, 2007), which are social attributes generally associated with the generation of poor social capital in the form of social trust and networking (ibid, 2007). Nannestad et al (2006) show in a survey of immigrants[42] in Denmark, that resource endowments and quality of public institutions, and not cultural explanations (including religion), are the main variables influencing social trust. Equally, comparative studies of welfare states, see page 22, have shown that diversity does not have a detrimental impact on welfare spending (Banting et al, 2003; Taylor-Gooby, 2005).

4.8.7. Postmaterialism and contact theory

Proponents of contact theory claim that interaction between members of different ethnic groups will increase knowledge about each other and lead to adaptation of each other's culture. The main determinants of this mechanism are said to be duration of immigration spells and equal social status of contacts (Kankaras et al, 2012).

A variant of the contact theory is the theory of post-materialism, which is grounded in social capital. Inglehart (1990, 1997) demonstrates that the Western world has undergone a cultural change of values along with increased wealth post 2nd World War. Since the 1970s he has advanced the theory that people's circumstances during their formative years have major impact on their attitudes and thinking in adolescence. Children growing up in an economically secure environment tend to possess values encompassing autonomy, equality and personal development (post-materialist views). Post-materialists are also believed to have a broader perspective on life, and they are positively inclined towards alternative life-styles and cultural diversity, which may instigate solidarity with the foreign (Janmaat et al, 2009). By contrast, people experiencing poverty in their early years are prone to hold values emphasizing physical and economic security (materialist views). Inglehart et al (2005) recognize, that post-materialist values are also subordinated to educational status. In line with other commentators, Marsch (1975:22) questions, therefore, the depth of an individual's post-materialist attitudes and whether they are "merely a fashionable and perhaps slightly cynical pose adopted by those who can personally afford to be less concerned about material security".

4.9. Theory of social transaction costs

The theory of social transaction costs is developed by Peter Nannestad. It focuses on those costs associated with human interaction and solidarity. In his book, Solidaritetens Pris (The Price of Solidarity) (1999), he outlines the theory that is formulated into a model analysing the relationship between immigrants and native Danes. Nannestad emphasizes that the theory is an overriding interpretative framework.

[42] The study was based on data from the 1999-2000 EVS and on a survey in Denmark of three groups of non-Western immigrants in Denmark (Turks, Pakistanis and Ex-Yugoslavs)

As point of departure Nannestad argues that conventional theories of aversion towards ethnic minorities commonly include factors outside a person's awareness (material structures, the media, lack of contact etc.) They belong to the group of "marionette-theories', which states that any "moves" by a person is dictated by others than themselves (Nannestad, 1999:34). An alternative to these theories is a cost benefit analysis of solidarity. The individual bases his attitude on calculations, expressing negative attitudes towards something he expects will result in a welfare loss. According to rational choice theory, inspired by economic behavioural theories, an individual's behaviour is governed by calculations of benefits. All individuals are thought to aim at maximizing personal gains. They are rational utility maximizers, whose behaviour is goal-directed, and they tend to look after their own interests first (Nannestad, 2004:290). Solidarity with ethnic minorities is regarded as an honourable thing, but solidarity has a price, which not all are willing to pay. Decisive for the development of aversion towards ethnic minorities is the development of the absolute and relative price of solidarity (Nannestad, 1999).

4.9.1. Outline of the theory of social transaction costs

Another aspect of the rational choice theory is *social transaction cost*. The theory is congruent with analyses of social capital in the economic and political sphere. Fukuyama's (2001) hypothesizes that transaction costs are dependent upon the stock of social capital that actors possess. If interactions take place in an environment dominated by norms of reciprocity and trust, then transaction costs, such as bureaucracy, are lowered. Equally, Knack and Keefer (1997) conclude on the basis of a survey of 29 market economies that higher trust is instrumental for economic growth.

The theory of social transaction costs is based on individuals' and society's norms of solidarity and behaviour. It is based on a study of attitudes of Danes, but the theory is equally applicable to immigrants. If everybody knows and accept the institutional frames, interaction will occur within them. The bigger homogeneity, understood as common knowledge of institutional frames for social interactions and consensus about them, the lower the social transactions will be. The problem is that many of these institutions are very cultural and group specific. An individual will have to either change his own habits or make an extra effort to accommodate another person's norms. The costs may show as lack of understanding of each other's norms. It may also be as simple as an impediment to communication. Immigrants will have to spend extra time learning Danish (Nannestad, 2004). They are also expected to acquire new social competences, e.g. to navigate in the public space and accommodate themselves to values such as gender equality and freedom of expression. Danes will have to "live rather than profess tolerance " and to compete on equal footing with immigrants for "the collective goods of the state" (ibid, 2004:292). Ethnic minorities' otherness must therefore be expected to be a factor in itself, which can make the majority averse to ethnic minorities, not necessarily because of racism, but because otherness involves higher social

interaction costs and a loss of welfare. The welfare loss can be economical as well as non-economical. The latter we can identify as social transaction costs.

From the perspective of Danes, growing social transactions costs may not arise from concrete contact with ethnic minorities, but rather as a result of changes in the society to adapt to immigration and avoid social tensions along ethnic lines and the rate of growth of ethnic minorities (Nannestad, 2004). Nannestad (1999) hypothesizes that aversion towards ethnic minorities fluctuates with the extent of immigration to Denmark and that the aversion develops anti-cyclically with economic developments. On the basis of 26 independent and random samples taken every third month between 1987 – 1993 Nannestad shows that a growing aversion towards immigrants was linked to a rise in asylum seekers in Denmark and fluctuation in unemployment at a time when the country experienced a recession (ibid, 1999).
Social transaction costs are, therefore, not only seen as the realization of a transaction but also as a disutility of the transaction (Nannestad, 2004). They are part of the price of solidarity and it can result in aversion towards ethnic minorities, even though the majority does not have any direct contact with them.

4.9.2. Social transaction costs and independent variables

The stock and sort of social capital actors possess becomes essential in accepting social transaction costs. Nannestad (1999:220) talks of "capability to pay". Mainly education but also income are independent variables in this proposition (ibid, 1999). Education is believed to be a resource and a socializing factor, and an important determinant of attitudes towards immigrants (Andersen, 2002; Citrin et al 2008). Surveys have shown that the marginalized among native populations have less trust in immigrants (Espenshade et al, 1996) and conditions for accepting immigrants are higher among people with lower education and socio-economic status (Oorshoot, 2000).
Juul (2002) contends that in a Danish context the better educated section of the population have limited contact with immigrants and their higher level of solidarity has no costs. He talks of "surplus solidarity" [overskudssolidaritet], which you show people outside your community. By contrast, and in line with the conflict theory, people with only basic education will more often perceive immigrants as competing for the same jobs, and therefore they have less solidarity with the newcomers.
However, Nannestad points out that the "willingness" to accept social transaction costs in the end depends on a person's structure of preferences and therefore their attitudes (Nannestad, 1999: 220).

4.9.3. Acceptance of social transaction costs within integration regimes

Multicultural societies are associated with higher social transaction costs (Nannestad, 1999). Simply stated, when there is not only one norm or attitude in the society, it takes more knowledge or insight to learn to get on in certain situations. The individual must be familiar with several sets

of norms and values. The rational individual will of course take into consideration the economic gain of integration policies, but the cultural gain or costs are equally important.
If one maintains that Danish society must remain mono-cultural and immigrants must assimilate, the transaction costs are to be born solely by the immigrants. It is not difficult to see that such an attitude is most prominent amongst resource poor groups. The more radical multiculturalism is, the bigger proportion of the social transaction costs must be born by Danes.

4.10 Application of the framework.

Previously, rational choice theory has primarily been applied in an economical context to measure the relationship of changes in attitude of Danes towards immigrants over time as an effect of unemployment rates and the extent of immigration (Nannestad, 1999). The theoretical framework of the thesis focuses on the social transaction costs that individuals are willing to pay to preserve solidarity. The incorporation of social capital with transaction costs is very relevant for an investigation of attitudes towards integration, as the dimensions of social capital included in this framework overlaps the Danish government's denotation of cultural integration, see page 35. Secondly, the productive nature of social capital complements *agency* that an individual within the rational choice theory possesses.

The theoretical framework implies two central premises: Individuals with higher education are more likely to accept social transaction costs. But, they are simultaneously less likely to have personal contact with out-group members and experience any transaction costs. This relationship is expected to be particularly strong for Danes, and less prominent for immigrants. By nature, any transaction induces a cost, and therefore social contacts entail transaction costs (Nannested, 1999). It cannot be taken for granted that a contact between members representing two different ethnic groups will produce higher transaction costs than a contact between in-group members, but it is a fair assumption to make.
The framework is operationalized rather rigidly in a quantitative analysis of an on-line questionnaire examining attitudes of Danes and immigrants. Statistical models are constructed to measure the relationship between education and variables that function as latent variables of social transaction costs. Dimensions of social capital (social trust, membership of inter-ethnic organisations and out-group contact) are inserted in these models to test how these dimensions affect/mediate the acceptance of the social transaction cost in the models. The latter may be a variable measuring level of agreement with a norm. Adaption or lack thereof is seen as an indicator of an individual's acceptance of a social transaction cost.

Regarding the elite policymakers the framework is not fully applicable. The social capital element is restricted to social contact: having an outgroup friend, having or having had an outgroup colleague and density of immigrants in the neighbourhoods of the interviewees. As contact with an outgroup member per se is seen as a social transaction cost, social contact represents an indicator

of interviewees' experience of those costs. It must be noted, that any form of contact does not levy an equal cost. This will be discussed further in chapter 8. Attitudes of policymakers will then be held up against the form of contact/social transaction costs they have experience to see if there is any correlation between attitudes and form of contact. Attitudes of the elite policymakers and their personal conatact with immigrants will also be compared with their educational level. Better educated people are more likely to participate in politics (Citrin et al, 2008). Therefore it is hypothesized that their attitudes are more skewed to reflect the attitudes of the better educated section of the population, who are expected to have less contact with immigrants than the general population.

The objective of the thesis is also to clarify how changes in society may instigate social transaction costs. Therefore, the analysis will investigate how integration policies may affect the distribution of social transaction costs among immigrants and Danes and how this distribution influences the thinking of policymakers.

4.11. Limitations of the theory

Transplanting theories from economics into a study of attitudes of Danes and immigrants will undoubtedly raise much criticism. In line with A. Sen's (1987) critique of the failure of a "homo-economicus perspective" to recognize the contentment actors gain from doing good for others in the group they belong to, Togeby (1999) criticizes the theory of rational choice for being a very mechanical theory. The decisions by an individual are based on simple benefit maximizing calculations. "Gone is the morally autonome, personally responsible individual" (ibid, 1999:448).

The critique seems relevant. The study does not investigate other underlying mechanisms, which may determine attitudes of an individual, and it makes this study more one-dimensional. However, *rational choice* does not exclude altruistic attitudes, but it excludes that individuals act exclusively altruistic (Nannestad, 1999:35). Neither does the theory turn individuals into non-moral actors. It rather implies a non-moral vantage point of the researcher; an action does not a priori contain a moral evaluation (ibid, 1999:39).

Social capital is a very convoluted concept, and commentators strongly disagree upon what it entails. The concept is often criticized for aiming at encompassing every feature of life, and there is a risk that too much is explained with too little (Woolcock, 1998: 156). Some see social capital as a result of rational interpersonal actions (Coleman, 1988), while Putnam underlines the aspect of non-rational ties (Putnam, 2000). A heavily discussed feature of social capital is the difficulty to differentiate between the sources of social capital and the benefits attained from it (Woolcock, 1998). What is the "medium" and what is the "message", or is it both? (ibid, 1998:156). The complexity of the concept limits its validity, and its inexact causal routes make it more difficult to operationalize. These problems cannot be completely alleviated, as they are inherent characteristics of social capital. However, in order to validate comparisons of findings of the thesis with findings

in other attitudinal surveys the employed proxies for social capital are variables of which many have been utilized in other social capital studies. These variables are operationalized in ways similar to their application in those studies.

4.12. Summary of chapter four

The second part of this chapter has described the theoretical framework of the thesis. The framework aims at facilitating new insights into the attitudes of Danes, immigrants and policymakers, relating the theory of social transaction costs with dimensions of social capital. The chapter has provided an account of the conceptualization of the above notions and factors determining their salience. Within a rational choice theory the social transaction costs are the welfare loss a utility maximizer will endure, either through direct contact with an out-group member or as a consequence of adaptation to different norms or acceptance of societal changes. Willingness to pay the costs depends on preferences and personal resources, predominantly education. The willingness to pay is the cost of solidarity, the overriding dimension of social capital that secures the coherence of society. The chapter illuminates two different rival perspectives of upholding solidarity: the diversity and post-materialist argument. The former claims that ethnic and cultural diversity and solidarity work antagonistically while the latter believes that diversity in itself may promote solidarity.

The theoretical framework is applied to a quantitative attitudinal survey of Danes and immigrants. Together with educational level and control variables dimensions of social capital (social trust, membership of inter-ethnic organisations and out-group contact) will be held up against attitudes towards variables that function as latent variables of social transaction costs. The framework is less applicable in the study of attitudes of elite policymakers, and the analysis of attitudes of policymakers goes beyond the scope of the framework.

Chapter 5: Methodology – researching attitudes of elite policymakers.

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5. Introduction

The broad objective of studying attitudes of ordinary citizens (Danes and immigrants) and policymakers are to explore any division between their attitudes, which may offer an insight into the lack of integration of immigrants, culturally and structurally. This precipitates a comparative study between these groups of respondents in order to demonstrate any discrepancies in their perceptions of and expectations to integration of immigrants in Denmark.

A research design is chosen according to the strategic principles of the research (Bauer et al, 2000). This research has two distinctively different units, policy makers and the general population. With regard to policymakers research questions set out to explore causal links between personal experiences and attitudes of policymakers, while still allowing for different issues and causal relationships to be investigated (Ritchie, 2003; Mahoney, 2007). A case study applying a qualitative methodology seems most appropriate for this group of respondents.

The thesis aspires to create a more general representation of attitudes of "ordinary people". Therefore, answering the questions related to Danes and immigrants a quantitative approach has been chosen with the application of a cross–sectional survey.
It was expected that it would be difficult to access policymakers and immigrants. In both cases the challenge involved not only the task of enrolling participants, but also the securing of samples that would provide the research validity, analytically, in terms of vindication or rejection of the theoretically framework, and statistically alike. The validity of the overall research depends on generating data within both samples that clearly measure phenomena, which are comparable.

This chapter describes the research method adopted for answering the research questions related to the policymakers. In chapter 9, preceding its related empirical chapter, the applied methodology for the interviews of Danes and immigrants will be presented. This chapter is divided into 5 sections. Initially, the units of the study are outlined. This is followed by a presentation of the research design, and in the third section sample method and the constitution of the sample are described. Then the chapter moves on to outline the structure of the interviews. Finally, a brief review of the data analysis is sketched out.

5.1. Units of Analysis

The research of elite policymakers are founded on the theoretical propositions built from the theoretical framework and the literature review, see table 5.1.
Elite Policymakers are understood as politicians and senior bureaucrats at national and municipality level. Justification of the applied criteria for delineating groups of policymakers is presented in

chapter 1. However, recapitulating the criteria, elite policymakers are drawn from national and municipality level because policy position of political actors is an important determinant for their attitudes (Laver, 2001). Bureaucrats are included, as they are regarded as an integral and influential part of policy making. Olwig (2011) writes that senior bureaucrats have a great deal of discretionary power, and Mills (1999) notes that modern societies are less political and more administrative.

The participants in the survey are 17 parliamentarians, 17 councillors, 3 senior civil servants at the Ministry of Refugees, Immigration and Integration Affairs (MRII), 3 senior civil servants at local municipalities and two representatives, respectively, of a local ethnic council and the national umbrella organisation, The Council of ethnic Minorities[43]. Two high profile academics, who have contributed to the public debate on integration of immigrants, were also interviewed. They are not an integral part of the investigation. They function more as commentators, who seek to influence policies through other institutional means, such as research or publishing. The interviews of the academics were not analysed within the theoretical framework.

Table 5.1: Research questions and hypothesis according to the units of the research

Units	Research questions	Hypothesis
National politicians (17 Local politicians (17) Civil servants Ministerial civil servants (3) Civil servants at local administration (3) Representatives of Ethnic Councils (2) Academics (2)	1. How do the elite policymakers perceive integration and the challenges to society that integration of immigrants represents?	1. Policymakers tend to be governed by views dominated by the better educated part of the population and they endure lower social transaction costs than the public
	2. How do policymakers' policy position, educational level and nature of their relationship with the public influence their attitudes? What is the level and nature of elite policymakers' contact with immigrants?	

Notes: number of participants in (brackets)

The relationship of the elite policymakers with the public is conceptualized as their view of the position they hold in relation to the electorates. Do the policy makers see themselves as responding to the will of the masses or are they guided primarily by ideology, which will govern their attitudes and contact with the public?

5.2. Research design of the study of policymakers' attitudes.

The strategy for the research of policy makers resemble many of the characteristics of a case study model. Within that model a qualitative method has been chosen. "By the term qualitative research

[43] Municipalities may set up ethnic councils consisting of immigrants only and working as advisory bodies for the municipalities. Municipalities are not required by law to set up such councils. Members of the councils may be appointed by the municipality or elected by immigrants within the municiipality. The Council of Ethnic Minorities is elected by members of local integration councils. In the study, the member of the local integration council represented the integration council in Odense, whose members are elected by immigrants.

we mean any type of research that produces findings not arrived at by statistical procedures or other means of quantification" (Strauss el al, 1988:11).

The aim of studying attitudes of policy makers is not to *count opinions* (Walker, 1985) but to gain an insight into how their opinions and behaviour relate to their experiences with immigrants and social background. Personal accounts are therefore necessary if one wants fully to understand and uncover these accounts (ibid: 1985).

5.2.1. The case study model

Robert Yin (1994:13) defines the case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context". Features of a case study include "small- N" (ibid, 1994), a very detailed and in-depth study (Dooley, 2002; Gerring, 2004; Bryman, 2008), and that a phenomenon is studied in context (Yin, 1994; Cresswell, 1998; Lewis, 2003). This description provides a suitable strategy for the study of attitudes of elite policymakers as it seeks to establish an in-depth knowledge of their perception of integration and put them into other contexts, e.g. personal contacts with immigrants or welfare policies.

A case study approach is particularly advantageous when a study wants to test the explanatory power of a theory (Flyvbjerg, 2006). This study investigates how social transaction costs manifest themselves and influence attitudes of policy makers. Though the study tests an existing theory it is also exploratory. The nature of a case study qualifies it for exploring new concepts, clarifying them and vetting for hidden meanings and multiple interpretations (Gerring, 2004; Yin, 1994).

An essential distinction of the case study from other research strategies rests with its transferability. Data from case studies do not qualify for making statistical generalization (enumerate frequencies). Instead, the strength of the case study is contingent of its usefulness to expand and generalize theories (analytic generalization) (Yin, 1994). Accordingly, the study of politicians does not allow us to make any generalization about policy makers, but the applied method enables us to make inferences about social transaction costs in the context of policy makers' attitudes.

Sampling

5.2.2. Selection of research sites

The sample frame of the study included national and local policymakers drawn from various sites with the aim at establishing a sample of interviewees representing different policy positions and constituencies.

Parliament and the Ministry of Integration were selected as the sites for national politicians and civil servants working at central administration. At municipal level three sites were chosen representing a metropolis (Copenhagen), a big provincial city (Odense) and a rural area (Assens). Odense is an industrial town with many educational institutions, including a university, while Assens relies on a few small industries and agriculture. Both are situated on the island, Fynen. The

density of immigrants are very different in these sites and it would be expected that the problems they face with regards to integration of immigrants would reflect such differences, see table 5.2. About on third of all non-Western immigrants, approximately 6500, in Odense live in one housing estate, named Vollsmose.

Table 5.2: Density of residents with a non-Western background (immigrants and descendants) in Copenhagen, Odense and Assens in total numbers and percentage, 2011

Municipality	Number of residents	Non-Western residents	Percentage of non-Western residents
Copenhagen	541.989	80.215	15
Odense	190.103	19.354	10
Assens	41.604	709	2

Source: Statistics Denmarks, 2013b

Unemployment rates at the time of the interviews were quite similar between Copenhagen and the region of Fynen, where both Odense and Assens are situated[44]. Calculating the difference in unemployment rates between Danes and immigrants the difference is 14.8% higher in Copenhagen than in the region of Fynen, see table 5.3.

Table 5.3: Unemployment rates in percentage for Danes and non-Western immigrants in Copenhagen and the region of Fynen (Odense and Assens), 3rd quarter of 2011

	Danes	Non-Western immigrants
Copenhagen	6.2	16.3
Fynen	6.7	15.5

Source: Statistics Denmark, 2013

At the time of the interviews Copenhagen had a department of integration and a Committee of Integration within the city council[45]. In Odense the local administration has a department of integration, but within the city council matters regarding immigrants are under the domain of the council of employment. Assens has a similar structure of the city council, but the municipality has no department of integration. However, the municipality employs one integration officer at the department of employment.

5.3. Sample method

A purposive sampling method was employed to identify potential interviewees. In such a sample members are chosen to represent a type in a relation to a criterion and on the basis of expectations about their information content (Ritchie et al, 2003; Flyvbjerg, 2006). In this study the objective was to sample a range of views on integration of immigrants held by policy makers. The measure to secure this objective was a sample representing all the parties in Parliament or local city

[44] Fynen is one of the two main islands of `Denmark. The mainland of Denmark is the peninsula of Jytland. It has not been possible to generate unemployment data specifically for the municipalities. All publicized data are at regional level.

[45] The department has since been combined with the department of employment.

councils. However, this strategy was applied not to secure equal presentation of political parties but as a mode to secure representation of different perspectives.

Sampling of politicians

Referring to the criterion the sample frame of national politicians was composed by members of Parliament with an expected knowledge or experience of the topic under investigation or who were expected to have substantial influence on policies related to the topic. At Parliament leaders of 8 out of the 9 political parties represented in Parliament[46], see table 6.2., page 79, all members of the Parliamentary Committee for Foreigners and Integration (14), commonly called "Committee on Integration", and present and past Ministers of Integration (3) were identified and contacted. Six members of Parliament with an immigrant background and four parliamentarians who in the past have been either central decision makers or have taken much part in the public debate on immigration were included in the sample.

In the municipalities members of committees dealing with integration of immigrants made up the sample frame for politicians. Some political parties had several members on these committees and in such cases the first party representative mentioned on the committee list would be selected. In the municipalities at least one member from each party represented in the city councils were contacted.

At Parliament and the municipalities alike it was harder to establish interviews with Centre Right politicians. In Parliament the problem resolved by expanding the sample frame to parliamentarians who were not a member of the Committee on Integration. In Odense snow-balling sampling was applied to establish a sample. An important "gate keeper" was the principal integration officer of the municipality. Using a gatekeeper presents the risk of assembling subjects agreeing with the gatekeeper (Bryman, 2008). However, that appeared not to be the case in this situation.

Sampling of civil servants and representatives of Ethnic Councils and scholars

At MRII the senior officer and five section leaders[47] were contacted. In Copenhagen the chief integration officer and head of the municipality administration were identified. The latter abstained from participating. In Odense the chief integration officer and also a senior integration officer were included in the study, as the latter was considered to be very instrumental in the implementation of local policies. An integration officer in Assens was also included in the sample frame, but he abstained from being interviewed.

[46] The Christian Democrats had one representatives in Parliament. However, he was originally elected to Parliament as member of the Conservative Party.

[47] The MRII was divided into 5 sections.

The sampling frame for the national Council of Ethnic Minorities was members living in Copenhagen or the surrounding areas. This premise was made for travelling reasons. The member of the Ethnic Council in Odense was targeted for holding a prominent position in the local ethnic council.

5.3.1. The constitution of the sample

The sample constitutes 40 local and national politicians and civil servants, two representatives of ethnic minority organisations and two academics. The sample of politicians and civil servants include 17 Parliamentarians (1 party leader), 17 councillors, 3 civil servants at the MRII (the senior officer and two section leaders) and 3 civil servants at municipality level, see table 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6. Of the 17 councillors 7 were drawn from the municipality council of Copenhagen, 7 from Odense and 3 from Assens, the rural municipality.

Politicians appear by their real name in the study. They are drawn from a small pool, and their views were expected at times to be very explicit. Their anonymity would be fractious and rather illusionary. For ethical reasons it was then decided not to interview the politicians anonymously. The participation of civil servants and members of ethnic councils is anonymous. However, the civil servants were informed that due to the small number of employees in their respective departments their comments might be possible to trace to the source.

5.3.2. Sample bias

The response rate for the politicians turned out to be 69% and for the civil servants 55%[48]. It is not possible to assess whether those who were contacted but did not want to participate represent certain views. In particular, it was Centre Right politicians who refrained from being interviewed, and the reason for this was never made clear to me. However, Kezar (2003) mentions that politicians tend to view social scientists as liberals, and the Centre Right politicians may therefore have had a negative perception of this study.

Equally, it may also be that those who volunteered to participate hold stronger opinions on the topic than those who declined to be interviewed. Such bias, sample error, may be more evident in small studies like this, which relies on voluntary participation. However, the findings of the interviews did not indicate sample error of this art.

[48] The response rate of civil servants is misleading. The Ministry of Integration organized within themselves that 3 out 6 subjects identified for the study would participate. It was not expected that all section leaders would participate. The head of the municipality administration of Copenhagen declined to be inteveiwed as he felt the topic was outside his domain.

Table 5.4: Interviewees: members of Parliament according to party affiliation and selection criteria

Members of Parliament		
Name	**Political party**	**Selection criteria**
Amnitzbøll, Simon Emil	The Liberal Alliance	spokesman on integration[1]
Andersen, Liv Holm	Social Liberals	spokesperson on integration[2]
Fuglsang, Meta	People's Socialist Party (SF)	member of Committee on Integration
Haarder, Bertel	The Liberals	former Minister of Integration
Henriksen, Martin	The Danish People's Party (DF)	member of Committee on Integration
Henriksen, Rene	The Danish People's Party (DF)	appointed by party administration
Hønge, Karsten	People's Socialist Party (SF)	public debater
Jelved, Marianne	Social Liberals	spokesman on integration[3]
Khader, Naser	The Conservative party	spokesman on integration (immigrant)
Kier, Vivi	The Conservative party	public debater on integration
Krag, Astrid	People's Socialist Party (SF)	spokesman on integration
Krarup, Søren	The Danish People's Party (DF)	public debater
Kristensen, Henrik Dam	Social Democratic Party	spokesman on integration
Panduro, Maja	Social Democratic Party	member of Committee on Integration
Petersen, Niels Helveg	Social Liberals	former secretary of state
Schmidt-Nilsen, Johanne	Red-Green Alliance	member of Committee on Integration. Party leader
Øktem, Fatma	The Liberals	spokeswoman on equal rights (descendant)

Notes: [1] *All spokesperson on integration were members of Committee on Integration*
[2] *Liv Holm Andersen was interviewed after the election 2011, when she became the spokesperson on integration for the Social Liberals.*
[3] *At the time of the interview in May 2011 Marianne Jelved was her party's spokesperson on integration.*
[1] *In Denmark a mayor heads all city councils.*

Table 5.5: Interviewees: Members of city councils according to party affiliation and selection criterion

Members of city council		
Name	**Political party**	**Selection criteria**
Arendtsen, Alex	The Danish People's Party (DF), Odense	member of Committee on elder persons
Bloem, Neil S.	People's Socialist Party (SF), Copenhagen	member of Committee on Integration
Brunse, Finn	Social Democratic Party, Assens	Mayor[1]
Dybro, Brian	People's Socialist Party (SF), Odense	member of labour Committee
Ebbesen, Carl Christian	The Danish People's Party (DF), Copenhagen	member of Committee on Integration
Færch, Signe	Red-Green Alliance, Copenhagen	member of Committee on Integration
Grossman, Mark	The Conservative party, Odense	member of Committee on Childen's Affairs
Hedlund, Susan	Social Democratic Party, Copenhagen	member of Committee on Integration
Jegind, Jane	The Liberals, Odense	head of department on elder persons and handicap Care[2]
Mulle Johansen, Mogens	People's Socialist Party (SF), Assens	member of labour committee
Lønborg, Mogens	The Conservative party, Copenhagen	member of Committee on Integration
Mansour, Mohammad	Social Democratic Party, Odense	member of labour Committee (immigrant)
Munch, Flemming Steen	The Liberals, Copenhagen	member of Committee on Integration
Rahbæk, Peter Juel	Social Democratic Party, Odense	head of department of labour and social affairs[2]
Sarwar, Ikram	Social Democratic Party, Copenhagen	member of Committee on Integration (descendant)
Thulesen-Dahl, Jens Henrik	The Danish People's Party (DF), Assens	member of Labour Committee
Willumsen, Stina	Peoples Socialist Party (SF), Odense	Head of department of children and youth

Notes: [1] *In Denmark a mayor heads all city councils. It is a full time job.*
[2] *The city council elects an administrative and political head of each department amongst its members. It is a fulltime position.*

Table 5.6: Interviewees: List of civil servants, representatives of ethnic councils, academics and their place of work

Civil servants	
Ministry of Refugees, Immigration and Integration Affairs	
Grove, Bent senior civil servant	MRII
Bjerre, Rune section leader	MRII
Hansen, Lars section leader	MRII
Local administrations	
Larsen, Hanne senior integration officer	Municipality of Odense
Antar, Abdul section leader, immigrant	Municipality of Odense
Gaarde, Thomas senior integration officer,	Municipality of Copenhagen
Representatives of ethnic councils	
Kanaan, Ebrahim	Council of Ethnic Minorities
Kalil, Diya	Integration Council (Odense)
Academics	
Gundelach, Peter	Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Copenhagen
Necef, Mehmet Umit, Turkish immigrant	Associate Professor, Centre for Contemporary Middle East Studies, University of Southern Denmark

5.4. Elite interviews

"Elite interviews" present challenges of a different nature. It is a challenge to gain access to this group of policymakers, and to establish interviews that obtain the personal opinions of the interviewees and not just political statements along party lines.

In the literature elite interviewing differs from interviewing *ordinary* people. The main difference is very much embedded in the social dynamic of the interview situation. Bygnes (2008:2) denotes elite interviews as "researching up" with the power structure having shifted towards the interviewee.

Semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions, supplemented by a topic guide, were chosen as the means to engage with the policy makers and obtain information. This form of interview is recommended when conducting an interview with a person of authority or power (Aberbach et al, 2002; Kezar, 2003). Open-ended questions enable the interview to take the form of a conversation, which allows a more wide-ranging discussion and the interviewee to structure their account within their own framework (Aberbach, 2002; Kezar, 2003).

However, open-ended questions are a double-edged sword that must be handled carefully. Rigor of the interview and management of time may suffer.

Other methods of gaining information were found to be inferior to the applied method. Distributing a questionnaire would be economical and enable the study to include a higher number of respondents. However, policymakers are known to find such method irrespective of their expertise and status (Aberbach et al, 2002) and it does not allow any form of in-depth discussion. Alternatively, focus groups could also be a means of data collection. But this form of interview does not match the profile of the interviewees well. First, it was very hard to arrange an interview with many politicians, and rescheduling of interviews was more the norm than the exception. To find a time that a group of politicians could agree upon and at the same time expect them to commit a full hour for a focus group, would be very optimistic. Secondly, policymakers were asked to speak their personal opinion, which I felt most of them did to a great extent. However, if politicians were assembled together with political opponents, they most likely would argue along traditional party lines.

5.4.1. Topic guides

Topic guides were designed for each of the five groups of policymakers and for the acedemics, see table 5.1 and appendices 5.3, 5.4, 5.5, 5.6. The structure of the topic guides for politicians and civil servants were very similar where as the topic guides for the scholars were tailored to the individual interviewees.

The topic guides are very substantial and it was not expected that all topics could be covered in an interview. Some interviews dwelt very deeply with certain aspects at the cost of not talking about other topics included in the guide. A topic guide should not be followed slavishly (Gaskell, 2000) and the interviews would often be structured differently to plan as the flow of the conversation, and not the topic guide, lead the interviews.

Objectives

The topics outlined within the topic guides have the following objectives for politicians, civil servants and the representatives of the immigrant organizations, see appendices 5.3 and 5.4.

- Explore the respondent's perception of integration and a multicultural society
- Explore the respondent's experience of Danish integration policies.
- Investigate the policy making process in terms of participating actors, involvement of interest groups and national influence on regional integration policies.
- Obtain information about respondent's personal contact with non-Western immigrants.

Rationales for the topic guide

Within the objective of the topic guides headings for the topics to be included in the interview were designed. Apart from demographic data the topics included are listed below. Within each topic the rationales of the topics are outlined.

Perception of the concepts of integration and multiculturalism

To establish respondents' views of fundamental concepts in order to clarify the conceptual framework of the respondents' attitudes. The conceptualization, in contrast to policy questions, also serves to make respondents think in non-party lines from the beginning of the interview.

Aim of Danish integration policies and main challenges

To clarify what interviewees think are the main objectives of Danish integration policies and what role immigrants and Danes have in the integration process.

General questions on integration, the welfare state and Islam

To illuminate the respondents' view of Danish identity and whether there is such a concept as "Danish norms and values" and what it entails. This question is much debated among scholars (Rasmussen, 2011) and politicians. The solidarity of immigrants are often said to stretch no further than to the family and does not include the wider community (Goodhart, 2004), just as Islam is perceived to be a major obstacle for integration (Jacobsen, 2009). Views on these issues will be recorded.

Sources of information and decision–making

To explore to which extent immigrants and ordinaty Danes are heard in the policy making process and at what level policies are formulated. In the literature local governments are perceived to have substantial influence on policy making (Dalsgaard, 2000). There are conflicting views of the role councils of immigrants should play and whether Islamic organizations should have a role in policy making, as advocated by T. Modood (2007).

Discussion of specific integration issues

Current issues in the public debate will be brought forward in order to relate general attitudes to specific issues related to immigrants. The chosen topics, with the exception of Start Assistance[49], are also included in the questionnaire of the survey of Danes and immigrants.

Personal contact with immigrants

This section aspires to cover how much contact interviewees have with immigrants (contact with Danes if a respondent has an immigrant background). The interview probes into various forms of contact in order to correlate contact with immigrants with attitude towards integration.

[49] Interviews of Danes conducted for my MPhil revealed that the interviewees had a very poor understanding of Start Assistance. Therefore this policy has not been included in the survey.

The scholars

Two scholars were interviewed: Professor Peter Gundelach[50] and Associate Professor Mehmet Necef[51]. Both are prominent scholars in their fields of research. They represent not only different research perspectives on integration of immigrants, but they also express very different views on integration policies in their publications.

The main body of the topic guides of the scholars targeted some central issues of their research. The conversation with Professor Peter Gundelach focused on the development of Danish national identity and the secularization of society in light of an increasing number of practicing Muslims in the society. The interview with Associated Professor Mehmet Umit Necef mainly resolved around two topics: Danish researchers' analytic approach to integration of immigrants in Denmark, and the impact of social welfare on immigrants' employment rates, see appendices 5.5 and 5.6.

5.4.2 Contacting participants

Most interviews were conducted during spring 2011. Preparatory procedures as well as the conduction of interviews were carried out according to guidelines stipulated by CUREC. Identified subjects were contacted by e-mail about two months prior to expected date for an interview, see appendix 5.1. In case of a positive response a preliminary date was often set up and then confirmed closer to the date of the interview. Communication with the politicians happened most times through their secretaries.

5.4.3. Conducting the interviews

All but two interviews with Parliamentarians were conducted at Parliament, while interviews with local politicians were administered either at an office at their respective city halls or at an office at their workplace. One Parliamentarian preferred a telephone interview, while another interview with a Parliamentarian took place in a café. The latter place was far from ideal, but as Goldstein (2002: 670) remarks: "it would be foolish not to take advantage of any access". All interviews were digitally recorded.

Interviews were set to last one hour. However, on the request of the interviewees many interviews carried on for longer. Still, the Parliamentarians were often short of time and some interviews lasted no longer than 25 minutes.

At the beginning of each interview with politicians it was stressed that they would be quoted in person. The politicians were also informed that I was very familiar with the manifesto of the political party they represented, so the conversation was about learning their personal views and

[50] Professor at University of Copenhagen, department of Sociology. He is the chief researcher of The Danish Value Survey, the Danish edition of European Value Survey. He has published extensively, particularly on Danish identity, values and norms in Denmark, but also on values of immigrants.

[51] Associate Professor, Centre for Contemporary Middle East studies, University of Southern Denmark. His research has focused primarily on Turkey and Turkish immigrants in Denmark. In his research he has been critical of the approach by Danish researchers emphasizing racism and discrimination in their analysis of integration of immigrants. He was among the first scholars who critically wrote about the dynamics between immigrants and the welfare state.

not the views of their party. The civil servants were informed about their anonymity, but I made it clear that in their cases the pool of informants was small, and they might be recognized by people with knowledge of their organization. All participants would sign a form of consent, see appendix 5.2.

It is crucial when interviewing a public figure that the subject relaxes and trusts the interviewer in order to open up and express personal views (Kezar, 2003, Gaskell, 2000). It is a matter of gaining *rapport*. The interviewer must show the subject that he is listening and interested (Leech, 2002:665). For this research it was very important to establish *rapport* as a means to have respondents expressing personal views rather than duplicating party statements.

Firstly, the subject was informed that they could refuse to answer any questions. Thereby the interviewee was left with a feeling of being in control of the conversation (Goldstein, 2002). It was pointed out, distinctively for the civil servants, that if they found a question too political, they should not feel obliged to answer. Secondly, I was careful with interruptions and probes. Any probing would only serve to clarify a matter and I would follow the argument of the interviewee. Interviewees may, as I personally experienced, dislike having their interpretations challenged (Kezar, 2003) and polite probing must be done skilfully. Critical questions was often phrased in such a way that interviewees were asked to criticize their own cases by referring to opposite views (Berry, 2002). Post interview a participant would receive an e-mail thanking for the interviewee's time.
The interviews were not preceded by a pilot study involving policy makers. During the first couple of interviews changes within the topic guide was made. Some topics were deleted, others added or rephrased.

5.5. Analysis of data

Interviews were transcribed. When transcribing I chose to translate into English directly aiming at translating as accurately as possible to the words spoken. At the same time I made an effort to convey the atmosphere of the interview, which can easily be lost in translation.

I started out using data analysis software, Nvivo. Applying a software programme is an effective method to organize data in a coherent and transparent whole. It facilitates finding themes and linking data and by so creates relationships. But I quickly stopped using it, as I found the program slow and that the analysis became clinical and less organic. The narrative of the interviews was lost and the context in which statements were made disappeared. However, with only 44 interviews, I find that I had a good grasp of the data performing the analysis manually. Though it may have been more time consuming I felt I had a better contact with the text using pen and paper.

I conducted a thematic analysis employing the strategy outlined by Framework. Framework is described as a "matrix based method for ordering and synthesizing data" (Ritchie et al. 2003: 219). It is very useful for identifying, organizing and classifying data and developing themes and eventually identifying some underlying motivations and patterns (Richie et al, 2002).
Initially the transcribed interviews were read several times. A coding frame on the basis of the topic guide was developed and data were categorized. When applying the "thematic" framework and rereading the transcripts sub-themes emerged, such as "parallel community". The text was then searched for evidence of how this theme was conveyed, and the frequency of its manifestation was recorded.
Eventually findings were linked with independent variables, such as gender, educational level, policy position and contact with immigrants. Truth tables were established, summarizing and comparing profiles according to their values on the independent variables.

Throughout the process it was important to be flexible and open-minded. In the literature (Yin, 1994; Bauer, 2000; Ritchie et al, 2003a), the iterative character of the process of developing explanation is heavily emphasized. In this study a few themes related to existing behavioural theories on policy makers popped up and demanded a revaluation of established findings and modification of the theoretical propositions. Such reassessment, controlling for co-explanations, are essential for the validity of this and any study.

The overall research strategy for the qualitative section of the thesis was guided by an approach within the paradigm of critical realism. The research of policymakers aimed at identifying structures explaining their attitudes. However, applying abstract notions, such as social capital and the theory of social transaction costs, makes the study more experimental and it necessitates caution analyzing data. The reseracher acknowledges, therefore, that the various categories employed to understand attitudes of policymakers are "provisional" (Bryman, 2008:15) and that any mechanism producing such attitudes are not static but interchangeable with other mechanisms not accounted for (Bhaskar, 2008).

5.6. Summary of chapter five

The thesis employs different research designs according to the strategic principles of the research. The investigation of attitudes of elite policymakers aims at gaining an in-depth insight into how their opinions relate to their social background and experiences with immigrants, while at the same time exploring other interpretations of their attitudes. The research strategy for researching attitudes of policymakers, therefore, applies a qualitative method within a case study model.

The sample constitutes 40 local and national politicians and civil servants, two representatives of ethnic minority organisations and two academics. Apart from the scholars they have all in their political work engaged with issues related to integration of immigrants. Policymakers represent

politicians, bureaucrats and members of ethnic councils at national and local level. At local level three sites were selected representing a metropolis, a big provincial city and a rural area, respectively. Politicians are either Parliamentarians or members of municipality councils, while bureaucrats were senior civil servants at the MRII or at municipality administrations. However, this strategy was applied not to secure equal representation of political parties but as a mode to secure representation of different perspectives.

Semi-structured interviews appear to be the preferred strategy for interviewing elite policymakers. The interviews were conducted on the basis of topic guides holding open-ended questions seeking to explore the respondents' attitude towards integration and policy related issues. The interviews also seek to gain information about the effect of policy position (national versus local) on policy making and interviewees' contact with immigrants. Interviews with bureaucrats and members of ethnic councils were anonymous, while politicians and scholars appear by their names in the study.

The analysis did not make use of data analysis software, as researcher felt the narrative of the interviews was better recorded in a manually conducted analysis.

Chapter 6. Elite policy makers' perceptions of integration and the challenges integration entail

6. Introduction

The Danish welfare state and its principles of reciprocity are based on a broadly accepted conformity. Immigrants are expected to settle into this setting and participate in the reciprocal and economic relations between the state and the local population (Olwig, 2011). The notions of equality constitute the framework for this project, as integration is not only an analytical term measuring pre-defined parameters such as employment, housing or education. It is a term increasingly delineating the ability to conform to social norms and cultural values seen as basic to proper citizenship (Ibid, 2011).

Critics of integration policies in Denmark primarily criticize its increased focus on cultural issues. The establishment of a consensus that includes a cultural transformation of the newcomers has in the words of Hedetoft (2003) become fundamental in the formulation of integration policies. As the assimilation discourse assumes a linkage between "culture", "cohesion" and "social functionality" a multicultural approach has been downgraded.

Within the development of Danish integration policies described above this chapter (the first of three) aims at answering the research questions concerning elite policy makers. It seeks to illuminate the interviewees' conceptualisations of integration, what constitutes the norms and values of the Danish society and their perceptions of the main challenges that integration of immigrants entail, see table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Research questions and hypothesis according to the units of the research

Units	Research questions	Hypothesis
National politicians (17 Local politicians (17) Ministerial civil servants (3) Civil servants at local administration (3) Representatives of Ethnic Councils (2) Academics (2)	1. How do the elite policymakers perceive integration and the challenges to society that integration of immigrants represents?	Policymakers tend to be governed by views dominated by the better educated part of the population and they endure lower social transaction costs than the public
	2. How do policymakers' policy position, educational level and nature of their relationship with the public influence their attitudes? What is the level and nature of elite policymakers' contact with immigrants	

This chapter will form a platform for the analyses of the following chapters that link the views expressed in this chapter with attitudes towards specific integration policies and the interviewers' relationship with the public and any personal contact they may have with ethnic minorities.

Inclination towards either a multicultural or assimilative approach to integration indicates at what level interviewees expect the various parties involved in the integration process to adopt or accept the norms of each other. In other words, on whose shoulders will the interviewees lay the costs of integration. This distinction most likely transforms into certain attitudes towards integration polices, which is examined in chapter seven. The views put forward in chapter six and seven will in chapter 8 be linked with the social transaction costs, which the interviewees themselves may have experienced through personal contacts with immigrants. A summary of the three chapters will conclude the third chapter. Eventually, the attitude of the policy makers will in the final chapter of the thesis be compared with attitudes of the general public obtained in the quantitative survey. This allows us to shed light on a possible division between the public and policymakers concerning attitudes to integration and expectations concerning it.

The chapters will be analysed within the theoretical framework of the thesis. As outlined previously, the theory of social transaction costs provides an overriding interpretative framework. That allows the analysis to include other perspectives that seems relevant explicating the findings of the interviews. However, within the theoretical framework of social capital and social transaction costs the first two chapters concentrate on the distribution of social transaction costs on the general public imputed by integration policies discussed with the interviewees. Regarding the interviewees, the relationship between social capital and social transaction costs is not relevant within this perspective. In the third and final chapter covering the interviews with policymakers personal characteristics of interviewees, including dimensions of social capital and experience of social transaction costs, are included in the analysis.

This chapter will initially introduce the participating elite policymakers before presenting the findings of the interviews relevant for this chapter. First, interviewees' perception of integration will be outlined. This leads to a review of what the policymakers saw as the main challenges regarding integration of immigrants. This section is divided into 4 subheadings, covering the main challenges that integration of immigrants tender the Danish society: Integration in the labour market and educational system, ethnic housing, incorporation of Islam into the society and the sustainability of the welfare state. This section will be followed by a discussion.

6.1. Participating elite policymakers

Policy position (local vs. national) is an important dimension affecting attitudes of policymakers (Kleven et al, 2000; Laver, 2001; Dalsgaard, 2000), and the study includes policymakers at national and local level. Secondly, the responsibility of integration of immigrants has been decentralized and municipalities now organise individual integration policies (MRII, 2009; Jensen, 2001). Civil servants are essential actors in the political-administrative arrangement (Knoepfel et al, 2007) and within the paradigm of New Public Management in Denmark responsibilities have been delegated from political bodies to the bureaucrats (Kleven et al., 2000). An analysis of policy makers must

therefore include politicians and civil servants at both national and municipal level. The sample also includes two representatives from a local and the national ethnic council respectively, set up by the government as advisory bodies for the authorities. In that capacity, and as arbitrators for the views of immigrants in the policy making process, they are included in the study. The academics take up a position as commentators, who have contributed to the public debate on immigrants and Danish identity. The participation of politicians and academics is not anonymous, while civil servants and the representatives of the ethnic councils appear under fictional names.

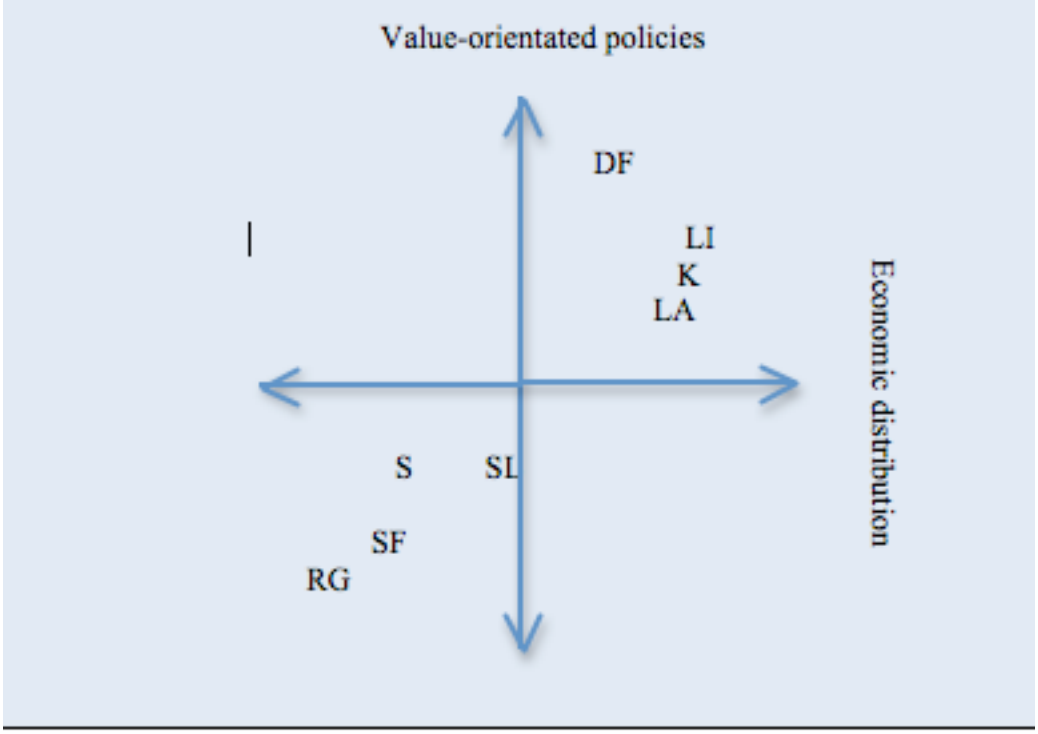
Table 6.2: Political parties represented in the Danish Parliament, Folketinget	
Political parties	Members
The Liberals	46
The Labour Party	45
The Danish People's party	25
People's Socialist Party	23
The Conservative Party	17
The Social Liberals	9
The red Green Alliance	4
The Liberal Alliance	4
The Christian Democrats[1]	1
No party affiliation[1]	1
Parties representing Greenland and The Faroe Islands	4
Total	179

[1] : both members were elected for the Conservative Party in 2007. Between the general election in 2007 and spring 2011 they left the Conservative Party.

Sourse: www.ft.dk., September 201

The chapter draws on the interviews of 40 local and national politicians and civil servants, two representatives of ethnic minority organisations and two academics. The sample of politicians and civil servants include 17 Parliamentarians, 17 councillors, 3 civil servants at the Ministry of Integration and 3 civil servants at municipality level, see table 6.3, 6.4 and 6.5 and appendix 6.1. There are no members of Liberal Alliance, Christian Democrats and the Social Liberals amongst the councillors. Liberal Alliance and The Christian Democrats were not represented in the municipalities and it was not possible to establish interviews with any councillor representing the Social Liberals. The Danish Parliament includes 179 members, of whom four are elected in Greenland and the Faroe Islands. At the time of the interviews, spring 2011, nine parties were represented in Parliament, see table 6.2. Their positions on economic and immigration policies are illustrated in figure 6.1. A Centre Right minority Government made up by the Liberals and the Conservative Party had been in power since 2001 and its parliamentary basis rested on support from The Danish People's Party (DF).

Figure 6.1: Placement of political parties by electorates on an economic and a value-orientated right-left scale. The value-orientated right is the upper right quadrant. Value-orientated policies include policies on immigration/integration of immigrants



DF : The Danish People's Party
K : The Conservative Party
LA : The Liberal Alliance
LI : The Liberal party
LP : The Labour Party
SF : People's Socialist Party
SL : The Social Liberals
RG : The Red-Green Alliance
There are no data on the Christian Democrats

Source: TNS Gallup for Department of Political Science, University of Copenhagen. The survey includes 6.897respondents between the age of 18 and 65. Interviews conducted between February 2010 and March 2011 (Berlinske, 2011).

Table 6.3: Interviewees: members of Parliament according to party affiliation and selection criteria, education/occupation and age

Members of Parliament				
Name	**Political party**	**selection criteria**	**Education/occupation**	**Age**
Amnitzbøll, Simon Emil	The Liberal Alliance	spokesperson on integration	academic/ass. teacher	33
Andersen, Liv Holm	Social Liberals	spokesperson on integration	university student	24
Fuglsang, Meta	People's Socialist Party (SF)	member of Committee on Integration	academic/lawyer	51
Haarder, Bertel	The Liberals	former Minister of Integration	academic/politician	67
Henriksen, Martin	The Danish People's Party (DF)	member of Committee on Integration	unskilled/driver	32
Henriksen, Rene	DF	appointed by party administration	skilled/mechanic	42
Hønge, Karsten	SF	public debater	skilled/carpenter	52
Jelved, Marianne	Social Liberals	spokesman on integration[2]	academic/teacher	67
Khader, Naser	The Conservative party	spokesperson on integration (immigrant)	academic/consultant	47
Kier, Vivi	The Conservative party	public debater on integration	skilled/nurse	53
Krag, Astrid	SF	spokesperson on integration	university student	29
Krarup, Søren	DF	public debater	academic/priest	73
Kristensen, Henrik Dam	Social Democratic Party	spokesperson on integration	unskilled/mailman/teacher	54
Panduro, Maja	Social Democratic Party	member of Committee on Integration	university student	29
Petersen, Niels Helveg	Social Liberals	former secretary of state	academic/politician	72
Schmidt-Nielsen, Johanne	Red-Green Alliance	member of Committee on Integration	academic/social worker	27
Øktem, Fatma	The Liberals	spokesperson on equal rights (descendant)	Unskilled/travel agent	37

Notes: all spokesmen were member of Committee of Integration. Skilled: vocational training

[1]*Liv Holm Andersen was interviewed after the election 2011.She then became the spokesperson on integration for the Social Liberals.*

[2]*At the time of the interview in May 2011 Marianne Jelved was the spokesperson on integration for the Social Liberals.*

Table 6.4: Interviewees: Members of city councils according to party affiliation and selection criteria, education/occupation and age

Members of city council				
Name	**Political party affiliation**	**Selection criteria**	**Education/occupation**	Age
Arendtsen, Alex	DF, Odense	member of Committee on elder persons	academic/publisher	44
Bloem, Neil S.	SF, Copenhagen	member of Committee on Integration	university student	28
Brunse, Finn	Social Democrats, Assens	mayor[52]	teacher/mayor	61
Dybro, Brian	SF, Odense	member of labour Committee	skilled/social worker	30
Ebbesen, Carl Christian	DF, Copenhagen	member of Committee on Integration	academic/party secretary	42
Færch, Signe	Red-Green Alliance, Copenhagen	member of Committee on Integration	university student	26
Grossman, Mark	The Conservative party, Odense	memb. of Committee on Childen's Affairs	skilled/police officer	37
Hedlund, Susan	Social Democrats , Copenhagen	member of Committee on Integration	skilled/ social worker	50
Jegind, Jane	The Liberals, Odense	head of department of elder persons and handicap Care[53]	academic/ teacher	37
Mulle Johansen, Mogens	SF, Assens	member of labour committee	academic/teacher	58
Lønborg, Mogens	Conservative party, Copenhagen	member of Committee on Integration	academic/politician	58
Mansour, Mohammad	Social Democrats, Odense	member of labour Committee (immigrant)	skilled/precision mechanic	52
Munch, Flemming Steen	The Liberals, Copenhagen	member of Committee on Integration	skilled/police commissioner	64
Rahbæk, Peter Juel	Social Democrats, Odense	head of department of labour and social affairs[4]	academic/politician	34
Sarwar, Ikram	Social Democrats, Copenhagen	member of Committee on Integration (descendant)	academic/medical doctor	35
Thulesen-Dahl,Jens Henrik	DF, Assens	member of Labour Committee	academic/consultant	40

[52] In Denmark a mayor heads all city councils. The city council constitutes itself and a majority elects a mayor. It is a fulltime position.

[53] The city council elects an administrative and political head of each department amongst its members. It is a fulltime position.

Table 6.5: Interviewees: List of civil servants, representatives of ethnic councils and academics according to place of work and education

Civil servants		
Ministry of Integration		
Grove, Bent Senior civil servant	Ministry of Integration	academic
Bjerre, Rune Section leader	Ministry of Integration	academic
Hansen, Lars Section leader	Ministry of Integration	academic
Local administrations		
Larsen, Hanne Senior integration officer	Municipality of Odense	academic
Antar, Abdul Section leader, immigrant	Municipality of Odense	academic
Gaarde, Thomas senior integration officer,	Municipality of Copenhagen	academic
Representatives of ethnic councils		
Kanaan, Ebrahim	Council of Ethnic Minorities	academic
Kalil, Diya	Integration Council (Odense)	Medium level educ.
Academics		
Gundelach, Peter	Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Copenhagen	
Necef, Mehmet Umit	Associated Professor, Centre for Contemporary Middle East Studies, University of Southern Denmark	

6.2. Findings

6.2.1 Conceptualization of integration

Most interviewees felt uncomfortable with the term "integration". The objections fell into two schools of thinking. One group of interviewees found that the term is either ambiguous or had negative connotations, while another group thought that it is deceitful to narrow the concept only to include immigrants.

Politicians representing the Red-Green Alliance and the Social Liberals made up the latter group. According to this group of politicians the current discourse wrongly differentiates the social problems of ethnic minorities from those of other marginalized groups, as if these problems are

distinctive for immigrants and rooted in ethnic differences. Johanne Schmidt-Nielsen, Member of Parliament for the Red-Green Alliance, said:

> *"I think that there is a dangerous tendency to allow classical social problems, youngsters who grow up in socially vulnerable families, where the father and mother are out of work...., of course especially those families who have brought traumas with them from their home countries. You call it integration instead of just calling it social policies."*

Another group of interviewees, consisting of both Left and Right Centre politicians and civil servants, complained that the term, integration was too inaccurate. In particular Centre Left politicians and civil servants felt that integration has, inappropriately, become synonymous with assimilation. Their scepticism about the term was confirmed by all members of the Danish People's Party (DF), such as Alex Arendtsen, member of city council in Odense, as he defined integration:

> "*That they [immigrants] in the long run become Danish in every respect of the word".*

Some groups have substituted the concept 'inclusion' for 'integration', and they approached integration primarily from the position of the immigrant and a relational perspective. Though they did not use the term 'multiculturalism' they associated inclusion strongly with that concept, as they wanted to distance themselves from assimilative demands upon immigrants. The senior integration officer at the municipality of Copenhagen[54] promoted this approach as he said:

> *"In reality we talk about relations. Our point of departure is basically about establishing a perspective of equal treatment, a perspective of diversity. Where the scale is not whether you do the same as the rest, but the scale is whether you feel you are integrated in the community that you are a part of".*

A similar perspective was expressed by most of the interviewees with an immigrant background. Though they did not dismiss structural integration[55] they stressed that integration is primarily about feeling at home. In that context they talked about inclusion. Diya Kalil, a refugee and member of the local Integration Council in Odense, described how the council conceptualized integration:

[54] The municipality has a Centre Left majority.
[55] Structural integration includes integration at the same level as the majority population with regards to participation in the labour market and education system and political participation. Cultural integration includes integration at the same level as the majority population with regards to norms and moral (Schierup:1993).

"...We do not believe that integration takes place through employment or education. That is a normal thing that everybody can achieve and reach. That does not mean that you inside yourself and in your thoughts think that I belong here. But overall it is about inclusion and not religion".

It should be mentioned that politicians from the Centre Right parties in the city council did not agree with the change of terminology, and they criticized the Left for bowing to political correctness. They deemed it to be an example of elite policies.

6.2.2. The "poisoned" concept of multiculturalism

It was very significant that most interviewees, apart from members of DF, disliked using the term multiculturalism. They equated it with parallel communities. It is noteworthy that none of the political parties represented in Parliament use the term multiculturalism in their political programmes. Equally, the senior civil servant at the Ministry of Integration found the concept "poisoned", as it is used more as a normative term. He stated that the Ministry of Integration refrains from conceptualizing integration policies within the conventional framework of assimilation and multiculturalism.

However, apart from members of DF, the narrative of all the interviews revealed attitudes towards integration in line with the liberal model of multiculturalism, see page 21. They emphasized the rights of immigrants to maintain their own culture and traditions. Politicians on the Left in particular used the word diversity in their description of an accommodating society. Fear of being categorized as a liberal on immigrant issues may explain why the official rhetoric of the parties is rather different from the rhetoric of the interviews, as Brian Dybro from The People's Socialist party (SF) pointed out:

"...parties left of the centre have lost the last three elections on tax and foreigners. That must not happen again. That is why we have toughened the rhetoric...I don't think you will hear from anybody, including politicians from SF, that diversity is a strength. ...You simply cannot do that in the existing political climate....So from a tactical point of view it is also about expressing these tough attitudes...first of all to avoid being called "halal-hippies", who think that they can solve all the problems with social educational measures".

Centre Left politicians and civil servants highlighted the duality of the integration process using phrases such as "it's a two way process" or "on equal level with Danes" and "it's a platform where we meet".

In contrast to this finding only one Centre Right politician included Danes in her account of integration. It may indicate that the Centre Right politician see integration foremost as a process depending on the attitude of the immigrants rather than a process, which also hinges on the

recipient society's approach to the newcomers. A couple of politicians from DF were asked what role Danes have in the integration process, and the response of Carl Ebbesen very much reflected their assimilatory attitude:

"I don't think you can expect the Danes to treat those people who choose to live here in a different way than we treat each other".

6.2.3. Components of integration

Interviewees assigned importance both to structural and cultural integration. Employment, educational attainment and learning norms and values were the three most salient elements in the conversations.

6.2.4. Structural integration

In Denmark you belong if you are in the labour market (Rasmussen, 2000). According to the OECD, Denmark is the country with the highest employment rates for men and women, old and young (OECD, 2012). Numerous reports by the government in the first decade of the millennium document the very high emphasis on labour market participation. It is taken for granted that connection with the labour market will stimulate other aspects of the integration process, such as social networks, language skills and economic living conditions (Rasmussen, 2006).

In accordance with this a big majority of interviewees mentioned employment as an essential element of integration. Not just as a means to be self-sufficient, which is most strongly emphasized by Centre Right politicians, but also in order to establish a social life and to be a full member of society.

Significantly all civil servants mentioned employment. The Centre Right politicians in particular highlighted the importance of employment. For the former Minister of Integration, Bertel Haarder, employment is the essence of integration:

> *"For me it is integration in the labour market. I have always felt that was crucial. Other aspects do not interest me, because you cannot change people's culture, but you can make them enter the labour market"*

Education was also listed among very many interviewees as a crucial element of integration. The focus was foremost on descendants or immigrants coming to Denmark at pre-school age. In most cases it was mentioned as a means to limit social differences along ethnic lines. But it is also regarded as a cultural institution that enables immigrants to adapt to Danish norms and to break away from their ethnic communities. DF politicians emphasised this.

6.2.5. Cultural integration

The third objective of the law of integration, see page 34, stipulates that immigrants must understand fundamental norms and values of the Danish society. This section of the law has been one of the most contested political issues in Denmark over the past decade, as Danishness, in the words of Peter Gundelach, Professor at University of Copenhagen, has turned into a political term:

> *"Danishness becomes a political concept. It has lost its innocence"*

The political debate has at times been very intensive and lead to an emphasis on Danish national identity and what norms and values immigrants must accept. With the politicization of what Danishness involves it comes increasingly difficult to define norms and values. Within this context interviewees were asked to clarify their views on the topic.

In Denmark the state offers many welfare services and the mutual economic and social obligations are high. It assumes a common code of values in regard to work ethic, upbringing of children and equality between genders (Maia Consult, 2009). These norms can be divided into institutional and individual norms. According to historical institutionalism institutions are defined as formal and informal rules and assumes that actors' behaviour are constrained by rules and principled beliefs (Campbell, 2006). Hence, institutional norms I define as norms and customs of society seen as informal rules one must comply with in order to function in society. Individual norms are linked to appropriate behaviour. They are informal and not institutionalized, such as participation in voluntary organisations or certain attitudes towards gender issues. While most interviewees perceived individual norms as institutional the participants disagreed about the universal nature of the norms. Many interviewees emphasized the national nature of the common code of values in the society.

National identity of norms

The interviews revealed that Centre Right politicians emphasized the national nature of the norms, while Centre Left politicians were more divided on this point. However, the senior civil servant of the Ministry of Integration stressed that the Ministry emphasizes norms and values, which are Western and secular, but not specifically Danish. Most civil servants underlined the universality of the norms, listing respect for democracy, equality and for other minorities.

However, the senior civil servant of the Ministry of Integration (MI) added that perhaps the politicians "add a bit extra" (make norms Danish).

This statement was presented to Soeren Krarup, MP for DF, who promptly responded:

> *"Nonsense, it is of course Danish values...these are among other things the distinction between the religious and the secular".*

This viewpoint is repeated by all DF interviewees and by several other Centre Right politicians. Many interviewees across party lines considered norms to be of Christian origin, and they referred to Grundtvig[56], the history of Denmark and social justice.

This group of interviewees clearly saw Denmark as a natural unification of an ethnic group. They refuted the idea of Denmark being an imagined community, see page 17, and of Danishness being a proposition.

Peter Rudbaek, a Social Democratic councillor in Odense, talked about distinguished Danish values:

> *"But when we have to narrow down Danish values ...There are, and that is probably because it is so ingrained in Danes what Danish values are, that you cannot see the trees for the wood. But emotionally you have a clear sensation when they are broken"*

Peter Rudbaek followed up:

> *"The democratic attitude – It is a way of life; you discuss, you have a platform where you can promote your views.... In this dialogue and exchange of opinions you reach the common good. It is very much the value that is behind my understanding of integration, and I think it is the nucleus of Danish values".*

This we could call the social capital of the nation or in the words of Durkheim: "the totality of beliefs and sentiments common to average members of the same society forms a particular system with a life of its own; one might call it the collective or common consciousness" (Thompson, 1985:32).

Throughout all the interviews participants turned to this abstract notion of common consciousness as they referred to the importance of agreeing with some fundamental values and being a participatory citizen. Members of the Social Democratic Party were keen to refer to Marshall's social citizenship and the notion of right and duties. Maja Panduro, a Social Democratic MP, bluntly described the basic norms of the society as a reflection of the values of the Social Democratic Party:

> *"For me it is very much Social Democratic norms. It is us who have built this society"*

Most politicians on the Left denied that these norms are Danish. They felt uncomfortable about the notion "Danishness", and they referred to universalistic values. This was particularly true for the politicians from the Social Liberals and The Red-Green Alliance. Several of them insisted that

[56] N.F.S. Grundtvig: A Danish priest from the 19th century; perceived to be the spiritual father of *folkekirken*, the state church. He is closely linked to Danish nationalism. His words in a song "when few have too little and less too much" have become the dogma of the welfare state.

ethnic Danes constitute a multicultural entity, as there are big differences in norms and values according to geographical and socio-economic divisions. Signe Færch, from the Red Green Party and a member of the city council of Copenhagen, protested:

> *"It is one of the propositions that are put up which are unclear and false... I don't agree with them [the Right Wing] what democracy and equality between genders hold, and it is not correct to say that they are Danish values".*

She later stated:

> *"I have more in common with a stateless Palestinian who has grown up on Nørrebro [Copenhagen] than with a right wing farmer in West Jutland [area regarded as very rural]".*

Karsten Hønge, a carpenter himself and an MP representing SF, strongly opposed the views expressed above.

> *"Then they [the Danes] were told by their own politicians, from SF and The Social Democrats and others, that there was nothing called Danish. Come on - get into the spirit, there is nothing called Danish...We must welcome foreigners. To be Danish is nothing special...Does it exist at all? I have read very long articles by all sorts [of people] that there is not such a thing as "Danish". All sorts of articles that make you puke".*

Equally, he raged against the notion that Danes across social classes or geographical areas don't have a common feeling of identity:

> *"I feel more attached to another engineer in Pakistan than an unskilled worker in West Jutland[57]. I have heard that several times. I can puke when I hear things like that."*

Institutionalization of personal norms

Regardless of the interviewees' denomination of norms, universal or national, the interviewees very much agreed about the properties of the norms. Equally, they overwhelmingly identified individual norms as institutional.

Most interviewees expressed that compliance with democratic institutions is a fundamental norm in the Danish society. That includes freedom of consciousness and speech, but also an acceptance of equality between genders. Next to a "democratic inclination" gender equality was the norm most often mentioned to which immigrants had to adhere. Jane Jegind, a member of the city council in Odense and representing the Liberal Party proclaimed:

[57] West Jutland has historically been depicted as more backwards compared with other parts of the country.

"So if you do not want to live at a place where men and women have equal worth you must find another place to live."

This issue showed a significant difference among interviewees with an immigrant background. Naser Khader and Fatma Øktem, both Muslims and representing Centre Right parties in Parliament, mentioned suppression of women as the biggest social problem among Muslim immigrants. This was strongly rebutted by other interviewees with an immigrant background. Not that they disagreed with the norm, gender equality, but they foremost saw it as an individual norm. They all felt that Danish society exaggerates gender inequality among immigrants, and they believed that the interference in this matter is inappropriate.
Mohammed Mansour, a member of the city council in Odense representing the Social Democrats, put it this way:

"I will not interfere with the mentality and culture of the Danes. That is up to them. Then I will also demand that they do not interfere [in mine]"

The interviews revealed that the border between institutional and individual norms generally seemed blurred. Gender equality first of all, but also active participation by parents in school activities and involvement in non-ethnic voluntary organisations appeared to be indisputable "voluntary" norms immigrants must take up. Henrik Dam Christensen, a Social Democratic MP, voiced his opinion this way:

"You must accept that Denmark is a country of voluntary organisations. It means that we "lift" very many things in the domain of organisations, it helps creating a better day to day life for all of us."

By institutionalizing the individual norms the level of conformity to which the immigrant must adapt has increased. Still, the different rhetoric of the politicians may conceal a similar demand for adaptation. The actual difference between the politicians is the level of pressure they will impose on the immigrants in order to make them "equal" citizens. This will be further discussed in chapter seven.

6.3. Main challenges

A repeating theme in all the interviews was a concern for the coherence of society. Cohesion of the community is often linked to which extent vulnerable disadvantaged immigrant groups participate in the society, placing agency and disengagement at the core of the immigrant issues (Platt, 2009). Parallel communities are set to develop. Basically two types of explanations exist for the development of parallel communities along ethnic lines (Togeby, 2003):

The socio-economic based explanation: Development of communities with a high concentration of ethnic minorities is a response to poor socio-economic integration (educational level, contact with labour market, standard of living).
Group-orientated explanation: Parallel communities are accounted for by reference to their cultural and ethnic background.
Christine Rasmussen (2006) writes that The Right's rhetoric has been dominated by problematizing the ethnic minorities' lack of economic independence and cultural differences, while the Left has remonstrated against discrimination of immigrants and of turning a socially disadvantaged group into an ethnic underclass. As the following analysis elucidates, the politicians did not display such a dichotomous attitude. They showed a more complex approach explaining the disadvantaged position that many immigrants have in the society. In the following section the main challenges and problems raised by interviewees are presented. Initially the attitude of policymakers towards failed structural integration is outlined before their deliberations on the central topics in the Danish debate on integration are set forth. These include: spatial ethnic concentration, the role of Islam in society and the sustainability of the welfare state.

6.3.1. The slow integration into the labour market and education

Employment rates and educational attainment of immigrants were generally listed as the main challenges. All politicians acknowledged the interconnection between education and job prospects as the poor educational attainment of immigrants puts them in a very disadvantaged position in the Danish high-skilled labour market. At the same time they recognized the dynamics of institutional failures, ethnicity and the socially disadvantaged position of many immigrants. However, interviewees disagreed on the impact of each of these determinants.

6.3.2. Failure of educational attainment

The overwhelming majority of interviewees named lack of parental support as the main reason for the poor educational record of descendants. However, while the Centre Left politicians, representatives of the immigrant organisations and civil servants correlated lack of parental support with the socially disadvantaged position of many immigrant families, most Centre Right politicians perceived lack of support as a cultural problem. In their views the parents do not understand either the "home-school" relationship or their responsibility for the academic education of their children.
Mogens Lønborg, Conservative councillor in Copenhagen, explained:

> *"I don't think the parents support their children sufficiently. Perhaps we cannot ask them to do that, because they do not know how we as parents support our children's upbringing. They must understand that if... their children are to gain qualifications which are suitable for the Danish society they must switch off their satellite televisions".*

In opposition to that Liv Andersen, Social Liberal MP, stated:

"It is often parents who haven't "been there" [taken an education] and therefore they don't have much social or academic backing at home."

While emphasizing social dimensions this group of interviewees often also blamed the system for preconceived attitudes leading to low expectations to ethnic minority students. Secondly, the same group of interviewees generally agreed that the frequent dropouts from vocational training are a consequence not just of a shortage of training places but also of discrimination. The latter argument does not correspond with the findings of my MPhil study of ethnic students at a vocational school in Odense. The students and teachers did not consider discrimination to be a reason for lack of training places. It was primarily an outcome of the descendants having access to a more limited network than their Danish peers. Further, according to the teachers many of the ethnic students were academically very poor and badly motivated and they lacked parental support.

6.3.3. Dependency of social assistance and ethno-cultural vs. socio-economic explanations

There was a common agreement among the interviewees that insufficient skills are the main explanation for the higher unemployment rates for this group compared with Danes, see page 40. However, many interviewees were of the opinion that the social security system has squashed personal initiatives among many of its immigrant beneficiaries. Some interviewees blamed the system entirely for immigrants living on permanent transfer payments, while other interviewees claimed that the cultural background of the immigrants was a factor as well.

Centre Left politicians and local civil servants found that it was the attitude of the system which was to blame, as immigrants have been met with very low expectations.

Abdul Antar, an integration officer in Odense with an immigrant background, conceded that among some refugees a dependency upon transfer payments has developed. He pointed out:

"We have been too nice. We have looked at them [refugees] as traumatized, so we cannot set up all these difficult conditions for them. Then it is natural that they live on social benefits for many years. Eventually it becomes difficult to work"

The senior integration officer in Odense explained why so many immigrants have been placed on pre-retirement pension schemes[58]:

"One did not know what to do with them.... I can remember many years ago I could meet an attitude among our work advisors that you could not approach an employer with such a person.... The entire attitude was that we could not use them for anything, they were not capable of anything"...They have been perceived as hopeless"

[58]Pre-retirement pension is a social security scheme for people (16-64) who for medical reasons are declared "permanently unfit" to work. On national level 13% of pre-retirement pensioners are of non-Western origin. Total percentage of people of non-Western origin of the population is 6.7 %. In Odense non-Western immigrants also make up 10% of the population, but 18% of all pre-retirement pensioners are of non-Western origin.

However, the officer added, that there is another side of the coin:

> *"..and then there has been not an insignificant number of ethnic minorities, especially non-Western immigrants who have been very determined to receive pre-retirement pension.....getting pre-retirement pension provides the option of being able to travel to your home country, not to be available [for the labour marked] "*

Several interviewees also included the cultural background of the immigrant as part of the explanatory framework for their socially disadvantaged position. Based on a survey among European countries Koopmans[59] (2010) postulates that a combination of multicultural policies and a generous welfare state lead to disincentives to work and to become educated, as immigrants do not compare themselves with the native population but with their country of origin. Mehmet Necef (2001) has argued that the Danish welfare system may have a negative influence on aspirations of immigrants to be self-sufficient. Some politicians, both right and left-wingers, supported this thesis as they stated that some immigrants have a lower level of ambitions than Danes. Therefore they are happy living on social benefits. Mark Grossman[60] also supported this school of thinking as he complained about the lack of motivation among descendants to get an education:

> *"There are not met with any demands. It is not about survival....The safety net is so tight now that it does not matter whether you get good or poor grades".*

6.3.4. Summing up views on failed structural integration

The interviewees analyzed in different ways the reasons for people not getting a foothold in the Danish society. The politicians from Red-Green Alliance and the Social Liberals distinguished themselves from the main group of interviewees as they follow, the traditional Danish way of thinking. In the words of Mehmet Necef:

> *"In Danish immigrant research there is a rigid theoretical framework. This theoretical framework includes some clichés, such as exclusion, discrimination, Islamophobia, and racism. And many researchers think that when you have to explain conditions related to immigrants then you must use these concepts....I think we must follow new paths... It may be that it is caused by exclusion and racism but there may be other reasons"*

The interviews revealed that many leftist politicians and civil servants did not stick to dogmatic thinking. Stine Willumsen, SF Councillor in Odense, remarked:

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[59] The paper is based on a comparative policy analysis on cross national data on integration outcomes, such as labour market participation, spatial segregation and incarceration. Countries included were: Germany, France, the UK, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Sweden, Austria and Belgium.

[60] Conservative member of the city council in Odense and a police constable stationed in Vollsmose, the housing estate with a very high concentration of immigrants.

"Many say that they are discriminated against in the labour market, that they do not get a job because they have a different ethnic background. And sometimes they use it as an excuse in order to explain why they do not work. It becomes terribly caricatured...The race card is often played".

The vast majority of interviewees did not mirror the stereo-typed impression that C. Rasmussen (2006) paints of politicians at the beginning of this section. Most interviewees found that both group and socio-economic factors are at work when explaining exclusion from the labour market, and they admitted that the welfare state itself may be at fault. But a number of Centre Right politicians had difficulty accepting that the marginalization of descendants is mainly an outcome of institutional failure, or that Danish society can be held to account for the condition of the descendants.

Garbi Schmidt[61] et al (2000) contend that the poor educational outcome among descendants may be a consequence of the society branding them as different. This distances them from the majority so they revolt against the institutions of authority, such as educational institutions. When this argument was presented to some Centre Right politicians they dismissed it strongly. Bertel Haarder, MP and a former Minister of Education and Integration and representing the Liberals, appeared to be offended as he responded:

> *"very contrived argument. Do I need to answer that?....It sounds to me as... nonsense"*

6.4. Spatial ethnic concentration as an integration problem

In the last couple of years the debate on immigrants has focused on "ghettoes"[62], as they are viewed as the genesis of most problems related to immigrants. The discussion on "ghettoes" revolves around the development of *closure*, see page 52, as residents in these areas are thought to have limited contact with the wider society.

Henrik Dam Christensen from the Social Democratic Party said:

> *"My postulate is that the far most of these [immigrant problems]...originate from only one source, our ghettos."*

[61] Garbi Schmidt is a prominent professor at University of Roskilde, Denmark and a senior researcher at The Danish national Centre for Social Research. Her area of research is Muslim minorities in the West, ethnic minorities in Denmark, transnational and arranged marriages and the importance of norms and values in the meeting between the minority and majority.

[62] The term was used by the government for areas, which qualify for two out of three criteria: 1. Over 50% of residents within an area with 1000 residents who have a non-Western background. Over 40% of residents between the age of 18 - 64, and within an area with 1000 people, who are outside the labour market or not in education. 2. More than 270 people out of 10.000 who have a criminal conviction (Governemnt, 2010). The incumbent government has scrapped the ethnic criterion defining a ghetto.

In the Danish Parliament there appears to be a consensus to break up these communities. However, the question remains whether it is the spatial concentration of socially vulnerable people[63] or people with an ethnic minority background that leads to closure and hinders integration into the wider society.

6.4.1. Socio-economic or group based explanations for spatial ethnic concentration

Though the interviews revealed both socio-economic and group based explanations for the problems in areas with high spatial concentration of ethnic minorities, there is a clear tendency for proponents of the former theory to regard ethnicity as an explanation. They acknowledged that a tendency for vulnerable immigrant families to seek shelter within their own ethnic group and ethnicity becomes a barrier to a broader contact with the society.

However, some Centre Right politicians, mainly members of DF, underlined ethnicity as a fundamental cause for the development of ghettoes and parallel societies. When Martin Henriksen, DF Parliamentarian, was asked what he thought was the main challenge in regards to immigrants he answered:

> *"Fundamentally… they want to maintain their parents' and grandparents' cultural background. They want to carry that background forward to the next generation. Then we get the parallel society, we get tensions and divisions and ghettoes*"

Social control and social capital within spatial ethnic concentration

Still, most interviewees agree that the "ghettoes" primarily are demarcated by socially vulnerable people, but they find that within these groups ethnicity becomes a factor when analysing their separation from the society. A number of interviewees refer to the social control within these communities and which, according to Portes et al (1993), places high particularistic demands on its members. Fatma Øktem, Liberal MP, said:

> *"It [spatial ethnic concentration] generates social control....When you make these small communities, then anything which is different will stand out. Then it is very difficult to break the pattern. Sometimes these communities agree upon some traditions or a culture or values. These become the norms and it is difficult to break out."*

Interviewees in Odense were especially concerned about the social control exerted within some communities at Vollsmose[64]. They very often referred to personal experiences, such as the senior

[63] A survey performed by Arbejderbevægelsens Erhvervsråd (the Commercial council of the labour movement) showed that every fourth residents in the ghettoes had an income below the poverty line, 60% of median income. The survey includes all residents in the ghettoes. However, the great majority of these residents are non-Western immigrants (Juul, 2011).

[64] a housing estate with approximately 10,000 residents. About 2/3 of the residents have an ethnic minority background. Within the estate there are sections with a high concentration of residents of same ethnic background. Approximately 66% of all residents within working age are off the labour market.

integration officer in Odense, who otherwise found that the problems in Vollsmose were basically of social and not of ethnic origin.

> *"What worries me in regard to integration is the enormous social control, especially the religious control, but also the control [that exist], when ethnic groups live very closely together. I have experienced a family with another ethnic background who moved from the other end of town and got an apartment in Vollsmose, and the women in that family said: "Now I have to wear a veil". So there is social pressure that may not hinder integration but it will slow it down".*

The interviewees were concerned about the kind of social capital that these settings foster. Whether ethnic or social factors are the prime initiators, the spatial concentration of vulnerable ethnic families is believed to develop *closure*, based on ethnic differentiation from the outer society. The interviews clearly questioned Nannestad's finding that social capital in the shape of bonding does not impede bridging, see page 52. Not only did the interviewees assume that families miss out on structural integration but they also worried that the families are prevented from adopting the norms of the society, such as gender equality. As most interviewees felt that the uptake of certain norms is essential for getting on in society, they were willing to break up physical ethnic communities in order to integrate the vulnerable families.

However, four interviewees with an immigrant background, of whom three either live or have lived in a "ghetto", supported Lucinda Platt (2009) in her findings that ethnic communities may develop positive social capital. Ebrahim Kanaan, representative of the Council of Ethnic Minorities, stated:

> *"I don't think it hinders integration into the society. It is only natural that people who have common interests or a mutual cultural background have a tendency to live together and have a national community. ... There are also some benefits for the society....The society will also experience that there will not at all be as many old immigrants in residential homes, due to some of the values immigrant families bring along in their luggage*"

This group of interviewees rejected the theory of group based parallel communities. As they also objected to the pressure exerted on immigrants to adhere to institutional norms, they did not agree that ethnicity can be a criterion for deciding where people may live and with whom to socialize with.

6.5. Attitudes towards Islam and its role in society

Brian Jacobsen (2009) writes that in the 1990s the debate on Muslims in Parliament was secondary to the debate on immigrants that they all together constituted an economic burden and a cultural threat. Now the dominating discussion is on Muslims as their religious practices are significantly different from Danish culture and 'Danishness'. Muslims are regarded as the 'otherness' to Danish

identity (ibid, 2009), which may lead to an increased polarisation between Danes and Muslims (Jensen, 2009).
The interviews showed that such views exist among some interviewees, even though a majority of interviewees rejected it.

The interviews revealed three types of discussion on Muslims in Denmark, mirroring the positions on Muslims in the public debate: the Islam sceptics and the Islam inclusives, see page 31. One group, the Islam sceptics (mainly Centre Right politicians), see Islam as an infringement of secularism and as a core issue in the integration debate. In opposition to this, the Islam inclusives (mainly Centre Left politicians and civil servants), refused to talk about Muslims in any general terms, and they rejected the proposition that issues related to immigrants can be analysed from a religious perspective. Finally, a third group consisting of politicians across party lines and interviewees with an immigrant background complained about the avoidance of talking freely about Islam.

6.5.1. Islam: detrimental for integration

DF politicians, and to a smaller extent other Centre Right politicians, tend to assume that immigrants are synonymous with Muslims, and they perceived Islam as incompatible with Danish culture. This group of politicians spoke rather negatively and at times rather confrontationally about Muslims. They clearly saw it as the 'otherness' of Danish identity. The following quotes of Soeren Krarup, MP for DF, illustrate their attitude:

> *"Islam and Christianity are like fire and water...There is in Christianity a clear distinction between politics and religion."*

> *"We have a Christian tradition in this country which says that we have freedom of consciousness and intellectual freedom as we do not force people to believe. People have grown up in this religious freedom, which they think is universal. In a slightly different way they see Islam as an image of Danish Christianity [Folkekirkekristendom]. Therefore they do not understand that Islam is completely opposite.... Therefore they are taken by surprise and therefore they are run down."*

The Centre Right politicians felt that Islam may have a negative influence not only on gender equality, but also on work and education. Bertel Haarder, MP for the Liberals, stated:

> *"You can ask any school leader what kind of immigrant family that may cause the most problems. Then it is very often Muslim families...But if you ask whether it makes a difference, whether we deal with Muslims or not, the answer is yes."*

6.5.2. Islam: a private matter

However, among another group of interviewees (mainly Centre left politicians and civil servants) the role of Islam is heavily downplayed as an infringement of secularism or a factor for structural integration. Though they acknowledged that among some Muslim immigrants gender equality and individual decision may suffer, this group maintained that these problems are limited to vulnerable social groups. They therefore refused to talk about Muslims in any general terms.

The senior civil servant at the Ministry of Integration reported that the Ministry only differentiate immigrants along ethnic lines and not religious lines. Confronted with Tariq Modood's argument[65], that Muslims must be recognized as a social group, he answered:

> *"The fact is that they are not a group....The majority of people with a Muslim background in Denmark, and we know that from surveys, do not practice their religion much. Perhaps they are culturally Muslims just as we are culturally Christians. Then they are extremely divided along religious lines, but especially along nationality"*

The downplay of Muslim identity is very telling among this group of interviewees. Several interviewees used the term "Culture Muslims" as a description to imply a similarity with "Culture Christians". A very typical phrase is the following quote from the interview with Finn Brunse, Social Democratic mayor in Assens:

> *"They have an approach to their religion similar to our approach. Many are even members of folkekirken[66] [the state church]. They do not exercise their faith"*

This group of interviewees ignore the fact that Muslims often describe themselves as sharing a group identity (Meer et al. 2009). The downgrading of Islamic influence may also be a consequence of viewing any demands by Muslims as an attack on secularism (Modood, 2007). Religion in Denmark belongs to the private sphere and among politicians from the Left and DF such opinion was voiced. Carsten Hoenge, MP for SF, declared:

> *"People can believe in whatever they want to, I may not care to hear about it. When people start to define their religious identity. Kiss my a…. I prefer to meet people who are anything else…Many Danes feel like me. People do not want to hear about it. It is a private matter".*

Martin Henriksen , MP for DF, complained:

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[65] Tariq Modood argues that Muslims must be recognized as a social group in line with for instance gays and be granted special rights (Modood, 2007).

[66] Residents in Denmark are automatically members of *folkekirken* (state church) when they pay income tax. A specific percentage of income tax goes to the church. Taxpayers can avoid paying "church tax" by informing the Inland Revenue that they do not want to be a member of *folkekirken.* Estimated figures from *folkekirken* do not support that Muslim immigrants in any significant numbers are members of *folkekirken* (Fusager, 2011)

"If you walk down Nørrebrogade [street in a neighbourhood of Copenhagen with many immigrants], you will probable think: "Wow, it is very Muslim"…It is a very difficult task. You must take Islam out of the public room and tone it down"

These interviewees are strong proponents of secular multiculturalism, which limits any religious identity. In the words of Meer et al (2009) they therefore ignore one of the greatest challenges facing multiculturalism, the inclusion of Muslim groupings.

6.5.3. Islam: a suppressed matter

A third group of interviewees were more careful about speaking their mind. Where the proponents of Muslim influence did not appear to fear a dichotomy of the debate, Muslims vs. non-Muslims, and any possible stigmatizing effect it may have, the non-Muslim influence group avoided the dichotomy by simply not accepting Muslims as a social group. A third group consisting of people across party lines believed that Muslim immigrants pose a separate problem from other immigrants, but out of fear of being associated with DF they are afraid to speak up. Vivi Kier from the Conservative Party said:

"If I look at myself I would prefer to discuss something else than the effect of Islam because I'm so afraid of being categorized as a sympathizer of DF".

All but one of the Muslim interviewees underlined that Islam is of much bigger importance to Muslims than Christianity is to Danish Christians, and they contradicted those who downplayed Muslim identity. But they complained that very few Muslims contribute to the public debate. Naser Khader, Conservative MP, described himself as a non-active Muslim. He said:

"Islam plays a very big role for many Muslims in Denmark. Therefore it is strange that we will not talk about it. There is a fear of contact. Some say that they will not contribute to the right winger's fear of Islam".

6.6. Immigrants and the sustainability of the welfare state

The conceptual framework for the questions on solidarity is based on Durkheim's notion of mechanic and organic solidarity as described in the literature review. It is operationalized through the diversity and post-materialism arguments, see page 55-56. The former argument claims that ethnic and cultural diversity may have a detrimental effect on solidarity in society, while advocates of post-materialism profess the opposite.

Interviewees were queried about their views on the sustainability of the welfare state in light of the hypothesis that prerequisites for the successful development of the welfare state have been the homogeneity of the population in terms of ethnicity, language and religion.

Local politicians and civil servants were also asked about their experiences of immigrants' participation in local community activities and about their understanding of social citizenship. The rationale behind this approach rested on the notion that it is important that everybody share the same idea of reciprocity and make equal efforts to contribute (White, 2003).
Politicians were generally rather optimistic about the prospects of the welfare state. Its roots are so deeply ingrained in the Danish mentality (Gundelach, 2001), and it seems to take more than the presence of immigrants to rock the boat. Susan Hedlund, Social Democratic councillor in Copenhagen, put it this way:

"I think the Danes will maintain a universal approach. At the end of the day we are born into a social democratic culture. The society is totally subjected to that spirit"

Still, all interviewees expressed some concerns about the future as they questioned the feeling of togetherness at societal level. But where interviewees on previous issues show more distinct divisions along political party lines the groupings of interviewees are less clear on the subject of solidarity.

6.6.1. Socio-economic marginalised groups as a threat to the welfare state

Among a big group of interviewees, representing politicians of various parties and civil servants, it is the marginalisation along socio-economic lines of the weakest groups in society that forms the main challenge to the welfare state. Peter Gundelach, Professor at University of Copenhagen, commented:

> *"The weakest from the ethnic minorities draw disproportionately much from the social systems and they contribute disproportionately little as they cannot get a job. It is obviously a threat."*

Also among this group of interviewees the progressive dilemma was raised. Stina Willumsen, SF councillor in Odense, had reservations about the willingness of Danes to support those marginalized groups, which may have excluded themselves from the society and sought refugee in their ethnic communities:

> *"I wonder why we haven't progressed any further, perhaps even witnessed a growing parallel society. When you watch a group that isolate itself and turn its back towards society, why should you show solidarity with that group. They do not want us"*

6.6.2. Immigrants' embracing of the welfare state

Interviews generally reckoned that immigrants embrace the welfare state and its fundamental ideas, which surveys confirm (MRII, 2007). However, many thought that the character of the solidarity of some immigrants were more mechanical than organic. The politicians who regarded Muslims as less secular also tended to be of that opinion, as they thought the fraternity of immigrants is

foremost within the family or the clan. But this view was also shared by a couple of Centre Left politicians, though they referred to cultural and not religious factors. Meta Fuglsang, MP for SF, noted:

> *"Yes, you talk about those who have a certain way of thinking, a clan-thinking more than a social way of thinking. There may be a clash of cultures that we have to handle. It is obvious that if you are not ready to live in a country where the state is a very central actor and above your family, you have a problem living here".*

6.7. The role of policy position

It was evident that local and national politicians approached immigrants' participation in the local community differently. Interviewees at national level were concerned about the low level of participation in non-ethnic voluntary organisations[67]. Local politicians and civil servants were less concerned whether the immigrants participated in ethnic organisations, as long as they get on and somehow contribute to the local community. Local politicians and civil servants were all together directed by distinctly more pragmatic attitudes than interviewees at the national level. The difference in attitude at local and national level will be further discussed in chapter seven.

Further, as the social marginalization is growing, and there in the views of many interviewees is a persistent lack of contact between immigrants and Danes, especially the interviewees at national level were concerned about the loss of social capital and of a diminishing trust between ethnic groups. Bent Grove, senior civil servant at the Ministry of Integration reflected on this:

> *"If we increasingly become a divided society with individual way of living, where is the solidarity then?....The social capital is eroded. Trust in each other can also become under pressure."*

6.8. Discussion/analysis

The interviews of policy makers set out to investigate their personal attitudes. Interviewees were selected on the basis of their policy position. As it was expected that a relationship exists between the attitude of the politicians and their party affiliation, politicians were also nominated according to their connection with a political party in order to attain a diversity of opinions. However, neither the politicians nor any participant spoke on behalf of the institutions they belonged to.

As anticipated the opinions of the politicians correlated strongly with the traditional division between the political Right and Left, though the dichotomy was not as evident as in the political debate. It was the impression of the interviewer that the great majority of the politicians expressed their personal opinion. Rarely did an interviewer refer to a party manifesto. As will be documented

[67] Survey carried out by Ministry of Integration showed that both 1st generation immigrants and descendants participate much less in all types of voluntary organisations than Danes.

in the following chapters, several politicians would very bluntly criticize past policies linked to the party they represented. Equally, many took up pragmatic rather than ideological positions, and their views differed often from those expressed by party colleagues.
The civil servants at the Ministry of Integration showed a more cautious attitude, though interestingly the highest ranked officer expressed himself in more forthright terms than his subordinates. The latter (two) abstained from answering questions they perceived as too political. At municipality level the civil servants spoke without any apparent constraints.

The discussion of the attitudes of the policymakers is divided into four main themes arising from the interviews. First, the different perception of integration is discussed. Secondly, the character of the norms and values and the level to which immigrants must adopt them are analysed. Third, the discussion will examine the attitudes of the interviewees towards the role of Islam in society. Finally, this section of the discussion will analyse the findings of the interviews from the viewpoint of immigrants' impact on the sustainability of the welfare state. The discussion will conclude by analysing the findings in the perspective of social transaction costs.

6.8.1. Perceptions of the term "integration"

The discourse of the interviews reflected well the discourse of the general debate. For some interviewees conceptions of cultural diversity were shaped by references to Danish identity and culture. Others downplayed any national elements in their conceptualizing of integration.
The platform for the DF politicians was nationalism and their views on integration seemed strongly influenced by the notion that a nation is defined by a common history, culture and with a historical connection to its territory. In opposition to this members of the Social Liberals and the Red-Green Alliance dismissed any ethnic elements in their conceptualization of integration. Integration is not defined within a cultural framework but rather with a reference to social exclusion[68]. Their social demarcation of ethnic groups reflects the concerns by some commentators that a cultural demarcation of immigrants will overlook social characteristics, see page 16.
In line with that, others, such as those with an immigrant background and the senior integration officer and Centre Left councillors in Copenhagen, focused on the terms 'inclusion' or 'belonging'. They emphasized the relational aspect of integration. Like most interviewees, apart from members of DF, they dismissed the terms 'assimilation' and 'multiculturalism. According to them the terms are inaccurate. As the debate on immigrants has been very polarized the discomfort expressed in using those terms may also reflect a fear of being associated with any of the antagonistic groups: the "soft" liberals or the hard-core right-wingers (DF supporters).
Centre Right politicians tended to possess more assimilative attitudes than their Centre Left colleagues. As Centre Left politicians generally described integration in multicultural terms they

[68] The Centre left government, which took office in November 2011 abolished the Ministry of Refugees, Immigration and Integration Aafirs. Integration of immigrants is now a department within the Ministry of Social Affairs.

opted for more abstract notions of integration. Leftist politicians and civil servants could therefore appear more elitist.

However, most interviewees expressed multicultural attitudes while at the same time emphasizing that immigrants must adhere to some norms essential for the function of the welfare state. There views fell within the liberal denotation of integration strategies.

This reflected the frequently mentioned belief that the Danish position on cultural diversity constitutes a paradox between multiculturalism and assimilation (Mikkelsen, 2001; Togeby, 2003; Jensen, 2009). But as this analysis attempt to demonstrate it may also be a symptom of the tension between the notion of equality and diversity.

6.8.2. National character of norms

Commentators frequently stated that social equality requires conformity, and that equality is closely linked with 'sameness' (Mouritzen et al, 2009). In the process of harmonizing the society the interviewees emphasized the uniformity of norms to which all citizens must adhere, as the interviewees institutionalized individual norms such as gender equality and participation in Danish cultural activities.

They strongly disagreed about the universality or national nature of the norms, but this argument appeared to focus more on narration than on the actual properties of the norms. Some politicians might have removed Danishness from their conceptualization of the norms in order to portray the norms as less assimilative. By denouncing Danishness they distance themselves from the nationalist/assimilative model of integration. Their reasoning falls in line with the arguments put forward by the proponents of nations being imageries. An emphasis on the Danish character of the norms, strengthen the need to abide to them.

However, not only Centre Right but also some Centre Left politicians opposed the denigration of unique Danish values. This was explicitly a protest against the leftist elite, and it showed that the deconstruction of nationalism in the public debate has not succeeded (Hvenegaard-Lassen, 1996). I will return to this matter in chapter eight.

In opposition to this another group of politicians go further by underlining Danishness in order to distance themselves from any kind of culture relativism[69], reflecting a fear of losing national identity in a globalized world. A fear which is strengthened by the influx of immigrants (Rasmussen, 1996).

[69] Cultural relativism is a doctrine which holds that variability of moral rules and social institutions are exempt from legitimate criticism by outsiders. The doctrine is strongly supported by the notions of communal autonomy and self determination (Connally, 1984)

6.8.3. The encompassment of Islam in the Danish society

As secularism is an essential norm of the society, demands by Muslims are seen as an attack on the principle of secularism (Modood, 2007). Hitherto, from very different points of view all interviewees of ethnic Danish origin wanted to remove Islam from the public sphere[70].

The Centre Right politicians rejected a role of Islam beyond the private sphere. They also found it important to maintain Christianity as the foundation of the society. The comments of DF members, and of some Centre Right politicians echoed the public discourse on Muslims. These, according to most commentators, arise from a polarization between Danish values and Islam, or between "them Muslims" and "us Danes" (Jensen, 2007). However, as will be discussed in chapter 8, these politicians strongly disagreed with the assessment that the tone of the public debate has a polarizing effect.

The downgrading of the role of Islam and of a Muslim group identity by most civil servants and many Centre Left politicians was striking. The more so as these views contradicted those expressed by the Muslim interviewees. This finding indicates that T. Modood's statement is true outside the UK: " I do believe that religion is more central to British Asian ethnicity than many anti-racists would like to acknowledge" (Modood, 2005:31). If findings among South Asian Muslims in the UK can be applied to Muslims in Denmark, it is noteworthy that in the 4th National Survey of ethnic minorities in the UK religion was most prominent in self-identification (Modood et al, 1997).

The literature commonly claims that Danish politicians have formed a consensus that immigrants are synonymous with Muslims (Luchau, 2004). These interviews suggest that this is mistaken, as many Centre Left politicians and all civil servants, distanced themselves from the idea of equating immigrants with Muslims. Two theories may explain these findings.

Firstly, this group of interviewees recognized that the perception of Arabs and Islam has become politicized (Said, 1995). For fear of adding fuel to the fire they did not want to generalise about Muslims or regard Islam as "otherness", thus denying any influence of Islam on integration. Where the Parliamentarian, Karsten Hønge, complained about the elite suppressing a debate on "Danishness", a similar mechanism appears to govern the debate on Muslims. Somehow there seems to be a lack of confidence in an open discussion of the role of Islam. Secondly, the reluctance may arise from Danish institutions being constructed for a coherent, ethnic and religious homogeneous society, which Islam challenges (Kærgaard, 2010). As Danes are obsessed with equality and conform to universalities Muslims cause discomfort with in-group diversity, and the Danes sanction those who expose the one-sidedness of this consensus (Rasmussen, 2000). As highlighted in chapter three, homogeneity is a central part of the structure of the welfare state and it generates a reluctance to accept disagreement and to acknowledge difference (Knudsen, 1997).

[70] In principle the interviewees with an immigrant background also endorsed a secular society. But as some also asked for more recognition of Muslim values, their position was unclear.

6.8.4. Challenges to the coherence of the welfare state

Homogeneity is central to the coherence of the welfare state (Olwig, 2011) and it is a concern for this coherence that underpins the arguments of the interviewees. That explains their emphasis on systemic integration and on parallel communities, which they associated with spatial ethnic concentration. Many interviewees perceived the latter as the biggest challenge to the society, as communities with spatial ethnic concentration may exert social control and negative social capital. Such fear may be founded in the belief that such communities contradict fundamental ideas of the welfare state, "because they are seen to be in conflict with the principle of generalised social loyalty and economic exchange associated with welfare societies based on the universalist model" (Olwig, 2011:181). It is significant that those with experience of living in "ghettoes" thought that these areas might develop positive social capital. The importance of personal experiences will be investigated in chapter 8.

Most interviewees, mentioned education and employment as essential for integration. This is in line with the official policy of integration, which stresses that solidarity requires that a person works and educates himself and contributes to the reciprocity of the welfare state (Mouritzen et al, 2009).
Though all policy makers agreed that both structures, failed systemic integration and parallel communities are associated with socio-economic marginalisation and some institutional failures, a growing concern emerged that ethnic factors are also in play.
The more group-orientated approach of the Centre Right politicians to the social problems is in accordance with their liberal ideology and emphasis on personal responsibility. An individual's position in the society is not only determined by social circumstances but also by discrete choices. Therefore, and in defence of assimilatory policies, they did not agree that the society might be to blame for descendants dropping out of school. Further, as they have a more assimilative understanding of integration, cultural differences, including religious, will naturally be part of their explanatory framework.
Centre Left politicians will traditionally analyse social exclusion form the vantage point of social disadvantage. However, members of SF and Social Democrats and most civil servants added a layer of ethno-cultural dimensions and to some extent implied self-exclusion. This convergence of the interviewees' viewpoints is a reflection of the widely believed assertion that the Left has moved towards the Right on value-orientated policies. According to the Centre Left politicians, they had simply learned to listen to the people. It is commonly claimed that SF and the Social Democrats have joined the discourse of the political Right as they were loosing voters (Rydgren, 2007). I will return to this debate in chapter seven and eight.

Most interviewees across party lines had a firm belief in the sustainability of the welfare state. Some Centre Left politicians believed that "the social democratic model" is deeply ingrained in the Danish mentality. They rejected the idea of a direct relationship between heterogeneity and stability

and believed that " political institutions can adapt to their environment to overcome negative social conditions" (Lijphart, 1999:31). The progressive dilemma did not resonate much with the interviewees apart from members of DF. This does not seem very consistent with the increased acceptance of the idea that ethno-cultural factors are behind the development of parallel communities and with the perceived consequences that follow from parallel living. It may be that in order not to give the impression of being "racist" or "anti-immigrant", respondents refrained from providing answers that may be interpreted as blaming immigrants for the problems of the welfare state. As many interviewees were more concerned about the increasing socio-economic cleavages in the society, which very much go along ethnic lines, their responses to the progressive dilemma may have been different if cultural heterogeneity was linked with social differences. Secondly, as interviewees downplayed differences between Danes, there is also a belief that immigrants will share the fundamental values of the society. The immigrants are willing to pay the price of solidarity. The acculturation will succeed. In line with the rhetoric of the modern liberal welfare state the glue of ethnicity has been replaced with the glue of values (Goddhart, 2004:3).

6.8.5. The influence of policy position

The impact of the interviewees' personal relationship with the public and the influence of policy position will be investigated in depth in chapter eight. At this point it is noteworthy that DF and the Red-Green Alliance together with the Social Liberals took up rather polarized positions. Members of the other political parties demonstrated bigger diversity and were less likely to hold views similar to their colleagues within their parties. Secondly, it was also clear that local politicians and civil servants generally held more pragmatic views than their colleagues at national level. The smaller the constituency the various politicians represented, the less divisive was their attitude towards integration issues. An anticipated closer contact with the smaller constituency may influence the attitudes of the interviewees more than rigid ideological positions. Thirdly, it was also significant that on most issues the civil servants at municipality level were in line with Centre Left politicians. Elitist attitudes were regarded by most politicians, including Centre Left politicians, as synonymous with more liberal/leftist attitudes.

6.8.6. A social transaction cost perspective.

Within the analytical framework of social transaction costs the views expressed by the policy makers may be analysed at three levels: individual, group and national.

Individual level: The assimilative elements in the demand to adopt values essential for acceptance in Danish society present social transaction costs for immigrants. The increased tendency to ascribe lack of integration to ethno-cultural factors puts the onus more directly on the immigrant and less on social structures. The responsibility for rectifying social disadvantage is directed away from society (and Danes) and placed more on the shoulders of the individual immigrants. They must change their norms and values and by so doing pay higher social transaction costs.

Group level: Critics of the increased focus on ethno-cultural factors will argue that such policy will only maintain ethnic minorities in their disadvantaged position as the structural issues will not be addressed. It may also lead to wider generalisations regarding immigrants, as ethnicity becomes an essential marker of difference. This will most likely set them further apart from mainstream society. According to the theory of 'trust radius", see page 53, trust between ethnic groups may diminish as differences are accentuated. Social contact between ethnic minorities must break down bigger "barriers" and the social transaction costs increases for both groups. The question of Muslim identity may also be analysed from the perspective of social transaction costs. The lack of recognition of a specific Muslim identity and group rights induces some transaction costs for Muslim immigrants. Muslims are asked to take up secular values that may contravene their Islamic values, and they have until recently not been allowed to build mosques. Many commentators (Schmidt, 2004; Modood, 2005; MRII, 2007) also argue that the lack of recognition of ethnic and Muslim identity has lead to more dogmatic Muslim attitude among descendants of Muslim immigrants. This argument is analogous to the descendants revolting against the educational system. Such behaviour implies bigger transaction costs for Danes and Muslim immigrants alike as social contact has to bridge bigger cultural differences.

Societal level: Two points will be extracted from the interviews: Islam's impact on secularism and the coherence of the society. In other words, essential dimensions of the social capital of the society.

The interviewees of Danish origin see secularism as an essential value of the Danish welfare state. In their view any dispensation from the principle of separation of the private and public spheres may harm the collective feeling of equality (sameness). Equality is a cornerstone of the Danish welfare model and a less secular society may have negative ramifications for solidarity. As the policymakers pointed out the immigrants represent a socially vulnerable group and social differences have widened within Denmark. Increasingly, people live divided, not only along social but also along ethnic lines. Though the policy makers believed that the Danish welfare model will prevail, their optimism is contradicted by some developments in the provision of social assistance.

The pressure on social services has increased considerably and in response certain measures that apply differently to Danish citizens and to immigrants have been introduced, such as Start Assistance and social assistance to families[71]. This could be considered as welfare state chauvinism or as a necessary measure to protect universalism (Andersen, 2007). However, evidence of a two-tier system has emerged. Apart from the social consequences for the immigrants, which I will return to in chapter seven, the "necessary" policies could be seen as a breach of solidarity and an erosion of the belief in universalism. That may be a social transaction costs for the nation brought about by the big ethnic and social changes the immigrants represent.

[71] The Centre Left government that took office in November 2011 (after the completion of all but two of the interviews) has abolished Start Assistance and other policies that discriminate between Danish citizens and non-citizens. However, political commentators claim that such changes do not have the support of the majority of voters, including many supporters of the Social Democratic Party (Sørensen, 2012).

Chapter 7: Elite policymakers' attitudes towards integration policies and their level of acceptance of state influence on the private lives of immigrants

7. Introduction

Nannestad (1999) writes that integration will not be the result of "free market forces", but can only be achieved by political intervention. In accordance with that welfare institutions supervise integration in the Scandinavian welfare states. Thus, welfare state policy is essential for incorporating immigrants in society (Eastmond, 2011). Such policies may also be normative and transcend into the private sphere. In order to maintain the conformity and normality of society, it is has been claimed that the state has the right " to monitor and interfere in the living room, the kitchen, the larder, the nursery, not to mention the bedroom of its citizens" (Stenius, 1997:171).

This chapter sets out to investigate attitudes among interviewees towards certain integration policies. As part of the investigation of a possible division between attitudes of policymakers and those of Danes and immigrants it seems natural to extent the inquiry to an examination of attitudes towards certain integration measures. Within the theoretical framework it is of particular interest to clarify how the distribution of possible social transaction costs of these measures may affect their thinking and on whom they want to levy those costs. The focus of the inquiry will be the extent to which interviewees consider that the state can restrict the social citizenship of immigrants or interfere in their private lives. The questions focused on self-sufficiency, upbringing of children and equality between genders, as these variables are seen as essential within the common code of values, which are fundamental for the welfare state (Maia, 2009).

The chapter starts out illustrating the policymakers' emphasis on the need to set conditions for immigrants to fulfil in order to function on equal terms with Danes in society. Then the presentation examines the discussion between policymakers on the restriction of social citizenship as a means to encourage immigrants to work. The investigation then moves on to examine policies on gender equality, marriage, housing pattern and bussing of ethnic students form the perspective how far the state can interfere in the lives of immigrants. Finally, Centre Left politicians expressed attitudes that differed significantly from integration policies their respective political parties have promoted in the past. The change of attitudes appeared to be determined by a wish to shift the costs of integration to immigrants. Therefore, the apparent policy change of the political Left will also be examined. The chapter closes with a discussion of the findings, which will be analysed within the theoretical framework.

7.1. Findings

7.1.2. The need to set conditions

As shown in chapter six the interviewees put an increased emphasis on ethno-cultural explanations for lack of integration, and among most interviewees there is a clear tendency to advocate more assimilative policies.

Many interviewees also thought that too many immigrants had become dependent of the social security system and that they were not contributing sufficiently to Danish society. Their concerns also included cultural integration: 'parallel living' and the coherence of society were perceived as paramount challenges to Danish society.

Equally, many interviewees found that too few demands have been put to the immigrants and that ordinary Danes have been asked to accept big demographic changes that have threatened the coherence of society. The politicians, apart from members of the Red-Green Alliance and the Social Liberals, acknowledged that they have ignored the Danes' sentiment towards immigrants and left the terms of integration too much to the immigrants. Jane Jegind, Liberal councillor in Odense, stated:

> *"I think that for many years we have extended tolerance that has been misunderstood and we have been reluctant to talk about culture differences and religion. Again because we avoid conflicts. We express ourselves indirectly, we sidestep and think it is better to sit down together and get to an agreement. Instead of saying: This is the way it is".*

The quote reveals a misguided consideration towards immigrants but also a reluctance to include immigrants and overcome possible cultural barriers, which may have demanded a bigger effort from the host society. The schism is not so much between multicultural or assimilative policies but rather towards any avoidance of contact that may cause a conflict. Though attitudes in the 1980s and 1990s were directed by a multicultural approach, the attitudes towards immigrants seemed also to be guided by a fear of imposing any transaction costs on the Danes or on the immigrants themselves. In the words of Rune Bjerre, a civil servant at the MRII, the state had "bought its way out."

7.2. Restriction of social citizenship as a means to encourage self-sufficiency

Interviewees were questioned about their attitude towards Start Assistance[72], see page 35, which was implemented to encourage immigrants to enter in the labour market (Rosholm et al, 2010). Opponents of the policy have claimed that it is an infringement of social citizenship, as it is an unacceptable way of stratifying citizens and establishing a new underclass (Eyrnæs, 2001). Historically, in Denmark social rights have been linked to residency and not citizenship.

[72] Reduced social assistance for immigrants the first 7 years after completing introduction course. The policy has later been scrapped by the Centre left government which took office in September 2011.

7.2.1. Proponents of Start Assistance

Those with the most assimilative conceptions of integration were also those who advocated Start Assistance. It seems, as Nannestad (1999) claims, that more assimilative attitudes affect attitudes towards economic costs of immigration.

These respondents included mainly Centre Right politicians. In line with civil servants at the Ministry of Integration they evaluated Start Assistance on the basis of its aims. Several politicians mentioned that it is a healthy stimulus for bettering socio-economic conditions. They did not associate Start Assistance with poverty[73] or as lack of solidarity. Several studies, most prominently two surveys by the Rockwool foundation, back up their views of Start Assistance. The surveys have shown that Start Assistance has a positive effect on employment rates of immigrants[74].

As the Centre Right politicians were more likely to perceive cultural background as a factor for reliance on social assistance they also found that the benefits of the welfare state are a reason for some immigrants coming to Denmark. Their rhetoric covered phrases such as "Denmark is becoming the welfare office for the entire world" and "they are emptying our public coffins". Rene Christensen, MP for DF, stated:

> *"Some people arrive who exploit our way of setting up our welfare state".*

Some Centre Right politicians also argued that the newcomers must prove themselves worthy of receiving social assistance indicating that social rights should be earned. Mogens Lønborg, Conservative councillor in Copenhagen, commented on Start Assistance this way:

> *"I think it is a good mechanism. It means that you cannot come from the Middle Ages, I put it to the extremes again, and then suddenly you must have a share at the same level of all the welfare goods, which you have not contributed to at all...I do not mind to open up for those who get here, but I want to see an effort".*

7.2.2. Opposition to Start Assistance

As mentioned in chapter six many of the Centre Left politicians acknowledged that among some immigrants a culture of dependency on public provision has developed. Most Centre Left politicians also acknowledged the findings of the Rockwool Foundation, that Start Assistance has a positive effect on employment rates of immigrants. Still, several Centre Left politicians rejected the proposition that refugees have come to Denmark because of the relatively high level of social

[73] It is commonly argued that Start Assistance represents a transfer bigger than what newly arrived immigrants receive in most other European countries. However, it has not been possible to verify this claim in recent literature.

[74] Surveys conducted by the Rockwool Foundation in 2007 and 2009 both confirmed that start assistance has had a positive effect on employment of refugees. 30% of refugees, above the age of 25 and who had stayed in Denmark more than 4 years and 4 months, were in employment before the introduction of start assistance in 2002. In 2009 42% of a similar group of refugees were in employment (Rockwool Foundation, 2009).

payments. Further, all Centre Left politicians and local civil servants objected to the use of economic sanctions to enforce certain conditions, and they opposed Start Assistance. Their argument hinged on two considerations. Firstly, the impositions of the poverty trap, and secondly, the negative effect on integration by excluding immigrants from the full social citizenship. The clearly avoided any ethnicitation of the welfare state.

The Centre Left politicians focused on the social consequences for the recipients and their families. Start Assistance triggers poverty and social marginalisation in the words of its opponents. Typically, they expressed concerns for the children similar to those voiced by Marianne Jelved, a Social Liberal parliamentarian:

> *"I think it is a valuable that in Denmark we have not been able to see whether people are poor or not as in other countries. But you start to be able to see that now. Again we must look at the conditions of the children...I think it is terrible that we in Denmark have gone along a new set of values, which I will not support: that we treat children differently. Some children are being treated better than others, and the authorities look at that with their eyes wide open"*

Many commentators back up the concerns about the standard of living of immigrants. With the reduction of economic assistance to non-Western immigrants The Rockwool Foundation (2009) and an OECD report (Liebig, 2007) directly warn against immigrants living in poverty[75].

Ikram Sarwar, Social Democratic councillor of Copenhagen, pointed out as he also referred to cuts in social benefits for families with children[76].

> *"If you do not start on equal terms then it is very difficult to enter these alliances and to create those forums where you meet on equal terms.... All the things that generate inequality contribute to distance ourselves from each other."*

7.2.3. Comparison of views on Start Assistance

The politicians differed in their views of the entitlement of the full social citizenship as a motivating factor for integration. Centre Right politicians in particular saw full entitlement of social rights as a reward rather than an instrument of integration, in the same way as obtaining citizenship is perceived as an end point of acculturation (Coleman, 1999). In opposition to that other politicians and local civil servants saw Start Assistance as a lack of solidarity with immigrants and

[75] On the basis of the Luxembourg Income Study Morissens et al (2005) showed that 44% of ethnic minority migrant households in Denmark lived below the poverty line set at 50 per cent of the median income adjusted to the family size. In the same study 24 per cent of ethnic minority migrant households in the UK lived below the poverty line.

[76] An absolute limit for a family's social welfare benefit payment was implemented in 2004. It aimed at immigrant families with a high number of children. Fertility rates in Denmark in 2004 were 1.7 for Danish women and 2.4 for women of non-Western origin. However, the variations were very big. Total fertility rates of Somali women were 4.2 and for Iranian women 1.9. By 2011 fertility rates for non-Western immigrant women and Danes women were 1.8 (Statistics Denmark, 2013d)

as a barrier for integration. They would accord social rights on the basis of residency and not citizenship.

7.3. State interference in cultural integration

Most interviewees were reluctant to influence behavioural patterns by direct legislation. On the other hand they did see it as the duty of the state to influence people to take up certain values that are seen as essential. The government stipulates that it is important that Danes feel confident about expecting immigrants to follow the same rules as Danes (MRII, 2004a). Equally, it is also in the interest of the state that certain immigrant norms are left behind. As Lars Hansen, civil servant at the Ministry of Integration, stated, it becomes a "balance of state control and support". However, by indirect means and legislation that do not explicitly target ethnic minorities nor state its purpose, measures by the state have aimed at influencing immigrants' behaviour. Obvious cases are the 24-year rule on marriage and legislation on social housing, see below.

7.3.1. Gender equality and marriage patterns

In regards to gender equality interviewees were asked an open question whether it is the responsibility of the state to influence marriage patterns and gender roles within immigrant families. A survey conducted by the Ministry of Welfare among young Muslim women concluded that though only a few were unconcerned about women's rights and modern principles of justice, such as being protected from violence and having control over one's own body, these concepts were not strongly held by this group of respondents (Maia, 2009).

As so many participants mentioned gender equality it appears to be a pivotal norm to which immigrants are expected to adapt. Immigrant women are strongly encouraged to get in the labour market and though employment rates for women with a non-Western immigrant background is lower than for Danish women, it is still higher than in any other OECD country[77] (Liebig, 2007). The concerns about gender equality go beyond the labour market.

Though all those with opinions on the issue agreed that it is impossible to legislate on attitudes towards gender equality, Denmark has imposed a radical attempt to influence marriage patterns and gender relations through the 24-year marriage rule. The rule prohibits marriage with a person from outside Denmark before both parties to the marriage are over 24 years of age, see page 35. And without specifically mentioning them, the law aims to discourage arranged or forced marriages, thus make it easier to give women a bigger say in their choice of partner.

The Red-Green Alliance, The Social Liberals and the Liberal Alliance have always opposed the legislation. Firstly, Members of those parties pointed out that it is not for the state to interfere in the

[77] In Denmark a person can only receive social assistance if the person is available in the labour market. That may be one factor explaining the relative higher employment rates for immigrant women in Denmark compared with other European countries.

private sphere, as long as the law is not contravened. Secondly, certain cultural customs, such as arranged marriages, are not a matter for state intervention. Simon Emil Amnitzbøll, MP for the Liberal Alliance, said:

> *"You must be careful saying that freedom of consciousness, freedom of speech and political freedom mean certain things. Then there is nothing free about it, but it is a form of restraint. In this debate we establish a strange logic that they more we force people, the more freedom it generates.... The state must not interfere if a person is working at home".*

Johanne Nielsen, representing the Red-Green Alliance, stated:

> *"In relation to marriages we can make two conditions. One is that force must not be involved and the other condition is that partners must be at least 18 years of age. That means that if two people marry because it is a good arrangement we cannot and should not interfere through the law. The state cannot be the judge as to whether a marriage is a love-match. It is a frightening thought if love is to be tested".*

The above view is very much in line with the attitude towards gender equality expressed by the male interviewees with an immigrant background. They found that any state interfering in gender relation within families is inappropriate, as they also think that gender inequality among Muslims is heavily exaggerated.

7.3.2. Proponents of interference with marriage patterns

The other political parties different from those above all support the 24-year rule, expressing attitudes much more favourable to intervention. To back up their position a number of these politicians claimed that young women or teenage girls are trapped in customs of their country of origin or by religious rules. Other politicians mentioned how the recipient society has let immigrant women down by abstaining from interfering. Henrik Dam Kristensen, Social Democratic MP, noted:

> "*I thought it was incomprehensible that Danish women, who have fought so much for equality, did not engage in these debates in the 70's, 80's and 90's. It is completely incomprehensible. We did not do anything - it was not fair, they had to deal with it themselves".*

The views of the politicians were much influenced by a belief that many immigrant women feel suppressed and trapped within their families. Several politicians spoke of how immigrant women have turned to them for help. Vivi Kier, a Conservative MP, responded to the question, whether it was the duty of the state to influence women's position in immigrant communities:

"Yes, I think so ...on the grounds that the families of the girls have lived here for 40 years and you [the girls] keep being trapped in something that you fight to get out of in your country of origin".

Though inter-marriage cannot be a requirement, it is certainly an objective of the 24 year-rule[78]. Although most interviewees supported the 24-year rule only a couple of DF politicians insisted that immigrants should marry Danes. Carl E. Ebbesen, DF councillor in Copenhagen said:

"And dear me, if an immigrant girl falls in love with a Danish man, I think that would be great. One should not try to prevent that. But it depends on getting the young girls to socialize outside their families, so that a meeting actually takes place"

Pros and cons for interfering in marriage patterns

Some surveys support the concerns about the position of young immigrant women. The surveys indicate how cultural patterns, such as early marriage, have prevented young women participating on an equal footing with their male peers in further education and in social life with their Danish peers (Asserhøj, 2011). Other commentators point out that the public pressure on young immigrants to take up Danish norms partly explains why young immigrants adhere more strongly than their parental generation to traditional values (Schmidt et al, 2000).

However, most interviewees take a pragmatic view. Though they realize that the policies that they support intrude into the private sphere they see it as their duty to interfere. Others, such as Johannne Schmidt-Nielsen (Red-Green Alliance MP), respected the individual choice of arranged marriage and held views more in line with cultural relativism.

7.4. Ethnic concentration

As the development of parallel communities and lack of coherence of the society were themes repeated by all interviewees, policies on housing were much discussed. Interviewees were asked whether the state has a right to decide where some citizens can settle in order to dismantle "ghettoes[79]". Naturally, those who saw ethnic concentration as a barrier to integration also most strongly advocated policies to prevent "ghettoes" arising. Another aspect of "right of settlement' is the dispersal policy of newly arrived immigrants, see page 34. However, this issue was not discussed, as it does not feature in the public debate.

[78] Ten years after the implementation of the 24-year rule, the law seems to have failed in terms of inter-marriage. Figures from Statistics Denmark show that only one out of ten Turkish and Pakistani descendants marry a Dane (Statistics Denmark, 2013e).

[79] The term was used by the government for areas, which qualify for two out of three criteria: 1. Over 50% of residents within an area with 1000 residents who have a non-Western background. Over 40% of residents between the age of 18 -64, and within an area with 1000 people, who are outside the labour market or not in education. 2. More than 270 people out of 10.000 who have a criminal sentence (the Government, 2010). The incumbent government has scrapped the ethnic criterion defining a ghetto.

7.4.1. Housing policies targeting immigrants

The official policy of the government of the time of the interview was, in the words of a civil servant at the MRII, to prevent vulnerable people moving into "ghettoes". These policies do not specify immigrants as such, but in the political debate it is recognized that these policies target mostly immigrants. Politicians across party lines, and those civil servants who expressed concerns about ethnic concentration, were in favour of a policy that prevents housing associations within existing "ghettoes" accepting new tenants living on transfer payments. They clearly saw it as one way to prevent immigrants moving into the "ghettoes". The senior integration officer of Copenhagen said:

> *"You are not allowed to do that [ethnic selection], but you can change it on the basis of people on social benefits. That is what we are doing. Generally we use "flexible renting". It is about giving a positive special treatment of people with a job or in education. That is independent of people's ethnicity."*

A number of politicians supported, if necessary, the allocation of housing on the basis of ethnicity, though they tended to talk about the position of immigrants from a social and not an ethnic perspective. Fatma Øktem, Liberal MP, argued:

> *"I'm a liberal and it is about not interfering with people's personal rights. But we can see, that too many immigrant parents are too egoistic to settle somewhere out of convenience where they can speak their own language and watch TV channels with the neighbour. But they don't think that bit further and realise that their child is, therefore, likely to attend a school where 85% are bilingual[80], where they don't have the possibilities to develop those networks and roots and become a natural part of Denmark."*

Housing policies targeting both immigrants and Danes

Regardless of whether they perceived parallel communities from a socio-economic or group-orientated perspective, both politicians and civil servants wanted to persuade Danes in a well-established position, families or singles, to move into the "ghettoes". Various stimulating mechanisms were suggested, such as selling flats at very advantageous rates, or offering low rents to Danish students in further education. Centre Left politicians in particular pointed out that there should be a less socio-economic division of housing patterns in Denmark. They therefore argued for a housing policy that would promote building housing for immigrants in typically "Danish" suburban areas. Centre Left politicians (national and local politicians from Copenhagen) often spoke rather sarcastically about the wealthier Northern suburbs of Copenhagen, as they have

[80] "Bilingual" is the common term in the literature and government papers. Bilingual students are defined as pupils with another native language than Danish. (EPASI, 2007).

avoided housing a high number of immigrants. The Centre Left politicians advocated a housing policy as outlined by Astrid Krag, MP for SF:

> *"We must have public housing in all municipalities, including the municipalities where only Danes live, and the wealthy municipalities. It will affect citizens in Gentofte and in the "Whisky belt" [term for a wealthy area north of Copenhagen]".*

7.5. Upbringing of children

In the Scandinavian welfare state there is an emphasis on developing individual independence rather than nurturing the ties to the family (Larsen, 2011). In this environment child rearing has become a very public matter and a sensitive aspect of the integration of children with an ethnic minority background (MRII, 2007). Not only do basically all pre-school children in Denmark attend either pre-kindergarten or kindergarten[81], but there is also an expectation that public institutions provide a substantial part of the education in a child's formative years (Gilliam et al, 2012). For many immigrant families such interference in family matters is a very intrusive and drastic measure.

However, for children reaching kindergarten age the difference between children of Danish origin and children with an ethnic minority origin attending a day-care institution is becoming marginal[82]. This development has happened very quickly. Figures from 1997 shows that only 65% of all children with an ethnic minority background attended a public day care institution (Søndergaard, 2004) against more than 90% in 2010 (Statistics Denmark, 2011).

Nonetheless, the pressure on ethnic minority families to send their children to kindergarten has increased, because many ethnic minority children start their formal education with very poor proficiency in Danish[83].

In 2011 in Parliament there was a political majority, for a proposal that children of immigrant families are obliged by law to attend kindergarten. That included all the parties except the Social Liberals, the Red-Green Alliance and the Liberal Alliance. However, the proposal was never put to the vote.

7.5.1. Opposition towards mandatory kindergarten

When questioned about the above mentioned proposal, the majority of interviewees actually spoke against it. They saw no need for legislation as children with an ethnic minority background already attend public day care institutions at a level close to their Danish counterparts. They felt one could

[81] pre-kindergarten is for age group 0-2, and kindergarten for age group 3-5. Formal education normally starts at the age of 6.

[82] 93 % of 4 year old children of Danish origin against 92% of 4 year old descendantsr or children of descendants attend kindergarten on 2012 (Statistics Denmark, 2012).

[83] A survey in 2010 by Centre for Children's Language, University of Southern Denmark, showed that among children 3 years old, while controlling for socio-economic status of the parents, ethnic origin was the most important determinant for scoring low on a language test (Højen et al, 2012).

persuade parents reluctant to send their child to a day care institution through dialogue, and not force.

Of interviewees with an immigrant background only Fatma Øktem was in favour of state intervention in pre-school education[84]. All those with an immigrant background and with children (4 interviewees) had children attending kindergarten and pre-kindergarten. They agreed that children benefit from attending day-care institutions, but they equally objected to overriding the personal preferences of parents in regard to their children's pre-school education. On the question whether the state has a right to intervene Ebrahim Kanaan, representing the Council of Ethnic Minorities, answered:

> *"no... but what speaks in its favour is the importance that the children master the Danish language. It is a must. Then they have to attend kindergarten".*

7.5.2. Proponents of mandatory kindergarten

However, some politicians, but no civil servants, were in favour of mandatory attendance. Members of DF clearly stated that ethnic minority children must be brought up to be Danish, see chapter 6, so some DF politicians supported mandatory attendance. Some leftist politicians also gave behavioural reasons for their support for compulsory kindergarten attendance, for example Meta Fuglsang, MP for SF, said:

> *"When we talk about things which are fundamental for living in a democracy I think the state can and must go rather far".*

Overall, despite a previous majority in Parliament for mandatory attendance of kindergarten for children with an ethnic minority background, most interviewees did not support the policy. The senior civil servant at the Ministry of Integration commented on the previous debate on ethnic minority children attending day care institutions with the words:

> *"They made a mountain out of a molehill"*

7.6. Bussing students

When interviewing the first couple of participants from the municipality of Odense it became apparent that 'bussing' ethnic students to neighbouring school districts had been a much contested issue in Odense[85]. Bussing refers to moving students to other school districts in order to even out

[84] The topic was not discussed with Naser Khader.

[85] From the interviews with integration officers of Odense it was learned that schools in Vollsmose, the building estate with a high percentage of ethnic minorities, have had schools with predominantly students with an ethnic minority background. The academic attainment has generally been very low. Most Danish students and very many children with an ethnic minority background moved voluntarily to schools outside their local school district, leading to two schools closing down due to lack of uptake of students. With the aim of avoiding further closures of local schools and securing a lower concentration of ethnic students within one school the municipality changed the borders of two school districts in order to make them more ethnic

the number of ethnic minority students in classes. All participants from Odense were then asked their views of bussing.

A PISA survey[86] in 2009 showed that in classes with more than 10% ethnic minority students, reading skills of ethnic minority students dropped. Reading skills for Danes suffered in classes with more than 40% ethnic minority students. This difference was not statistically significant when controlling for socio-economic differences in family background (Egelund et al, 2009).

7.6.1. Views in favour of bussing

The interviewees displayed very different attitudes towards bussing. A couple of politicians, who also expressed more assimilative attitudes and favoured more active state interference in regards to marriage patterns and the position of women, were in favour, though they recognized that Danes at the receiving school might oppose it. It was clear that they did not limit the benefit of bussing to improved academic standard for the bussed children but they also saw such policy as part of cultural integration. Mark Grossman, Conservative councillor, said:

> *"Yes, it is a good start to get another view of life and get acquainted with different attitudes. The problem is if the child returns to the family and will not use some of the things it has learned at the schools outside [Vollsmose – the local "ghetto"]"*

7.6.2. Views opposing bussing

Some interviewees, for example Jane Jegind from the Liberals and the Centre Left politicians, opposed bussing though they supported the idea of a more balanced ethnic distribution of students in schools. Their objection hinged mainly on fears that Danish parents at a receiving school would move their children to a private school. Centre Left politicians also mentioned that if bussing should be implemented it would have to work both ways. But they too were convinced that no Danish parents would accept their child being moved to a school with a high concentration of ethnic minority children.

Another group, consisting of integration officers, a local politician with an immigrant background and the representative of the local integration council (the latter two both living in Vollsmose) opposed the movement of children outside their school district. They did not perceive the poor academic attainment at schools with many ethnic minority students as an ethnic problem but purely as a social problem. That is in line with their emphasis on social structures, not ethnicity to explain the lack of structural integration. Therefore the leading integration officer in Odense was against limit on the number of ethnic students in a class, as it would signal that ethnicity was to blame. She

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diverse. In both school districts these changes were met by protest by Danish parents living in predominantly "Danish" districts. However, in one district time has overcome initial resistance, as the academic level does not appear to have suffered. In the other districts many Danish parents have moved their child to either a private school or a school in another district.

[86] PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) is an International Study initiated by OECD. It assesses competencies in reading, mathematics and science.

also referred to one school in Vollsmose with a nearly 100% uptake of ethnic minority students. It had an ambitious head teacher and collectively the school had managed significantly to improve its academic attainment.

The representative of the integration council, Diya Kalil, also questioned any educational benefit, academically and culturally, by moving students to schools with predominantly Danes. In line with some national politicians representing the Red-Green Alliance and the Social Liberals he blamed teachers for having low expectations to ethnic minority children. He also feared that discrimination could be a problem, as he complained:

> *"When we look at schools in the outskirt of Odense, as soon as a student with another ethnic background shows up, he is regarded as a problem. There are no expectations for the child..... So we must pacify him and only ask of him what we think he can manage.... I do not think that we must move them, because then they will be even more discriminated against, even more excluded from the community".*

7.6.3. Foreign experiences with bussing

The literature on this issue is very sparse and its relevance to Danish conditions questionable. The literature is primarily American and much of it dates back to the 1970s.

Surveys mainly confirm that such schemes are met with much resistance from recipient schools/communities (Lord, 1990). A study of drop-out rates among bussed and non-bussed ethnic minority students showed identical outcomes (Felice et al, 1977). However, big variations in various school districts were recorded, both for bussed and non-bussed students. These variations were ascribed to differences in teachers' positive and supportive expectations for the minority students. Although one must be careful to project these findings to Danish conditions, they do support those interviewees who claimed that the quality of the teaching matters more than the ethnic composition of students.

7.7. Policy changes of the Left

A major finding of the interviews was that Social Democrat and SF politicians distanced themselves from the policies of the past especially those linked to the minority Centre Left government of Social Democrats and the Social Liberals from 1993 to 2001. During that period Denmark experienced a huge increase of refugees and of family migration from non-Western countries.

It is widely recognized that the Centre Left government lost the election in 2001 due to dissatisfaction among voters with the government's policies on immigrants. With the advent of the Centre Right government in 2001 policies on immigrants changed. Immigration laws were severely tightened and value-orientated policies became central to integration policies. Further, access to welfare goods was restricted and increasingly linked to conditionalities, see page 33.

7.7.1. The Centre Left politicians' attitude towards past integration policies

A recurrent theme among the SF and Social Democrat politicians was an admission that in the past their parties had not imposed any requirements on immigrants in relation to integration. They referred to accepting low levels of labour market participation, not learning Danish and not adopting the norms and values of the society.

Several Social Democrat politicians and colleagues from SF admitted that their parties had been out of touch with people. Karsten Hønge, who also accused his former colleagues of not having any contact with immigrants and ordinary people in general, put this the strongest.

> *"What I experienced during those years was that SF and especially The Social Liberals and others from "upper Denmark" told people that it [immigration] is not a problem".*

Karsten Hønge went as far as to say that the people had never been asked if they wanted to live in a multicultural society. Other Centre Left politicians toned down their critique, but they clearly stated that national politicians had not listened to ordinary people and local politicians. Maja Panduro, Social Democratic MP said:

> *"I think there is a point in saying that many, including [many] within my own party, did not listen to public concern for many years, for example from the mayors from "Vestegnen"[87] and the average Dane. Instead they stood up and yelled: "You are not respectable"[88] ["stueren"]".*

The politicians from SF and the Social Democratic regretted that they had not dared to make any demands upon immigrants in respect of cultural change. Mogens M. Johansen, councillor for SF in Assens put it this way:

> *"No doubt that SF has been an accessory in not placing any demands on the immigrants but we have mainly given them, and do not misunderstand me, things [economic support]...We must acknowledge that it hasn't helped at all."*

In sharp opposition to this, Social Liberal and Red-Green Alliance interviewees did not distance themselves from their past policies nor mention any need to tighten demands on immigrants. They clearly disapproved of assimilative approaches to integration and of requirements imposed on immigrants, which are reinforced by any economic sanctions. Marianne Jelved, Social Liberal Member of Parliament, expressed her dismay with current policies:

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[87] Among the fiercest opponents of the government's policies on immigrants were Social Democratic mayors of suburbs of Copenhagen. Their municipalities received many refugees due to a high level of social housing in their areas. At the time there appeared to be clear rift between national and local Social Democratic politicians (Mikkelsen, 2001).

[88] The comment is a reference to a speech the Social Democratic Prime Minister, Poul Nyrup Andersen, gave in 2001 in Parliament. He stated that DF was not "respectable" ("stueren").

"There is a strong tendency to force people who are culturally different [from Danes] to do certain things. It is believed that it is the right thing for them. Economic sanctions are very prevalent and are organized in such a way that they affect very few white Danes".

7.8. Analysis/discussion

Chapter six revealed that interviewees generally perceived the development of parallel communities and the consequently dismantling of social cohesion as the main integration problem. A majority of interviewees were preoccupied with implementing actions to change this trend. A consistent underlying theme of the policymakers is a belief in the *contact theory* stating that increased contact will ameliorate cultural and structural integration.

However, various disagreements between political groupings still exist. Though there was a consensus on tightening the demands for structural integration, the policy makers disagreed, on classic right-left lines, on restricting social rights as a means to influence certain behaviour. With regard to policies on cultural integration a division opened up between a coalition of the Radical Liberals, the Liberal Alliance member and the Red-Green Alliance and most interviewees with an immigrant background, and on the other side Centre Right, SF and Social Democratic politicians. The analysis will focus on these two disagreements and the policy changes on the part of the left. The findings will be put into the context of social transaction costs.

7.8.1. Attitudes towards Start Assistance

Since the early 1990s Denmark has introduced universal workfare reforms, which emphasize an obligation to work and sanction those who do not conform. New reforms in 2005 were aimed at young unemployed people with an ethnic minority background (Andersen, 2007 et al). These reforms have enjoyed increased political support in Parliament, as only the Red-Green Alliance has consistently voted against the reforms. However, the political parties have strongly disagreed about developing policies to encourage employment that are specifically targeted on immigrants.

Mouritsen et al, (2009) write that the neo-liberal response towards immigrants who are outside the labour market and who may have illiberal ideas that obstruct their participation in the community is exclusion. The social democratic response puts more emphasis on social citizenship as a means to embrace the newcomers (ibid:2009). Not surprisingly, all that is reflected in the policy responses by the interviewees. The Centre Right politicians and to some degree the civil servants at the Ministry of Integration[89] were in favour of using economic sanctions, such as Start Assistance, to encourage integration. The other groups of interviewees opposed restriction of social rights of immigrants.

[89] The civil servants at the Ministry indicated that attitudes towards this policy was a political question, and they only vaguely indicated their attitude towards policies on social assistance.

Start Assistance and social citizenship

The Centre Left politicians, the civil servants at municipality level and the representatives of the immigrant councils strongly opposed discriminating against immigrants with regards to Start Assistance and other transfer payments. Though some of them did recognize that moral hazard (transfer payments induce a capable person not to work) may influence some immigrants' willingness to work they foremost blame the system for having turned many immigrants into perpetual recipients of social transfers.

This group of interviewees mostly analysed integration problems from a socio-economic perspective. In accordance with that they thought that the current policy of restricting social assistance to immigrants lead to higher poverty rates for this group. Various surveys validate such concerns.

Left wing parties tend to see the welfare state as a pivotal equalizing agency (Bottomore, 1992) and social citizenship is an important inclusive means to joining the society (Karvonen, 1991). The Centre Left politicians emphasized "equality" in the public space, see chapter six, and that entails granting equal social rights. They thought that a system that differentiates between citizens (Danes) and non-citizens (immigrants who does not have citizenship) might accentuate the feeling of "them" and "us". Within this group several interviewees, both politicians and civil servants at municipality level, spoke of the immigrants in their areas as "borgere", meaning citizens[90], indicating that at local level immigrants without citizenship and Danes have equal status and rights. Recently, the current Centre Left government has scrapped Start Assistance.

Start Assistance, moral hazard and welfare chauvinism

The principle of contribution and moral hazard were the underlying arguments of the Centre Right politicians for supporting Start Assistance. Many immigrants are poorly educated and the economic incentive to take up a low paid job may be minimal. Benefits in Denmark are not dependent on previous contributions based on labour market participation (Jensen, 2007), and it is being argued that many immigrants may migrate to Denmark to profit from a generous welfare system (Koopmanns, 2010). In the opinion of the Centre right politicians Denmark may serve as a "welfare magnet" (Jensen, 2007; Borjas, 1999). Local bureaucrats confirmed that some immigrants appear to abstain from entering the labour market.

Secondly, the principle of contribution was evident among most Centre Right respondents. As Koning (2013) points out, immigration has made people more selective whom they want to show solidarity. Recipients of social assistance may have to fulfil certain criteria of entitlement to qualify for government assistance (Oorshot, 2000). Control over neediness (responsibility for own situation), identity (the closer to "us", the more deserving) and reciprocity (having earned support)

[90] The Danish term "borger", is a common term for a resident of a country or a city.
The term signals respect and equal rights. Citizenship is not a precondition to be a "borger".

are according to Oorshot (ibid, 2000) the most salient criteria. Accordingly, the Centre Right politicians wanted to see proof of the immigrants' reciprocal altruism, that they contribute according to ability and receive public assistance when they cannot (Fong, 2007).

It is often argued in the literature that the opinions expressed by the Centre Right politicians are an affirmation of welfare chauvinism (general support for a redistributive welfare state, but unwillingness to share it with newcomers to the community) (Konig, 2011). Welfare chauvinism can take two forms: restrictive benefit policy and restrictive immigration policy (Banting, 2000). Start Assistance fits into both categories as it is also meant to deter immigrants from choosing Denmark as a destination. In his interview Mehmet Necef, Ass. Professor at University of Southern Denmark, expressed his dismay with the term "welfare chauvinism". He argued that people must have a right to preserve their welfare state, particularly in light of the financial crisis. In line with that Andersen (2007) points out that restriction of social assistances, due to the big pressure exerted on them by immigrants, may simply be viewed as a measure necessary to protect the sustainability of the universal welfare state.

Overall the scepticism about the immigrants' reasons for migrating and their understanding of the reciprocal nature of the society governed the Centre Right politicians' attitude towards Start Assistance. Therefore they were more concerned with the economic costs while disregarding any social costs for the immigrants or the society by differentiating social rights. However, it can be argued that in line with the premise that in Denmark you "belong" if you work, see page 30, pressuring immigrants into the labour market may generate self-respect, a feeling of belonging and an identification with the society. But the premise that the policy produces positive social capital (integration) hinges on another premise: that there are jobs to take.

The Centre Left politicians regarded social citizenship (social rights) as an inclusive tool for integrating immigrants. Though many of the Centre Left politicians may not disagree with the Centre Right politicians' distrust of the willingness of some immigrants to contribute to the society, the Centre Left politicians seemed more concerned with developing a trust between Danes and immigrants. Their views replicated those research findings stating that institutional trust is paramount for social trust. The Centre Left politicians feared that Start Assistance will develop a division between Danes and immigrants, not only along socio-economic lines but also mentally. A possible feeling of "them" and "us" would impose bigger social transaction costs, as difference becomes a more pronounced variable in Danes' and immigrants' understanding of each other.

7.8.2 Attitudes towards cultural integration

Turning to cultural integration it was evident that most interviewees were in favour of putting pressure on immigrants to adapt to customs or values prevalent in Denmark. Such attitudes must be

seen in conjunction with how interviewees generally institutionalized individual norms, see chapter six, and by so turning private and family affairs into public interest.
Centre left politicians had much more diverse views on whether the state should press immigrants to endorse certain attitudes. Those who had defined integration in more multicultural terms and rejected ethno-cultural explanations for the disadvantaged position of some immigrants (Social Liberals, Red-Green Alliance and Liberal Alliance MPs, civil servants at municipality level and representatives of immigrant councils) tended to oppose state inference in marriage customs, gender relations, upbringing of children and to some extent settlement. That was in line with the liberal ideologies of the Liberal Alliance and the Social Liberals.

The representatives of the ethnic organisations and Mohammad Mansour, Social Democratic councillor in Odense, felt strongly in sympathy with their ethnic communities, while at the same time maintaining that they were active members of the Danish society. As they dismissed *closure* as an ethnic problem they naturally disapproved of policies that target immigrants specifically, as such policies according to them reinforced the notion of "them" and "us".

In opposition to this group Centre Right politicians, members of SF and Social Democrats supported targeting immigrants as they tended to combine socio-economic and ethno-cultural explanations for the position of immigrants in society.
Besides supporting the 24-year rule on marriage, the SF and the Social Democratic and Centre Right interviewees (except Simon E. Amnitzboell from the Liberal Alliance) endorsed policies to influence immigrant's attitude towards gender relations and upbringing of children. These policies primarily imposed social transaction costs for immigrants. However, when policies entailed social transaction costs for Danes the support was less. This was evident with regards to policies on spatial concentration and bussing as the following analysis shows.

Policies on marriage pattern and upbringing of children
The position of Centre Right, SF and Social Democrat politicians seemed to be driven nonetheless by concern for the welfare of immigrants. They gave the impression of having a genuine interest in safeguarding women's and children's individual rights. Some surveys confirm how cultural patterns, such as marriage patterns, have prevented young women participating on an equal footing with their male peers in further education and in social life with their Danish peers (Asserhøj, 2011). Whether it is a case of arranged or forced marriages these marriage constructions fit poorly with Danish individualism. From the point of view of the politicians they help women with an ethnic minority background and ease their social transaction cost as they "liberate" women from constraints that inhibit them from exercising their individual rights.
Homogeneity seemed to underline the argument among those who supported mandatory kindergarten. Children must be molded to live in a democratic society. Danes support cultural

homogeneity very strongly[91] and if necessary some politicians are willing to protect that homogeneity by law. Meta Fuglsang, who would not refrain from demanding mandatory kindergarten, also emphasized that in Denmark the state is above the individual. At the same time she was one of the very few who embraced multiculturalism. Whatever meaning Meta Fuglsang applied to multiculturalism her statements reflects the balance which many of the politicians seem to ask for from the immigrants. The immigrant must respect the fundamental values of the state (a strong belief in the community) but it may also be an individual within this sphere. The immigrant's level of acceptance and understanding of these terms determines the social transaction costs he or she will endure.

However, immigrants generally have a more family and collectivist marriage pattern compared with Danes (Maia, 2009) and a very different view of "mother-child" relationships and the upbringing of children (Gynther et al, 1996). Mandatory kindergarten or even pre-kindergarten may inflict very high social transaction costs on immigrants as the state not only takes away the sovereign decision of parents how to bring up their child. But the child may also be educated in a way the parents disapprove of.

Policies aimed at breaking up traditional marriage patterns will undoubtedly entail big social transaction costs for immigrants as they are prevented from upholding their marriage culture. However, statistics show that inter-marriage has not increased significantly since the implementation of the 24-year rule. Immigrants and descendants delay marriage or marry a person already living in Denmark within their own ethnic group a person. It seems as if most young people with an ethnic minority background are not ready to marry outside their ethnic group. The social transaction costs may be too big. Equally, it may also be that Danes avoid marrying a person with an immigrant background for the very same reasons

Policies on spatial concentraton and bussing

The scope of the policies on spatial ethnic concentration and bussing appeared to be much influenced by Danes' perceived willingness to contribute to share some of the costs that these policies may impose.

The Centre Right, SF and Social Democrat politicians and civil servants supported the use of indirect means to prevent immigrants from moving into areas characterized by high ethnic concentration. On the other hand only voluntary means were suggested to persuade Danes to move into the "ghettoes". No indirect means, such as restriction of housing options, were suggested.

Centre Left politicians in line with their inclusion of Danes in their definition of integration suggested construction of social housing in wealthier or middleclass Danish suburbs. None of the Centre Right politicians thought that those areas had any responsibility to include immigrants and other socially disadvantaged groups into their communities.

[91] A study of 21 OECD countries and based on data from European Social Survey 2002 showed that Danes support cultural homogeneity stronger than any other country (Citrin et al, 2008).

Bussing of students in Odense clearly demonstrated how considerations of social transaction costs for Danes influenced policies. Most politicians agreed in principle with the idea of bussing, but they opposed it because they anticipated that Danish parents would move their children if the number of ethnic minority students suddenly increased at their children's school.
Their considerations also rested on the unfairness of only bussing one party, the immigrants, and not Danes. They figured that Danish children and their parents would never accept such arrangement/social transaction costs.
However a couple of Centre Right politicians supported bussing. Their support was clearly linked to the cultural integration they thought bussing would entail. They generally expressed rather assimilative attitudes and therefore they did not refrain from setting more affirmative demands to immigrants. It may also be argued that the proposals to bus students might have been mitigated by the increasing tendency to analyse integration problems from an ethno-cultural perspective. Some surveys, such as the PISA report of 2009 (Egelund et al, 2009), suggest that socio-economic and not ethnic factors explain the poor academic attainment of students with an ethnic minority background. The example of the improved academic attainment of the students at a school within Vollsmose also indicated that it is very much the quality of teaching that is responsible for poor academic outcomes. But the blame is put on the immigrants themselves. The system may save economic costs by not improving the teaching. Instead bussing students is put forward as an alternative, thereby putting the social transaction costs of improving the educational standard of ethnic minority students on the students themselves.

Policy position and personal experience of social transaction costs

Compared with national politicians, local policymakers may also be more concerned with the reaction of Danes towards various policies. Their proximity to problems related to integration seems to generate more pragmatic views. Similarly, those who have experienced social transaction costs themselves also supported more radical policies. That seemed for instance to be the case for Fatma Øktem, Liberal MP, who spoke of her difficulties within the Turkish community:

> "But I have had the experience of being threatened because of my political views, because I'm a woman"

During the interview she also spoke much about gender inequality within immigrant communities. That was in clear opposition to the male interviewees with an immigrant and Muslim background (apart from Naser Khader, Conservative MP). They generally felt that gender inequality among immigrants was exaggerated. That may be a reflection of the very different meaning of gender equality in an Islamic context (Maia, 2009). However, Fatma Øktem supported the 24 year rule, endorsed mandatory pre-kindergarten and would not shrink from allocating housing directly on the basis of ethnicity. In chapter eight policy position and personal experiences of social transaction costs will be discussed explicitly.

7.8.3. Summary of social transaction costs

Policymakers disagree on a conventional right-left axis about acceptance of social transaction costs with regards to restriction of social assistance. Centre Left politicians and local bureaucrats feared that Start Assistance may have a detrimental effect on social trust between Danes and immigrants. In opposition to this Centre Right politicians and ministerial bureaucrats were of the opinion that immigrants must contribute to society before earning and that the moral hazard aspect was a central issue to consider allocating social assistance to immigrants.

In terms of cultural integration Centre Right politicians and members of SF and the Social Democrats agree about increasing allocation of these costs on immigrants. However, Centre Left politicians also want to levy some of them on Danes, and some local politicians were much concerned about an equal distribution of costs that an implementation of a policy implies. However, those Centre Left policymakers and those with an immigrant background who favoured distinct multicultural policies found any discrimination in the allocation of social transaction costs unfair and detrimental for integration.

7.8.4. The policy changes of the Left.

It was significant how Social Democrats and SF members distanced themselves from past policies and now endorsed views mostly in line with members of the Liberals and the Conservative Party. In chapter eight the motives for the policy changes of these two parties will be dealt with in depth. For now it is important that the politicians themselves admitted that they had learned to listen to the people. From having seen integration from the perspective of the immigrants the SF and Social Democrat interviewees increasingly saw it from the perspective of the Danes and supported making demands stipulated by public opinion. Initially both the Social Democrats and SF opposed the 24-year rule, but though they may not openly endorse that law, they have changed their position on it. Opinion polls (Altinget, 2011) show that the 24-rule has very broad support among Danes. Perhaps for that reason the Centre Left has upheld the 24-year rule even though those parties gained a parliamentary majority in 2011.

However, the new government has scrapped Start Assistance. It is widely understood that this change is very unpopular, especially among Social Democratic voters (Sørensen, 2012). It indicates that the views of the Social Democrats and members of SF in general were not driven by populism. It rather appeared that there was less concern about transgressing politically incorrect areas. This in line with Rasmussen's (2011) argument that politicians no longer see integration as a vital zone of conflict between the political Right and Left. They rather have a common ambition to make the multicultural society work efficiently and without conflicts (ibid: 2011). Or in other words, they aimed to reduce the overall social transaction cost in society.

Chapter 8: The relationship between policymakers and the public

8. Introduction

This chapter investigates the policy makers' relationship with the public. As the thesis aims to explore any division between the policy makers and the public it is essential to look into how the policy makers in this study relate to the public and in particular to immigrants. This will be studied from the perspective of their level of contact with immigrants and how this contact influences their decision making. This contact will be operationalized at two levels: An indirect contact through institutions representing immigrants or a direct personal contact with immigrants.

In analysing the behaviour of policy makers their policy position is a vital point of departure. Their position will be analysed at national and municipality level. At both levels policy makers have substantial influence on policies on integration, but their relationship with the public are expected to be different.

However, during the course of the interviews it came to light that the interviewees thought that public opinion is a driving force in policy making. The first section of the chapter will therefore cover the relationship between public opinion and policy makers. From the vantage point of the policy position of the interviewees the second part of the chapter looks at the leverage of their policy position (local and national position of politicians and bureaucrats) and the level of contact the interviewees have with immigrants.

The analysis will focus on the impact that social transaction costs have on the views expressed by the interviewees, and a discussion within the analytical framework of social transaction costs will complete the chapter.

8.1. Findings

8.1.1. The relationship between policymakers and public opinion

The debate on integration in Denmark is often criticized as xenophobic by the foreign media. Some Danish commentators believe that the debate simply is more open in Denmark and allows views to be expressed that otherwise are being suppressed in other settings (Matthiessen, 2009). In opposition to this the assertion is made that a free space has been created, which allows Danes to say anything about immigrant groups. That is believed to have a deteriorating effect on integration (Hauge, 2003). This simplistic configuration characterizes rather closely the interviewees' perception of the public debate.

The interviewees used the concept *public debate* and *political debate* interchangeably. They focused much on whether the politicians shaped public opinion, or whether the public opinion itself was a determinant for the formulation of policies. For the purpose of this research public opinion is defined as "a multi individual situation in which individuals are expressing themselves as favouring or suppressing some definite condition, person or proposal" (Allport, 1937:8). However, researchers have struggled to define the term, which at best can be agreed to be socially or

politically constructed (Herbst, 1998). But as Susan Herbst writes, public opinion has vital implications for democratic practices and it appeared to be an essential constituent of the integration process.

8.1.2. The debate and elitisism

An elite-orientated debate has been synonymous with the Left in the past. This perception is not only expressed by the Centre Right, but also by the Centre Left politicians. As illustrated in the section "Policy Changes of the Left" in chapter seven politicians from SF and the Social Democrats acknowledged that they had been aloof from the worries of the Danes. Mogens M. Johansen, SF councillor in Assens said:

> *" We did not dare to take up the debate"*

The Leftist politicians did not engage with their electorates, and the interconnection between the politicians and their voters could be said to be *pro-active*, in the sense that policy makers precipitated public opinion (Zaller, 1992) rather than engaging with it.

Mehmet Necef, academic from the University of Southern Denmark, pointed out during the interview that the rise of DF was a popular revolt against the Danish Elite's abstract way of thinking as the elite showed a disrespect for people. Politicians from SF and the Social Democrats agreed with such analysis. But in the words of Astrid Krag they have reacted:

> *"The Left has stood up, and we do not leave the initiative to the Right [any longer]"*

Politicians from both the Social Liberal Party and the Red-Green Alliance argued that since the late 1990s the debate on immigrants has been a ploy to avoid talking about other issues, such as the economy. Niels Helveg Petersen, a Social Liberal Parliamentarian, stated that immigrants represent a luxury problem for Denmark and the debate is politically motivated. He also dismissed the idea that the debate previously had been elite-driven.

8.1.3. The debate and populism

Centre Left Politicians and the representatives of the immigrant organisations strongly disagreed with some Centre Right politicians and particularly with members of DF about the character of the contemporary debate. Members of the Red-Green Alliance and the Social Liberals were most outspoken in their critique. The Centre Left politicians proclaimed that they have become more reactive, meaning that public opinion drives their policies (Zaller, 1992). But they accused the Centre Right parties, and particularly DF, of populism and of shaping the public debate by creating a negative portrayal of immigrants; a picture that has a detrimental impact on integration.

The two representatives of the immigrant organisations both spoke of how the debate depicts immigrants very negatively and blame Islam for any problems related to immigrants. They felt that

the media and the public debate distort reality, and they primarily blame DF for a smear campaign. Mahmoud Daoud complained:

> *"I think that ordinary people, who do not have any contact with refugees and immigrants, have been manipulated in the last ten years. And that is why we have today's attitudes...Those who have gone beyond the barriers and have some contact with refugees/immigrants and have an interest in minorities do not have these attitudes"*

In opposition to all this, the DF politicians claimed that they speak the mind of the people. They represent ordinary Danes and not the elite. Their rhetoric is in line with populist parties which like "to challenge the political correctness of the establishment (Fennema, 2001). J. Thulesen-Dahl, DF councillor in Assens argued:

> *"I think part of the debate is based on an elite who think they must tell the rest of us what we should think. And then, as it is today, the general public is entitled to say that they actually think there are some problems. Something must be done"*

DF members boldly stated that that the current debate promotes integration. Alex Ahrendtsen, DF councillor in Odense, said:

> *"In an open society where you discuss these things, trust will grow. In societies, where they do not dare to discuss these issues but try to hide them away because of [consideration to] the immigrants themselves or political correctness, they will experience a bigger distrust."*

More importantly, according to the DF interviewees, the public debate is a reflection of what it going on in the population. Martin Henriksen, a DF Parliamentarian, backed this position by stating that DF policies, according to surveys[92], are in line with the preferences of ordinary Danes.
Others, such as Henrik D. Christensen, Social Democratic Parliamentarian, mentioned that there is a big disproportion between how problems are presented in the media and discussed in the public debate and the actual problems experienced locally. This was backed up by the comments of many interviewees that the integration problems were mainly restricted to the "ghettoes". Similarly, the senior civil servant's comments in chapter seven on how parliamentarians built a mountain out of a molehill is another example of how a political debate did not reflect reality, see page 117.

As integration policies have become increasingly value-orientated, assimilation and incompatibility of culture become essential elements in the perception of the position of immigrants in society (Fennema, 2001). In that process the political debate politicizes the concepts of culture and what it means to 'belong'. As mentioned by Peter Gundelach in chapter six "Danishness" turns into a

[92] Some surveys, such as European Value Survey and surveys by the Ministry of Integration, show that a majority of Danes support assimilative policies and strict immigration laws, see chapter 2.

political concept not just for the immigrants, but also for Danes. No politicians commented on this aspect, but Hans Larsen (civil servant, MRII) touched on the problem:

"The mental part of integration is such a value-orientated area, a politicized area, that it [mental part of integration] may counteract integration".

The findings of the attitudes of the interviewees showed that the interviewees deeply disagreed about the role of the public opinion and the public/political debate. Where many interviewees accused DF of manipulating the debate and public opinion, members of DF saw themselves as the representatives of ordinary Danes and as such the protectors against elitism. This division of views mirrored their perception on the impact of the debate on integration.

8.2. Immigrant organisations' impact on policy making

Within a classical framework of policy making where immigrants are end-beneficiaries as well as target group immigrants should be essential partners in the process of policy making. In Denmark there is very little literature on the participation of immigrants in policy making, but the indications are that it is well below the level of Danes' (Home Office, 2001; MRII, 2010). Interviewees were questioned how they obtained knowledge of integration issues. Due to lack of time this issue was not discussed with 11 out 40 policy makers. Questions focused on whom the interviewees would contact for information[93]. The study was limited to surveying any contact with ethnic or independent immigrant organisations, The Council for Ethnic Minorities or local Integration Councils. The latter two institutions are set up by the government, see page 37.

None, including members of The Parliamentarian Committee on Immigration and Integration, had any formal contact with an independent immigrant or ethnic organisation. Several national politicians mentioned that they were in contact with either the Red Cross or The Danish Refugee Council from time to time. However, these organisations mainly work with asylum seekers and not with immigrants who have been granted residency. Only Johanne Schmidt-Nielsen from the Red-Green Alliance mentioned that she occasionally attended meetings with various ethnic organisations.

Meetings with local constituency boards were the most common manner of getting inputs.

Only a couple of these boards had members with an ethnic minority background. Members of DF, including local politicians, mentioned that they were often invited to citizen meetings with ethnic organisations, and they welcomed the chance of a dialogue with these organisations. However, the senior integration officers in Copenhagen and Odense praised their local politicians for being well informed at meetings. The integration officer from Copenhagen felt that politicians' level of knowledge on integration has increased significantly over the last five years.

[93] Initially interviewees were also asked about written material that they would consult. However, asking open-ended questions provided answers, which were very diffused. Therefore the study concentrates only on contact with organisations.

8.2.1. Policymakers' contact with ethnic councils

None of the 10 national politicians[94] questioned on the subject had any contact with the national umbrella organisation for local Integration Councils, The Council for Ethnic Minorities. It was my impression the interviewees generally did not know of its function. In accordance with this the representative of The Council for Ethnic Minorities also felt that the Council had no influence.

Locally, politicians and civil servants in Copenhagen and Odense differed very much in their approach to the Integration Council. In Assens there has never been an integration council. According to the mayor there never has been a wish within the immigrant community to establish such a council.

In Copenhagen they had abolished the Integration Council and instead established a think tank consisting of members appointed by the municipality[95]. Integration councils were perceived as out dated in the process of including immigrants in democratic practices. The senior integration officer stated:

> *"The argument for dismantling the council was, that you did not particularly want to have a dialogue with the leaders of the ethnic minority communities, but we wanted a democratic dialogue. So we wanted them to enter conventional political party work….It was a sign of some kind of maturity, a level of civilization in the process of integration".*

Members of the city council had divergent views about the Think Tank. Like other supporters of the Think Tank Neil Bloem, SF, defended the think tank when asked if it was not an elitist institution:

> *I don't know if it is elite dominated. It is research based. It is composed of researchers who have worked with integration for a very long time plus representatives appointed by the different departments"*

In opposition to that a couple of Centre Right politicians were rather critical of the Think Tank and they regarded it as an elitist institution. Flemming Steen Munch, of The Liberals, commented critically about the think thank:

> *"I have been to a couple of meetings. They discuss at a very high level. If anything comes out of it I don't know…. We have had several meetings with them and perhaps they can make us understand what I may not be able to comprehend".*

[94] This topic was scheduled at the end of the interview. Interviews with parliamentarians were often cut short, and the topic was covered in only 10 out 17 interviews with national politicians.

[95] The members are mainly academics working with issues related to ethnic minorities, either as researchers or in the "field".

The municipality of Odense has an integration council. Politicians as well as civil servants spoke very highly about the council. They all mentioned that until recently previous councils had functioned poorly and not contributed anything. But, according to the senior integration officer, well-educated second-generation immigrants now dominate the council, and it is an elected and not an appointed council.

The senior integration officer stressed that her department of integration cooperated very well with the Council. The department has made a very active effort to include them in the policy making process and to introduce the council to the "democratic process".

However, the representative of the local Integration Council had a very different perception of the situation. He saw the Council not only as an advisory body, but demanded that the Council should have actual influence on integration policies. He stated:

> *"…. But where we have demanded improvement in integration we have not been heard. They look at us as a council and nothing else… We don't want to wait for the politicians who come along and say that there is a problem and we need your help...We make our own agenda and fight for people's problems"*

8.2.2. Policymakers's contact with Muslim organisations

No non-Muslim interviewee had any contact with a Muslim institution or organisation[96]. Among the interviewees with a non-Muslim background there was nearly unanimous agreement that Muslim organisations should not be heard. The argument hinged on two premises: Firstly, religious organisations have no relevance. Secondly, Muslim organisations may represent extremist views and their representativeness is dubious.

The first premise is a clear consequence of the views of the interviewees on Muslims as expressed in chapter six. Where the Centre Right politicians saw Islam as an infringement of secularism, Centre Left politicians and civil servants rejected the idea of analysing integration from a religious perspective. Among the latter group the reluctance to establish any dialogue with Muslim organisations or individual Imams and their faith communities rested on a fear of entering treacherous waters. The interviewees felt that it was difficult to ascertain their ideological foundation, their aims and whom they represented.

The senior integration officer in Odense stated that she had taken a conscious decision not to have any cooperation with any Muslim organisation or Imams, though she accepted that it is a problem that a big religious community is not properly recognized. She said:

> *"My problem, and the more I learn about it the more complicated it becomes, because there are all sorts of religious groupings, which are very difficult to see through, what they are about…. I do not know if I delve into an extremist pocket or if it is somebody who are very pragmatic and*

[96] 21 interviewees across party lines and among national and local civil servants were asked if they had any contact with Muslim institutions.

wants to cooperate with the authorities.... The only Imam in Odense who is an educated theologian is at the Turkish mosque. All the others are, I have to be careful what I say, amateurs"

The lack of contact with Muslim organisations is in line with the government's policy on this issue. According to the senior civil servant in the MRII the government made a deliberate decision in the aftermath of the Mohammad drawings:

"*the government has drawn a line in the sand in Denmark . We do not cooperate with the religious communities".*

Over all policy makers had very limited contact with both ethnic organisations, including faith communities and ethnic councils established by the authorities. The politicians did not seem to show much initiative to approach ethnic organisations. The great majority appeared to be satisfied with the current situation as only a few expressed regrets of the lack contact with ethnic organisations.

The senior civil servant at the MRII confirmed the lack of influence of immigrants. But he did not blame the political-administrative authorities. He pointed out that within the immigrant community there were no independent immigrant organisations, which could play a role in formulating policies (the Ministry did not find it acceptable to cooperate with ethnic networks, as they each represent narrow groups). He agreed with the representative of the Council for Ethnic Minorities that the council had very limited influence, but that was among other reasons due to lack of representative credibility and political skills within the council members.

8.3. The position of the interviewees in the policy making process.

Many accounts of political actors and their internal competition for influence are concerned with their policy position. The terrain in which this competition is fought is defined by the range of political policy options open to the policy makers (Laver, 2001). This terrain can be defined geographically by analysing it at a national and a local level. Budge & Farlie (1983) hold that at local level political parties are freer to disregard external events and ideological considerations. That allows local manifestos a much wider room of manoeuvre. Similarly, theories on the behaviour of bureaucrats depict the administrator in central government as "procedure-orientated" where as the local administrator is "programme-orientated" (Putnam, 1973). The former, the *classical bureaucrat*, operates with a monistic conception of the public interest, the national interest, and he sees himself as impartial. The latter, the *political bureaucrat,* operates with a differentiated view of the public interest, and he may advocate his own preferred policies (ibid:1973).

Within the above theories this section will look at how the position of policymakers affects their perception on personal influence on policies and their views on issues discussed in chapter six and seven.

8.3.1. Interviewees' views on integration in relation to policy position

As party programmess on integration of immigrants are not included in the study a possible divergence between views expressed by a politician and his or her official party policy is not being examined. The views of local politicians are compared with views expressed by interviewees with a similar party affiliation or within same group identification (Centre right, Centre Left) at national level. A similar national and local distinction will be made for civil servants in order to clarify whether their position influences their responses.

Although politicians in all settings expressed that the co-operation with other politicians in their daily dealings with policy making were good, it was significant that national politicians spoke more negatively about their political counterparts and marked out differences between the Centre Right and Centre Left. Centre left politicians typically blamed the Liberals and the Conservatives for submitting to the political demands of the DF. On the other hand the Centre Right politicians blamed the Left for being naïve in their liberal approach to integration.
Liv Holm Andersen made this comment which was typical of the Centre Left politicians:

> *" The DF has succeeded in making The Liberals and The Conservatives follow them, by political horse-trading".*

As mentioned in chapter six, page 104, the smaller the constituency the politicians represented the less divisive were their attitudes. The local politicians (10), who were questioned about the cooperation between politicians, all stated that the cooperation on integration policies between all members of their respective city council was good. They were of the view that party politics in their council was less prominent compared with that in Parliament. This confirmed the findings of T.Kleven et al (2000) that Danish local politicians are more concerned with developing common visions for the municipality than with party politics.
It was clear that the division between Left and Right was less distinct in the municipalities. This was evident to a smaller degree in Copenhagen, more accentuated in Odense and very noticeable in Assens.
Signe Færch, Red-Green councillor in Copenhagen, noted:

> *"We are divided along party political lines, but not to a level similar to Christiansborg [Parliament]...DF is not as rabid as it is in Parliament…but I think that in some cases we are much in agreement with them [DF, The Liberals and The Conservative party]"*

Still, a noticeable difference between the political Left and Right among the councillors in Copenhagen was a much clearer reminder of the classical division. During the interview they would make references to their ideological platform and point out differences between the political Left and Right. None of the councillors in Odense or in Assens made references to any cleavages between the Centre Left or Centre Right in their city councils. In Odense a Social Democratic councillor even spoke positively about the contribution the DF member of the city council has provided.

In the case of Assens only three politicians[97] were interviewed, representing respectively DF, the Social Democrats and SF. They all spoke very positively about the immigrants living in Assens and they agreed that they did not represent any noteworthy problems for the municipality. The three politicians in Assens agreed that there was a very big difference between the political debate on immigrants in Parliament and their experiences with immigrants in their municipality. Finn Brunse, the Social Democratic mayor of Assens said:

> *"The national debate is often grounded on demands of tightening [rules and laws]. I do not hear it in the same way among citizens in Assens. I think we have managed a more humane approach to the challenges presented by immigrants."*

As mentioned previously, see page 122, it was also noteworthy that several local civil servants and a couple of local politicians would refer to immigrants as "citizens". It appeared that it was important for them to signal that immigrants and Danes at local level were equal.

Local politicians took up more pragmatic views as they referred to local experiences. Individually, Centre Left and Centre Right local politicians also expressed views that set them aside from their political allies. The Centre Right politician, Mogens Lønborg, Conservative councillor in Copenhagen, spoke positively about liberal multiculturalism. Equally some local Centre Left politicians diverted from the "expected positions". Mogens M.Johansen and Peter Rudbæk, Social Democratic councillors in Assens and Odense, believed that Islam at times had a negative impact on integration.

The rhetoric of the DF councillor, J. Thulesen-Dahl, was less confrontational than his DF colleagues in Parliament. When asked what role Danes should play in the integration process, he answered:

> *"I also have the expectation to myself that I must participate in creating opportunities and space, so you are not excluded just because you come from another country, have a different skin colour or a strange name"*

[97] All members of the committee on labour were invited for an interview. Only three responded.

8.3.2. The influence of policymakers at local level

During the 1990s decision making have been increasingly decentralized with more responsibility left with local governments (Dalsgaard, 2000), and municipalities in Denmark have substantial discretion and authority in implementing welfare policies (Kleven et al, 2000). Inspired by New Public Management" within local authorities more "strategic political management" have been introduced (Dalsgaard, 2000). This has resulted in a delegation of responsibility from political bodies to the administrative bodies.

The Law on Integration, see page 34, stipulates some responsibilities of local government, such as organizing the three year introduction program and enforce municipalities to receive refugees as part of the dispersal program for refugees. Councillors were asked if they were of the view whether their municipality could develop a local strategy or whether they felt restricted by the central government. Equally the two senior integration officers in Odense and Copenhagen and the civil servants in the MRII were questioned about their roles and level of influence in developing policies.

Politicians in all three municipalities spoke very positively about their local governments' ownership of integration policies. These findings were backed up by the two senior integration officers in Copenhagen and Odense, as they both indicated, that the Ministry of Integration left the municipalities with much room to manoeuvre.

Particularly the leftist councillors in Copenhagen spoke with much enthusiasm about the local integration policies, which they clearly saw as in opposition to the integration policy propagated by the national government[98]. Neil Bloem, SF councillor in Copenhagen said:

> *"It [integration policies] is decided by us. And I think we are ahead of Christiansborg. It is not about what the individual immigrants must do in order to be accepted as part of the society. It [policy in Copenhagen] takes for granted that the individual immigrant will be part of society"*

Signe Færch, Red-Green Alliance councillor of Copenhagen, backed her colleague up:

> *"....but in regard to the political line there is no influence [from central government]. Perhaps the contrary. There is a completely different agenda in Copenhagen. Half a year ago we implemented a new inclusion policy and we abstained from using the term integration, and which lay down a completely different political line than at Christiansborg"*

Peter Rudbæk, Social Democratic councillor, agreed that the local governments had much influence on the policies implemented in Odense. He argued, that the competences of local governments are much better than at central government. Therefore local authorities should have substantial influence on local integration policy:

[98]The city council of Copenhagen has a Centre Red majority, while the central government at the time of the interviews were made up by Centre Right parties.

"I think the "hands on" experiences that we have is much better than listening to any spokesperson on integration at Christianborg [Parliament], even the most well-meaning".

The influence of bureaucrats on integration policies

The two senior integration officers in Odense and Copenhagen commented on two dimensions of the impact of policy position: the relationship between the Ministry of Integration and municipalities and the relationship between the local administration and local politicians.

Both officers agreed that the municipalities had much influence on local integration policies. The senior integration officer in Odense stressed that the MRII did not interfere in local policies, and it was up to the individual municipalities to formulate their integration policies.

Both officers also praised the cooperation with their respective councillors. Politicians took initiatives to policies as often as the local administration. The integration officer of Copenhagen rather carefully did not talk about his personal views and his own role. However, he did indirectly indicate, that policies were based on work by civil servants as policies in Copenhagen should be evidence-based:

"It is a reciprocal process. Our previous mayor [political leader of the department] started out saying that he would only accept evidence based work... that may include knowledge obtained my employees within the department.. ..Copenhagen was the first to make ethnic PISA surveys… We do evidence-based work".

The senior integration officer of Odense was more direct about her own position as she responded to a question whether she has experienced any restrictions on the range of initiatives by the administration:

"No I haven't. I have experienced a great freedom to take the initiatives that I want to take. Of course I must clear it with my bosses and politically, but I have never - I can never remember and instance where I was not allowed [to proceed]....I usually tell my staff... that the only restriction we have are the limits of our own resources".

Still, it was important for the integration officer to point out that the administration was very loyal to the council irrespective of its political dominance. The impartiality was also important to stress for the civil servants at the Ministry of Integration. As the senior civil servant at the Ministry said:

"Civil servants are brought up that way"

Civil servants of the Ministry of Integration were very careful not to express political views or personal opinions that could contravene their impartial position in any way. They clearly saw themselves more as administrators of formulated policies than as instigators of new policies.

Conclusively, the councillors generally felt that the local government and not the central government controlled integration policies in their municipalities. In particular Centre Left councillors in Copenhagen expressed ownership of the city's integration policy. But where there existed a consensus within the politicians in Odense and Assens the traditional division between the political Left and Right was visible in Copenhagen. At the same time some Centre Right politicians, who make up a minority in the city council of Copenhagen complained that there were elitist elements in the policy making process. The civil servants in Odense and Copenhagen revealed that, in line with local government modernisations, much responsibility is delegated to the professional administration. They had however, chosen different paths as the administration in Copenhagen had abolished the integration council and established a council of specialists. In Odense the administration along with the politicians were in favour of cooperating with the local integration council.

8.4. Policymakers' educational attainment and level and form of contact with immigrants.

All interviewees were asked similar questions about the level of personal contact they have or have had with immigrants. Various demographic data was gathered as well, see table 8.1. As this group of questions were asked towards the end of the interviews a few interviewees were not asked questions about membership of a voluntary organisation, as time did not permit that. In chapter five a detailed account of the questions asked is presented[99].

[99] Four settings for possible contact with immigrants were chosen: work place, neighbourhood, voluntary organisation and circle of friends. Any political environment, such as Parliament, was excluded as a work place. Interviewees were asked if they have or have had colleagues at work or whether they through their work have or have had personal contact with immigrants. Examples were given, such as being a teacher, a nurse or providing a service specifically for immigrants.
In order to distinguish between friendship and acquaintanceship a friend was defined either as a person whom an interviewee has invited to his house, or vice versa.
If interviewees had children they were asked if they attended or had attended "folkeskole" or a private school. If interviewee had pre-school children information about attending public day-care institution was collected This information was amassed, as the above institutions are viewed as essential settings of integration (MRII, 2010_a). As the higher educated part of the population increasingly send their children to private schools the question on this issue aimed at revealing whether a similar trend was evident among the elite policy makers.

Table 8.1: Policymakers according to party affiliation, work, work experience with immigrants/ having had immigrant colleagues, housing, density of immigrants in neighbourhood, public/privat education and day care institution of their children, out-group friends, member of voluntary organisation and age (nomenclature on page 141)

Name	Policy position	Education/job	Worked with immigrant/ colleagues	Housing	Neighbour-hood	Children's schooling/ day care institution	Friends	Member of vol.org.	Age
Henrik D. Christensen	Soc.Dem. MP	voc.training, teacher/mailman	yes/no	owner	none	children adults, folkeskole	few	?	54
Maja Panduro	Soc.Dem. MP	uni.student	yes/yes	renting	mixed	no children	few	?	29
Astrid Krag	SF MP	uni.student	no/no	owner	mixed	day-care institution.	few	no	29
Karsten Hønge	SF MP	voc.training carpenter	no/yes	owner	none	folkeskole, few immigrants	none	?	52
Meta Fuglsang	SF MP	academic, lawyer	?/no	renting	mixed	folkeskole, few immigrants	none	?	51
Johanne Schmidt-Nielsen	Red-Green MP	academic, social worker	yes/yes	renting	mixed	no children	few	no	27
Niels Helveg Petersen	Soc.Lib. MP	academic, politician	no/no	owner	few	children adults, folkeskole	few	?	72
Liv Holm Andersen	Soc.Lib. MP.	uni.student	yes-yes	renting	mixed	no children	mixed	?	24
Marianne Jelved	Soc.Lib. MP.	academic, teacher	no/no	owner	few	children adults, folkeskole	few	yes	67
Simon Emil Amnitzboell	Lib.Al. MP	academic, ass,teacher	yes/no	owner	mixed	no children	none	no	33
Naser Khader	Conservative MP	academic, consultant	yes/?	owner	few	folkeskole	mixed	no	47

Name	Policy position	Education/job	Worked with immigrant/ colleagues	Housing	Neighbour-hood	Children's schooling/ day care institution	Friends	Member of vol.org.	Age
Vivi Kier	Liberals MP	medium, nurse	yes/yes	owner	mixed	adult children, folkeskole	few	no	53
Bertel Haarder	Liberals MP	academic, politician	?/?	owner	mixed	No information	few,	yes,	67
Fatma Øktem	Liberals MP.	basic, travel agent	yes-yes	owner	none	no children	mixed	?	37
Rene Henriksen	DF MP	voc. training, auto mechanic	yes/yes	owner	none	private school, many immig.	none	?	42
Martin Henriksen	DF MP	voc.training, driver	no/yes	owner	none	private school, many immig.	none	no	32
Soeren Krarup	DF MP	academic, priest	no/no	owner	none	children adults, folkeskole	none	?	73
Susan Hedlund	Soc.Dem. councillor	voc. training, social worker	yes/yes	renting	mixed	adult children, folkeskole	few	no	50
Ikram Sarwar	Soc. Dem. Councillor	academic, medical doctor	yes/yes	owner	few	folkeskole, few immigrants	mixed	?	35
Mohammad Mansour	Soc.Dem. Councillor.	voc. training, prec. mechanic	no/no	renting	mainly ethnic	children adults, folkeskole	unclear	yes	52
Peter Juel Rahbaek	Soc.Dem. Councillor	academic, politician	yes/no	owner	few	public day-care	few,	?	34
Finn Brunse	Soc. Dem. Mayor	medium, teacher, Mayor	yes/yes	owner	none	children adults, folkeskole	none	yes	61
Stina Willumsen	SF Councillor	academic, politician	no/no	owner	none	no children	none	?	34
Brian Dybro	SF Councillor.	medium, social worker	yes/no	renting	few	no children	none	no	30
Mogens M. Johansen	SF Councillor	medium, teacher	yes/yes	owner	none	private school, few immigrants	none	yes	58
Signe Faerch	Red-Green Councillor	uni.student	?/student	co-op.	mixed	no children	none	yes	26
Neil S. Bloem	SF Councillor	uni.student	yes/student	renting	mixed	no children	mixed	no	28

Name	Policy position	Education/job	Worked with immigrant/ colleagues	Housing	Neighbour-hood	Children's schooling/ day care institution	Friends	Member of vol.org.	Age
Mogens Loenborg	Conservative Councillor	academic, politician	?/?	owner	none	folkeskole, no immigrants	none	no	58
Mark Grossmann	Conservative Councillor	medium, police officer	yes/no	owner	few	folkeskole, few immigrants	few	yes,	37
Jane Jegind	Liberals Councillor	academic, politician	no/yes	owner	none	folkeskole, few immigrants	few	no	37
Flemming Steen Munch	Liberals Councillor.	medium, police commissioner	limited/no	owner	none	children adults, folkeskole	none	?	64
Alex Ahrendtsen	DF, Councillor	academic, publisher	no/no	owner	few	?	none	no	44
Carl Christian Ebbesen	DF, Councillor	academic party secretary	yes/no	owner	none	folkeskole, few immigrants	none	no	42
Jens Henrik Thulesen Dahl	DF, Councillor	academic, consultant	?/?	owner	none	no information	none	yes,	49
Rune Bjerre	Civil servant MRII	academic, civil servant	no/no	owner	very few	private school, no immigrants	none	no	
Bent Grove	Senior civil servant MRII	academic. civil servant	no/no	owner	none	folkesko/ few immigrnats	none	?	
Lars Hansen	Civil servant MRII	academic, civil servant	no/yes	owner	few	public day-care	none	no	
Senior integ. officer, Copenhagen	Civil servant Municipality	academic, civil servant	yes/yes	owner	few	children adults, folkeskole	none	no	
Senior integ. officer, Odense	Civil servant Municipality	academic, civil servant	yes/yes	owner	none	adult children, folkeskole	few	no	
Antar Abdul	Civil servant Municipality	academic, civil servant	yes/yes	owner	none	folkeskole/private school few immigrants	mixed	yes(	
Kalil Diva	Integ.Council	medium, social worker	yes/yes	renting	many	folkeskole, many immigrants	few	Yes	
Kanaan Ebrahim	Ethn. Council	academic, self employed	yes/yes	owner	few	folkeskole, few immigrants	none	no	

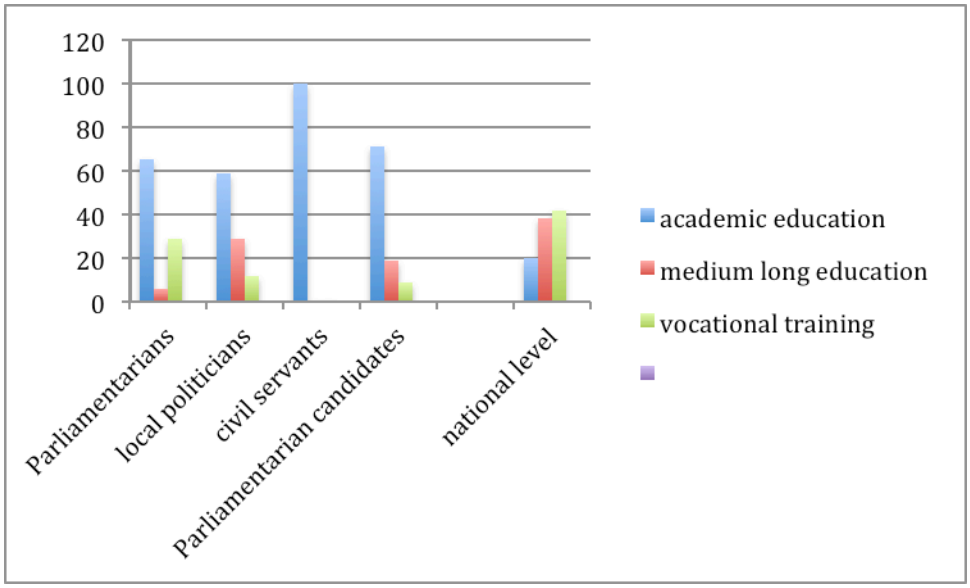
Nomenclature:
? : No question asked.
Column 2: "MP": Member of Parliament.
"MRII": civil servant at the Ministry of Integration.
"Municipality": civil servant in a municipality.
Column 3: Education and civilian job. Education: basic, medium and further. Vocational training (medium education).
Column 4: Worked in organisations which target immigrants. Having/having had colleagues with an immigrant background.
Column 5: Housing: Form of accommodation. "co-op": co-operative housing.
Column 6: "Neighborhood": living in a neighborhood with immigrants.
Column 7: Children attending public (folkeskole) or private school or day-care institution.
Column 8: "Friends": number of friends with an immigrant background/Danish background.
Column 9: "Voluntary organisations": member of a voluntary organization.

8.4.1. Educational level of policymakers

Studies of educational attainment of policymakers commonly classify their education as academic and levels below that. Similarly, this study applies three scales of educational level: Academic, medium high and vocational training/ no higher than secondary education.

The educational level of the politicians in the sample is fairly similar to that of political candidates at the parliamentary election in 2011. There are significantly more politicians in the sample with an academic education than politicians with vocational training/no higher than secondary schooling or short higher education. Nearly 68% of politicians have an academic education. This figure corresponds poorly with the educational level of the general population, see figure 8.1, where the similar figure for an academic education is 20%.

Figure 8.1: Distribution of educational level of interviewed policymakers, Parliamentary candidates at the general election 2011 and the general population, in percentage.



Source: aggregated data from Ugebladet A4 (2011) and Statistics Denmark 2012. Data on Parliamentarian candidates are based on a survey of 556 candidates at the general election 2011. Survey conducted by CEVEA.
Note: it has not been possible to find statistical information on educational level of local politicians.

Local politicians appeared to have a slightly higher educational level than Parliamentarians, see figure 8.1. This finding is contrary to conventional thinking that Parliamentarians are recruited from more elitist groups than councillors (Mills, 1999). However, among councillors invited for an interview it appeared that those with an education higher than vocational training were more likely to respond positively. Therefore the educational level of councillors in the sample may be biased.

8.4.2. Politicians' level and form of contact with immigrants

Nearly twice as many local politicians (9) than parliamentarians (5) have worked with immigrants in their jobs. About equally many in the two groups have had colleagues with an immigrant background, see appendix 12, table 8.2.

Parliamentarians were more likely than councillors to confirm that they had immigrant friends, see appendix 12, table 8.3. The findings are however dubious. Several parliamentarians had to consider their answer before stating that they had immigrant friends. Their friendships did at times not appear very close. Local politicians and all the non-academic interviewees, as will be discussed later, appeared more honest or modest in their answering.

Looking at the variable, "neighbourhood", Parliamentarians were also more likely than councillors to have immigrants in their neighbourhoods, see appendix 12, table 8.4. Though no interviewee was asked about their postal address it was clear that 8 out 17 parliamentarians lived within greater Copenhagen, which has the highest density of immigrants in the country. However, the addresses given by a number of Parliamentarians were located in rather wealthy areas in Copenhagen known to have very few immigrants. But these areas do border other areas with immigrants. As in the case of "friendships" some politicians might have stressed the concept 'neighbourhood". It was the impression of the interviewer that Parliamentarians in particular aimed at leaving an impression of having more social contact with immigrants than was actually the case.

It was significant that all the politicians, who lived in rented accommodation resided in neighbourhoods with immigrants. Majority of those areas were either described as "mixed" or with many immigrants. No Centre Right politicians lived in rented accommodation. This may also be a reflection of an older age distribution among Centre Right politicians[100].

Only three politicians have or intend to have their children attending a private school. However, their motivations for private education did not stem from avoiding immigrant students in *folkeskolen* but was based on academic or special needs considerations. It is very noticeable that two politicians representing DF had chosen schools which also have Muslim students. Among

[100] In the survey the average age for Centre Left politicians were 42 and for Centre Left politicians it was 47. In Parliament the average age for Centre Left politicians is also lower than among Centre Right politicians. The average age for all Parliamentarians by 15.9 2011 was 44 (Folketinget).

politicians with children at school age all but one had children attending schools with few students with an ethnic minority background. Only one politician had had children at a school with a high percentage of ethnic minority students. No interviewee reported any dismay or problems with ethnic minority students at their child's school.

Very few politicians were members of a voluntary organisation, including an organization working for immigrants. A very common excuse was their irregular working hours. This is the more surprising as they previously had stressed the importance of being a member of a voluntary organization.

Correlating education with other variables it is significant that all but one with vocational training (7) had colleagues with an immigrant background[101], while among those with a medium and higher education the equivalent figure is 7 out of 23. In opposition to those figures only one politician with an educational level below medium education lived in a neighbourhood with immigrants. Politicians with some form of higher education is much more likely to live in a neighbourhood with immigrants. However this figure may reveal a geographic bias, as many of the higher educated live in Copenhagen. As mentioned above the higher educated Parliamentarians appeared to provide answers that overestimated their contact with immigrants. But, it was evident that most politicians below the age of 30 had immigrant friends and lived in mixed areas. The latter was most likely correlated with their living arrangements, as the majority of them lived in rental accommodation.

Looking at political groupings Centre Left politicians appeared to have the most contact with immigrants. For all three variables, immigrant colleagues, immigrant friends and immigrants in neighbourhood Centre Left politicians affirmed a higher level of contact. But generally the Centre Left politicians were younger, and age may be a latent determinant.

8.4.3. Civil servants' contact with immigrants

All the civil servants had an academic background. The civil servants at the Ministry of Integration had no contact with immigrants, neither professionally nor socially. They lived in neighbourhoods with none or only a few immigrants, but they did not have any contact with them.

The civil servants at the municipality worked with colleagues with an immigrant background (one interviewee in Odense was a Lebanese immigrant). The senior integration officer in Odense stressed the importance of including immigrants in the staff of the department of integration and she had become friends with some of them. The senior civil servant in Copenhagen disclosed that he had no contact with immigrants outside his professional environment.

8.4.4. Members of ethnic organisations' contact with Danes

The two members of the ethnic organisations had a very different approach to Danes. Faizan Akbar stressed the importance of his children growing up among Danish children and he lived in a

[101] Mohammad Mansour had trained as a precision mechanic in Denmark, but he has never held a job after the completion of his education.

predominantly Danish neighbourhood, though this was not a conscious choice. He worked closely with Danish colleagues, but he had no social contact with Danes after work. As he said:

"We have no common interests"

Mahmoud lived in Vollsmose with a very high density of immigrants. This was a conscious choice. However, he described his group of friends as very mixed between Danes and immigrants. He was involved in an ethnic voluntary organisation, but he was also active in a mainstream political party.
The two representatives of the immigrant organisations illustrated the complexity of some of the concepts within the notion of *integration.* One had deliberately chosen to live in an area with a high spatial concentration of immigrants, but the borders of the ghetto did not limit his social life. In contrast to that his colleague lived in a very Danish neighbourhood, but he abstained from social contact with Danes. Both may be said to live *parallel lives*, but both also connect with society.

8.4.5. Relationship between personal contacts and expressed views

Relating personal contact with out-group members with statements made in the interviews three significant findings are worth mentioning.
Firstly, those interviewees with an educational level below upper higher education were the group of people who socially had the least contact with immigrants and who also lived in neighbourhoods with no or few immigrants. Still, they were more likely than their better educated counterpart to have had an immigrant colleague or worked in an environment that would put them in contact with immigrants.
They all expressed themselves in less abstract terms and most of them did not refrain from talking about Muslims or immigrants as a more unified group. They clearly all expected the debate and past policies to be led by an elite. Such views were also held, for instance, by some academics, but within that group there was less uniformity on the latter issue.

Secondly, the statements of interviewees with education no higher than vocational training were often related to personal experiences. Fatma Øktem talked very bluntly about suppression of women in some immigrant communities and she mentioned how she had met discrimination within her ethnic environment. She was generally concerned about a lack of attachment to the society among an increasing number of immigrants. She supported compulsory attendance of pre-kindergarten and she would not refrain from using ethnicity as criteria for allocating housing. She said:

" I wont say religion, because I would accuse religion for something, which would not be fair. But I experience an increasing social control and an increasing extremism as the biggest problems in relation to integration"

Karsten Hønge, parliamentarian for SF, expressed very strong opinions about the elite within his party. He referred to meetings within his own party and how the *elite* had talked down to ordinary people.
He did not blame the Danes for lack of social contact with immigrants. He listed no immigrants among his friends, though he had tried to make friendships. At one point he was a mentor for an immigrant family, but it did not work out. He found that cultural barriers were very difficult to surpass.
Mohammad Mansour lived in Vollsmose and at close hand he experienced immigrant youth quitting school, taking drugs or committing a criminal act. He thought the Danish society was far too lenient in its attitude towards youngsters with social problems, and it failed to protect the immigrant community from the culprits. He noted:

> *"If my children can earn 10.000 kroner a day without having a job. Why should they take an education, why should he take a job".*

The views of Susan Hedlund, a Social Democratic councillor in Copenhagen, were clearly based on her personal experiences living in central Copenhagen in a neighbourhood, where Danes and many immigrants had learned to live together. Her children had attended the local school, where 50% had an ethnic minority background. Personally she had made friends with several immigrant families and did not think anything special of that. Through her job as a leader of a community centre for elderly people she was in contact with immigrants.
She generally thought that immigrants contribute to the society. She did not think that immigrants were to blame for poor academic standard in some schools. She spoke positively about immigrants, while still acknowledging that they represented specific social problems and that culture in some cases may be a barrier to integration. Her non-dogmatic attitude was reflected in her comment about Muslim men. She did not think Islam was the root of integration problems, but she still said with a wry smile:

> *"But they [the men] may still think that the man is God's gift to mankind"*

It is noteworthy that among the above group of interviewees with more contact at work with immigrants, but with apparently less social contact outside work than the better educated group of politicians, 8 out of the 11 interviewees named parallel living as the main problem of the society. Among the higher educated politicians with much less contact with immigrants at work places, but with a few personal friends, most likely with similar educational background, any signs of parallel living beyond the professional life are therefore much less evident.

Thirdly, only a few Danish politicians seemed to have an ethnically mixed group of friends. They were all below the age of 30. Equally, they were all members of a Centre Left party. This group of interviewees all expressed a more multicultural approach to integration, they did not approve of

defining Muslims as a social group and they did not regard spatial ethnic concentration as a barrier for integration.

8.6. Discussion/analysis.

Examining the variables influencing policy makers it appears that policy position (local and national) has a significant impact on other variables. Independent of policy position politicians spoke much about the relationship between politicians and public opinion. Within the overall framework of social transaction costs and from the vantage point of the two variables, policy position and public opinion, the analysis of the impact of professional and social contact with immigrants will take place. Initially, the analysis will discuss the impact the public debate may have on attitudes. The chapter then moves on to analyse the influence of policy position before analysing the attitude of policymakers from the perspective of their contact with immigrants.

8.6.1. Public debate: who influences whom?

All interviewees emphasized that the public debate had had a significant impact on the attitude of politicians or the public. The interviewees focused on the relationship between public opinion and the attitudes of the politicians within a conventional analysis of whether public opinion is pro-active (shapes the views of politicians) or is precipitated by policy makers. The elite-mass relationship was the underlying constituent of the discourse of the interviewees.

The accounts of the Social Democrats and members of SF indicated a *permissive consensus* within the leftist elite, which assumes that the political elite can push forward policies independently of a disinterested unconcerned public (Carrubba, 2001). They acknowledged that they had been aloof from the public as they had seen themselves as acting morally correctly. Such behaviour was very much in line with the *elitist theory of democracy* (Gibson et al, 1991), which states that the politicians see themselves as the defender of democratic values and tolerance. They are committed to civil liberties more than are the public at large and they represent a bulwark against mass intolerance (Sniderman et al, 1991). The citizens are only potentially active, which allows the politicians freedom to make necessary decisions, while still considering the interest of the public (Dalton, 1996).

The Leftist interviewees have recognized that the public is not disinterested and they must now engage in the public debate about immigrants. As SF and the Social Democrats interviewees had moved towards bigger emphasis on cultural assimilation, their involvement in the public debate on immigrants may also be prompted by the changing behaviour of voters. As class voting has become less important and the traditional cleavage left/right has become less salient new dimensions of the voters' position have emerged. Dimensions such as nationalist/universalist or cosmopolitan may now be a better description of voters' positions on a value-dimension (Miller et al, 2002). To attract

votes, mainstream politicians have had to engage in value-orientated debates and accept the politicization of new issues, such as immigration and national identity (Rydgren, 2004).

However, the Centre Left, the civil servants and several Centre Right politicians were united in their condemnation of DF's rhetoric. They accused DF for taking up extreme policy positions and of moulding an anti-immigrant attitude among voters who are concerned about the impact of immigrants on their society. Such critique is in keeping with conventional analysis of populist right parties (Rydgren, 2007).

DF interviewees argued that they, in opposition to other parties, reflected the opinions of ordinary Danes. They argue that they have simply responded to a new situation in society. They dismissed the accusation that they formed public opinion, but they present the voters with an alternative to the established parties. Such argumentation is very much within the paradigm of spatial theory. It stipulates that the public's policy preferences are guided by events and prior convictions, and not by argumentation of political parties. The parties compete to convince voters that they adopt the best policy response. But they do not significantly alter the distribution of voter preferences, so attitude towards immigrants are not moulded by parties' opinion leadership (Ivarsflaten, 2004).

In line with Populist right parties, that commonly argue that they listen to "the man in the street" and consider the political establishment as morally corrupt[102] (Fennema, 2004), DF interviewees defined themselves as a mainstream party, but against the system (Taggart, 1995). They repeatedly spoke of an *elite* different from ordinary Danes to the extent, that it justified the claim in some parts of the literature that right wing parties try to exclude the elite together with immigrants from "pure" people (Rydgren, 2007).

DF interviewees also claimed that the public debate has a positive impact on integration as they referred to surveys showing that trust between Danes and immigrants have grown. Other interviewees condemned DF for shaping the public opinion negatively with a detrimental effect on integration of immigrants. Opponents of DF generally argue that not only does the public discourse on immigrants inflate any animosities between Danes and immigrants, but it also divides Danes into "them" and "us" (Rasmussen, 2008). The "us" being the morally good guys, and "them', those supporting views expressed by DF, the bad guys. The supposed politicization of being Danish most likely underlines such development. Though this division may be diminishing, several politicians confirmed its continuous presence. They conceded that they were reluctant to speak their mind, particularly on matters regarding Islam, as they feared to be associated with DF.

[102] Populist right parties are characterized by a populist discourse. They consider the political establishment as technically incompetent and morally corrupt. They commonly argue for politicians listening to "the man in the street" and they often question legal arguments based on international conventions (Fennema, 2004)

The public debate and social transaction costs

The implications of the debate may induce higher or lower social transaction costs at several levels. For the individual citizens the "distance" between an immigrant and a Dane may grow bigger as the debate focuses on obstacles in the integration process. The social transaction costs will grow at a personal level but it may also, as a function of the debate, show at societal level in the form of lost sense of unity. Denmark is described as a consensus society where the political Left and Right historically have cooperated about all political matters. However, since the millennium immigrant policies have divided Parliament. Though the Parliamentarians confirmed that behind closed doors the politicians spoke properly with each other, the confrontation between DF members and particularly the Social Liberals and members of the Red-Green Alliance was evident. It was more disdain than respect for each other's opinions that characterised their views. This division has spread to the wider population, and several interviewees questioned the extent of the Danes' solidarity with immigrants. Further, if the division among Danes along more value-orientated themes is sustained this may have severe implications for the nation's perception of itself as an inclusive society where wealth and political affiliation hitherto have yielded to national unity.

In opposition to this DF members, supported by a few other interviewees, claimed that the debate has reinforced freedom of expression. Such an environment has, according to the proponents of this view, increased social capital in the shape of trust between Danes and immigrants due to a more open dialogue between people. This study showed that the further away one got from the rhetoric of the Parliamentarians, the less confrontational were the interviewees. Among politicians at local level DF members and their political colleagues did communicate. They managed not only to speak with respect about each other, but also to have a proper dialogue. In the case of Odense they reached a consensus on integration policies. The social transaction costs within this group did not appear to have been big enough to obstruct the policy making process.

8.6.2. Policy position: national versus local level.

Both at national and local level interviewees had only marginal contact with independent immigrant organisations. Surprisingly, only the senior civil servants in the MRII spoke of it as a major drawback. The acceptance of the situation was surely due to the lack of representation that various immigrant organisations possess. This was particularly evident for Muslim organisations. But the aversion towards Muslim organisations must also be linked to a reluctance to accept religious influences on political or social matters, as outlined in chapter 3. However, interest organisations must represent a fairly large audience and appeal to the public opinion in order to push forward their agenda (Galston, 2006). Because Immigrant organisations do not possess these properties, the politicians may not feel any public pressure to include them in the political processes. The unawareness of the existence and function of the Council of Ethnic Minorities among Parliamentarians, who were a member of the parliamentary Committee of Integration

revealed, that not only did they not have any knowledge of the representation of immigrants, but also that most likely did they not give this aspect much thought.

In both Copenhagen and Odense representatives of immigrants were included in policy making, but the two municipalities had opted for very different approaches.

In Copenhagen they had abolished the local integration council and replaced it with an expert panel, a think tank on the grounds that the immigrant population has politically matured. That statement is contestable. Figures show that political parties have few members with an ethnic minority background (Statistics Denmark, 2011). Non-citizens with a permanent residence permit can vote at local elections in Denmark, but immigrants still display very low voting rates[103]

In Odense the municipality had turned the council into an elected board of members of ethnic minorities and by so given the council bigger legitimacy. This had undoubtedly involved extra work and time for the local authority, including the politicians who invite the council to take part in committee meetings. In Odense they had accepted these extra social transaction costs in order to maintain a direct contact with ethnic minorities and citizen groups. However, the critique of the lack of influence by the integration council does put into perspective the difficulties involving a non-political but popular elected body in the policy process. In the words of Mahmoud Daoud, the council members saw themselves as politicians, while the authorities think of them as a consulting body. Such diverse perception of the role of the integration council will cause frictions and it will undoubtedly demand much goodwill from both parties to overcome them. It involves social transaction costs. In Copenhagen they had reduced these costs by eliminating the contact and instead established the think tank of experts. It seems very much a solution within the paradigm of the *elitist theory of democracy* and past polices of the elite.

The relationship between policy position and attitudes

The findings of the interviews clearly showed that local politicians were more pragmatic than parliamentarians. Laver (2001) writes that analysing the policy position of policy actors involves locating the relative positions of political actors in a policy space and interpreting the substantial meaning of that space. In Parliament, politicians take up the role as government or opposition. At municipality level the role within the council is more as a member of a team. The Parliamentarians were more confrontational in their comments as they had to mark their ideological position. Particularly in Odense and Assens, where there was an agreement among the politicians on local integration policies, views were much related to local problems. Further, in line with the aims of reforms of municipalities councillors felt an ownership of local integration policies. These findings seemed to confirm a substantial independence from central government and a freedom to ignore party ideology and display wide variations from national parties (Budge et al, 1983).

[103] At the local elections in 2009, a survey of 44 municipalities showed that the voting rates for ethnic Danes were 68%, while 47% of immigrants with citizenship and 36% of descendants voted. About 1/3 of immigrants with no citizenship voted (MRII, 2010b).

The civil servants also displayed a difference according to their administrative level. At the Ministry of Integration two out of three interviewees were cautious in their answering, and as *classical bureaucrats* their loyalty to the Ministry and the government was evident. At local level the civil servants expressed much independence, and that supported the theory of being more programme-orientated. But that independence also allowed them to influence local integration policies. A survey of Danish municipalities showed that 30% of them planned their integration strategies along assimilatory thinking, but only 5% of their responses on value questions reflected assimilatory attitudes (Rasmussen,2006). This study supported these findings as the civil servants, and in particular at municipality level, showed less assimilatory attitude than many of the politicians. Generally they were more in agreement with Centre Left than Centre Right politicians. Such finding will certainly underpin the critique by the Right, that leftist elites dictate integration policies. Similarly, the overlap of Centre Left's and civil servants' attitude towards integration was expressed in the case of the *think tank* in Copenhagen, as both parties endorsed the *think tank.*

However, the less assimilatory attitude among local civil servants in this study may also be explained by the fact that they worked in a multi-ethnic environment and directly with immigrants. It was significant that the civil servants at the Ministry of Integration had very limited contact with immigrants and they expressed more assimilative attitudes.

8.6.3. Policymakers' social contact with ethnic minorities

National politicians appeared to have more social contact with ethnic minorities, but the findings may be biased. Seven out of the national politicians lived in Copenhagen, which is a very cosmopolitan place. Still, educational level among Danish politicians appeared to be a stronger indicator of having a friend or a neighbour with an ethnic minority background. Several explanations may be offered for this finding.

The more elderly with an academic background, and who stated that they had a few friends, may have friends with a similar background. This group of immigrants may as well have more liberal attitudes and a more cosmopolitan perception of the world. So while those with a higher education, according to the theory, are more likely to accept social transactions costs while not experiencing them so much, it may also be that the costs this group of people endure is smaller, and that makes their social contacts easier.

Secondly, as this group stressed the concept of "neighbourhood" and "friend" they might have tried to affirm that they do not live segregated from immigrants. The better educated often normally sense what would be a political correct answer (Gaasholt et al, 1995), and that might be the case in this study as well. Secondly, the Parliamentarians often left the impression that they were in a defensive position. Such a situation may also prompt answers, which may not be completely honest, as it is essential for an interviewee to communicate an immigrant friendly image.

However, it was the youngest section of Centre Left politicians who were more likely to have a mixed group of friends. They generally also expressed very multicultural views. As Centre Left

politicians generally leaned towards multicultural attitudes it is not possible directly to correlate the attitude of the young Centre Left politicians with level of contact with ethnic minorities. But it was significant that it was Centre Left politicians who lived in rented accommodation and in neighbourhoods with immigrants. This group of politicians had comprehensively more contact with immigrants than Centre Right politicians. On the basis of the argument of the *contact hypothesis* contact this should stimulate their tolerance and they would accept a higher level of social transaction costs in their interaction with other people.

The contact hypothesis, stipulating that increased contact will stimulate a better understanding of each other, may be questioned. At work, local politicians had more contact with immigrants than parliamentarians. Such contact must be assumed to be on a more daily basis and more frequent than the odd meetings with a friend. It would also be fair to assume that contacts with immigrants at work would involve a more diverse group of people (level of skills, language, religion, culture) than a single friend or a group of friends may represent. Hitherto, the social transaction costs endured through work could be expected to be higher than those experienced in a friendship. Therefore, local politicians may have met higher social transaction costs than Parliamentarians. Several local Centre-Left politicians expressed more assimilatory attitudes than their national counterparts. In their argumentation they often referred to groups of immigrants segregating themselves, which results in high social transaction costs when members of these groups engage with the wider society. So despite an assumed more frequent contact with immigrants they still express more assimilative views than parliamentarians. It may be an outcome of having met bigger social transaction costs than the Parliamentarians.

Social contact with out-group according to educational level

This somehow correlates with the findings of the interviewees with a non-academic education. This group were more likely to be in contact with immigrants at work than the higher educated section of interviewees, while they at the same time had very limited contact with immigrants outside work. The non-academic participants were much more likely to refer to personal experiences, and they, therefore, appeared to have a bigger awareness of problems related to integration of immigrant. Differences in living arrangements between Danes and immigrants may become very evident, as immigrants with a lower education often have a more traditional life style. The social transaction costs to engage with the newcomers may therefore be considerable. This may explain why those with a non-academic education tended to mention parallel living as the main problem with regards to immigrants. Among the higher educated politicians with much less contact with immigrants at work, but with a few personal friends with a possibly similar educational background, any signs of parallel living beyond professional life are less evident. Social transaction costs have less relevance for these politicians. Only Susan Hedlund, a non-academic councillor in Copenhagen, seemed to have much contact with immigrants, both through work and socially in her

neighbourhood. She downplayed any extra social transaction costs these contacts may involve, and she seemed to confirm the theory that social contact stimulates integration.

Ethnic background did not appear to be a general determinant for the views expressed by those with an immigrant background. However, the social transaction costs they individually have endured seemed in several cases to have a very influential impact on their views. Faizan Akbar complained than Danes were uninterested in getting to know him and his culture, and therefore he had given up socializing with Danes. In this case the social transaction costs were too big, and they were imposed on him by Danes. This may explain why he defined integration mostly within a systemic framework and defended immigrants' right to live within their own ethnic group.

8.6.4. Summary of policymakers' contact with immigrants

Conclusively, policy makers had over all experienced limited social transaction costs. Where those with a higher education were more likely to have friends with an ethnic minority background, interviewees with a lower education met immigrants primarily at their work places.

Parliamentarian with a higher education made hardly any references to personal contacts with immigrants. It appeared, however, that the views of the local policy makers and of those interviewees with an education below higher education were influenced by their experience of social transaction costs, and they expressed concerns about the coherence of the society. Equally, those respondents with an immigrant background appeared also to be influenced by the social transaction costs they have endured. Few Danish policy makers were active in voluntary organisations and they exclude themselves from a forum where people meet across ethnic divisions. Equally, only one Danish politician had had a child attending a school with a high percentage of ethnic minority students. In sum it was apparent that that the politicians did not experience some of the social transaction costs that many people try to cope with.

8.7. Summary of chapter five, six and seven

Interviews of policymakers revealed a division of attitudes according to policy position. In a horizontal perspective differences were registered along a traditional left-right axis and according to educational attainment. Along a vertical dimension a clear distinction of views and personal encounters with immigrants were observed between national and local policymakers.

8.7.1.Attitudes of policymakers along a left-right axis

Policymakers conveyed ambiguous attitudes towards integration. Apart from representatives of DF, interviewees described integration in multicultural terms but supported assimilative measures of integration. That was particularly true for Centre Left politicians. The interviews also revealed a tension between the interviewees' notion of equality and diversity as equality precipitated an uptake of prevalent norms in Denmark. Though interviewees on a left-right axis disagreed about

universality of norms (Centre Right politicians underlined that they were Danish) they generally institutionalized individual norms, which they deemed mandatory for immigrants to take up.
Most interviewees did not abstain from supporting the state interfering in the private lives of immigrants and enforcing what they perceived as norms of the society. Those interviewees with clear multicultural views (members of Red-Green Alliance and The Social Liberals, but also the member of Liberal Alliance) opposed any state interference, which they felt disregarded liberal rights of immigrants and would cause distrust between Danes and immigrants. From the latter perspective all Centre Left politicians and local bureaucrats opposed Start Assistance, as they also saw it in breach of immigrants' social citizenship.
Centre Right politicians had less trust in immigrant's intention to integrate. They claimed that too few demands had been put to immigrants to integrate culturally and to work. Most Centre left politicians, apart from representatives of the Social Liberals and the Red-Green Alliance, also professed that demands to integrate had relied too much on terms favouring immigrants, and they supported a more assimilative approach to integration. A dominant theme of the discussion with members of SF and Social Democrats were their emphasis on distancing themselves from previous integration policies and elitist attitudes of the Centre Left.

Cultural factors were centrally located in Centre Right politicians' explanatory framework for failed systemic integration. Centre Left politicians perceived the problem from the vantage point of social disadvantage, though politicians from SF and Social Democrats added a layer of ethno-cultural factors, implying self-exclusion, in their accounts of failed integration.

Most policy makers found that the public debate on immigrants had been too harsh and caused divisions between Danes and immigrant and amongst Danes themselves. Only members of DF stated that the debate has stimulated a positive relationship between Danes and immigrants.

8.7.2. Attitudes of policymakers at national and local level

It was very apparent that the political debate amongst policymakers was less confrontational the further away decision-making was from Parliament. Local politicians were more pragmatic and critical of politicization of integration than Parliamentarians, and they felt they had much influence on integration policies.
Civil servants at the MRII emphasized their neutrality as they downplayed their influence on policies. Contrary to this, local civil servants stated that they had substantial influence on integration policies in their respective municipalities. They generally expressed views in line with Centre Left politicians.

8.7.3. Policymakers' contact with immigrants and their levy on social transaction costs on Danes and immigrants

Very few politicians had any contact with ethnic organisations, and together with all civil servants they had no dialogue with Muslim organisations. This was in line with the complaints of the

representatives of the ethnic councils, that the politicians did not listen to them sufficiently. Only the policymakers in Odense worked with immigrant organisations.
Though social contact between policy makers and immigrants seemed sparse, Centre Left, compared with Centre Right politicians, appeared to have more contact with immigrants. It appeared that that the younger policymakers generally held more multicultural views and had more contact with immigrants. However, the younger policymakers also tended to belong to a Centre Left party. Parliamentarians and politicians with an academic background were also more likely to state that they had immigrant friends and lived in a neighbourhood that also housed immigrants. However, suspicions remain about the validity of their accounts, as it appeared they wanted to leave an impression of not being aloof immigrants. But the higher educated policymakers may also socialize with other well-educated immigrants working in similar fields as the Danish policymakers and with more cosmopolitan views. Therefore, the social transaction costs they encounter engaging with each other may be less than those experienced by people with lower education.

Local politicians and non-academic national politicians seemed to have fewer social contacts, but they had or had had colleagues at work with an immigrant background. Local politicians, civil servants at municipality level and politicians with an immigrant background would more often make references to either personal encounters with immigrants or incidents in their municipalities involving immigrants, that would entail some form of social transaction cost. This group of interviewees were also more likely to express more restrictive or assimilative policies affecting immigrants. However, the local politicians appeared to be more concerned than Parliamentarians about a more evenly distribution of social transaction costs when implementing integration policies.

The more assimilative attitudes and the tendency to provide cultural explanations for a lack of structural integration and institutionalization of norms impose a higher proportion of social transaction costs on immigrants. Cultural explanations may result in stronger generalizations of behaviour and attitudes of immigrants. This may accentuate cultural difference between Danes and immigrants and result in bigger social transaction costs for both parties in their dealings with each other. The aversion of the Centre Left politicians towards Start Assistance must be viewed from a similar perspective. They feared that Start Assistance would result in immigrants trusting Danes less. Though the great majority did not fear that the support for the welfare state was endangered by the presence of immigrants a few policymakers worried that the coherence of the society was at risk. They questioned the willingness of Danes to support those marginal groups that show no interest in contributing to the wider society. The policymakers' clear avoidance of any contact with Muslim groups may also partly stem from a concern about the coherence of the welfare state. Any public role of religion or policies directed specifically towards faith groups may hamper the commitment to secularism in society. That would represent a social transaction cost for the society too big for the policymakers to accept.

Chapter 9: Methodology of the attitudinal Survey of Danes and Immigrants (ASDI) and profile of its respondents

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9. Introduction

This chapter introduces the methodology adopted in the research of attitudes of ordinary citizens, Danes and immigrants. Where the study of policymakers aimed at gaining in-depth knowledge of their attitudes, the study of attitudes of Danes and immigrants seek to establish a more general representation of their opinions. For this purpose a quantitative approach has been chosen using a cross–sectional survey titled "The Attitudinal Survey of Danes and Immigrants" (ASDI). The findings of this survey and the study of policymakers will be compared with each other to examine possible divisions in their understanding and expectations to integration of immigrants in Denmark.

The chapter is structured under two main headings: "Methodology" and "Profile of the sample of respondents". The first part of the chapter reviews the methodology of the research into the attitudes of ordinary citizens. First, the units of analysis and propositions of this part of the were prepared, see table 9.1. Next, qualifying properties of the data needed for answering the research questions within the theoretical framework of social capital and social transactions costs will be presented. On the basis of these criteria a review of existing data sets demonstrates the need to collect primary data.

Table 9.1: Research questions and hypothesis according to the units of the research

Units	Research questions	Hypothesis
Danes Immigrants	1. To what extent does the level of education correlate with the extent and the nature of the contact between ethnic Danes and immigrants?	2. Native Danes and non-Western immigrants' acceptance of social transaction costs is positively correlated with educational status and negatively correlated with their social contact with each other
	2. How do attitudes to various issues related to integration differ between Danes and immigrants? How does educational level and level of contact between ethnic Danes and immigrants correspond with these attitudes?	

Moving on I will describe in more details the research design. First it will include a description of the mode of collection, an on-line questionnaire, and an outline of the advantages and disadvantages of this mode of data collection. It will be followed by a presentation of the questionnaire. The review moves on to describe the sample sites and samples employed. The methodology section finishes with a brief account of the analysis, focusing on the application of weights in the analysis. The methodology section will be followed by an overview of the profile of the sample.

9.1. Units of analysis

The survey includes Danes and non-Western immigrants of at least 18 years of age. Due to the mode of sampling, see below, it includes almost exclusively persons in the labour market, either in employment or unemployed. The survey does not include asylum seekers, only immigrants with residence status.

The thesis employs the definitions of immigrants and Danes applied by Statistics Denmark.

Ethnic Danes: People born to parents of whom at least one is a Danish citizen born in Denmark (Statistics Denmark, MRII, 2001)

Immigrants: Defined as people born abroad whose parents were both (or in cases where only one parent is known, that parent) foreign nationals or born abroad. This concept covers both immigration due to work, family reunification and refugees ((Statistics Denmark, MRII, 2001).

Descendants: People born in Denmark where both parents are born outside Denmark and were non-Danish citizens at the time of birth of the descendant. (Statistics Denmark, MRII, 2001)

Non-Western immigrant: In Denmark a Western immigrant is defined as originating from an EU country, Iceland, Norway, Switzerland, USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. A non-Western immigrant is from all countries other than those listed above (Statistics Denmark, MRII, 2001).

Conventionally, statistics differentiate between *immigrant* and *descendant*. However, the survey contains only 7 descendants and they are, therefore, incorporated in the group, immigrants. Diagnostics tests also show that their attitudes are not distinct from the attitudes of immigrants. The idiomatic term *Danes* refer to ethnic Danes.

9.2. What constitutes suitable research data

Seeking data for answering the research questions related to Danes and immigrants, it is pertinent to review and possibly use existing survey data. This section reviews existing datasets and demonstrates the need for collecting primary data. To my knowledge no Danish surveys provide access to their datasets. The review of secondary data in this research is restricted to The International Social Survey Programme (ISSP), The European Social Survey (ESS) and the European Value Survey (EVS).

9.2.1. Qualifying criteria for the dataset

Datasets must be of recent date. The findings of the questionnaire are compared with interviews of policy makers conducted in 2011/12. The time gap between the two groups of respondents must be limited in order for any comparison to be relevant. This is particularly important as it is being stressed in the literature, see chapter 3, and in the interviews with the policy makers, that attitudes of Danes towards immigrants have changed considerably since the millennium.

A dataset must include data illuminating the relationship between Danes and non-Western immigrants within the framework of *social capital* and social *transaction costs*. It is paramount that a dataset includes information on social contact between Danes and immigrants and indica

tors of social transaction costs. With regard to contact between Danes and immigrants at least two dimensions must be included: dimensions of professional or social contact with out-group members and density of immigrants in the area of residence.

9.2.2. Relevancy of EVS, ESS and IISP to the research questions

EVS and ESS provide data of recent date. The EVS runs every 10th year and the last run, which was based on data collected in 2008, was published in 2010. ESS is a biennial survey, and the last round was fielded in 2010/2011. ISSP is an annual cross-national collaboration on surveys covering topics within social science. Every year it runs different modules of questions. The latest models of questions, entitled "identity" and relevant for this research, was fielded in 2003. Applying the time criterion, the ISSP 2003 does not qualify for this research and can be disregarded.

The EVS operates with a fairly uniform core of questions in different rounds of surveys. The ESS contains a core module and two rotating modules repeated at intervals. Both recent surveys contain data on social capital (norms and trust), but they do not include questions on level and art of contact between Danes and non-Western immigrants. Neither do they encompass questions measuring social transaction costs of Danes; e.g., a question on "making an extra effort to accommodate immigrants".

However, in the 2002 round of ESS a module with the heading "Immigration and Citizenship" was included. This module registered information on attitudes towards living and working with people of different race and certain integration policies. It also measured various social contacts between Danes and people with an immigrant background. However, having non-Danish friends or colleagues were defined as "people from another country", thereby making no differentiation between immigrants with a Western and non-western background. Social contact, therefore, was a very unspecific variable in terms of ethnicity. Further, the ESS of 2002 and ESVs and EVSs in general include only between 40 to 55 non-Western immigrants (including descendants) in their samples, and these numbers are considered too low for inferential analyses.

9.2.3. The use of primary and secondary data in the research design

Conclusively, data from international surveys proved not to provide neither sufficiently specific data on social contact between Danes and immigrants nor data that met the time criterion. Therefore, it did not seem feasible to use existing secondary data. Hence, this study relies on primary data collected through an on-line survey. However, constructing the questionnaire of ASDI the 2010 EVS and the 2002 ESS were used as a framework for developing and phrasing questions.

It enables a comparison between the surveys and an examination of the external validity of the findings of ASDI.

9.3. Research design

The research adopted a cross- sectional survey design to explore the attitudes of working-age[104] Danes and non-Western immigrants in the general population attached to the labour market. Applying a cross-sectional design entails the collection of quantifiable data across a section of people at a single point in time (Bryman, 2008:44). In the following the survey tools applied within this methodology will be outlined.

9.3.1. Considerations when choosing mode of data collection

Several modes of collection were considered. It was important that any mode would provide a sufficient number of respondents for sound statistical analyses and that it would involve limited human and economic resources. The target of cases was 400 Danes and 200 immigrants. Based on empirical evidence, it was expected to be rather difficult surveying immigrants (Font et al, 2013). The target for this group, therefore, was established by weighing the number of respondents necessary for performing statistical analyses and reasonable expectations. As Danes was expected to be easier to contact the target of Danes was set substantially higher.

9.3.2. On-line questionnaire

An online questionnaire using closed questions was applied to collate data. The survey was distributed by e-mail, or at one sample site on a digital portal. This means of data collection was chosen for various reasons. As human and economic resources were very limited in this "one-man student project" it was essential that economic costs are limited and demand of human resources are within the scope of one person. An on-line questionnaire meets these criteria, as it is administratively easy and its low cost facilitates access to many people. Finally, in order to boost response rate it was important to use an attractive format. By using an on-line questionnaire, the stylistic format could be designed more attractive and it enabled automatic skipping when using filtering questions. "Survey Monkey", a company formatting surveys, was employed to develop the questionnaire.

This mode of data collection does have some drawbacks. The main disadvantage is a low response rate (Dommeyer et al, 2000). Secondly, some members of the sample may be unattainable. Participation is restricted to respondents with a known e-mail address or access to internet. However, the great majority of people in the sample are in employment, for whom a computer is

[104] Working age constitutes the age range 18 – 64. Statistic Denmark define working age as 16 – 64, but as respondents had to give consent, participants in the survey had to be at least 18 years of age. Figures from Statistics Denmark in the analysis include age group 16 - 64.

affordable. At one sample site, a language school, a high number of potential respondents were unemployed immigrants, but they all had access to a computer at their educational institution.
In this study there is no track of the respondents' mail addresses and there is therefore a risk that respondents may reply multiple times.

9.3.3. Sample strategy

The original research design presumed a randomized sample from which findings could be generalized to Danes and immigrants in the general population, the units to be studied. Adequate representation required a sample, which was diverse in terms of regional location, ethnicity, educational and income level, age and gender. It proved very difficult to establish such a sample.

Using the services of Statistics Denmark to constitute a sample frame was too expensive. A number of big nationwide companies, such as the national railway company, DSB, were contacted in order to generate a sample that was diverse geographically, ethnically and socio-economically. Correspondence with these companies failed to prompt any interest in the survey.

Sampling sites and frames

Eventually the municipality of Odense showed an interest in surveying their employees, see appendix 9.1. The sample frame drawn from this site would include all employees of at least 18 years of age, approximately 14.000 people. The sample would represent people with different educational qualifications and employment status, and it would be diverse in terms of age, gender and ethnicity. Approximately 8% of the employees were of non-Danish origin. Naturally, this sample did not represent different geographical locations.

The municipality later restricted the sample frame to a limited number of employees, approximately 4000. This sample frame generated a sample consisting of few immigrants and scarcely any, either immigrants and Danes, with only basic education.

In order to supplement the principal frame and rectify the above shortcoming a local labour union, 3F, was contacted. Its members are mainly low skilled workers, of which many are immigrants in the service industry. The union agreed to cooperate, and all members above the age of 18 with an immigrant background, in total about 700, and 150 Danes (union representatives[105]), were included in the sample frame.

Within this sample frame a higher number of low educated Danes were recruited but the number of immigrants were still low. A language school teaching Danish for foreigners were contacted and a sample frame consisting of all the students at the school were constructed. A substantial number of students filled out the questionnaire.

[105] It was the wish of the labour union only to include the union representatives among the Danes as the union would not bather ordinary members, whom they thought would not participate.

A multiple frame design appears in the literature to be fully acceptable, when additional frames "provide a better or unique coverage for population elements absent or poorly covered in the principal frame" (Groves et al, 2004:58). Searching out sample sites with specific population elements, the original sample strategy, a simple probability sample, turned into a stratification of samples in order to obtain the representation of key sub-populations in the sample.

9.3.4. Procedures for collecting data

At all three sample sites I did not have direct access to e-mail addresses of members of the sample frame. The respective institutions sent out e-mails posted in my name. Respondents got access to the questionnaire by opening a link.

It was originally planned that all members of a sample frame would receive an e-mail a week before the questionnaire was to be sent out, informing potential respondents about the survey. However, the labour union wished to attach an appeal written by themselves to the questionnaire when it was distributed. They thought more members would respond this way, see appendix 9.2. The procedure was different at the municipality. Though it was agreed that all employees would be included in the sample, that they would be contacted directly by e-mail and that the contacting of respondents would follow the procedure described above, the course of action changed shortly before the agreed day to send out the information about the survey. The municipality reduced the sample frame to administrative staff and would only post the e-mail with the questionnaire on a "digital portal[106]". No mail was sent out to inform potential respondents about the forthcoming questionnaire. The language school sent out the questionnaire to their students as soon as they received my appeal to participate. Therefore, no notice was sent out prior to the distribution of the questionnaire. Three weeks after sending out the questionnaire a "follow-up" was sent out to encourage people to fill out the questionnaire. The "follow ups" were repeated twice. Research shows that "follow-ups" are the most effective way of boosting response rates (Deutskens et al, 2004). However, the municipality did not allow any "follow ups" to be sent out.

At the language school teachers offered to help students with any linguistic problems they may have answering the questionnaire. Teachers were informed not to take direct part in answering any questions. At the labour union respondents were also given the opportunity to contact an officer working with immigrants in case they encountered any language problems.

The questionnaire

9.4. The format of the questionnaire

Setting up the questionnaire I drew on a number of questions from the 2011 EVS, the 2008 ESS and the 2003 ISSP. Some questions were transferred directly into the questionnaire, while other

[106] The portal was an internal website providing information for employees at the municipality. Some pages of the website was directed to specific departments.

questions were slightly adapted. Using questions from these surveys offer a better opportunity to control the findings of ASDI, see appendix 9.3.

Most questions posed to Danes and to immigrants were identical. Questions on policies incurring "direct" social transaction costs on either immigrants or Danes were posed to the group affected. The questionnaire used only closed questions, in line with common practice of surveys (Vogt, 2011). Closed questions benefit from providing the same response options for respondents. They "are therefore more apt to communicate the same frame of reference to all the respondents" (Converse, et al, 1986:33). Closed questions also make the quantitative processing of data easier. Attitudes and beliefs were generally measured using Likert scales ranging from *strongly agreeing to strongly disagreeing* or *very important to very unimportant* (5 scales). Also questions measuring quantitative judgement of behaviour made use of ordinal variables, e.g., *almost everybody to almost none* (four scales). Respondents would naturally assess values and the intervals between them differently, just as understanding the questions and concepts were left to individual interpretation. This is a shortcoming one must accept using self-assessment and transforming attitudes into numbers. The questionnaire was quite extensive. Answering the questionnaire was estimated to take 20 minutes, which is considered the maximum time you can expect respondents to spend on a questionnaire (Bryman, 2008).

The first part of the questionnaire contained some information of ethical character and a form of consent according to rules stipulated by CUREC. Respondents were informed about anonymity and that they could jump any question they might feel uncomfortable with. Contact addresses were provided for forwarding any complaints.

9.4.1. The composition of the questionnaire

The questionnaire of ASDI aims at elucidating respondents' attitude within the context of social capital and social transaction costs. Besides demographic data it collected data on:

1) social contact between Danes and immigrants
2) attitudes towards norms and values, including trust and tolerance
3) acceptance of "direct" social transaction costs
4) attitudes towards integration policies
5) attitudes towards issues related to education.

The questionnaire is quite comprehensive and not all the questions are utilized in the thesis[107]. The rationalisation of questions is based on their relevance for the thesis and the limitations of the number of instruments the format of the thesis allows. Under each heading outlined below, those questions included in the analysis will be listed. In chapter 10 the phrasing of the questions utilized in the analysis is outlined.

[107] The questionnaire will also be used for writing papers on specific issues and some of the questions not employed in the thesis will be utilized in that context.

Demographical data

Various factors may influence individuals' attitude towards norms and values. The survey collated different demographical data, which individually may affect attitudes. These data include information about ethnicity, citizenship, age, gender, marital status, number of children, faith, housing and employment status, years spent in Denmark and educational level. Educational level was measured at only three different levels (low, medium and further), using criteria outlined in a survey on attitudes among immigrants and Danes conducted for the Ministry of Integration (MRII, 2007). Description of occupation was also limited to three categories: professional, skilled and non-skilled labour. Again, simplicity was the main reasoning for this strategy. At the labour union and the language school respondents were also asked if they were working or unemployed.[108]

Questions included: Danes: nr. 4 - 6, 50 –53, 56, 58 , 63-65. Immigrants: nr. 4 , 67, 70 -77, 91, 119-121, 123, 125, 128-130.

Interaction between Danes and immigrants

Social contact is hypothesized to be a major independent variable affecting acceptance of social transaction cost. Direct contact between Danes and immigrants is also regarded as a valid measure for level of integration of immigrants (Mikkelsen, 2001; Thomsen, 2006). Some surveys also show that forms, or *intensity*, of interaction matter (Mikkelsen, 2001; Entzenger et al, 2003; Thomsen, 2006). Intensity relates to nature of social contacts and therefore to feelings of belonging and familiarity (Entzinger et al, 2003:6). Respondents were asked if they socialized with out-group colleagues after work and have an out-group friend. A friend was defined as a person whom the respondent invites to his or her house or who invites the respondent.

Contact with colleagues will also test the regularly stated hypothesis, that employment establishes informal networks that promotes social integration (Mikkelsen, 2008; The Government, 2010). Surveys show different effects of the two forms of interaction (Mikkelsen,2001; Thomsen, 2006).

Another dimension of social contact is contact with neighbours. Respondents were asked about density of immigrants in their neighbourhood. The Danish word for neighbourhood, *nabolag*, has been applied to delimitate residential area of respondents. It resonates with an understanding of a more intimate area (ordbog, 2013). In Denmark there is a clear tendency towards residential segregation of ethnic minorities and Danes (Nannestad et al, 2004, Matthiessen, 2009), and it has been estimated that a non-Western immigrant in Odense has 41% chance of living in an area with another immigrant (Matthiessen, 2009). Ethnic composition of neighbourhoods is also a central issue in the discussion of immigrants' stock of social capital (Putnam, 2000; Alesina et al, 2002).

[108] At the labour union all members are economically active. At the language school those out of work might not be economically active. However, such distinction was not made and all non-working respondents are categorized as unemployed. The researcher believed that all respondents from the language school were associated with the labour union, but that was not the case. However, the school informed me that hardly any of the students received pre-retirement benefits or were self-employed.

Questions included: Danes: nr. 22, 25, 27, 28, 31 - 33. Immigrants: nr. 96, 98, 99, 102, 103

Identity

A measure of integration involves identification with the environment, and respondents' feeling of identity was measured by asking their affinity to Danish society and local and religious communities. Identification with certain environments is also indicative of the relational dimension of social capital in the sense that it points to the networks on which respondents rely.

Questions included: Danes: nr. 8. Immigrants: nr. 80

Values and norms

Norms are regarded as an essential part of social capital. The acquisition of norms of a society is considered critical for enabling individuals to function effectively in the society (Putnam, 1995). As such acquisition of norms is indicative of level of integration. The acquisition may also denote level of acceptance of change. As such the questions on norms could be seen as latent questions on social transaction costs.

Respondents were questioned about their attitudes towards norms seen as important for the Danish society. These norms were foremost related to gender, marriage and upbringing of children (Maia Consult, 2009; Schmidt, 2011; MRII, 2007). Accordingly, questions on norms focused on these issues. However, in line with the attitudinal survey of MRII in 2007, see page 47, a question on expression of freedom was also included. It assessed respondents' approval of literature portraying a religion negatively. The concept of freedom of speech is an essential norm of Danish society, but with an increasing group of religious newcomers in Denmark the extension of the concept's border is up for discussion (Bredsforff, 2009).

In Denmark it is a common perception that a vibrant associational life strengthens support for democratic institutions and creates contact across social lines (Gundelach et al, 1999). Therefore, the Government emphasizes the importance that immigrants participate in inter-ethnic voluntary organisations. Hence, the questionnaire collected data on membership of inter-ethnic voluntary organisations. It is stipulated in the questionnaire that organisations did not include professional organisations, as they are not considered to "bridge" contact between Danes and immigrants (Nannestad, 2008).

Trust and tolerance are important features of social capital in relation to immigrants, and dimensions of those parameters of social capital were introduced. They were respectively phrased as assumptions about the moral behaviour of immigrants and Danes and acceptance of neighbours of different social, sexual, religious and ethnic backgrounds.

Questions included: Danes: nr. 9, 11, 14, 16, 17, 18, 29. Immigrants: nr. 81, 83, 85, 86, 88, 89, 100.

Specific social transaction costs

In order to make the abstract notion of social transaction costs more concrete, some proxies have been designed which rather specifically measure respondents' acceptance of social transaction costs.

Nannestad (1999) mentions linguistic barriers as examples of social transaction costs. In this survey this proposition is transferred into a question about spending extra time helping a colleague performing a work task due to lack of proficiency in Danish.

Danes are also asked whether they would accept public institutions serving halal meat, the construction of a mosque without minarets in their neighbourhood[109] and bussing of ethnic students to schools outside the local catchment area. Many kindergartens in Copenhagen have chosen only to serve halal meat[110], which at times has provoked a protest, by politicians in particular (Quass, 2013). With regards to the constructing of a mosque, it is in general argued that a mosque does not fit into the local physical environment (Goldmann, 2009). The municipality of Odense have considered bussing ethnic students, but they hesitate to go ahead due to the social costs involved, see page 117. Immigrants were also asked whether they accept that local authorities puts a pressure on parents to send their pre-school children to kindergarten.

Questions included: Danes: nr. 15, 19, 35, 37. Immigrants: nr. 105, 118.

Integration policies

The questionnaire includes some questions on attitudes towards various integration policies. These attitudes indicate whom the respondents think must pay any social transaction costs in the process of integration. A question depicts respondents' preference of an assimilative or multicultural approach to integration. The questionnaire also investigates whether ethnic concentration impedes integration into society and whether the state has a right to prevent ethnic concentration. This issue is much debated in the literature and by the public in Denmark (Larsen, 2011; The Government 2010).

Questions included: Danes: nr. 10, 12, 24, 37. Immigrants: nr. 82, 87, 105, 118,

Ethnic students in the educational system

In Denmark there has been much focus on the effect ethnic students may have on the academic level in a class, and Danish parents have regularly moved their children from schools with many ethnic students. Hitherto, respondents with children were asked about possible experiences with having children at schools with ethnic students, and whether they have moved or considered moving their child for this reason.

[109] By autumn 2013 only one permit to construct a purpose-built mosque has been granted in Denmark. In autumn 2013 a mosque was under construction in Copenhagen.

[110] The policy has been implemented in order to rationalize cooking procedures and reduce costs.

Questions included: Danes: nr. 43 – 49. Immigrants: nr. 111 — 117.

9.4.2. Pilot study

A pilot study of the questionnaire was conducted a) to assess amount of time spent answering the questionnaire b) to check if content and wording of the questions were understood c) to gain feedback of the content in order to evaluate whether the survey tools work. Several pilots were run with both Danes and immigrants. At the municipality of Odense an integration officer with an immigrant background evaluated the questionnaire and made corrections of the formulation of questions in order to simplify the language.

9.5. Response rate

The literature is unclear with regard to response rates for online surveys. Response rates differ from around 35% (Sheehan et al, 2001) to 1% (Resnick, 2012). ASDI was distributed as an attached questionnaire to an e-mail, and Dommeyer et al (2000) found that the response rate for an attached survey was 8%. On the basis of the literature I expected a response rate of 10 to 15 per cent, which meant that the sample frame had to include a minimum of 4000 respondents to reach a sample of 600 participants.

It is estimated that the questionnaire was distributed to about 5150 people. However, the questionnaire at the municipality was administered on a "digital portal"[111] for employees, and the questionnaire was therefore not sent directly to prospective respondents. The portal was accessible to about 4000 employees working in administrative positions. It is therefore not possible to estimate exactly how many employees at the municipality saw the invitation to participate in the survey. At the labour union and at the language school about 850 union members and 300 students respectively received an invitation by e-mail.

Provided that 5200 people received information about the survey it leaves a response rate of 11%, which is barely within the expected range. However, the response rate differs very much between the different settings and within them the two groups of respondents, see table 9.2. The high response rate at the language school was due to teachers encouraging students to answer the questionnaire in class. Neither the municipality nor the labour union would accept using incentives to boost the response rate. It was decided to follow a similar procedure at the language school.

Table: 9.2: response rates in percentage according to sample sites. Number of respondents is in brackets

	Danes		immigrants		total	
Municipality	-	(384)	-	(48)	9.4	(432)
Labour union	36.0	(54)	4.2	(29)	9.2	(83)

[111] The portal provides information to employees. Not all information on the portal is shared with all departments and the invitation to participate was secluded by the municipality to a restricted number of departments.

Lang. school	-	20.7	(62)	20.7	(62)
Total	(438)		(139)*	11.1	(577)

**: This number include 22 Western immigrants*

9.6. Analysis of data

A single level analysis looking at aggregate level of opinion within the two groups of respondents, Danes and immigrants, is applied. The data from ASDI was entered into a database using the Statistical package of Stata11.

Initially a thorough descriptive analysis will provide an overview of the data generated from the questionnaire. It will provide the offset for inference analyses applying logistic regression models. Such models allow measuring relationships between the observed constructs, number of people displaying a particular attitude, and latent socio-economic and attitudinal factors. Utilizing odds ratios rather than coefficients is believed to be easier for the reader to make sense of.

Though a comprehensive investigation of any interrelationship between the independent variables would be interesting to examine the scope of this study does not extend this far as the aim of the thesis is limited to compare expressed attitudes of policy makers and Danes and immigrants. The inference analyses are restricted to a limited number of relations.

Validity of the survey

9.7. Gender and educational bias of ASDI

The sample sites and the sample frame within these sites present some limitations to external validity of the survey. I shall briefly outline these shortcomings and strategies implemented to improve the validity of the survey.

Gender and educational status is heavily biased in ASDI. Though gender in previous attitudinal surveys[112] in Denmark is mentioned as a factor not influencing attitudes the sample deviate from the gender composition in society to an extent that it weakens its representative value. Educational status represents an equally skewed sample. Level of education is hypothesized to be a main determinant of social capital and people's experience and attitude towards social transaction costs, and this misrepresentation of the general population, therefore, puts limits on the inferences that can be made from the data.

9.7.1. Introduction of weights

In order to control the biased independent variable, education and gender, weights have been applied to customize the sample in accordance with the gender distribution and educational level in

[112] In two independent surveys of Danes' and immigrants' attitude measuring variables such as tolerance and trust (Thomsen, 2006; Togeby, 2003), see chapter four, it is highlighted that gender is not correlated with any of the independent variables. Measuring the impact of gender on various attitudes in the EVS 2008 and ESS 2010, gender been found to be a significant determinant only on attitudes towards questions related to marriage.

the general population, see table 9.4., page 174. The weights are calculated on data from Statistics Denmark 2011 on gender and educational attainment. Within each gender the sample is divided into the three groups of educational level recorded in the ASDI, totalling six groups. The proportion of respondents in each group out of the total number of respondents is calculated. Each weight is then worked out as the proportion of a group in the general population over the proportion of the equivalent group in the survey. No data on gender distribution of immigrants within educational groups are obtainable. Calculating the weight for immigrants the general gender distribution recorded by Statistics Denmark has been used in each educational group.

9.7.2. Missing data

Not all respondents completed the questionnaire. As the sample of immigrants is fairly small it has been decided not to eliminate incomplete questionnaires in order to generate as much data as possible. The number of participants on whom there are no data on gender is small, about 8% for both Danes and immigrants. As gender also has shown to have no impact on any but a few questions, imputations of gender have not been performed.

A high percentage of immigrants, 24%, did not wish to provide information about their income. This was particularly prevalent among unemployed immigrants. However, officers at the labour union and the municipality indicated that registered unemployed immigrants were often in unofficial paid work. Therefore any imputation of their income would be very dubious and therefore not feasible to apply. Hence, income of immigrants is not included in the analysis.

9.8. Demographic profile of the sample

9.8.1. Distribution and characteristics of respondents according to sample sites

The group of respondents represented a stratified random sample, though the randomness at the language school and the labour union may be questioned. At those two sites the participation of immigrants was limited to those who had basic language skills. Among Danish members of the labour union participation was limited to union representatives. This group may be expected to be more political interested, but there is no evidence in the literature that this group should be biased on issues related to integration of immigrants. In total the sample[113] consists of 438 Danes, 117 non-Western immigrants and 22 Western immigrants[114]. The distribution of respondents by sample site was as follows: 432 were employees at the municipality of Odense, 83 were members of the labour union and 62 were students at the language school.

[113] 650 questionnaires were returned, but out of those 71 were discarded, as only a few demographic answers at the beginning of the questionnaire had been answered. The response rate is based on the 579 questionnaires valid for the analysis.

[114] The responses of the 24 Western immigrants are not included in the analysis of data

Gender and age

The mean age of surveyed Danes and immigrants is 45 and 38 respectively, see table 9.4, page 174. These figures are fairly close to the mean age of Danes and immigrants within the general working age population, see table 9.4. However, there is smaller age disparity than in the general population and as such an underrepresentation of younger and older people in ASDI. The survey only includes 7 descendants. This is mainly due to the character of the sample sites. No descendants attend language school and the sample at the municipality was drawn from departments employing medium and high educated people. Within this group, due mainly to the young age structure of descendants, but also their educational level, one would not expect many descendants.

The sample of ASDI is very gender biased, as nearly 64% of respondents are women. The very great majority of Danes were recruited at administrative departments of a municipality. Though the gender composition of these departments are not known specifically, the municipality estimates that about 2/3 of the employees are women.

Equally, the participants recruited from the labour union 3F and the language school reflect the gender distribution at those institutions, see appendix 12, table 9.6.

Marrital status

The marriage pattern reveals that the great majority of immigrants have chosen a more traditional living arrangement, as few immigrants have taken up the more modern life style of cohabiting. The proportion married among both Danes and immigrants in the ASDI is considerably higher than in the general population, see table 9.4. The age structure, few very young or old, of the sample seems to be a logical explanation. But the distribution over all may also be correlated with the higher educational level of the respondents, as educational attainment is a positive factor for getting and staying married (Musick et al, 2012). In percentage terms Danes in ADSI intermarry at a higher rate than in the general population, but the absolute figures are small and the figures are, therefore, statistically very sensitive.

Educational level

In ASDI Danes have a higher educational level than immigrants. Most noticeable is the very low number of sampled Danes with only basic education, see table 9.4. The table also shows that within both groups of respondents there are a much higher proportion of participants with further education than in the general population. The sample appears to be very biased to the right.

Firstly, the positively biased educational level of respondents is ascribed to the characteristics of the main setting of ASDI. At the municipality, which provides 75% of the Danish participants, respondents were recruited from administrative departments, which are expected to employ staff with a higher level of education. Secondly, respondents may assess their educational attainments to be higher than they actually are. Educational level in the questionnaire is ranked into only three levels, which may have inclined respondents to assess their qualifications higher than they actually

are. Besides, some studies of immigrants find that they assess their qualifications obtained in their homeland higher than they are rated in Denmark (MRII, 2005). Thirdly, taking the low response rate into account a positive selection may occur among respondents leading to a higher chance of the better educated section of the sample frame participating in the survey. This may be particularly evident among immigrants, as a completion of a questionnaire in Danish may represent not only a linguistic task but also a "cultural challenge".

Among immigrants and Danes there are distinctive differences between educational level at the three settings of respondents. Respondents at the municipality have a much higher educational level than those recruited from the labour union and the language school. The latter figures demonstrate the imbalance of the educational level of non-Western immigrants coming to Denmark. 41% of the sampled immigrants have no higher than a basic education, while 33% have a further education.

Employment and occupational status

As expected Danes hold higher status of occupations than do immigrants. It is significant that immigrants are more likely to hold low skilled jobs, see table 9.4. Due to the sample method, there are only 0.5% unemployed Danes in the sample while 25% of the sampled immigrants are not working. The latter group is overwhelmingly recruited from the language school, and they have generally been in Denmark between 1 to 10 years.

Occupational status of the sampled Danes corresponds quite well with figures from the Labour Force Survey 2005. It has not been possible to find similar figures for immigrants in the general population. However, the high number of immigrants in the sample recorded as unemployed may also include people out of the labour market living on permanent social benefits. The figure is still below the estimate by Statistic Denmark that 38 per cent of immigrants depend of some sort of full-time benefits (Statistics Denmark, 2012).

The correlation between educational level and employment status is weaker for immigrants than for Danes. While 63% of Danes with further education describe themselves as "professional" only 35% of immigrants do likewise, see appendix 12, table 9.7. This situation is particularly true for immigrants at the language school and the labour union, see table 9.5, page 177. These findings confirm the common assumption that immigrants do not get credit for their qualifications, and they take up jobs beneath their educational status. However, the findings may also be influenced by the tendency that immigrants may inflate their educational attainments.

Income

Reflecting the educational and occupational status of Danes and immigrants in ASDI Danes earn more than immigrants. Within both groups of respondents the biggest difference between the sample and the general population is the lower number of persons in the lowest income bracket. However, comparing the mean income of Danish full-time employed respondents with national

figures of fixed salary paid public employees at municipality level the income level among the respondents appear to be lower than the national average of employees at municipality level[115].
Regarding immigrants the apparent higher income level in ASDI is aggravated by the 30 % of unemployed or low skilled immigrants who abstained from reporting their income.
Comparing income levels of Danes and immigrants within the sample sites, there are big differences between Danes and immigrants among labour union members. At the municipality educational and occupational level of Danes and immigrants are fairly similar and income levels of the two groups reflect this situation, see table 9.5. In the sample the income disparity between immigrants and Danes seems bigger among the lower educated with a lower occupational status.

Faith and ethnicity

70% of Danes confess a faith and 98% of those are Protestants. 86% of immigrants declare that they have a faith and out of those 66% are Muslims and 11% Catholics, see table 9.3.

Table 9.3: Distribution of denominations of respondents who declared they have a faith

Religion	Danes		Immigrants	
Protestantism	270	97.8	2	2.3
Catholicism	5	1.8	10	11.4
Islam	0	0.0	58	65.1
Hinduism	0	0.0	1	1.1
Judaism	1	0.4	0	0.0
Other	0	0.0	15	17.1
Total	276	100.0	88	100.0

The number of Muslims in the survey is lower than the estimate (85-90%) for the general group of non-western immigrants in Denmark (MRII, 2005). This seems to be explained by the ethnic composition of the sample of immigrants. The sample represents 28 nationalities, and 30 respondents (24%) come from non-Muslim countries, see appendix 12, table 9.8. 40 per cent of the immigrants have refugee status and 46 per cent are family reunified, see appendix 12, table 9.9. Conventionally, attitudinal surveys stratify samples of non-Western immigrants and target the biggest ethnic groups in order to establish a representative sample of the non-Western immigrant population. However, considering the difficulties accessing immigrants and as a result the limited number of respondents in the survey, ethnic stratification of the ASDI sample was not feasible. In order to establish a reasonable sample size all non-Western nationalities within a sample site are included in the sample, resulting in bigger heterogeneity and some bias of the sample. The number

[115] Income level of sampled Danes are compared with national figures of public employees at municipality level. The mean value of full-time public employed Danish respondents in ASDI is border line between income quartile 2 and 3 with the distribution of income skewed to the left of the mean, se table 9.4. For fixed salary paid public employees at municipality level in Denmark the average annual income is Dkr. 410.000 (statistics Denmark, slon21) and it is a fair estimate that the average income of the Danish respondents does not exceed this amount.

of Vietnamese in the survey is for instance much higher than in the general population[116]. Still, the sample frame is dominated by the biggest ethnic groups in the general immigrant population, see table 3.1, page 28.

Length of stay in Denmark

Immigrants' average length of stay in Denmark is 14 years. Within the three different settings there is a significant difference between the mean values of years in Denmark. Students at the language school have in average lived in Denmark for 7 years, while members of the labour union have been in Denmark for 15 years. Employees at the municipality have in average been in the country for 23 years. These figures correlate very clearly and positively with the level of skills immigrants display within the three sites. For instance is the number of Vietnamese in the survey much higher than in the general population[117]. That is due to many members of the labour union are employed in greenhouses, and many Vietnamese are employed in this sector.

[116] Many members of the labour union are employed in greenhouses, and many Vietnamese are employed in this sector.

[117] Many members of the labour union are employed in greenhouses, and many Vietnamese are employed in this sector.

Table 9.4: Demographic composition of respondents in ASDI in percentage compared with similar demographic figures from Statistics Denmark 2011. All figures from Statistics Denmark are administrative data and represent persons within age group 18 – 64 unless mentioned otherwise

	Thesis survey			Weighted data		Statistics Denmark		
Gender	Danes	Immigrants	Total	Danes	Immigrant	Danes	Immigrants	Total
Female	64.6	60.6	63.8	51.1	51.7	49.58	51.8	49.72
Male	35.4	39.4	36.2	48.9	48.3	50.42	48.2	50.28
Missing values	28	8	36					
N	438	117	555			3.015.482	261.782	3.277.262
Age								
18 -29	9.38	19.2	12.8	9.4	21.1	22.1	32.8	23.0
30 - 44	38.02	59.6	43.3	34.8	60.5	32.1	38.7	32.6
45 - 64	52.59	21.2	43.9	55.9	18.4	45.8	28.5	44.4
Mean age	45	38	43			41	37	40
Missing values	33	18	51					
N	438	117	555			3.015.482	261.782	3.277.262
Marital status								
Not married	10.3	9.4	10.1	9.9	9.7	39.2	33.5	38.8
Married	59.6	78.3	63.4	61.3	79.0	48.9	54.7	49.5
Cohabiting	21.3	3.8	17.7	20.0	3.5	-	-	-
Divorced, no partner	8.9	8.5	8.8	8.8	7.8	11.7	11.6	11.7
Missing values, others	38	11	49					
N	438	117	555			2.940.574	261.782	3.202.356
Intermarriage[1]	4.3	17.7	6.7	3.6	15.5	1.4	21.1	3.2
N	330	87	417			1.437.941	143.194	1.581.135
Educational level[2]								
Basic education	4..9	24.3	9.0	22.4	28.9	25.3	29[3]	-
Voc. Training, lower sec.	27.6	24.3	26.9	47.0	38.3	45.5	38	-
Further education	67.5	51.4	64.1	30.6	32.8	29,2	33	-

	Thesis survey				Weighted data			Statistics Denmark		
Missing values	32	13	45							
N	438	117	555					2.988.820	-	-
Gender	Danes	Immigrants	Total		Danes	Immigrant		Danes	Immigrants	Total
Employment										
Unemployed	0.5	25.8	5.2		1.8	27.6		5.6	14.7	5.9
N	402	95	497					2.389.185	140.365	2.529.550
Employed	98.2	72.4	93.4					73.9	48.8	71.7
Missing values	36	22	58							
N	438	117	555					3.015.482	288.667	3.304.149
Occupation										
unskilled	4.8	26.8	8.1		15.9	32.3		11.0[5]	-	-
skilled	51.0	47.8	50.5		60.9	48.9		44.8	-	-
Professional[4]	44.2	25.4	41.4		23.2	18.4		44.1	-	-
	38	46	84							
N	438	117	555					15600		-
Income (d.kr.)[6]								(2011)	(2010)	-
Below 200.000	4.9	33.3	9.5		3.5	39.2		24.1	56.3	-
200.000 – 299.999	21.6	21.3	21.6		30.6	19.7		21.9	40.8	-
300.000 – 499.999	59.6	37.3	56.0		53.7	34.0		40.5		-
500.000 – 699.999	10.5	6.7	9.9		8.4	6.4		13.6	2.9	-
700.000 -	3.3	1.3	3.0		3.8	0.7				-
Missing values	49	42	91							
N	438	117	555					3.080.884		

Notes:

[1] **:** Percentage of those who are married or cohabit. Figures from Statistic Denmark are for people aged 25 – 69 (Statistics Denmark, 2011)

[2] **:** Definition of educational level:

Basic education: no further education than 10 years schooling at *folkeskolen* (state school)

Voc. Training and lower secondary education: A-level, trained as skilled worker. Examples: health assistance, attended business college.

Further education: examples: attended teacher college or nursing school, higher business education, attended university.

[3]: Statistics Denmark only has data on education obtained in Denmark. Therefore there are no data on educational level for the entire group of immigrants. The data in this table is obtained from Labour Force Survey 2005 and include Western and non-Western immigrants.

[4]: "Professional" covers job titles such as teacher, nurse, office or section leaders, lawyers etc.

[5]: Statistics Denmark does not range occupation in a similar order as in the thesis survey, and no reasonable comparison is possible with these data sets. The data in this table are from Labour Force Survey 2005.

[6]: Statistic Denmark: Figures on Danes are aggregated figures of salaries and wages for the whole population (Danes and immigrants) within the age group 16-64. Figures on immigrants are data on immigrants only. Statistics Denmark operates only with two ranges of income above 200.000 for immigrants. Transfer incomes are included in these figures (Statistics Denmark, 2013f)

Table 9.5: Gender, age, educational qualifications, occupational status and levels of income of Danes and immigrants by settings of the survey

Immigrants									**Danes**					
	Language school		**Labour union**		**Municipality**		**Total**		**Labour union**		**Municipality**		**Total**	
Gender	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Women	29	63.0	15	68.2	22	53.7	66	60.6	31	60.8	234	65.2	265	64.6
Men	17	37.0	7	31.8	19	46.3	43	39.4	20	39,2	125	34.9	145	35.4
N	46		22		41		109		51		359		410	
Missing	5	9.8	2	8.3	1	2.4	8	6.8	3	5.6	25	6.5	28	6.4
Age														
18 - 30	7	19.4	5	22.7	8	19.5	20	20.2	3	5.9	41	11.6	44	10.9
31 - 44	25	69.4	12	54.6	24	58.5	61	61.6	17	33.3	138	39.0	155	38.3
45 - 64	4	11.1	5	22.8	9	22.0	18	18.2	31	60.8	175	49.4	206	50.9
N	36		22		41		99		51		354		405	
Missing	15	29.4	2	8.3	1	2.4	18	15.4	3	5.6	30	6.8	33	7.5
Educational level														
Basic education	18	41.9	7	31.9	1	2.4	26	24.3	16	30.8	5	1.4	21	5.2
Voc. Training, A lev.	11	25.6	8	36.4	7	16.7	26	24.3	26	50.0	86	24.2	112	27.5
Further education	14	32.6	7	31.9	34	81.0	55	51.4	10	19.2	264	74.4	274	67.3
N	43		22		42		107		52		355		407	
Missing values	8	15.7	2	8.3	0	0.0	10	8.5	2	3.7	29	7.5	31	8.1

Immigrants									**Danes**					
	Language school		**Labour union**		**municipality**		**total**		**Labour union**		**municipality**		**total**	
Employment	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Unemployed	21	51.2	4	19.1	0	0.0	25	25.8	3	5.7	0	0.0	3	0.74
Unskilled	12	29.3	6	28.6	2	5.7	20	20.6	13	24.5	6	1.7	19	4.7
Skilled	5	12.2	10	47.6	19	54.3	34	35.1	32	60.4	173	49.3	205	50.7
Professional	3	7.3	1	4.8	14	40.0	18	18.6	5	9.5	172	49.0	177	43.8
N	41		21		35		97		53		351		404	
Missing values	10	19.6	3	12.5	7	16.7	20	17.1	1	1.9	33	8.6	34	8.9
Income														
Below 200.000	17	80.1	8	47.1	0	0.0	25	33.3	3	6.1	16	4.7	19	4.9
200.000 – 299.000	2	4.8	7	41.2	8	21.6	16	21.3	19	38.8	66	19.4	85	21.8
300.000 – 499.000	1	4.8	2	11.8	25	67.6	28	37.3	24	49.0	208	61.0	232	59.5
500.000 – 699.000	1	4.8	0	0.0	4	10.8	5	6.7	1	2.0	40	11.7	41	10.5
Above 700.000	1	4.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.3	2	4.1	11	3.2	13	3.3
N	21		17		37		75		49		341		390	
Missing values	30	58.9	7	29.2	5	11.9	42	35.9	5	9.2	43	12.6	48	12.3

9.9. Summary of chapter nine

The investigation of attitudes of Danes and immigrants are conducted with the application of a cross-sectional survey with the title: "The Attitudinal Survey of Danes and Immigrants" (ASDI). The chapter initially demonstrates the need for generating primary data by reviewing accessible datasets of international attitudinal surveys. The chapter moves on to outline the research design of the survey. An on-line questionnaire is chosen as the mode of data collection. Due to problems establishing a diverse sample, three different sample sites were introduced.

The on-line questionnaire aims at investigating attitudes of respondents within the context of social capital and social transaction costs. The questionnaire examines attitudes towards norms and values, specific social transaction costs, integration policies and educational issues. The analyses of data will be performed using ordered logistic regression models. As data on gender and education are very biased statistical weights are introduced in the analyses to ameliorate the skewness of these variables.

The profile of the sample embodies a more ethnic diverse group of immigrants otherwise seen in Denmark. The gender distribution of participants in ASDI is very biased with 2/3 of respondents being women. The sample resembles the average age of the general population but displays a more narrow age distribution. The proportion married is higher in the sample than in the general population.

Both groups of respondents show a significantly higher educational status than in the general population, and Danish respondents have a higher educational, occupational and income level than immigrants. Immigrants seem to have a lower occupational status than their educational status otherwise would imply. However, income level of Danes in ASDI is actually lower than for a comparable group of people in the general population. This indicates that not only may the respondents have rated their educational attainments too high, but the sample of respondents is perhaps not as far from representing the general population as it immediately appears.

Still, it is important to emphasize, that any conclusions drawn from ASDI are based on a sample with the demographic characteristics discussed. The sample sites do not include immigrants on long term transfer payments, apart from a possible low number at the language school. They constitute the core group of people claimed to live parallel lives and their views are not portrayed in ASDI.

Chapter 10. Attitudes of immigrants and Danes: descriptive and inference analysis of ASDI.

10. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present and discuss the findings of the analysis of the ASDI questionnaire with the aim of answering the research questions related to Danes and immigrants, see table 10.1. In the final chapter the extrapolated attitudes will be compared with those voiced by policy makers.

Initially, the analysis will present a comprehensive descriptive analysis of the data in accordance with similar approaches to quantitative surveys of attitudes of Danes and immigrants (Thomsen, 2006; MRII, 2007). This part of the analysis will compare the main findings of attitudes expressed by Danes and immigrants. The comparison forms a platform for an analysis explicating the relationship between the focal explanatory variable, educational level, and social contacts with out-group and attitudes of respondents. The first part of the analysis investigates the relationship between educational level and social contacts. The second part seeks to answer the research question whether attitudes seen as latent variables of social transaction costs differ between Danes and immigrants, and how education and level of contact between ethnic Danes and immigrants correspond with these attitudes. The chapter closes with a discussion of the findings of the descriptive and inference analyses.

One of the objectives of the thesis is to develop a link between the theories of social capital and social transaction costs. It is therefore useful to insert dimensions of social capital as mediators in the statistical models examining the relationship between educational attainment and attitudes. Thereby, social capital is linked to the outcome variable within the latter's relationship with educational attainment. The analysis employs dimensions of trust, social contact with out-group and membership of voluntary organisations as mediators.

10.1. Descriptive analysis of the ASDI questionnaire

This section brings forth an overview of data generated from the questionnaire. Within the scope of the chapter and the extent of the analysis, the analysis will focus on a restricted number of variables representing the main dimensions researched in the questionnaire. The descriptive analysis is conducted under five headings: social contact, identity, values and norms, education of children and attitude towards integration policies. Findings will be compared with comparable data derived from national and international surveys.

Table 10.1: Research questions and hypothesis according to units of analysis

Units	Research questions	Hypothesis
Danes Immigrants	1. To what extent does the level of education correlate with the extent and the nature of the contact between ethnic Danes and immigrants ? 2. How do attitudes towards issues related to integration differ between Danes and immigrants? How does educational level and level of contact between ethnic Danes and immigrants correspond with these attitudes?	2. Native Danes and non-Western immigrants' acceptance of social transaction costs is positively correlated with educational status and negatively correlated with their social contact with each other

10.1.2 Social contact between immigrants and Danes

In ASDI social contact between Danes and immigrants are measured in various settings in order to get a more complete picture of the interpersonal contact between the two groups of respondents. These settings provide contacts of personal and professional character.

Neighbourhood: housing condition and density of immigrants

Housing conditions are very different for Danes and immigrants. While 69% of Danes live in privately owned dwellings and 28% in rented accommodation, the equivalent figures for immigrants are 29% and 67%, respectively. These figures are fairly close to national figures (Baadsgaard, 2010), see appendix 12, table 10.40.

The majority of Danes live in a locality with *some* or *few* immigrants. 28% of immigrants live in an area with *many* or *mainly* immigrants, see table 10.2. In table 10.3 we observe that immigrants tend to have more contact with their Danish neighbours than vice versa.

Table 10.2: Density of immigrants in neighbourhood of respondents, in percentage

	none	few	some	many	mainly all	no know	sum	N
Danes	16.2	44.0	26.8	8.5	1.2	3.3	100.0	414
Immigrants	17.1	21.9	26.7	26.7	1.0	6.6	100.0	105

Sourse: ASDI
Notes: No know: "do not know" and "do not want to answer"

Table 10.3: Respondents' level of contact with out-group members in their neighbourhood, in percentage

	none	little	some	very	no know	sum	N
Danes	37.5	39.2	18.2	4.9	.3	100.0	347
Immigrants	11.4	24.5	38.7	15,1	10.3	100.0	106

Source: ASDI
Notes: No know: "do not know" and "do not want to answer"

Relationship with colleagues at work

82% of immigrants and Danes report that they have an out-group colleague. 50% of immigrants and about 39% of Danes meet up with an out-group colleague outside work once in a while or often, see table 10.4.

86% of Danes accept that they may have to spend *extra time* explaining work related matters to immigrant colleagues, see table 10.5.

Table 10.4: Frequency of Danes and immigrants meeting up with an out-group colleague outside work, in percentage

	often	once in a while	hardly ever	never	no know	sum	N
Danes	5.8	33.1	31.4	29.1	0.6	100.0	344
Immigrants	13.1	36.9	23.8	21.4	2.8	100.0	84

Source: ASDI
Notes: No know: "do not know" and "do not want to answer"

Table 10.5: Distribution of Danes according to level of agreement with statement that Danes must spend extra time explaining work related matters to a colleague with an immigrant background, in percentage

	agree v. much	agree	indiff.	disagree	disagree v. much	no know	sum	N
extra time	29.5	56.5	10.6	1.7	.7	1.0	100.0	416

Source: ASDI
Notes: indiff. : indifferent. No know = do not know and do not want to answer

Friendships across ethnic lines

No surveys have been found to narrow the concept "friend" and distinguish it from the less binding term "acquaintance". In ASDI a "friend" is defined as a person a respondent invites to his/her house or who invites the respondent himself. Previous surveys differ in their findings of friendships between Danes and immigrants. A survey of social contact between immigrants and Danes in 1997 showed that only 12% of Danes ever socialized with immigrants (Juul, 1998). But annual surveys by Catinet Research have shown that since the Millennium immigrants have gradually acquired more Danish friends and by 2007 a survey showed that 80% of immigrants had at least one Danish friend (CEPOS, 2010). However, interviews with Danes and immigrants for the MPHIL dissertation revealed that very few had formed inter-ethnic relationships, which they would characterize as friendships. They all knew an out-group member, but the character of any contact was of a more casual nature.

In ASDI 42% Danes and 68% of immigrants have at least one out-group friend. 26% of Danes have at least one Muslim friend, see table 10.6. 32% of immigrants have no Danish friend. This figure corresponds very well with a survey of friendships between Danes and immigrants[118], which showed that 26% of immigrants did not have any Danish friends (Nannestad et al, 2008). It is noticeable that immigrants find Danes significantly more reluctant to form friendships than vice versa, see table 10.7.

[118] The survey included 1503 immigrants representing Turks, Pakistanis, Somalis, Palestinians and Ex-Yugoslavs.

Table 10.6: Distribution in percentage of Danes and immigrants who have at least one immigrant, one Muslim immigrant or one Danish friend, respectively

		yes	no	no know	sum	N
Danes	friends	42.2	57.6	0.2	100.0	413
	Muslim friends	26.4	70.7	2.9	100.0	413
Immigrants	friends	67.6	32.4	0.0	100.0	105

Source: ASDI

Table 10.7: Distribution of immigrants and Danes in percentage according to reasons for not having an out-group friend. Respondents can list several reasons

Reasons for no out-group friends	Danes		immigrants	
	%	N	%	N
No social contact with out-group	55.4	238	23.5	34
No common interest	10.9	238	23.5	34
Attitudes too different	27.7	238	5.9	34
Respondent reluctant to form friendships	5.0	238	2.9	34
Out-group reluctant to form friendships	5.0	238	29.4	34

Source: ASDI

10.1.3. Identity of respondents

Measuring identity, respondents were asked how strongly they agree with seeing themselves as part of Danish society, their local community or a religious community.

The sense of being "Danish" is naturally stronger among Danes than immigrants. 99% of Danes agree or agree very much that they are part of Danish society. This is in line with findings of Gundelach (2001) that Danes possess a very strong collective national identity and pride in their country. Still, 73% of immigrants express a positive attitude towards being part of Denmark, which is little lower than the 88% of immigrants who in ISSP 2003 report that they feel fairly or very much attached to Denmark (Thøgersen et al 2011).

Table 10.8: Distribution in percentage of Danes' and immigrants' level of agreement with statements that they see themselves as part of Danish society, their local community or a religious community

		agree v.much	agree	indiff	disagree	disagree v.much	no know	sum	N
Danish society	Danes	79.7	18.9	0.9	0.5	0.0	0.0	100.0	434
	immigrants	35.4	37.2	14.2	4.4	1.8	7.0	100.0	113
Local community	Danes	59.1	30.6	7.8	1.6	0.5	0.4	100.0	435
	immigrants	29.4	41.3	17.4	3.7	1.8	6.4	100.0	109
Religious community	Danes	6.8	13.0	33.5	17.5	26.2	3.1	100.0	424
	Immigrants	4.6	25.0	23.2	20.4	13.9	13.9	100.0	108

Source: ASDI
Notes: indiff. = indifferent no know = do not know or do not want to answer

While Danes also appear to feel a stronger common ground with their local community than immigrants, immigrants identify themselves, more than Danes, with a religious community, see table 10.8. Immigrants also attend religious ceremonies much more often than Danes, see appendix 12, table 10.41.

10.1.4. Values and norms

Respondents were questioned on values and norms encompassing membership of voluntary organizations, tolerance, trust, marriage, gender roles and expression of freedom.

Membership of inter-ethnic voluntary organizations

Respectively 32% and 46% of Danes and immigrants are members of an inter-ethnic voluntary organization with out-group members. The membership rate for immigrants seems very high compared with the above-mentioned survey of Nannestad et al (2008), which found that only 12% of immigrants are members of an inter-ethnic association. A survey by MRII (2011) showed that only about 18% of immigrants are member of an inter -or intra-ethnic sport or recreational organization (ibid, 2011). Therefore, the number of immigrants in ASDI reporting that they are member of an inter-ethnic organization appears high. Though it is stipulated in the questionnaire that labour unions do not qualify as a voluntary organisation it may be that respondents have overlooked that.

Tolerance

P. Gundelach(2011) states that the tolerance of Danes towards immigrants has increased during the past twenty years despite an increased anti-immigration sentiment at macro level. He mainly concludes this on the basis of findings extrapolated from a question in the EVS asking people whom they do not want as neighbours. I 1981 18% did not want a neighbour of a different race, but the aversion in the 2008 EVS was held by only 7%. A similar question is included in ASDI and the outcome of this question is held up against the attitude of Danes towards immigrants and Muslims at macro level in order to compare attitudes towards immigrants at individual and group level.

Table 10.9: Respondents in percentage who do not want certain groups of people as neighbours

Neighbours	Immigrants	Danes
another race	0.9	2.0
big families	6.8	5.0
homosexuals	13.7	2.3
Muslims		5.3
very religious	22.7	
jews	5.1	2.1
gypsies	22.2	22.8
accept all	33.3	58.5
N	117	438

Source: ASDI

The findings of ASDI reveal an even more tolerant picture of Danes. However, they also reveal a discrepancy between attitudes at macro and individual level, just as aversion towards Muslims at both levels is bigger than towards immigrants in general. At the individual level 2 and 5% of Danes, respectively, indicate that they do not want people of a different race or Muslims as neighbours, see table 10.9 (13% in EVS 2008 did not want a Muslim neighbour). At group level 11% of Danes agree that immigrants undermine Danish culture while 65%

disagree. When immigrants are substituted with *Muslims* 20% agree and 56% disagree with the statement[119], see table 10.10.

Table 10.10: Danish respondents in percentage who think that immigrants or Muslims undermine Danish culture and who think that the proportion of Muslims in the future will become a threat to society

	agree v.much	agree	indifferent	disagree	disagree v. much	no know	sum	N
Immigrants	2.7	8.5	21.8	33.3	31.6	2.2	100.0	412
Muslims	4.6	15.1	21.8	26.5	29.4	2.6	100.0	412
Muslim threat	4.8	9.7	23.4	23.2	32.9	6.0	100.0	414

Source: ASDI
Notes: Immigrants: The cultural life in Denmark is undermined by immigrants
Muslims: The cultural life in Denmark is undermined by Muslims
Muslim threat: In the future the proportion of Muslims will become a threat to society.
no know =" do not know" or "do not want to answer"

It appears that at the individual level tolerance among Danish respondents is high, but at group level, their position on Muslims is much more critical.

It must also be noted that 18% of Danes object to the construction of a mosque in their neighbourhood. Secondly, 35% disapprove of serving only halal meat, and not conventionally slaughtered meat, in kindergartens, see table 10.11.

Table 10.11: Distribution of Danes in percentage according to level of acceptance of serving only halal meat in kindergartens and construction of a mosque with minarets in their neighbourhood, as long as it does not call for prayers

	very accept.	accept.	indiff	unaccept	very unaccept.	no know	sum	total
Halal meat		26.3	25.1	19.3	15.4	4.1	100.0	410
Building mosque	28.1	30.7	20.5	9.7	8.3	2.7	100.0	424

Source: ASDI
Notes: accept. = acceptable, indiff = indifference, no know =" do not know" or "do not want to answer"

In general, immigrants hold bigger aversions towards various groups of neighbours, see table 10.9. Some Immigrants (14%) have a particular aversion towards homosexual neighbours. Bearing in mind the number of Danes having an aversion towards Muslim neighbours (5%) it is noticeable that 20% of immigrants object to having very religious neighbours.

Trust

Neither groups of respondents distrust out-group more than own group, see table 10.12. In average immigrants have slightly more trust in Danes than in in-group. This is in line with the findings of the above survey of Nannestad et al (2008).

[119] The EVS also include the question whether immigrants undermine the cultural life of Denmark. Answers are rated on a scale from 1 to 10, measuring level of agreeing to disagreeing. 61% of respondents were within the score of 6 -10 (disagreeing).

Despite the media's common portraying of immigrants as free riders it is rather surprising that Danish respondents do not think that immigrants claim social benefits unlawfully more frequently than Danes. Only 11.3% of Danes, against 35% of immigrants, state that they think many or almost all immigrants claim social benefits unlawfully.

It is also very noticeable that immigrants think that Danes and immigrants lie more than Danes think they do. There appears to be a "clash" between high and low trust cultures, see page 26.

Table 10.12: Distribution in percentage of Danes and immigrants to what extent they think Danes and immigrants can be assigned certain behavioural traits

Claiming state benefits unlawfully								
		almost all	many	some	almost none	no.know	sum	N
Danes	Danes	0.2	12.1	70.3	11.1	6.3	100.0	414
	Immigrants	1.0	10.3	65.0	15.8	7.9	100.0	417
immigrants	Danes	2.9	22.1	44.2	2.9	27.9	100.0	104
	Immigrants	2.0	33.0	38.0	6.0	21.0	100.0	100
Lying in own interest								
Danes	Danes	1.0	11.1	65.1	9.7	13.1	100.0	412
	Immigrants	1.9	7.9	55.0	16.0	19.2	100.0	418
immigrants	Danes	3.9	15.3	48.1	6.7	26.0	100.0	104
	Immigrants	2.9	20.4	45.6	2.9	28.2	100.0	103

Source: ASDI
Notes: No.know = "do not know" and "do not want to answer".

Marriage and gender

It is very evident that Danes and immigrants have different perceptions of what may determine a good marriage. Compared with immigrants Danes think that same ethnic or religious background is of significantly less importance, see table 10.13. Both groups of respondents find that social background[120] is the most important determinant for a successful marriage.

Table 10.13: Distribution in percentage of respondents' attitude towards whether same ethnic, religious or social background of spouses is important for a good marriage

		very import	import	Indiff.	Unimp.	very unimp.	No know	total	N
Ethnic background	Danes	1.7	11.0	5.6	52.7	24.2	4.8	100.0	413
	Imm.	20.4	25.5	26.5	12.3	7.1	8.2	100.0	98
Religious background	Danes	5.3	21.0	5.8	42.3	19.6	6.0	100.0	410
	Imm.	17.2	26.3	25.3	17.2	5.0	9.0	100.0	98
Social background	Danes	4.4	30.5	5.1	42.6	14.5	2.9	100.0	414
	Imm.	15.1	34.9	26.4	11.3	3.8	8.5	100.0	99

Source: ASDI
Notes: import. = important. Indiff. = indifferent, No.know = "do not kno"w and "do not want to answer".

While a high percentage of Danes, 87%, disagree that it has a negative effect on a child if the mother works outside the home, only 40% of immigrants disagree. However, immigrants send their

[120] Equivalent to EVS social background is not defined

pre-school children in day-care institutions at the same high rates as Danes. None abstain from sending their child above the age of three to a kindergarten because they find that caring at home is better for the child. 58% of immigrants agree with the policy of putting pressure on parents to send their children to day-care institutions. This is possibly also linked to the fact that a higher percentage of immigrants than Danes find that both husband and wife must contribute to the household income[121], see table 10.14. In ASDI the attitude of Danes towards norms corresponds quite well with similar data in EVS 2008, though Danes in ASDI seem more liberal than participants in EVS 2008 regarding attitude towards marriage, see appendix 12, table 10.42.

Table 10.14: Distribution of respondents in percentage according to level of agreement with statements about marriage and gender roles

		agree v.much	agree	indiff.	disagree	disagree v. much	no know	sum	N
Mother working	Danes	1.4	1.0	8.3	32.2	54.9	2.2	100.0	423
	immigrants	3.7	21.8	22.7	20.9	19.1	11.8	100.0	110
Income	Danes	33.0	28.8	28.3	4.5	4.3	1.1	100.0	424
	immigrants	40.2	42.0	7.1	3.6	0.9	6.2	100.0	112
Day-care	immigrant	31.4	26.7	18.1	6.7	0.0	17.1	100.0	105

Source: ASDI

Notes: *Mother working: It has a negative effect on a pre-school child if the mother works outside the home.*
Income: husband and wife should contribute to household income
Day–Care: it is fair that the government puts a pressure on families of non-Western backgrounds to send their children to a state kindergarten in order to learn Danish.
No know = do not know and do not want to answer.

Freedom of speech

In a survey by MRII[122] in 2005 80% of interviewed immigrants agreed that everybody, including those with extreme views, should be allowed to speak their case publicly. But in the aftermath of the Mohammad cartoon crisis a survey in 2007[123] showed that for many immigrants religious considerations have more weight than expression of freedom. About 50 % of immigrants could not accept the right to publish the Mohammad cartoons (CEPOS, 2010). In line with this survey 48% of immigrants think that books which portray a religion negatively should be banned, see table 10.15. It is very noticeable that there is a big difference between the attitude of Danes and immigrants.

[121] An integration officer in Odense informed me that to "contribute to the household income" may not literally be understood by some immigrants as contributing with a personal income. It may also take the form of supporting a husband generating an income. The high support for the statement may indicate that some immigrants may have understood it in this manner.

[122] Survey of 4478 Danes and immigrants, including descendants. Immigrants were drawn from the following countries/regions: Turkey, Pakistan, West Balkan, Iraq, Iran, Vietnam and Denmark (MRII, 2007).

[123] In the first six months of 2007 about 1000 immigrants, including descendants, were asked if they could accept the Mohammad drawings published in the Danish newspaper, Jyllandsposten. The drawings were published September 2005.

Table 10.15: Distribution of respondents in percentage according to attitude towards banning books by law if they portray a religion negatively

	definitely banned	probably banned	probably allowed	definitely allowed	not know	sum	N
Danes	1.6	5.2	12.0	70.8	10.4	100.0	424
Immigrants	26.13	21.62	13.51	21.62	17.12	100.0	111

Source: ASDI

10.1.5. Schooling of respondents' children

284 Danish and 71 immigrant respondents have children who attend school. Among Danes and immigrants about 86% of the children belong to a class that includes ethnic minority students. Danes and immigrants appear to approve ethnic diversity in the school, but both groups of respondents are concerned about the academic level if the concentration of ethnic minority students is high. Respectively 4% and 11% of Danish and immigrant parents[124] have moved or considered moving their child(ren) due to too many students with an ethnic minority background in the class of their child[125], see appendix 12, table 10.43, 10.44 and 10.45

Still, a much higher percentage of respondents, 51% and 40% of Danes and immigrants respectively, support bussing immigrant students to other schools if the concentration of ethnic minority students is high at a school, see table 10.16.

Table 10.16: Distribution of respondents in percentage according to level of agreement with bussing immigrant students.

	agree very much	agree	Indifferent	disagree	Disagree very much	no know	sum	N
Danes	12.6	38.2	28.6	9.6	4.9	6.1	100.0	406
Immigrants	14.9	24.8	13.9	22.8	8.9	14.7	10.0	100

Source: ASDI
Notes: No know = "do not know" or "do not want to answer".

10.1.6. Attitudes towards integration policies

Immigrants and in particular Danes seem reluctant to express more categorical attitudes towards integration, as 46% of Danes and 31% of immigrants answer *do not know* or abstain from stating their sympathy with an assimilative or multicultural approach to integration. A majority of those Danes, who express a position, favour an assimilatory approach to integration, while twice as many immigrants lean towards a multicultural approach, see table 10.17.

Responses of the Danes show tendencies similar to those registered at a corresponding question in EVS 2008, where 35% are indecisive. EVS 2008 and ASDI illustrate that Danes do not have an unambiguous approach to integration.

[124] Calculated on the basis of those respondents who have or have had children in a class with other students with an ethnic minority background.

[125] A school in Vollsmose, the neighbourhood in Odense with a very high percentage of immigrants, closed some years ago due to a very small uptake of students. The great majority of students had an ethnic minority background and parents practiced their right to move their children to schools in "Danish neighbourhoods".

Table 10.17: Distribution in percentage of respondents who support a multicultural or an assimilative approach to integration

	multicultural approach	assimilative approach	do not know	no answer	sum	N
Danes	22.6	31.1	40.2	6.1	100.0	425
Immigrants	46.4	23.2	19.7	10.7	100.0	112

Source: ASDI

Attitude towards policies on ethnic concentration

Surprisingly, almost as many immigrants as Danes find that ethnic concentration impedes integration, see table 10.18. 54% of Danes, measured against 31% of Danes who favoured assimilation, support polices that will prevent ethnic concentration. The similar comparison for immigrants is even more contrasting, as 51% recommend prevention of ethnic concentration while 23% approve an assimilative integration strategy.

Table 10.18: Distribution of respondents in percentage according to level of agreement with statements that ethnic concentration impedes integration into the general society (concentration) and it is a fair measure of local governments to prevent ethnic concentration (prevention)

		agree v much	agree	indiff	disagree	disagree v. much	no know	sum	N
Danes	concentration	25.1	52.7	13.3	4.9	1.2	2.8	100.0	429
	prevention	17.6	36.8	24.8	15.0	2.8	3.1	100.0	427
Immigrants	concentration	28.3	42.5	14.2	3.5	1.8	9.7	100.0	110
	prevention	20.0	30.9	20.0	12.8	2.7	13.6	100.0	110

Source: ASDI
Notes: indiff. = indifferent. No know = "do not know" or "do not want to answer".

10.1.7. Summary of descriptive analysis

In average, immigrants socialize with Danes more than vice versa, either as friends or as colleagues after work. The majority of Danes live in areas with few or no immigrants, while immigrants tend to reside in neighbourhoods with other immigrants. A fairly high number of immigrants are members of an an inter-ethnic association.

Danes express a very strong affinity to Denmark. To some extent about ¾ of immigrants also identify themselves with Denmark. However, significantly more immigrants than Danes see themselves as a member of a religious community.

Both Danes and immigrants are split in their support for either a multicultural or assimilative approach to integration. Danes, in particular, display an ambiguous attitude towards the issue. Most immigrants prefer a multicultural approach to integration, but 40% still express support for policies preventing ethnic neighbourhoods or bussing ethnic students.

Danes tend to have more trust in and tolerance towards other people. Neither Danes nor immigrants distrust out-group more than in-group. But, while Danes have a high level of tolerance towards immigrants at individual level, they are more critical of immigrants, and in particular Muslims, at

group level. Equally, many Danes object to halal meat being served in kindergartens, while only 18% cannot accept the construction of a mosque in their neighbourhood.

Immigrants and Danes express very different attitudes towards marriage and gender roles. As expected, Danes express more liberal views. However, immigrants find that both wife and husband must contribute to the household income, and they also support that their pre-school children must attend kindergarten. In line with previous surveys immigrants and Danes differ very much in their attitude towards banning books that portray a religion negatively.

10.2. Association between level of education and the extent and form of social contact between Danes and immigrants

On the basis of the above descriptive analysis comparing the major features of attitudes expressed by Danes and immigrants in the ASDI questionnaire, the analysis will now progress into answering the relational aspects of the research questions. Initially, the analysis focuses on the relationship between social contact between Danes and immigrants and level of education. This section is followed up by comparative analyses of the relationship between Danes' and immigrants' attitudes towards values and norms. At first each of the two sections will outline the methods applied for analysing data before presenting the result of the analyses.

Measurement of the association between level of education and the extent and form of social contact between Danes and immigrants

10.2.1 Statistical models

The analyses make use of ordered logistic regression models as the dependent variables in general have four or five ordered categories. Two models are constructed measuring the relationship between educational level and social contact. In model 1 the relationship between different forms of social contact, the dependent variables, and their association with an individual's education is investigated. In model 2 socio-economic and demographic variables are introduced jointly to control for other factors influencing the relationship between education and the independent variables, see table 10.20, page 194.

10.2.2. Dependent and independent variables

The models include 5 dependent variables. Three variables each represent different forms of social contact at individual level between Danes and immigrants, while a fourth variable measures cumulative contact. Social contact is measured as *having a friend* and frequency of *meeting up with a colleague outside work* or *with neighbours*, all measured as interrelationship between Danes and immigrants, see table 10.19. A variable is introduced measuring the cumulative contact Danes have with immigrants and vice versa. It is constructed by aggregating the values "0" and "1" of the three variables measuring contact. The variables measuring contact with colleagues and neighbours are

assigned dummy variable. The values *none* and *little* are coded "0" and the values *some* and *very* are coded "1". The accumulative variable then varies between 0 and 3. *Density of immigrants* in a neighbourhood is also introduced as an dependent variable. This variable does not register any direct contact, but it provides information about respondents' exposure to other ethnic groups in their local environment, see table 10.19. It is expected that respondents with a lower socio-economic status dominate areas with many immigrants.

Inter-marriage is often depicted as a good indicator of integration. However, the number of inter-marriages in the survey is too low to perform meaningful interference analyses of the data, and inter-marriages are therefore not included in the analyses.

A correlation matrix was computed as a diagnostic analysis of correlation between the dependent variables. The variables do not present any problems of that kind, see appendix 12, table 10.46 and 10.47.

The focal explanatory variable is level of highest attained education measured as *basic, medium* or *further* education[126]. The variable includes education obtained in country of origin. A little less than 50% of immigrants have obtained their highest level of education in Denmark.

Table 10.19: Variables employed and their coding

Dependent variables	Coding of dependent variables
Friend	0 = no friend, 1 = having a friend(s)
Contact with colleagues	0 = none, 1 = little, 2 = some, 3 = very
Contact with neighbours	
Accumulated contact	0 = no contacts, 1 = one contact , 2 = two, 3= three
Density of immigrants in neighbourhood	0= no immigrants, 1= few, 2= some 3= many, 4= mainly immigrants.
Independent variable	
Educational level	0 = basic, 1 = medium, 2 = further
Controls	
Gender	0 = women, 1 = men
Age	Intervals: 1: <=30. 2: >= 31 <=45. 3: >=45
Status of employment	0 = unemployed, 1 = unskilled, 2 = skilled, 3= professional.
Years lived in Denmark	Continuous variable
Income	0 =< 200,000 1 >= 200.000 – 299.999 2 >= 300.000 – 499.999 3 >= 500.000 – 699.999 4 >= 700.000 -
Density of immigrants in neighbourhood	0= no immigrants, 1= few, 2= some 3= many, 4= mainly immigrants

10.2.3. Controls

The analysis includes controls that measure individual-level determinants of social contact: gender, age, status of occupation[127], income and years lived in Denmark (immigrants only). The analytical

[126] Basic education includes no more than primary schooling. Medium education comprises secondary education including vocational training while further education refers to any tertiary education, such as nursing, teaching college or university degree.

models of immigrants do not control for income as many unemployed respondents have abstained from informing about their income. It leaves this variable very biased towards higher income groups. It is considered critical to control for immigrants' length of stay in Denmark, as it is expected that building up social relationships are closely linked with this variable. *Years lived in Denmark* is measured as a continuous variable while age is constructed as an interval variable. Finally, ethnic neighbourhoods are often believed to limit contact with out-group members. It is, therefore, crucial to measure for the relationship between this variable and social contact, see table 10.19.

The independent variables were investigated for multicollinearity. Running a "variance inflation factor test" showed that multicollinearity does not present a problem for either groups of respondents, see appendix 12, table 10.48 and 10.49.

10.3. Results (table 10.20, page 194)

10.3.1. Danes: relationship between independent variables and social contact

In model 1 we observe that the educational level of Danes is only significant in relation to density of immigrants in neighbourhood and contact with ethnic neighbours. However, when introducing controls we register a significant relationship between education and having a friend, social contact with colleagues and accumulated contact.

It is striking that Danes of a lower occupational status more often meet up with immigrant colleagues than do their Danish colleagues with higher status. It is also significant that younger Danes are more likely to have immigrant friends, while increased age is linked with having ethnic colleagues and neighbours.

Against expectations individuals with a higher level of education are more likely to live in neighbourhoods with immigrants and to have social contact with them. But when controls are introduced in model 2, education is no longer significantly related to density of immigrants in the neighbourhood, which indicates that the finding in model 1 is spurious. It is also observed that respondents with lower income are more likely to live in neighbourhoods with immigrants.

10.3.2. Immigrants: relationship between independent variables and social contact

In model 1 we observe that educational level is a factor for level and form of social contact. Immigrants with lower education are significantly more likely to live in neighbourhoods with many ethnic residents. Overall, in model 1 we observe that higher educational level is significantly and positively correlated with the extent of contact with Danish neighbours and with having a Danish friend and accumulated social contact. However, introducing control variables education looses its significance. Instead, higher *density of immigrants in neighbourhood* and *years lived in Denmark* are, respectively, negative and positive determinants of gaining social contact with Danes. It

[127] Status of employment is defined within 4 rankings: unemployed, unskilled, skilled and professional. As reference of this variable "unemployed" was coded 0.

appears that ethnic composition of neighbourhood has the strongest impact of the two variables on contact with Danes outside own neighbourhood[128]. We also observe that, similar to Danes with a low income, immigrants with a lower occupational status tend to live in more ethnic neighbourhoods. Surprisingly, it is significant that female immigrants are more likely to have a Danish friend. This appears contradictory with the findings that men, though not significantly, tend to have more contact with Danish neighbours and colleagues. The inconsistency may be real, but it may also be a spurious effect. The two genders may understand the definition of a friend differently[129], or the finding may rest on the sample being underpowered.

10.3.3. Comparison of Danes' and immigrants' social contact with each other.

Overall educational level is mostly positively, and not negatively, correlated with social contact. But the evidence is much more prominent among Danes. Educational level of immigrants is only significant when a model is run without any controlling variables. In the case of Danes, education is mainly significant when it interplays with the controls. It is noticeable that for neither Danes nor immigrants does density of immigrants in their neighbourhood have any significant influence on level of contact they have with each other within a neighbourhood. But a higher density of immigrants in neighbourhood significantly leads to fewer chances of an immigrant having either a Danish friend or meeting up with a colleague after work. Still, the overall most important factor for immigrants establishing social contact with Danes is *time lived in Denmark*, which is in line with an early study of contact between immigrants and Danes (Togeby, 2003).

It is also noticeable that age has limited impact on level of social contact. But there is a weak tendency for younger immigrants to have less contact with Danes. ASDI includes only a few descendants, and the younger immigrants in the survey have generally lived fewer years in Denmark than the more elderly immigrants, see appendix 12, table 10.50. Apart from female immigrants who are more likely to have a Danish friend, gender appears not to have any significant impact on the form and level of social contact. Finally, though factors other than education seem to be more important for immigrants' contact with Danes, to varying degrees a higher level of education for both groups of respondents is associated with increased level of contact. It seems, therefore, reasonable to suppose that the better educated members of each group are more likely to interact with each other than are the less educated.

[128] the two variables are compared at different scales, and any comparison must be done with some caution.
[129] A friend was defined as a person whom the respondent invites to his or her home or who invites the respondent.

Table 10.20: Ordered logistic regression model showing the relationship between social contact and educational level and controls

	Model 1				Model 2			
	Danes (404)		Immigrants (100)		Danes (385)		Immigrants (67)	
	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE
Friends								
education	1.23	.27	2.02**	.61	1.71*	.40	1.59	.73
income					.93	.20		
employment status					.75	.19	.76	.31
gender					.88	.19	.27*	.17
age					.68*	.12	1.00	.52
years in Denmark							1.12**	.05
density of immigrants					.99	.13	.40**	.14
Social contact with colleagues	(336)		(79)		(318)		(61)	
education	.84	.19	1.18	.40	1.41	.31	1.12	.46
income					1.23	.20		
employment status					.64*	.14	.89	.30
gender					0.88	.19	1.16	.59
age					1.46*	.25	1.04	.43
years in Danmark							1.11**	.04
density of immigrants					1.12	.31	.56*	.46
Contact with neighbours	(340)		(92)		(322)		(70)	
education	1.55*	.35	1.78*	.45	1.73*	.47	.79	.28
income					1.04	.22		
employment status					.90	.35	1.67	.66
gender					1.67	.52	1.83	1.02
age					1.30	.32	1.96	.96
years in Danmark							1.10***	.04
density of immigrants					1.25	.23	.82	.27
Accumulated contact	(405)		(102)		(373)		(75)	
education	1.16	.25	1.68*	.42	1.67*	.34	1.04	.33
income					1.03	.15		
employment status					.66	.15	1.19	.34
gender					1.01	.20	.60	.28
age					.92	.15	1.02	.39
years in Denmark							1.06*	.03
Density of immigrants					1.22	.14	.89	.19
Density of immigrants	(391)		(94)		(374)		(67)	
education	1.38*	.23	.62*	.12	1.23	.38	.75	.25
income	.				.68	.15		
employment status					.95	.55	.53*	.17
gender					1.11	.30	1.28	.62
age					1.14	.27	.57	.33
years in Denmark							1.03	.03
Source: ASDI								

10.4. Relationship between attitudes of Danes and immigrants and predictors of those attitudes

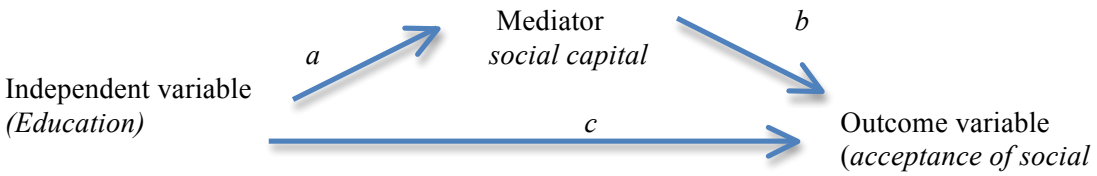
The analysis answering the research question how attitudes towards issues related to integration differ between Danes and immigrants and how educational level and level of contact between Danes and immigrants correspond with these attitudes will be performed under three main headings: social capital, specific social transaction costs and integration policies. These headings follow the outline of the questionnaire and represent those dimensions the questionnaire aims to cover. Justifications for including these dimensions are described in the section, *Questionnaire*, page 162.

As pointed out in the introduction of the chapter, one of the objectives of the thesis is to develop a link between the theories of social capital and social transaction costs. It is, therefore, useful to insert dimensions of social capital as mediators in the statistical models examining the relationship between educational attainment and attitudes.

A mediator is a variable, which intervenes the relationship between the independent and dependent variable (Baron et al, 1986). It accounts for the relationship between the predictor and the outcome variable and offers an explanation to how the predictor affects the outcome (ibid,1986: 1176). In the thesis a variable functions as a mediator when it meets the following criteria: (a) "variations in levels of the independent variable significantly account for variations in the presumed mediator (path *a*)…(b) variations in the mediator significantly account for variations in the dependent variable (path *b*)… c) the relation between the independent and dependent variable in path c is significantly different than the relation controlling for the mediator (path a + *b*) (ibid, 1986:1176), see fig. 10.1.

Studying the relationship between education and various outcome variables, which function as latent variables of acceptance of social transaction costs, dimensions of social capital are therefore inserted in the statistical models of the analyses.

Figure 10.1: relationship between independent variable, control variables and a mediator with the outcome variable



Source: Baron et al, 1986

The analyses employ dimensions of trust, social contact and membership of voluntary organisations as mediators between the focal explanatory variable, education, and the dependent variables. Previous literature (Inglehart, 1997; 2000; Togeby, 1999, 2004; Putnam, 2007) support that these dimensions can act as mediators for other dimensions of social capital.

In the following the statistical models and employed variables will be described before presenting the results of the analyses.

Measurement

10.4.1. Statistical models

The analyses make use of ordered logistic regression models as the dependent variables generally take up four or five values. Five models are constructed. In model 1 the relationship between a dependent variable, employed to measure an investigated dimension of attitude, and education are computed. In model 2 socio-economic and demographic variables are introduced jointly. Then follows three models where the three variables measuring social capital are introduced either as a control or a provisional mediating variable.

The small sample size of immigrants limits the number of independent variables that can be applied to the models. Therefore, the variables are not all employed jointly in the models. In model 3 the variable, *friend*, is introduced, and model 4 will also measure social *trust*. However, in model five *membership* of inter-ethnic organisations substitute for the variable social *trust*. Equally, in model 3 -5 the variable *age* has been extracted from the models to give room for the added variables. The variable *age* appears to have the least impact on the various outcome variables, as more often than other variables, it has an odds value around 1. For comparative reasons the modifications of the models are also introduced in the "Danish models".

The models do not fully measure the interplay between all variables, which is clearly a shortcoming. But the chosen strategy is found to be acceptable taking the sample size into consideration.

10.4.2. Independent and dependent variables

The dependent variables measure attitudes towards norms and values, integration policies and specific social transaction costs. Norms and values and integration policies are latent variables of social transaction costs, as the attitudes are seen as indicators of social transaction costs respondents will accept.

Within each dimension investigated in the survey one or a couple of dependent variables representing same dimension are extrapolated for the analyses, see table 10.21. For this exercise, and in cases where several variables cover the same dimension, the selection of variables is empirically grounded.

Pre-diagnostically, correlation between the dependent variables was analysed in correlation matrices. The variables did not present any problems, see appendix 12, tables 10.53 and 10.54.

The independent variable is level of highest attained education measured as *basic, medium* or *further* education. The variable includes education obtained in country of origin.

Table 10.21: Dependent variables employed in the inference analysis and the coding of their values

Dependent variables	Coding of responses
Identity	
To what extent does the respondent agree with the statements:	
a. I see myself as part of my local community.	Agree very much = 0, agree =1, indifferent = 2, disagree = 3 and disagree a lot = 4
b. I see myself as part of the Danish society.	
c. I see myself as part of a religious community.	
Trust	
How many Danes/immigrants claim social benefits they are not entitled to?	Almost all = 0, many = 1, some = 2 and almost none = 3
Norms	
1. It has a negative effect on a child if the mother works outside the home.	Agree very much = 0, agree =1, indifferent = 2, disagree = 3 and disagree a lot = 4
2. Same ethnic background is important for a successful marriage.	
3. Should books that speak poorly about a religion be prohibited by law or allowed?	Definitely be banned = 0, probably be banned =1, probably be allowed = 2 and definitely be allowed = 3
Integration policies	
1. Which statement does the respondent agree mostly with:	
a. It is for the greater good of the society if immigrants maintain their distinct customs and traditions.	Statement a = 0 Statement b = 1
b. It is for the greater good of the society if immigrants do not maintain their distinct customs and traditions	
2. It is fair measure of local governments to prevent ethnic neighbourhoods in order to promote integration.	Agree very much = 0, agree =1, indifferent = 2, disagree = 3 and disagree a lot = 4
Specific social transaction costs	
1. Would you accept the construction of a mosque with minarets in your neighbourhood as long as it does not call for prayers? (only Danes)	Yes absolutely =0, yes = 1, neither yes nor no = 2, no= 3 and absolutely no = 4
2. In order to integrate immigrants in the labour market native Danes must at times accept spending more time explaining things to colleagues who have Danish as their second language (only Danes).	Agree very much = 0, agree =1, indifferent = 2, disagree = 3 and disagree a lot = 4
3. If the concentration of children with an immigrant background at a school is high the school should be entitled to move some of these children to another school.	

10.4.3. Mediating variables

Network cooperation based on mutual trust is a dogma within the concept of social capital, as these networks enforce norms of reciprocity and cooperation (Nannestad et al, 2008). Important dimensions of network are social relations and organisational participation. Therefore, membership of non-ethnic voluntary organisations, social contacts and social trust are deployed as mediating variables.

The ordinal variable, measuring to what extent Danes and immigrants think that immigrants and Danes, respectively, lie in their own interest, is chosen as an indicator of social trust. Of the various variables measuring trust this variable covers social trust the most. It is also employed in other studies as an indicator of social trust (Gundelach et al, 2011).

The variable *friend* represents a form of social contact that assumingly demands a positive effort to establish. It is of a more personal character than the other dimensions of social contact included in ASDI. In surveys measuring social contact, friendships are also the most prominent indicator of social contact (Gaarsholt et al, 1995; MRII, 2007; Nannestad et al, 2008; CEPOS, 2010).

Membership of inter-ethnic voluntary organisations is of particular interest. It is an important feature of Danish integration policies due to its perceived capacity to move immigrants out of their private sphere into the public realm and familiarize immigrants with the Danish way of life and attitudes (Gundelach et al, 1999; Togeby, 2004; MRII, 2011). In Denmark there is a rich tradition of participation in voluntary organizations, which are seen as vital generators of solidarity across social differences (Boje, 2007).

Recapitulating the definition of a mediator, see fig. 10.1, the variables operating as mediators must be significantly associated with the focal explanatory variable, education, and it must account significantly for the variance in attitudes of Danes and immigrants. At this stage, pre-diagnostic analyses of the three variables chosen to operate as mediators are performed. Ordered logistic regression models that employ controls similar to those applied in the models analysing attitudes of respondents, see table 10.22, are run.

The analyses show that that social *trust* and *friends* are significantly associated with educational level of Danes, while membership of inter-ethnic voluntary organisations is significantly correlated with education of immigrants. This is in accordance with a previous study[130] showing that participation in associational life is linked with immigrants' education and norms in country of origin (Mikkelsen, 2001). However, it is noticeable that Muslims and immigrants living in neighbourhoods with many immigrants tend not to be a member of inter-ethnic organisations. It is clear that *trust* and having a *Danish friend* is not associated with educational level of immigrants.

[130] Survey included 4692 interviews of immigrants >15 years of age from Turkey, Pakistan, Ex-Yugoslavia, Somalia, Iraq, Lebanon and Iran.

Equally, it must also be noted that ethnic composition does not appear to have any affect on immigrants' or Danes' social trust in out-group.

Running a pre-diagnostic model showing whether the three variables significantly account for variance in attitudes of the respondents can now be limited to those associations where the variables are significantly related to education.

Table 10.22: relationship between educational level, controls and an indicator of trust (lying), membership of non-ethnic voluntary organisation and having an out-group friend

	Trust				**Friends**				**Voluntary organisation**			
Groups	Danes		Immigrants		Danes		Immigrants		Danes		Immigrants	
N	358		62		385		74		368		74	
Education	.53***	.09	1.81	.79	1.71*	.40	1.70	.88	.87	.22	2.05*	.90
Income	1.16	.15			.93	.20			1.28	.16		
Employment st.	.45**	.10	1.21	.45	.75	.19	.75	.35	1.40	.37	1.06	.44
Gender	1.80*	.40	1.11	.76	.88	.19	.53	.38	2.5*	.58	6.75*	6.12
Age	.64	.19	1.87	1.06	.68*	.12	.56	.34	.49*	.09	.55	.33
Neighbourhood	.98	.13	1.00	.29	.99	.13	.54	.20	.91	.12	.33**	.11
Years in DK			.96	.04			1.1*	.05			1.05	.04
Muslim			.104	.81			.14*	.05			.14*	.13

Source: ASDI
Notes: Neighbourhood: density of immigrants in neighbourhood.

Table 10.23: Ordered logistic regression model showing relationship between variables of *trust, friends* and *membership of inter-ethnic organisations* and the dependent variables in the analytical models. Models run with controls, see table 10.19

	Trust		**Friends**		**Voluntary org.**	
	Danes		Danes		Immigrants	
	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE
Identity:						
Danish society	.87	.19	.68	.19	.60	.33
local community	.79	.12	1.22	.26	.68	.39
religious community	.86	.07	.85	.17	1.83	1.05
Norms						
claiming social benefit unlawfully	.33***	.06	1.50	.37	.75	.45
banning books	1.33	.18	1.43	.39	2.54	1.50
mother working outside home	1.10	.11	1.04	.21	.52	.26
Important for successful marriage						
ethnic background	.65***	.07	2.09***	.45	1.07	.60
Integration policies						
assimilation vs multiculturalism	3.33***	1.09	.56	.21	.45	.29
preventing ethnic neighbourhood	.85	.08	1.40	.28	1.52	.85
Specific social transaction costs						
building mosque in neighbourhood	1.39***	.14	.34***	.07		
helping immigrants at work	.84	.09	.50***	.11		
bussing ethnic students	.82*	.09	2.05***	.43	1.61	.87

Source: ASDI

Table 10.23 shows that the variable, *trust*, affects variables measuring norms and values and specific social transaction costs. In opposition to this having an ethnic friend primarily enhances acceptance of social transaction costs. It is also notable that immigrants' participation in associations does not significantly generate certain attitudes towards the dependent variables. However, it is noticeable that membership of an inter-ethnic organisation appears to be significantly associated with having a Danish friend, see table 10.24.

In accordance with the above findings the social capital variables examined in this section will either operate as prospective mediators or controls in the models analysing the relationship between education and attitudes of Danes and immigrants.

Table 10.24: Ordered logistic regression model showing the relation between different independent variables and having a Danish friend

Immigrants (73)	odds	SE
Inter-ethnic organisation	8.94*	8.90
Education	1.53	.82
Employment status	.76	.35
Gender	.20	.20
Age	.82	.56
Density of immigrants	1.02	.46
Years in Denmark	1.13*	.06
Muslim	.18	.18

Source: ASDI

10.4.4. Introduction of control variables

Controls are introduced similar to those applied in the inference analyses of social contact between Danes and immigrants, see table 10.25. However, this analysis adds a variable based on immigrants' assessment of their faith. The variable registers immigrants as *Muslim* or *non-Muslim*. In chapter 3 it is pointed out that the role of Islam in society is a major topic in the public debate in Denmark. It is therefore appropriate to examine any correlation between being Muslim and attitudes towards norms and values seen as essential to functioning in society. However, as Muslims represent countries with an almost exclusively Islamic population, and surveys indicate that Muslims show big attitudinal differences according to nationality (MRII, 2007) it is claimed that it is ethnicity and not religious faith that we are measuring. Still, controlling for "Muslim" indicate whether a respondent originate from Muslim or non-Muslim country.

These models also control for density of immigrants in neighbourhoods of the respondents. It is being argued that ethnic neighbourhoods may produce negative social capital*, closure,* in the form of avoiding contact with the out-group and highlighting their own norms and values indicating a resistance towards the outside world (Portes et al, 1996).

Pre-diagnostically, collinearity of the independent variables, mediators and controls have been computed in "variance inflation factor tests", see appendix 12, tables 10.51 and 10.52. The tests revealed no high levels of collinearity. The mean and median values have also been calculated.

Table 10.26 reveals that in percentage more immigrants than Danes are member of a inter-ethnic voluntary organisation, just as more immigrants have an out-group friend.

Table 10.25: Independent, mediating and control variables

Independent variable	Coding
Educational level	0 = basic, 1 = medium, 2 = further
Mediating variables	
How many Danes/immigrants lie in their own interest?	Almost none = 0, some = 1, many = 2, almost all = 3
Friends	0 = no friend, 1 = having a friend(s)
Controls	
Gender	0 = women, 1 = men
Age	Intervals: 1: <=30. 2: >= 31 <=45. 3: >=45
Status of employment	0 = unemployed, 1 = unskilled, 2 = skilled, 3= professional.
Years lived in Denmark (only immigrants)	Continuous variable
Income (only Danes)	5 intervals, see table 7.2. Lowest interval = 0.
Friends	0 = no friend, 1 = having a friend(s)
Muslim (only immigrants)	0 = non-Muslim, 1 = Muslim
Density of immigrants in neighbourhood of respondents	0= no immigrants, 1= few, 2= some 3= many, 4= mainly immigrants
Membership of inter-ethnic vol. organizations	0 = non-member, 1 = member

Source: ASDI

Table 10.26: Distribution of means, medians and variance of the independent, mediating and control variables

variables	means		medians		variance		N	
	Danes	imm.	Dane	imm.	Danes	imm.	Danes	imm.
Education	1.62	1.27	2	2	.34	.69	407	107
Gender	.35	.39	0	0	.23	.24	410	109
Age	46	37	45	38	112	76	405	99
Status of employment	2.4	1.5	2	2	.38	1.12	407	97
Years in Denmark		14.3		13		110.7		110
Income	2		2		.98		406	
Density of immigrants	1, 43	1.92	1	2	1.17	1.82	412	105
Muslim		.50		1		.25		117
Voluntary organisation	.34	.5	0	.5	.22	.25	395	100
Friend	.42	.68	0	1	.24	.22	412	105
Trust	.94	1.24	1	1	.53	.69	385	90

Source: ASDI

10.5. Results

10.5.1. Relationship between control variables and the dependent variables

In most of the models few controls show a significant relationship with the dependent variables. It is notable that *density of immigrants* and *membership of non-ethnic voluntary organisations* are not significantly related to attitudes of immigrants in any of the models, except one (banning books). There is a clear tendency that controls more often show a significant relationship with attitudes of Danes. This may be due to Danes representing a more homogenous sample, while the group of immigrants contains 18 different nationalities and various religious backgrounds. The survey does not control for the many disparities that such a sample represents. Therefore, the findings provide grounds to suggest that ethnicity and perhaps religious background may be at play forming attitudes of immigrants. However, it is possible that the sample of immigrants is underpowered and that relationships between variables do not surface.

Dependent variables

10.5.2. Relationship between independent variables and identity

(table 10.28 - 10.30, page 208 - 210)

Danes have a strong affinity to the nation state, and education is significantly and positively correlated with Danes' feeling of belonging to Denmark, see table 10.28. They also identify themselves with their local community at a considerable higher level than immigrants, while the latter group have a stronger sense of belonging to religious communities, see table 10.29 and 10.30. In model 1, table 10.29 we observe that education appears to be a significant determinant only for immigrants' identification with their local community. It seems to be a spurious effect as educational level of immigrants become insignificant when controls are introduced. Equally, education of immigrants is not significantly correlated with identifying oneself with either Denmark or with a religious community. However, higher occupational status of immigrants is clearly related to a more positive identification with Denmark. This observation is closely linked to the finding that the majority of unemployed immigrants indicate a low level of identification with Denmark, see appendix 12, table 10.55.

Density of immigrants in neighbourhoods appears to have limited impact on attitudes towards belonging. But it is interesting that there is a vague tendency that immigrants living in predominantly Danish neighbourhoods feel a stronger sense of belonging to their area of living than immigrants living in more ethnic neighbourhoods. Rather surprisingly, Muslims do not see themselves as part of a religious community any more than non-Muslims.

Introducing the social capital variables (*friend, trust* and *membership of inter-ethnic organisation*), of which none operate as prospective mediators, it is significant that immigrants with a Danish friend are more likely to express a sense of belonging to Denmark and to their local community.

Those who do not have a friend tend to feel a belonging to a religious community. While immigrants' trust in Danes and belonging to a religious community are significantly associated, a similar correlation is not registered among Danes. It corresponds with Luchau's conclusion, on the basis of data from EVS 1999, that Danes tolerance of immigrants is not associated with religious faith (Luchau, 2004).

10.5.3. Relationship between independent variables and trust (table 10.31, page 211)

Besides general trust the survey also investigates trust of a more specific nature, see appendix 12, table 10.56. The variable, which measures to what extent that respondents find that members of out-group claim state benefits unlawfully, attracts much public attention. The variable may also indicate respondents' perception of out-group members' commitment to the norms of reciprocity.

In ASDI, Danes and immigrants think that they each claim social benefits unlawfully at quite similar level. Examining the models we observe that education and level of income of Danes correlates positively with rejecting the statement that immigrants claim social benefits wrongfully, see table 10.31. Among immigrants neither education nor employment of status are significant determinants, but there is a tendency for immigrants living in more ethnic neighbourhoods to express less trust in Danes.

Looking at the variables measuring social capital social trust is naturally associated with a less belief that they are social fraudsters. It is striking, though not statistically significant, that the longer an immigrant has stayed in Denmark or has a Danish friend he or she believes that Danes claim social benefits wrongfully. In contrast to this Danes with an immigrant friend tend to think that immigrants do not claim state benefits unlawfully.

10.5.4. Relationship between independent variables and norms: gender, marriage and freedom of speech (tables 10.32, 10.33 and 10.34, page 212 - 214)

Three indicators of norms have been chosen. Each relates to topics that are very salient in the public debate on integration. In the ASDI questionnaire, attitudes towards marriage is measured by asking to what extent social, ethnic or religious background is important for a successful marriage. Of these dimensions *ethnic background* is most strongly associated with attitudes towards intermarriage between immigrants and Danes. Level of intermarriage is often seen as an indicator of integration, and consequently *ethnic background* is the variable chosen to represent attitudes towards marriage. As indicators of attitudes towards gender equality the questionnaire measures whether both husband and wife must contribute to the household income or whether it affects a child negatively if the mother works outside the home. An integration officer criticized the phrase *contributing to the household income* for being ambiguous [131]. It was, therefore, discarded and the

[131] An integration offices in Odense informed me that to "contribute to the household income" may not literally be understood as contributing a personal income but may also take the form of supporting the husband generating an income. The high support for the statement may indicate that some immigrants may have understood in that way.

variable, *mother working outside the house,* is included. In the survey of MRII of 2006, this variable is also used as a measurement of gender roles. Thirdly, as mentioned previously, freedom of speech and the right to ridicule religions have been prominent features of the debate on integration of immigrants in Denmark. Therefore, the variable measuring *acceptance of books portraying a religion negatively* is the third dimension of norms included in the analyses.

Relationship between independent variables and banning books (table 10.32)

The descriptive analysis showed that the two groups of respondents take up very opposite positions in their attitudes towards banning books that portray a religion negatively, though immigrants themselves seem rather divided on this issue.

Educational level emerges as the dominant determinant of their attitudes, but with contrary effects. The better educated Danes do not support the banning of books, while banning is much more likely to be endorsed by the comparable group of immigrants, though this group attend a religious ceremonies less often than immigrants with lower education, see appendix 12, table 10.57. Still, faith appears to matter, and models 2 – 5 show that Muslims support outlawing books that portray a religion negatively.

Relationship between independent variables and gender roles (table 10.33)

The very great majority of Danes, 87%, think that it is not bad for a child if the mother works outside the home. Only 40% of immigrants agree, see table 10.13, page 186. Among Danes it is clearly the better educated respondents who hold this opinion, while educational level does not seem to be a significant determinant of attitudes of immigrants. However, there is within both groups of respondents a clear gender difference, as women tend to agree that it does not have a negative effect on a pre-school child if the mother works outside the home, see table 10.33.

Introducing the social capital variables we observe that they have no significant effect on the outcome variable.

Relationship between independent variables and inter-marriage (table 10.34[132])

A very clear majority of Danes find that same ethnic background is unimportant for a successful marriage, while a minority of ethnic respondents express a similar view, see model 10.34. Examining this proposition we observe that throughout the models higher educational level of Danes is significantly and negatively correlated with affording ethnicity any importance for a successful marriage.

It is very striking that younger immigrants think ethnicity is important when choosing a suitable marriage partner. This finding is in accordance with a development recorded in both Denmark and Britain. It appears that descendants increasingly prefer to marry people of their own ethnic group or

[132] In model 3, 4 and 5 the variable *age* is included in the models while the variable *gender* is excluded as age in this and prievious studies has proven to be a significant determinant of this variable.

of same religion (MRII,2007; Mirza et al, 2007). It is equally significant that Muslims in the survey prefer to marry a person within their own ethnic group.

Inserting the social capital variables, it is observed in the Danish models that trust and having an immigrant friend are significantly correlated with disregarding ethnicity as important for a good marriage. However, the odds values of education are fairly unaffected by the introduction of the variables and they do not operate as mediators. When the variable, *trust,* is included in the immigrant model, *age* and *Muslim* becomes insignificant. This appears to be a spurious effect, perhaps caused by the relatively low number of respondents in this model.

10.5.5. Relationship between independent variables and integration policies

(table 10.35-10.36, page 215 and 216)

A very high number of respondents, respectively 46% and 31% of Danes and immigrants, did not state whether they sympathize with an assimilative or multicultural approach towards integration. Therefore, the validity of the outcome of the regression analyses is dubious, as they only include those who have a clear opinion on the matter. The Danish respondents not stating a clear position are fairly equally distributed among the three educational groups, while a bigger proportion of immigrants with only basic education tends not to answer this question, see appendix 12, tables 10.58 and 10.59.

The majority of Danes who stated an opinion, favour an assimilative approach towards integration, while most immigrants lean towards a multicultural approach, see table 10.17, page 189.

Looking at table 10.35 it is clear that the better educated and more elderly Danes tend to prefer a multicultural approach to integration. Among immigrants it is clear that Muslims prefer a multicultural approach to integration.

Socio-economic status appears to be the dominant determinant of attitudes of Danes and immigrants towards a policy preventing the development of ethnic neighbourhoods, but the effect works in opposite directions. While education is insignificant, Danish men and Danes with a higher income tend to oppose restrictions on immigrants' choice of settlement. However, it is significant that immigrants with a higher occupational status support such policy. It is noteworthy that ethnic composition of a neighbourhood is not a significant predictor of attitudes towards a policy restricting ethnic concentration in certain areas.

Of the three social capital variables only social contact have an impact on the attitude of immigrants. Those with a Danish friend are significantly more likely to oppose the development of of ethnic neighbourhoods.

10.5.6. Relationship between independent variables and specific transaction costs: accepting the construction of mosques, doing extra work and bussing students

(tables 10.37, 10.38 and 10.39, page 217 - 219)

The descriptive analysis includes attitudes towards three specific social transaction costs for Danes: *Accepting halal meat in kindergartens*, *the construction of a mosque in their neighbourhood* and

acceptance of spending extra time explaining work related issues to immigrants due to their lack of linguistic skills. The former two are of a more indirect nature and the analysis will focus only on one of them. Denmark has until recently prevented the construction of purpose-built mosques. It would be interesting to concentrate on this dimension in the analysis. This enables us to estimate the public's concern about mosques and the willingness of respondents to pay the cost for the right to practice one's faith. In the survey bussing of students is the only specific social transaction cost that targets immigrants explicitly. The attitude of Danes towards bussing was also investigated in order to assess Danes' expectations to immigrants' acceptance of a social transaction cost.

Elderly Danes emerge as more willing than younger Danes to spend extra time explaining work related matters to immigrant colleagues, see table 10.38. In line with men being more inclined to favour a multicultural approach to integration they are also significantly more likely than women to support the construction of a mosque in their neighbourhood, see table 10.37. A dominant positive predictor of attitudes of Danes towards accepting a social transaction cost is education. The acceptance by better educated Danes of the construction of a mosque correlates with their general attitude that Muslims do not undermine Danish culture, see appendix 12, table 10.60. But it is also noticeable that education is not positively correlated with *spending extra time*, which demands a direct effort by the respondent. Introducing the social capital variables we test the prospective mediating effect of the variables, *trust* and *friends.* We observe in table 10.37 – 10.39 that *friends* and *trust* are significantly and positively correlated with accepting the construction of mosques in neighbourhoods of the respondents, helping an immigrant colleague or disagreeing with bussing ethnic students. But it is also evident that the variables have minimal effect on the impact of education on the outcome variables. In line with the above findings the social capital variables do not operate as mediators. The variables interplay with education, but they have limited impact on the effect that education has on the attitudes in question.

Immigrants are evenly split in their support for bussing, see table 10.16, page 188, and none of the determinants in the models are significant.
Surprisingly, the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood has limited impact on attitudes of respondents, though the children of respondents in such neighbourhoods are the target group for such policy. However, the attitude of immigrants correlates with their concern about the academic level in a classroom when it holds many ethnic students, see table 10.27. This concern seems to be a very plausible explanation for their support of bussing.

Table 10.27: Cross classification of the proposition of "bussing immigrant students" and the statement that "the academic level suffers with an immigrant student in the classroom", in percentage

Bussing	The academic level suffers with immigrant student in a school class						
	Agree very much	agree	Indifferent	disagree	Disagree very much	%	N
agree very much	66,7	13.3	0.0	13.3	6.7	100.0	15
agree	4.0	48.0	20.0	24.0	4.00	100.0	25
indifferent	0.0	35.7	28.6	28.6	7.1	100.0	14
disagree	4.3	34.8	30.4	26.1	4.4	100.0	23
Disagree very much	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	66.7	100.0	9
total						100.0	86

Identity

TABLE 10.28: Ordered logistic regression model showing respondents' sense of being part of Danish society																				
	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3				Model 4				Model 5			
	Danes (403)		Imm. (90)		Danes (370)		Imm. (67)		Danes (370)		Imm. (68)		Danes (344)		Imm. (68)		Danes(355)		Imm. (73)	
	Odds	SE	Odds	SE	Odds	SE	Odds	SE	Odds	SE	Odds	SE	Odds	SE	Odds	SE	Odds	SE	Odds	SE
education	1.06	.19	.68	.17	.48**	.14	.49	.53	.50**	.14	.85	.66	.49**	.13	.39	.51	.44**	.13	.87	.67
controls																				
income					1.19	.25			1.21	.24			1.17	.26			1.29	.26		
employment status					2.71**	.91	.53*	.16	2.65**	.88	.41**	.12	2.47**	.83	.44*	.16	2.76**	0.98	.41**	.14
gender					1.36	.37	.93	.50	1.35	.36	.66	.35	1.37	.38	1.03	.59	1.13	.33	.74	.4
age					1.09	.25	.97	.44												
density of immigrants					1.36*	.22	.88*	.48	1.33*	.21	1.59	.42	1.28	.21	1.72	.70	1.41*	.23	1.47	.42
years in DK							.94*	.02			1.00	.03			.97	.03			1.00	.03
Muslim							.81	.49			.40	.26			1.43	.32			.36	.24
friends									.74	.21	.09***	.06	.72	.21	.15*	.12	.77	.23	.11**	.08
trust													.93	.18	1.69	.64				
voluntary organization																	1.00	.31	1.59	.39

Source: ASDI
Notes: Imm. : immigrants
Base value : agree very much

TABLE 10.29: Ordered logistic regression model showing respondents' sense of being part of their local community																				
	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3				Model 4				Model 5			
	Danes (403)		imm. (90)		Danes (370)		imm. (68)		Danes (370)		imm. (69)		Danes (342)		imm. (63)		Danes (353)		imm. (67)	
	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE
education	1.13	.16	.52*	.14	.89	.20	.50	.19	.86	.20	.54	.20	.92	.20	.56	.23	.87	.20	.55	.21
controls																				
income					.87	.14			.86	.11			.74	.12			.78	.29		
employment status					1.22	.29	1.24	.37	1.24	.28	1.28	.35	1.25	.26	1.48.	.48	1.19	.29	1.29	.36
gender					1.12	.23	2.50	1.41	1.13	.24	1.50	.84	1.28	.28	1.67	1.00	1.09	.24	1.52	.85
age					.75	.13	.51	.24	.78	.14										
density of immigrants					1.02	.13	1.45	.38	1.03	.13	1.29	.34	.94	.12	1.29	.37	1.02	.13	1.25	.36
years in DK							.93*	.02			.96	.03			.94	.03			.95	.03
Muslim							1.06	.73			1.13	.75			1.01	.74			1.09	.74
friends									1.24	.27	.29	.21	1.17	.26	.21	.17	1.23	.28	.30*	.21
trust													.81	.12	1..66	.67				
Voluntary org.																	1.02	.24	.82	.56

Source: ASDI
Notes: Imm. : immigrants
Base value : agree very much

TABLE 10.30: Ordered logistic regression model showing respondents' sense of being part of a religious community																				
	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3				Model 4				Model 5			
	Danes (384)		Imm. (85)		Danes (355)		Imm. (64)		Danes (355)		Imm. (64)		Danes (339))		Imm. (65)		Danes (356)		Imm. (61)	
	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE
education	1.11	.15	1.41	.36	.57**	.12	1.23	.44	.57**	.13	.85	.31	.65*	.14	1.23	.68	.54**	.18	.76	.27
controls																				
income					.91	.13		.	.80	.14			.79	.11			.77	.11		
employment status					1.99**	.45	.81	.23	1.98**	.45	.85	.31	1.75*	.39	1.01	.33	2.25***	.51	.89	.25
gender					1.10	.22	.37	.20	1.10	.22	1.00	.27	1.17	.27	.22*	.14	1.42	.30	.24*	.15
age					.75	.12	.66	.29	.73	.12										
density of immigrants					1.43**	.18	1.11	.27	1.43**	.18	.37	.20	1.40**	.17	1.18	.35	1.36**	.17	1.67	.53
years in DK							1.05	.03			1.01	.03			1.5	.04		.	1.01	.02
Muslim							1.23	.78			1.86	1.18			1.36	1.00			2.08	1.34
friends									.87	.17	4.8	3.21	.87	.17	1.71	.89	1.05	.22	3.33	2.25
trust													.86	.09	3.34**	1.49		.		
voluntary organization														.			.48***	.11	3.80	2.78

Source: ASDI

Notes: Imm. : immigrants

Base value : agree very much

Trust

Table 10.31: Ordered logistic regression model showing respondents' attitude towards the contention that Danes and immigrants, respectively, claim state benefits unlawfully																			
	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3				Model 4				Model 5			
	Danes (372)		Imm. (75)		Danes (348)		Imm. (62)		Danes (347)		Imm. (62)		Danes (328)		Imm. (63)		Danes (344)		Imm. (62)	
	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE
education	2.62***	.43	.87	.27	2.20***	.54	.84	.34	2.11**	.52	1.04	.46	3.01***	.84	.95	.43	2.20**	.58	1.05	.47
controls										.										
income					1.43*	.26			1.44*	.26			1.35	.26			1.47*	.26		
employment status					1.05	.27	.92	.35	1.09	.28	1.33	.50	.55	.16	1.11	.47	1.04	.28	1.34	.51
gender					1.06	.25	1.64	.84	1.08	.26	.87	.52	2.07	.58	.62	.41	1.10*	.27	.90	.56
age					1.11	.21	.90	.45	1.15	.22										
density of immigrants					1.02	.13	.78	.23	1.02	.13	.67	.20	1.001*	.16	.96	.04	1.01	.14	.65	.21
years in DK							.97	.03			.94	.03			1..59	1.27			.95	.03
Muslim							1.95	1.44			1.00	.76			.54	.33			.96	.76
friends									1.40	.34	.22	.19	1.09*	.31	.26	.22	1.28	.32	.23	.21
trust													.09***	.02	.33*	.17				
Voluntary organization																	1.23	.32	.85	.66

Source: ASDI
Notes: Imm. = immigrants
Base value : almost all

Norms and values

Table 10.32: Ordered logistic regression model showing respondents' agreement with banning books that portray a religion poorly																				
	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3				Model 4				Model 5			
	Danes (363)		Imm. (85)		Danes (336)		Imm. (65)		Danes (336)		Imm. (66)		Danes (318)		Imm. (65)		Danes (314)		Imm. (62)	
	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE
education	2.17***	.37	.54*	.15	1.97**	.52	.34**	.14	1.88**	.50	.37**	.14	1.91**	.50	.66	.28	1.73*	.48	.29**	.12
controls																				
income					1.03	.20			1.04	.21			1.06	.19			1.02	.19		
employment status					.85	.24	.85	.26	.87	.25	.99	.28	1.04	.30	1.01	.33	.89	.26	.91	.27
gender					.89	.24	2.88	1.81	.89	.24	2.57	1.61	.99	.27	1.90	1.23	.70	.20	1.78	1.20
age					.97	.20	.72	.35	.99	.21										
density of immigrants					.85	.13	.85	.20	.86	.13	.94	.24	.82	.13	.89	.24	.89	.13	1.21	.35
years in DK							1.06*	.03			1.03	.03			1.05	.04			1.03	.03
Muslim							.06***	.05			.07***	.05		.	.04***	.03			.05***	.04
friends									1.26	.35	1.45	.95	1.48	.42	.43	.34	1.09	.32	.61	.47
trust													1.14	.22	1.05	.42				
voluntary organization																	1.74	.56	5.23*	3.91

Source: ASDI
Notes: Imm. = immigrants
Base value : agree very much

Table 10.33: Ordered logistic regression model showing respondents' agreement with the contention that it has a negative effect on a child if the mother works outside the home

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3				Model 4				Model 5			
	Danes (395)		Imm. (72)		Danes (365)		Imm. (68)		Danes (364)		Imm. (67)		Danes (339)		Imm. (65)		Danes (347)		Imm. (67)	
	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE
education	1.67***	.23	1.04	.29	2.09**	.50	1.05	.36	2.06**	.50	1.12	.38	2.06**	.45	1.20	.42	2.03**	.51	1.24	.42
controls																				
income					1.04	.17			1.06	.17			1.04	.16			.99	.15		
employment status					.64	.15	1.32	.38	.63	.15	1.47	.41	.66	.16	1.16	.35	.67	.17	1.57	.44
gender					.49***	.10	.34*	.18	.48***	.10	.37*	.19	.50**	.11	.43	.23	.57**	.13	.46	.24
age					1.01	.17	1.08	.47	.99	.17										
density of immigrants					.99	.12	.90	.21	.99	.12	.95	.03	.98	.12	.82	.21	.95	.12	.70	.20
years in DK							1.00	.03			.98	.03			1.01	.03			.98	.03
Muslim							1.64	.96			1.38	.80			1.98	1.23			1.09	.65
friends									1.00	.21	1.05	.70	1.03	.22	.67	.48	1.02	,23	1.42.	.98
trust													1.02	.16	1.53	.54				
Voluntary organization																	.68	.16	.25	.18

Source: ASDI

Notes: Imm. = immigrants

Base value : agree very much

Table 10.34: Ordered logistic regression model showing respondents' sense of agreement with the contention that same ethnic background is important for a successful marriage

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3				Model 4				Model 5			
	Danes (376)		Imm. (87)		Danes (351)		Imm. (65)		Danes (351)		Imm. (64)		Danes (330)		Imm. (57)		Danes (337)		Imm. (64)	
	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE
education	2.94***	.41	1.24	.32	2.87***	.64	1.66	.58	2.54***	.56	.1.78	.64	2.80	.64	1.71	.80	2.81***	.65	1.80	.65
controls																				
income					.73*	.11			.77	.11			.76	.12			.76	.12		
employment status					1.17	.27	1.21	.36	1.27	.30	1.10	.33	1.01	.25	1.16	.40	1.21	.29	1.10	.33
gender					1.40	.29	.92	.50												
age					.98	.17	2.69*	1.24	.98	.16	3.14*	1.44	.91	.225	2.15	1.21	.97	.17	3.17*	1.46
density of immigrants					1.38*	.18	1.05	.25	1.35*	,18	1.22	.30	1.46**	.21	1.35	.39	1.34	.18	1.16	.33
years in DK							.96	.03			.96	.03			.95	.04			.96	.03
Muslim							.14**	.09			.17*	.11			.34	.26			.16**	.11
friends									1.86**	.41	1.44	.92	1.51*	.34	2.90	2.69	1.76**	.40	1.51	.99
trust													.59***	.09	.75	.39				
Voluntary organization																	1.11	.26	.77	.49

Source: ASDI
Notes: Imm. = immigrants
Base value : agree very much

Integration policies

Table 10.35: Ordered logistic regression model showing respondents' support of a multicultural approach rather than an assimilative approach towards integration

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3				Model 4				Model 5			
	Danes (217)		Imm. (73)		Danes (202)		Imm. (60)		Danes (201)		Imm. (60)		Danes (189)		Imm. (61)		Danes (195)		Imm. (60)	
	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE
education	.29***	.07	.69	.24	.20***	.09	.68	.33	.22***	.10	.68	.35	.21***	.09	.78	.38	.22***	.01	.73	.38
controls																				
income					.98	.31			.98	.31			1.56	.51			1.42	.42		
employment status					.56	.25	1.04	.41	.54	.24	1.10	.41	.72	.34	.81	.38	.46	.22	1.10	.40
gender					1.08	.42	.75	.59	1.07	.41	.58	.42	.82	.34	.52.	.40	1.07	.43	.80	.65
age					2.00*	.64	.81	.50	1.99*	.63										
density of immigrants					.89	.20	.78	.25	.90	.20	.58	.43	1.05	.25	.75	.27	.92	.20	.59	.24
years in DK							1.01	.03			1.02	.04							1.03	.04
Muslim							.20*	.17			.12*	.11			.11*	.11			.10*	.09
friends									.67	.26	.22	.23	.70	.28	.24	.25	.54	.22	.28	.31
trust													2.96***	1.00	.52	.27				
voluntary organization																	2.15	.95	.40	.24

Source: ASDI
Notes: Imm. = immigrants
Base value : support of multicultural policy

Table 10.36: Ordered logistic regression model showing respondents' sense of agreement with a policy allowing local governments to prevent ethnic neighbourhoods

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3				Model 4				Model 5			
	Danes (391)		Imm. (88)		Danes (360)		Imm. (68)		Danes (359)		Imm. (68)		Danes (336)		Imm. (64)		Danes (344)		Imm. (67)	
	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE
education	1.43**	.19	.71	.17	1.20	.26	.84	.27	1.18	.25	.90	.28	1.14	.25	1.13	.39	1.07	.24	.88	.28
controls																				
income					1.43*	.20			1.43**	.20			1.36*	.19			1.37*	.19		
employment status					1.01	.22	.57*	.17	1.01	.22	.57*	.16	.94	.21	.65	.20	1.08	.25	.56*	.16
gender					1.77**	.35	.68	.35	1.77**	.34	.81	.39	1.87**	.38	.82	.42	1.61*	.33	.67	.34
age					.94	.15	1.69	.72	.96	.15										
density of immigrants					1.00	.11	1.11	.26	.99	.11	1.09	.26	.92	.11	1.15	.29	.98	.11	1.33	.36
years in DK							1.01	.03			1.03	.03			1.04	,03			1.03	.03
Muslim							2.65	1.58			1.64	.92			1.18	.75			2.18	1.26
friends									1.40	.28	.50	.30	1.35	.27	.24*	.17	1.04	.28	.36	.23
trust													.80	.12	1.17	.38				
voluntary organization																	1.04	.23	3.23	2.11

Source: ASDI
Notes: Imm.= immigrants
Base value : agree very much

Social transaction costs at individual level

Table 10.37: Ordered logistic regression model showing Danes acceptance of constructing a mosque in their neighbourhood										
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
	Danes (392)		Danes (362)		Danes (361)		Danes (337)		Danes (322)	
	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE
education	.40***	.06	.49***	.10	.53**	.12	.52**	.12	.48**	.11
controls										
income			.79	.11	.76	.11	.74*	.11	.71*	.11
employment status			.72	.16	.67	.15	.92	.21	.90	.22
gender			.68*	.13	.62*	.12	.51***	.11	.46***	.10
age			1.23	.20	1.13	.18	.125	.21	1.31	.23
density of immigrants			.90	.10	.86	.09	.88	.10	.90	.11
Years in Denmark										
Muslim										
friends					.35***	.07	.39***	.08	.34***	.08
trust							2.45***	.38	2.30***	.36
voluntary organisation									1.25	.31

Source: ASDI
Notes: Imm. = immigrants
Base value : yes absolutely

Table 10.38: Ordered logistic regression model showing respondents' acceptance of spending extra time explaining work related matters to a colleague with an immigrant background										
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
	Danes (402)		Danes (371)		Danes (370)		Danes (345)		Danes (329)	
	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE
education	.98	.12	1.02	.21	1.11	.23	1.01	.22	.92	.21
controls										
income			1.22	.19	1.21	.19	1.17	.19	1.14	.19
employment status			.80	.17	.75	.17	.64	.15	.61*	.15
gender			1.01	.21	.98	.21	.88	.19	.71	.17
age			.81	.14	.75	.13	.70*	.12	.72	.13
density of immigrants			.78*	.09	.77*	.09	.81	.10	.83	.11
Years in Denmark										
Muslim										
friends					49*	.11	.39***	.09	.32***	.08
trust							.73*	.12	.56***	.10
voluntary organisation									1.56	.39

Source: ASDI
Notes: Imm. = immigrants
Base value : yes absolutely

Table 10.39: Ordered logistic regression model showing respondents' sense of agreement with policy of bussing immigrant students																				
	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3				Model 4				Model 5			
	Danes (378)		imm. (85)		Danes (348)		imm. (69)		Danes (348)		imm. (70)		Danes (325)		imm. (66)		Danes (335)		imm. (67)	
	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE	odds	SE
education	1.47**	.20	1.19	.31	1.17	.26	1.27	.40	1.11	.25	1.40	.46	1.27	.29	1.11	.39	1.07	.24	1.36	.45
controls																				
income					.84	.13			.84	.13			.83	.12			.85	.12		
employment status					1.25	.29	1.00	.30	1.23	.29	1.11	.30	.94	.23	.88	.28	1.21	.28	1.13	.31
gender					.10	.19	.95	.50.	.98	.20	.10	.49	1.20	,26	1.38	.74	.90	.19	.90	.24
age					.98	.17	1.51	.65	1.04	.18					.					
density of immigrants					1.07	.12	.89	,21	1.09	.13	.85	.20	1.08	.13	.88	.23	1.11	.13	.94	.24
years in Denmark							.96	.03			.85	.02			.97	.03			.96	.02
Muslim							1.29	.78			.72	.42			1.00	.64			.86	.52
friends									2.03***	,43	.44	.26	1.77**	.39	.84	.55	2.02***	.45	.40	.26
trust													.40***	.07	.88	.32				
voluntary organisation																	1.29	.30	1.91	1.15

Source: ASDI
Notes: Imm. = immigrants
Base value : agree very much

10.6. Discussion

This part of the thesis tests two main questions. First, to what extent does educational level correlate with the level and form of social contact that immigrants and Danes have with each other. Secondly, while comparing attitudes of Danes and immigrants towards issues related to integration the thesis seeks to establish how educational level and social contact corresponds with these attitudes. It is hypothesized that social contact is negatively correlated with the level of acceptance of social transaction costs.

The analysis is done within a framework interconnecting social capital and social transaction costs. In the thesis social capital is operationalized along dimensions indicating level of interaction, civic participation and trust in out-group.

The discussion will initially consider the validity of ASDI before discussing the impact of various determinants of social contact. The second part of the discussion will evaluate the attitudes registered in the survey, focusing on the impact of educational level, trust and social contact. This section will demonstrate that different factors appear to influence attitudes of Danes and immigrants. A post-materialist approach is conventionally applied when explaining the increasing secular and liberal attitudes of Danes (Borre, 2011). However, this discussion will consider whether post-materialism might be an insufficient framework for studying attitudes of immigrants. The findings of the analysis will be discussed from the perspective of the theoretical framework of social capital and social transaction costs.

10.6.1. Profile of respondent and its ramification for generalizing the findings of the survey

The sample of respondents represents a group of Danes and immigrants in the municipality of Odense. Demographically, they depict the general population rather accurately in terms of age, mixed-marriage pattern, housing conditions and percentage of immigrants living in ethnic neighbourhoods. However, in terms of gender and socio-economic status the sample is biased. Any generalization of the findings, despite the application of measures (use of weights) to rectify this situation, must take these conditions into account.

Attitudes of Danes are generally correlated with educational attainment. With the relative low number of respondents with low education, the impact of the difference between educational levels becomes weaker and more difficult to measure. Though weights are introduced, a sample dominated by respondents with a high level of education tends to infer respondents with a high income, better job security, better housing, etc.. Equally, they are less likely to compete with immigrants for the same jobs. Their more privileged position may affect their attitudes, and the survey does not properly control for that.

The educational level of immigrants appears not to be significantly correlated with their attitudes. Hence, the biased sample, regarding education, may not be that detrimental for the findings. However, lack of representation of immigrants with poor education induces that we fail to include

those, who are expected to be furthest away from main stream society: the longterm unemployed and people with poor language proficiency (Danish) living in neighbourhoods with limited or no contact with Danes. The exact group of immigrants that foremost is accused of establishing parallel communities. It is critical that their attitudes are not included in the survey as their present probably would mark a bigger difference between attitudes of policymakers, Danes and immigrants. It is important to underline that a survey of this size and format only analyses patterns of the better educated section of the population and of Danes in employment.

The overrepresentation of women may not have much effect on the outcome. Previous attitudinal studies show that gender is not a significant indicator of attitudes, and this survey confirms this finding.

The survey also suffers from a small sample of immigrants that may cause the survey to be underpowered, meaning that trends may be overlooked and the impact of independent variables are not registered. Thirdly, the representativeness of the sample of Danes, in particular, can be questioned as they overwhelmingly are recruited from the same workplace. It is not possible to exclude some institutional effect on attitudes of the respondents.

In general, Danes appear more liberal than in other attitudinal surveys. The better educated participants may know the "political correct answers" (Gaarsholt et al, 1995) and display the so-called Hawthorne effect by modifying their behaviour. Juul (2002:129) writes that there is a clear distinction between a public attitude of "I am not a racist" and personal experiences that cultural differences are annoying and provoking. Respondents may tend to reveal their public attitudes. However, ASDI represents a big city population, which is assumed to have a higher degree of interracial contact and a post materialist attitude than the population as a whole (Borre, 2011).

Still, a number of variables in ASDI show outcomes similar to analogous variables in previous attitudinal surveys. It could indicate that socio-economic factors are not the dominant predictors of attitudes, but it may also suggest that the sample of respondents is perhaps not as far from representing the general population as it seems. Therefore, notwithstanding the limitations of ASDI and measurement errors, it still seems reasonable to extrapolate some meaningful tendencies from the survey.

10.6.2. Dimensions of social contact between immigrants and Danes

In light of immigrants making up about 1/10th of the population in Odense, where the interviews have been conducted, see table 5.2, page 65, and taking into the account the narrow definition of a friend[133], the number of Danes who have an immigrant friend seems suspiciously high (42%). Danes may "stretch" the definition of friend in an attempt to leave an impression of not being aloof from immigrants. This tendency was, for instance, very evident among policy makers. As the great

[133] In ASDI a "friend" is defined as a person a respondent invites to his/her house or who invites the respondent himself.

majority of Danes in the sample are recruited from the same workplace, it may also be that at this particular workplace a culture exists that generates friendships across ethnic lines.

The uncertain findings raise the question of reliability and validity of self-assessed questions. Do respondents understand the terms *few* or *many* similarly? Are statements in the questions being interpreted similarly or simply being misunderstood? Considering the fairly small sample of immigrants, diverse perceptions of the statements may not average out and the findings may be skewed.

10.6.3. Educational level and social contact

Contrary to expectation that the better educated Danes have the least contact with immigrants, in ASDI the better educated are more likely to have more contact with immigrants. There are also some weak indications that well-educated and young Danes live in ethnic neighbourhoods. However, it seems reasonable that this group are more likely not to have entered the "property ladder", and therefore they choose to live in rented accommodation, which is the main form of accommodation of immigrants.

The better educated immigrants also tend to have the most contact with Danes, although that tendency is not so pronounced. Despite the fact that the survey does not directly tells us anything about who respondents socialize with, in line with other inter-ethnic attitudinal surveys (Kankaras et al, 2012) it would be fair to assume that the better educated individuals across ethnic groups interact with each other. Though the better educated immigrants do not show such liberal attitudes as their Danish counterparts, they may still hold more cosmopolitan views, providing a common outlook on life and more tolerance. The assumption is also supported by the supposition that equal social status is a principal determinant of social contact (ibid, 2012). Equal status probably reduces the social transaction costs that Danes and immigrants may encounter when interacting.

10.6.4. Neighbourhood and social contact

The great majority of Danes live in neighbourhoods that house at least few immigrants. As Danes also report that an equally high number of their children attend a school with ethnic students it all together implies that ethnic minorities increasingly reside in "white" suburban areas. However, many immigrants still live in ethnic neighbourhoods, and they appear to have limited contact with Danes. Immigrants in ethnic neighbourhoods are less likely to have Danish friends and social contact with Danish colleagues after work than immigrants living in areas mainly populated by Danes. It is also interesting that immigrants living in ethnic neighbourhoods identify themselves less with their local community. Equally, living in an ethnic neighbourhood does not seem to enhance the chances of Danes to form friendships with immigrants. These findings raise the question: Do neighbourhoods with higher concentration of immigrants predispose negative social capital in terms of lack of capability or willingness to "bridge" social contact to out-group members?

The survey does not leave us any information about how strong the bonding is between residents in ethnic neighbourhoods. But the weaker feeling of belonging to one's own neighbourhood in such areas indicates that it is not strong. Examining the chances of having a Danish friend or social contact with a Danish colleagues after work, *years spent in Denmark* and *density of immigrants* in neighbourhood are the only significant predictors in both models. However, table 10.20, page 194, shows that there is no significant association between *years spent in Denmark* and *density of immigrants* in neighbourhood. Therefore, the neighbourhood effect does not appear to be related to time spent in Denmark. The findings contradict those sections of the literature, which argue that there is not a negative relation between ethnic density of neighbourhood and its residents' social contact with out-group members (Nannestad, 2008; Platt, 2009; Larsen, 2011). Lack of contact may be a sign of what Portes et al (1993) designate *bounded communities* characterized by social control and enforceable trust in these communities. However, immigrants living in ethnic neighbourhoods have a significantly lower occupational status than immigrants residing in less ethnically dense areas. It is beyond the scope of this study to discern the individual effect of ethnicity and socio-economic conditions on the stock of social capital possessed by residents in ethnic neighbourhoods. But individuals with fewer resources have a lower stock of social capital that does not help them to establish out-group contacts (Owen et al, 2000; Putnam, 2007). Data in ASDI show that Danish and immigrant respondents of lower occupational status meet with out-group colleagues more often than those in higher occupational positions. Still, they are less likely to form friendships across ethnic lines. Though they are probably in contact on a daily basis at work, they tend not to open up their homes to each other. Parallel living becomes more evident among this group, as they work together while they simultaneously keep a social distance.

10.6.5. Younger generation of immigrants and their social contact with Danes

The findings of ASDI confirm the common perception, that besides equal social status length of stay of immigrants are the main determinants of social contact between immigrants and native population (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1990). This may suggest that future generations will have more inter-ethnic social contact. However, whereas the younger age tritile (18-30) of Danes have more immigrant friends than the older age groups, younger immigrants have no more contact with Danes than older immigrants.

ASDI includes too few descendants to investigate their level and form of contact with Danes. But looking at the younger age tritile of immigrants the average stay in Denmark is 14 years. Many within this group have most likely participated in various forms of Danish institutionalized life (schooling, sports activities etc.). Still, they appear not to form close relationships across ethnic lines any more than the older generation. The distinct preference of in-group marriage among younger immigrants and descendants also indicates that ethnic segregation is maintained, or perhaps even increased, amongst this age group.

10.6.6. Comparison of attitudes of Danes and immigrants

Social capital is seen as a tool to get ahead. Departing from such a perspective of social capital, immigrants in ASDI seem disadvantaged. Danes generally feel a stronger attachment to their local community and Denmark as a whole. Unemployed immigrants in particular feel detached from Danish society. Danes also appear to possess a higher level of interpersonal trust, though neither groups of respondents distrust the out-group significantly more than the in-group. As expected a higher percentage of Danes are also in agreement with the norms tabled in ASDI. As this is a cross-sectional survey it is not possible to see how attitudes of immigrants might have changed during their years spent in Denmark. Conventionally, attitudes are compared with similar variables on attitude in the country of origin of the immigrants. But this survey covers 28 nationalities and any comparison would be very capricious, see appendix 12, table 9.8.

In line with previous attitudinal studies gender is mostly insignificant. In fact, gender appears to have even less impact on attitudes of immigrants than of Danes. However, there are tendencies that Danish men hold more liberal attitudes towards integration than women. Contrary to their male opposites, immigrant women also appear to have taken up attitudes emphasizing gender equality. But, immigrants as a whole mostly agree with the norms that both spouses should work outside the house and pre-school children must attend kindergarten. Adaptation of these norms may be spurred more out of necessity than actual sympathy with the norms themselves. Households in Denmark depend on two incomes, and the social benefit system "forces" women to enter the labour market in order to qualify for social benefit.

Danes also show a higher level of tolerance. But as EVS 2008 signified, there seems to be a schism between tolerance at individual and group level (Gundelach, 2011). Their attitudes towards individual immigrants undermine the notion that Danes are racist, as the media at times have claimed. Ethnic exclusionism, see page 20, does not seem to be prominent among Danes in ASDI.

The media may promote a less tolerant attitude towards immigrants or Muslims at group level (Gaarsholt et al, 1995; Andersen, 2002; Necef, 2009). The more critical attitude towards immigrants and Muslims at group level may also be an expression of concern about the pressure on the welfare state increasing immigration represents (Andersen, 2002). Some may call this attitude xenophobic, others may respect it as a legitimate concern about the costs, which Nannestad (1999) refers to as part of the price of solidarity with immigrants.

ASDI confirms that attitudes of Danes towards immigrants become much more critical when they are personified as Muslims. Many commentators see this as a result of politicians and media describing Muslims as "other" to Danish values and norms (Hervik, 2006; Jensen, 2007; Jacobsen, 2009). However, Peter Gundelach moderated this argument in his interview.[134] He pointed out that

[134] Sociologist and Professor at Department of Sociology, University of Copenhagen. Peter Gundelach was one of two academics being interviewed

after the Mohammed crisis Danes have become more scared or unsure of the entire group of Muslims for holding very religious members who openly oppose liberal values.
As stated in the literature, Danes are very ambiguous in their attitude towards immigrants. While the better educated Danes in ASDI clearly support a multicultural approach to integration, the same group is indecisive when it comes to sympathizing with policies preventing the development of ethnic neighbourhoods. They also oppose special considerations for Muslim doctrines, such as forbidding the portrayal of Mohammad or ridiculing religion.

10.6.7. Determinants of attitudes: education in a post–materialist perspective

The findings of this study question the universality of post-materialism as an overriding analytical framework for the study of integration of immigrants. The theory stipulates that more liberal attitudes and appreciation of cultural diversity follow from increased material wealth, particularly in a person's formative years, and higher educational attainment, follow more liberal attitudes and appreciation of cultural diversity (Inglehart, 1990). The theory has influenced the thinking of many political scientists (Abramson, 2011). Not least so in Denmark where the virtues of post-materialism reflect the attitudes of the intelligentsia and much of the political elite. However, Inglehart (1997) himself acknowledges that post-materialism is foremost a theory applicable in Western societies. This study vindicates the limitation of post-materialism as an explanatory framework of attitudes of people originating from non-Western countries.

Education is measured as highest education obtained, including qualifications gained in country of origin. Different educational systems will affect its participants in different ways. This analysis does not control for this factor, but compare educational status irrespective of where it has been obtained. The shortcoming of this approach will be commented on in chapter eleven.

Attitudes of Danes, compared with those of immigrants, are distinctly more often correlated with educational attainment. Liberal attitudes of Danes and trust in out-group members and friendships with them are significantly and positively linked to their socio-economic status. Their attitudes can broadly be described as post-materialistic. Contrary to this, there is not a similar correlation between education, occupational status and social capital among immigrants. To some extent this runs contrary to findings in previous surveys (Togeby, 2003; MRII, 2007), though the survey of MRII also concludes that ethnic factors affect attitudes of immigrants. In ADSI there are even signs that the better educated immigrants hold more dogmatic attitudes, such as banning of books that portray a religion negatively. These findings may rest on several plausible explanations.
First, the sample of immigrants is underpowered and biased, leading towards spurious effects. However, educational level and other controls, such as "friends", "years in Denmark" and "density of immigrants in neighbourhood" have individually fairly consistent impact on attitudes, which strengthen credibility of the findings.

Secondly, immigrants with higher education often experience a negative social mobility in their new country. Therefore, the correlation between education and occupational status is less pronounced for immigrants and their combined effect on the outcome variables is not as straightforward.

Thirdly, the analytical models fail to include essential determinants of attitudes, such as ethnicity, so the possibility that this factor may interplay with social structures differently among immigrants cannot be explored. The survey does indicate that a growing emphasis upon ethnic identity may take place. Compared with the older generation, younger immigrants clearly prefer to marry within their own ethnic group. It is also being claimed in the literature that opposition to norms of the society may become more pronounced as immigrants increasingly express their ethnic identity as a reaction towards lack of acceptance and inclusion into society (Schmidt, 2000).

Fourthly, less liberal attitudes, for instance towards banning of books, may be seen as a show of solidarity with fellow Muslims (a substantial part of respondents are Muslims) and as a protest against the increasing assimilative policies they encounter, such as the 24 year rule. Better educated immigrants do not attend church/mosque at a higher rate than others, but according to Modood (2005) non-practicing Muslims tend to show solidarity with fellow Muslims by respecting their religious sentiments. Finally, with increasing years lived in Denmark immigrants are more likely to have Danish friends. But neither friendship, see below, nor years lived in Denmark have any significant impact on attitudes.

All together, it indicates that other factors, such as ethnicity and religion, may be at play.

10.6.8. Determinants of attitude: Islam

There is some evidence that an Islamic background significantly affects dimensions of integration. Muslims are significantly less likely to be a member of an inter-ethnic organisation and to have Danish friends. Muslims clearly identify themselves with a multicultural approach and support banning of books that portray a religion negatively. This may suggest that Muslims want to uphold a specific Muslim culture, though this is a very contested issue. On the one hand, it is being argued that Muslim culture is not an artifact, but actually an existential right to uphold (Modood, 2007). On the other hand, Muslims in ASDI only see themselves to a moderate extent as part of a religious community, in accord with the claim by Gundelach, that Muslims are no less secularized than other faith groups, see page 31. It is also pointed out that Muslim immigrants represent certain regions or countries, and that it is ethnic or local cultural values that are being measured when controlling for "Muslims" (Benhabib, 2002).

10.6.9. Determinants of attitude: ethnic composition of neighbourhoods

ASDI does not investigate the impact of ethnicity as the analysis does not control for immigrants' country of origin. However, ethnic neighbourhoods[135] can be perceived as localities cultivating cultural traits of immigrants and marking ethnic differences between the immigrants and the host population (Coleman, 1988; Portes et al, 1993). As such, neighbourhoods can act as a latent variable of an aggregated body representing ethnic groups. Ethnic composition of neighbourhoods is habitually viewed as a major dimension of parallel living. In ASDI it is significant that neighbourhoods with many immigrants is consistent with reduced chances that immigrants have s Danish friend or social contact with Danish colleagues. However, in the survey these neighbourhoods significantly include more immigrants of a lower occupational status than neighbourhood with less immigrants. According to contact theory lack of connections with out-group may lead to less trust (Allport, 1979; Pettigrew, 1998; Putnam, 2000; Mikkelsen, 2001) and possible amoral familism, where ethnic groups maintain their own values to strengthen in-group bonds and deliberately avoid out-group contact (Banfield, 1967; Portes et al, 1993). Contrary to this, Christ et al (2014) conclude on the basis of a very recent study that people who live in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods are more tolerant towards and do not have less trust in different ethnic groups than individuals living in a highly segregated area. The results of ASDI do not clearly support either theory. Danes living in more ethnic diverse neighbourhoods seem to discard ethnicity as an important factor for a successful marriage. Otherwise ethnic composition of neighbourhood has very limited impact on attitudes of Danes towards for instance integration policies, as odds values evolve around 1. A similar picture is observed for immigrants, though there are some weak tendencies for an increased density of immigrants to correlate with less trust and less uptake of the norms of Danish society. Bearing in mind the caution one must apply when analyzing immigrant outcomes, the data indicate that the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood has limited impact on attitudes. This contravenes the notion that trust is higher in more racially homogeneous communities (Alesina et al, 2001). To some extent, it also to some extent refutes an essential presupposition in Danish integration policies that ethnic neighbourhoods impede integration. It questions the policy of preventing immigrants settling in ethnic neighbourhoods.

However, though a correlation between ethnic composition of neighbourhood and attitudes is relatively weak, it can be argued that there is an indirect relationship. Immigrants who socialize with Danish colleagues and who have a Danish friend tend to live in neighbourhoods with few immigrants. Though having a Danish friend is only significant in a few instances it has a bigger impact on attitudes of immigrants than educational level and any other controls applied in the models. It is telling that having a Danish friend is the strongest indicator for feeling part of Danish society. This confirms the theory that ethnic interaction leads to acculturation, the adaptation of Danish culture.

[135] An ethnic neighbourhood is defined as an area with many non-Western immigrants, either of similar ethnic origin or of different ethnic groups.

10.6.10. Determinants of attitudes: social capital

The relationship between education and the dimensions of social capital applied as independent variables in the analysis illustrates the inadequacy of applying a post-materialist approach to analysing attitudes of immigrants. Unlike the case of Danes, trust and social contact are not significantly correlated with educational level of immigrants, and the social capital dimensions are in general not significantly associated with attitudes. However, none of the dimensions serve as mediators in the relation between education and attitudes of Danes and immigrants, meaning that the relation between education and attitudes does not significantly depend on the impact that the social capital dimensions have on these attitudes. Cognitive skills and wider social awareness may also be outcomes of education that generate positive attitudes towards immigrants. Danes have a higher level of social trust, is wider than immigrants. The findings on *trust* may be an outcome of immigrants coming from low trust countries. In their study of social trust among Turks, Pakistanis and Ex-Yugoslavs living in Denmark,

Nannestad et al (2006) found that the disparity of their level of social trust could be explained by their educational attainment rather than cultural differences. However, the study does not measure the cumulative effect of education for the combined group of immigrants.

Looking at Danes, membership of a voluntary organisation was not significantly related to educational level and any attitudes. Contrary to this, higher educational level of immigrants increases significantly the possibility that they participate in an inter-ethnic voluntary organization. However, Togeby (2004) has shown that participation in ethnic voluntary organisations does not generate social trust. Equally, this study cannot confirm that involvement in inter-ethnic organisations induces more trust in Danes or develops a positive inclination towards norms seen as essential in society. An exemption is a positive interaction between participation in a voluntary organisation and opposing a ban on books that portray religions negatively. This may confirm that participation in voluntary organisation foster more democratic and open-minded outlooks (Adam, 2008; Boje, 2007), but as it is the only significant relationship registered we may also observe this relationship as a spurious effect.

However, there seems to be a powerful relationship between membership of inter-ethnic organisations and having a Danish friend. As mentioned previously, social capital is a convoluted concept and the causal routes between variables may be difficult to discern (Woolcock, 1998). Not least so regarding the relationship between participation in associational life and having friends. In this study membership of inter-ethnic organisations have been applied as a predictor of attitudes. Applying it as a predictor of social relations, membership of inter-ethnic organisations seems to be a very effective instrument to establish inter-ethnic friendships, see table 10.24, page 200.

10.6.11. Immigrants' acceptance of social transaction costs

ASDI registers social transaction costs indirectly or directly when researching attitudes towards norms and policies. This study does not provide information on how much attitudes of immigrants have changed in order to assimilate to Danish norms. We can only infer that educational level appears to have minimal impact on attitudes, and that social trust, having a Danish friend and membership of voluntary organisation generally do not affect the relationship between education and attitudes significantly.

Yet, we can conclude that Danes' and immigrants' attitudes towards expression of freedom, gender roles and marriage differ. For many Danes these norms epitomize fundamental values, but a considerable number of immigrants appear to avoid the social transaction costs that any adaption to "Danish norms" requires.

However, although the majority of immigrants sympathizes with a multicultural approach to integration many immigrants are willing to accept policies that restrict their liberal rights or conflict with their traditional values in order to integrate immigrants and improve their socio-economic status in society. E.g. are attitudes towards prevention of ethnic neighbourhoods and bussing of immigrant students. It is very clear that immigrants, who are concerned about the academic level in a classroom with many ethnic children, take the pragmatic view of supporting bussing. They accept the social costs and indignation that only immigrant students and not Danish students must travel outside their school district.

Having a Danish friend is significantly correlated with only a few variables. However, there is a general tendency that those with a Danish friend agree with the norms and values in question and support specific integration policies that may restrict individual rights of immigrants. This disproves the hypothesis that there is a negative correlation between social contact with Danes and acceptance of social transaction costs.

Still, immigrants' acceptance of social transaction cost seems closely linked to what extent the costs affect them. For instance, while 94% of pre-school children already attend kindergarten, the far majority of immigrants accept that local governments puts pressure on those parents whose children do not attend a day-care institution. Equally, immigrants with higher employment status, who tend not to live in ethnic neighbourhoods, support prevention of such neighbourhoods. In reverse, Muslims object to banning religious books and assimilation, as the latter may be associated with restriction of Muslim customs.

10.6.12. Danes' acceptance of social transaction costs

The majority of Danes are willing to accept the specific transaction costs they are presented with. *Trust* and *friends* are significant determinants. Though educational level is a significant predictor

for all three dimensions of social transaction costs analysed in the models, having a friend appears to be a stronger indicator of accepting costs. Against expectations the density of immigrants has hardly any impact on any of the variables examined. If anything, having ethnic neighbours seems to generate more liberal attitudes and support for immigrants.

This is in line with the conclusion of Thomsen (2006), that social contact between Danes and immigrants is very important for Danes showing goodwill towards immigrants. Still, it is striking that the support for constructing a mosque in the neighbourhood of the respondents, receive more support than accepting halal meat in kindergartens. While having a child attending a kindergarten with Muslim children is very likely, the chances of having a mosque as next door neighbour in a suburb is remotely small. The goodwill towards mosques is almost costless. Equally, it is notable that on all parameters measuring some kind of social transaction costs the better educated Danes take up a distinctly more positive attitude than the less educated. However, on the question of spending extra time helping out an immigrant colleague, there is only a weak, and not significant, tendency that the better educated Danes show more goodwill. As a cost becomes more likely to affect a respondent, the acceptance of the cost tends to fade.

Overall, the hypothesis stating that those with the least contact with out-group members tend to be more willing to accept social transaction costs has been disproved, but the true picture may be different. It is fair to assume that the most contacts, in terms of frequency, between Danes and immigrants will take place at work places. 82% of immigrants and Danes have, or have had, an out-group colleague. Some commentators (Thomsen, 2006) argue that frequency and not form of contact is more important for shaping attitudes across ethnic lines. With the great majority of immigrants taking up low skilled jobs, their contact at work, if any, will most likely be with Danes with lower education. In ASDI this group of Danes appears to be less likely to accept social transaction costs.

10.7. Summary of chapter ten

On the basis of data collected in the ASDI questionnaire this chapter has examined the level and forms of social contact between Danes and immigrants. This investigation led to an analysis of how the educational level of the respondents and inter-ethnic contact correspond with attitudes relating to the integration of immigrants. The analysis has been carried out within a framework interconnecting social capital and social transaction costs. Social trust, inter-ethnic friendships and membership of non-ethnic voluntary organisations were selected as dimensions of social capital mediating the relationship between educational level and attitudes associated with social transaction costs.

Contrary to expectations this study finds that the better educated Danes and immigrants are more likely to form friendships with each other than the less educated. However, at work places, employees with a lower employment status appear to meet with an out-group colleague outside

work the most. Overall, immigrants' level of social contact with Danes is mostly determined by their length of stay in Denmark.

The survey of Danes and immigrants show that immigrants differ in their attitude towards norms on marriage and gender. However, Danes and immigrants do not distrust the out-group more than in-group, but generally Danes possess a higher level of social trust. In line with previous surveys Danes express high tolerance for immigrants at the individual level, but at group level Danes are particularly critical about the influence of Islam in the society. This study confirms that Danes hold ambiguous attitudes towards immigrants, as their attitudes are a mixture of liberal and non-liberal attitudes.

In the statistical models employed for analysing data, three forms of social capital were inserted in order to test a possible link between the theories of social capital and social transaction costs. Having an out-group friend, social trust and membership of an inter-ethnic voluntary organisation were introduced in the statistical models as prospective mediators between education and various attitudes functioning as latent variables of social transaction costs.

Educational level is predominantly a significant determinant of attitudes of Danes, while education has limited impact on attitudes of immigrants. Social trust and having an out-group friend are significantly associated with Danes' but not with immigrants' level of education. Of the three social capital variables inserted in the models only membership of inter-ethnic organisations is significantly related to educational level of immigrants. However, none of the social capital variables operate as mediators in the relation between education and attitudes. The effect of education on attitudes, and hence acceptance of social transaction costs cannot be explained solely through the association between education and the tested social capital variables. However, in the case of Danes higher level of education, social trust and having an immigrant friend are clearly associated with acceptance of social transaction costs.

Contrary to this social trust and membership of inter-ethnic organisations have very limited impact on attitudes of immigrant. However, affiliation with an inter-ethnic organisation seems to be significantly associated with having Danish friends. There are indications that having a Danish friend smooths the way for accepting prevalent norms and values in society and the costs of such acceptance, and in that respect contact with Danes seems more important than education. This is particularly true for identifying oneself with Denmark and immigrants' support of a multicultural approach to integration. However, where length of stay is positively correlated with having Danish friends, it does not seem to be associated with attitudes towards norms and values in society. It is suggested that cultural or ethnic factors may be critical determinants of attitudes of immigrants, and this study provides some indications that being Muslim affects some attitudes and acceptanc of social transaction costs. The study does not investigate ethnicity, but it is very noticeable that immigrants living in ethnic neighbourhoods have less contact with Danes. There are tendencies,

though not statistically significant, that immigrants with no Danish friends hold attitudes conflicting with common norms of society.

Overall, the findings of the survey question the universality of post-materialism and its relevance as an analytical tool to investigate values and norms in an ethnic diversified society. Instead, this chapter has provided some evidence for the applicability of "the contact theory" in combination with an analytical framework interconnecting social capital and social transaction costs.
The study also contradicts the hypothesis that social contact is negatively correlated with the acceptance of social transaction costs. Instead, there are indications that personal relevance, "proximity", of a social transaction cost associated with an attitude or action must be considered when analysing attitudes related to integration.

Chapter 11: Conclusion. A comparison of attitudes of policy makers, Danes and immigrants and an inquiry into the policy implications of these attitudes.

11. Introduction

Integration is a measure of the cohesion of a society, and in a Danish context social cohesion is strongly related to the term reciprocity. The upholding of the Danish welfare state depends on its members' fulfilment of their duty to contribute to the togetherness and acceptance of its basic ideas of universality. This thesis has investigated the perception of ethnic Danes, immigrants and policymakers of some aspects of the coherence of the society. The investigation has concentrated on what price they are willing to pay for securing social cohesion and whether Danes' and immigrants' understanding of a coherent society is congruent with that of policymakers.

F. Tonnies wrote that reciprocity is the glue that unites people in togetherness based on a relation between demand and contribution. The relation can show itself in two ways: As a real and organic life where the feeling of togetherness is a goal in itself (das wesen der Gemeinschaft), or as an ideal and mechanical construction, the concept of the society (das Begriff der Gesellschaft), which is instrumental for achieving the aims of members of society. Universal sense of solidarity supports *Gemeinschaft*, and it is associated with family, neighbourliness and mutual understanding. *Gesellschaft* relates to modern capitalist economies, and it is directed by rational self–interest (Falk, 2007).

In many ways the interviewed policymakers who were interviewed described Denmark as a Gemeinschaft with a common language and faith, and an inherent sense of solidarity and collective consciousness. The question is whether people still feel part of this togetherness with increasing individualization. It is of particular interest whether immigrants will buy into the idea of "substituting" their family and its values with the extended family of the state and allow it to intervene in their private matters. But it is also a question of how far the failure of many immigrants to contribute to the society, due to their poor labour market participation and lack of education, will affect Danes' solidarity with immigrants[136].

In this chapter the attitudes of policymakers, Danes and immigrants will be compared. The attitudinal data on Danes and immigrants are drawn from ASDI, while 42 interviews with local and national politicians and bureaucrats provided the data for an attitudinal study of policymakers. The comparison offers some answers as to whether a division between attitudes of policymakers and ordinary citizens may offer an explanation for (what is considered) poor integration of immigrants

[136] A study conducted by the Rockwool Foundation found that non-Western immigrants contributed conderably less to the public coffers than Danes. Calculations are based on per living-year for generation 2013.The ution of a Dane, generation 2013, per living year is -5.180 Dkr, while the similar figures for a non-Western immigrant and descendant are -16.690 Dkr and -7.980 Dkr, respectively. Calculatons are are based on the model DREAM (Danish Rational Economic Agent Model) (Schultz-Nielsen, 2014).

and an apparently increasing segregation between Danes and immigrants. Initially, an outline will be presented comparing the perceptions of integration of policymakers and of ordinary citizens and how social contact between them and out-group members and their educational level affect attitudes. Do the attitudes of the policymakers reflect the attitudes of the better educated section of Danes and immigrants? Do the attitudes of the ordinary people comply with the politicians' ideas of the *Gemeinschaft*? This comparison leads to an inquiry into policymakers' discussion of integration related issues, as it is considered to affect the attitudes of Danes and immigrants. The interviews permit an evaluation of four policies discussed with the policymakers or surveyed in ASDI: "Start Assistance", "membership of inter-ethnic organisations", "policies preventing the development of ethnic neighbourhoods" and "education", leading to consideration of integration strategies. The chapter closes with an evaluation of the methodological approach used in the research.

11.1. Social contact between policymakers, Danes and immigrants

This study cannot confirm the hypothesis that Parliamentarians, because they are well educated, have less contact with out-group members than the population in general. Parliamentarians socialized with out-group members like ordinary Danes and immigrants. Well educated Parliamentarians had more social contact with immigrants. But, as mentioned in previous chapters, the better educated politicians' statements about their social contact with immigrants were suspect, casting doubt on any assumptions about any association between their attitudes and social contact. Hardly any politicians had contact with immigrant organisations, and the representative of the National Ethnic Council also complained that they did not have a "voice" in the policymaking process. However, among politicians and Danes, the younger generation clearly had more contact with immigrants, and they held more multicultural views. But the young politicians also tended to represent Centre Left parties, and it is not possible to discern how these attributes of the politicians interplay and affect attitudes.

It is, however, noteworthy that local politicians, Danes and immigrants with lower income and lower occupational status tended to report that they did not have any out-group friends, though they were more likely to live in ethnically mixed neighbourhoods. Instead they had immigrant colleagues, now or in the past. This group of policymakers tended to refer to personal encounters, positive as well as negative, with out-group members. They generally expressed more stringent approaches towards integration than Parliamentarians. This group is expected to experience *parallel living* as they most likely have had frequent contact with out-group colleagues at work while they did not mix privately. *Parallel living* is viewed as the main obstacle to sustain coherence of the society, but only a very limited number of Parliamentarians had any personal acquaintance

with it. This observation seems relevant in light of the finding that attitudes registered in ASDI were much influenced by the "proximity"[137] of a social transaction cost.

11.2. Comparison of views expressed by policymakers, Danes and immigrants

This study suggests that the division between attitudes of policy makers and Danes towards integration policies is not great, while a division between Danes and policymakers, and immigrants, may be more substantial.

11.2.1. Division of attitudes between policymakers and Danes

The majority of Danes seemed to advocate an assimilatory approach to integration. Such an attitude appeared to correlate with the views of the majority of politicians but less with the local bureaucrats.

The views of the bureaucrats in the municipalities were clearly more in tune with the attitudes of the Centre Left politicians and to some extent the views expressed by representatives of the Red-Green Alliance and the Social Liberals. Taking into account the significant influence that local administrations seem to have on policies, local bureaucrats may tone down the national government's assimilative approach to integration. The division in this case is foremost between the central and local governments, and in the case of the municipal council of Copenhagen, between some Centre Right politicians and the bureaucrats.

In agreement with the majority of Danes in ASDI most politicians stated that they wanted to off-load some of the "costs" of integration from the shoulders of Danes and increasingly place those costs on immigrants. Apart from politicians representing the Red-Green Alliance and the Social Liberals, the politicians were very conscious of their previous elitist attitudes. In their own words they had learned to listen to people. But the policymakers, excluding the representatives of DF, hinted that some parts of the press and DF provoke prejudicial attitudes among Danes, creating a destructive division between Danes and immigrants. This study does not measure directly whether the media and DF encourage negative attitudes of Danes or immigrants. But the study does not support the dominant perception of policymakers that the views of Danes were subservient to the negative portrayal of immigrants by the media or DF. Danes and immigrants were rather pragmatic in the sense that they trusted each other, and Danes showed high level of tolerance towards immigrants at individual level. The findings of ASDI leave no grounds to conclude that increased immigration has led to a higher level of animosity towards immigrants. Though Danes overwhelmingly agreed with the prevailing attitude among politicians that neighbourhoods with many immigrants impede integration, fewer Danes support intervention in immigrants' right to settle in such neighbourhoods. That may be out of respect for immigrants' liberal rights. It may also be that ordinary Danes simply understand the improbability of regulating settlement according to

[137] "proximity" is in the thesis defined as "an individual's acceptance or acknowledgement of a cost that a social construction may impose depends on how likely it is, and to what extent, it will affect the individual.

ethnicity. Where centre Right politicians implied that immigrants were attracted to Denmark because of the welfare system, very few Danes thought that immigrants claim benefits they are not entitled to (this attitude is not a measure for whether Danes think that social assistance works as a disincentive to work). Referring to the heated public debate on Muslims, Danes' attitude towards Muslims appeared more muted and less negative than expected. Danes were more concerned about the impact of Muslims than immigrants in general on society. Still, 80% of Danes did not view Islam as a destabilizing force in Denmark.

However, though the majority of politicians advocated assimilative measures they still talked about integration in multicultural terms. Their choice of language was more in line with the views expressed by the better educated Danes. The majority of policymakers had an academic education and their form of contact or lack thereof with immigrants was similar to that of better educated Danes. The policymakers' way of expressing themselves may be a reflection of the supposed paradox of Danes holding a mixture of assimilative and multicultural attitudes. But, it will most likely echo the better, rather than the less educated Danes' perception of integration. Equally, locally formulated integration policies may also resonate more with immigrants and the better educated section of Danes.

11.2.2. Division of attitudes between policymakers and immigrants

Though immigrants supported a multicultural approach to integration they were in some agreement with Danes on measures that would improve their structural integration and social contact with Danes, such as bussing, obligatory kindergarten and prevention of ethnic neighbourhoods. In line with similar findings made by Agius (2013) immigrants' support of specific integration policies that would improve their social mobility runs along occupational status and not ethnic or religious lines. It suggests that Danes and immigrants view selective policies on systemic integration more similarly. These policies should, therefore, not be regarded as "ethnicization policies", as many policy makers feared, but more as conventional policies targeting socially disadvantaged groups. As with Danes "proximity" of the costs, economic or social, of an integration measure seems to be an important determinant of respondents' attitudes.

However, on issues cultural integration immigrants and policymakers differed substantially. It is clear from the responses in ASDI that many immigrants did not give unqualified approval to the norms of Danish society. Such an attitude must necessarily clash with the policymakers' institutionalization of those norms. As in the case of Danes the discussion of norms more than specific policies may inhibit immigrants from embracing integration wholeheartedly. The strong emphasis by the majority of Danes on taking up what are perceived to be Danish norms appears to correlate with Denmark not recognizing dual citizenship. Immigrants must commit their alliance fully to Denmark.

11.3. The policymakers' discussion of integration related issues and its effect on the relationship between policymakers and ordinary citizens

It is argued that the policymakers' way of expressing themselves may not resonate with the attitudes of Danes and immigrants. In the following I will look at how policymakers in the study discussed integration and how it may cause conflicts between them and ordinary citizens. These conflicts, or divisions, may show differently according to the issues discussed. The policymakers perceived national identity very differently, but though they did not agree about the identity of norms in the society they were all inclined to institutionalize (what are considered) individual norms. Many policymakers also avoided or felt uncomfortable talking about Islam. These topics are essential in the debate about integration and have been much discussed in the literature. Very often these deliberations depart from a viewpoint on a left-right axis. Such an approach feeds on the antagonism that some commentators claim exist between intellectuals and Centre-Right politicians (Hedetoft, 2006) and underlines how politicized "integration" has become. From being a distinctively positive concept "integration" becomes a very divisive notion in the relationship between various actors in the debate about immigrants.

11.3.1. Nationalism versus liberal values

Danes' clear voicing of liberal views towards gender, marriage, ethnic diversity in schools, etc. were within a post-materialist framework. However, their profession of a strong identification with Denmark is incongruent with post-materialism. But it is claimed that Danes clearly connect their liberal attitudes specifically with Denmark (MRII, 2007). It generates a strong sense of nationalism, granting Danish liberal values precedence over non-liberal values. There is an idea of a unique place, a Gemeinschaft.

Many policymakers, particularly Centre Left politicians and local bureaucrats, argued that liberal values are not specifically Danish. However, in a globalized world new forms of nationalism develop parallel with post-materialistic ideas such as anti-authoritarianism and diversity (Borre, 2011). But, as mentioned in chapter 2, more leftist inclined commentators regard nationalism as a means to protect the majority population and they reject it. In the survey the leftist policymakers preferred to see Denmark as a Gemeinschaft, while they simultaneously denied that its liberal values were uniquely Danish. The views of the " Leftist elite" may, therefore, alienate or confuse Danes and make them hostile towards their discussion of integration. Danes may turn their backs on the proponents of such views and thereby on the proponents of multiculturalism.

11.3.2. Attitudes towards Islam.

Many of the interviewed politicians disallowed the question put forward by Trigg (2007:14) whether society can accept the beliefs of all religions as of equal value and distance itself from the beliefs of the majority of its citizens. Others stuck to the more official policy in Denmark of keeping religion out of the public domain, and in a liberal tradition favouring with the secular against religion (ibid, 2007).

The latter group, mainly Centre Left politicians and most bureaucrats, rejected the idea that Islam must be taken into account as a determinant of integration outcomes, though this study and other studies suggest that a significant number of Muslims hold values and norms not congruent with values of the society (MRII, 2007). As discussed in chapter 6 this attitude may be spurred by a secular tradition of disregarding religion in social matters and by a concern not to contribute to the alienation of Islam. Their attitude may also be prompted by the assumption that religion in the public domain may cause frictions because of its inherently divisive nature (Trigg, 2007: 30). However, policy makers could be said to "hide their head in the sand like an ostrich". They are suppressing a debate out of fear of the "costs" involved in discussing the role of Islam and bringing Muslims into a secular Christian society. By allowing a debate the discussion could raise above the level of the "Islam sceptics", who portray Muslims as "illoyal" to Danishness, see page 31. A diversified debate would give Muslims a chance not to be on the defensive arguing against being labelled "otherness" (Jensen, 2007; Schmidt, 2007). It could be a forum to discuss the challenges they face and expose the contradictions of a secular society with a state church that may alienate the same group of people it wants to integrate. A debate could also bring about a discussion of the institutionalization of private norms in Denmark and the interference of the state in people's private lives.

However, many policymakers appear to be afraid of the social transaction costs of such a debate. Primarily, they are fearful of an ethnicization of social problems. That fear is certainly real, but the solution to this problem must not be to ignore a "Muslim identity", but to put social problems into a context that Muslim immigrants can recognize. That comprises social and cultural factors, including religious identity. The denial of a proper debate about the role of Islam in society disqualifies Islam as an institution that fits into a modern secular society where authorities of all kinds are scrutinized and regulated. In the eyes of Danes the "debate suppressors" may turn Islam into a bull in a china shop. Inadvertently, those who claim to protect Muslims may force apart Muslim immigrants and Danes, resulting in higher social transaction costs in their dealings with each other.

11.3.3. Institutionalization of norms and values

The majority of policymakers institutionalized norms on gender, upbringing of children and family life, see chapter 5 and 6. ASDI showed that Danes agreed very much upon these norms, while immigrants did not. Lack of cultural integration is foremost ascribed to immigrants' divergent attitudes on these issues. However, the enforcement of the norms requires a trade off by the society. The norms are not only part of the backdrop of the welfare state and an important part of Danish identity, history and common consciousness, the Gemeinschaft. The norms also provide women and children protection from harmful treatment and grant them individual rights. By dispensing a growing section of the population from respecting these values the consensus on basic values is destabilized. Individualizing the norms also highlight the conundrum of the multi-cultural society.

Do group-rights precede individual rights? Should ethnic children be devoid of protection from capital punishment because such practice is part of the culture of their parents?

Against this a human right perspective argues against discrimination on ethnic, cultural or religious grounds and denying people their cultural identity. This aspect is particularly pertinent in a country where integration is highly politicized and regulated by the Government. The strong requirement to adapt to Danish norms and values turns them into indispensible institutional norms and thresholds that immigrants must meet and sign up to in order to become part of society. There is a strong belief that social capital can be generated though public policy. The strong enforcement of norms may alienate immigrants and provoke reactionary behaviour, such as youngsters turning to traditional values. Leaving integration into the hands of an over-regulating government easily provokes an attitude of "us versus the state", reflecting the assertion by many commentators that the social capital of the welfare state in itself may be exclusionary (Knudsen, 1996; Forsander, 2004; Li, 2004; Mouritsen et al, 2009; Kærgaard, 2010; Olwig, 2011).

Institutionalization of norms also resonate with the claim by b. Parekh (2000), that the combination of a mono-cultural public realm, which is institutionalized, with a multi-cultural private realm will most likely lead to the former undermining the latter, see page 21. The case of Denmark supports the assertion that a liberal multicultural society is an illusion. Politicians representing DF and the Social liberals may formulate their views of norms and values in Denmark very differently, but both groups of politicians institutionalize, for instance, norms on gender and upbringing of children and give presence to "their " norms and such undermines the respect for the multi-cultural private realm.

11.4. Policy implications of the findings

Most policymakers expressed views within the framework of liberal multiculturalism while they simultaneously supported more assimilative integration measures. At the same time immigrants and Danes increasingly live more segregated lives (The Government, 2010). The findings of ASDI also suggest that groups of immigrants and Danes have limited contact with each other and young immigrants prefer to strengthen intra-ethnic bonds. In Nannestad's terminology of solidarity we can say that while immigrants are asked to be willing to pay more of the cost of solidarity, at the same time they become less willing and capable to do so because segregation itself generate social capital detrimental for their participation in the wider society. That relationship, the willingness and capability to pay the price of solidarity, is at the centre of the general discussion on integration of immigrants. Nannestad (1999:199) claims that integration policies are nothing more than "policies of distribution of costs". Integration policies must, therefore, aim at influencing this distribution by increasing not only the willingness, but also the capacity to integrate. This section of the chapter examines four instruments of integration that has been discussed with policymakers: "Start Assistance", "policies preventing the development of ethnic neighbourhoods", membership of inter-ethnic organisations and "education". How do these policies influence the distribution of

"costs" and generate social capital benevolent for the capability and willingness to accept the cost of solidarity or the upholding of the *Gemeinschaft*?

11.4.1. The policy of Start Assistance

Start Assistance is a selective policy that was implemented to strengthen work incentives and prevent clientalization[138] of immigrants. The incumbent Government has scrapped the policy. The policymakers were very divided in their views of its impact on social capital. On the one hand Centre Left politicians, backed up by many Danish scholars, perceived Start Assistance to be a breach of social citizenship, leading to immigrants having less trust in Danes. On the other hand the Centre Right politicians supported the policy, among other reasons because being at work provide immigrants with self-respect and a feeling of belonging.

This study suggests that differentiating social assistance is not detrimental to immigrants' social trust in Danes. Under various different conditions, educational and occupational level, immigrants' level of social trust in Danes remains fairly unaffected. It is particularly noteworthy that immigrants out of work did not show less social trust in Danes. This study also showed that immigrants at work felt a significantly stronger belonging to Denmark. Thus, the policy does not seem to have a detrimental impact on the willingness of immigrants to trust Danes and thereby increasing the social transaction costs. However, the study does not give any indication of how institutional trust may be affected. Neither is it possible to infer how far the more economically disadvantaged people on Start Assistance may reduce their participation in social activities, such as associational life. In other words, the capability to be part of the *Gemeinschaft* may be curtailed.

11.4.2. Policies preventing the development of ethnic neighbourhoods

Policymakers universally agreed that neighbourhoods with high density of immigrants, the so-called "ghettoes", were areas of great concern. But the interviewees did not agree if social structures or cultural factors were at the root of the lack of integration of many immigrants living in such environments. In accordance with the Government policy, most policy makers favoured measures to prevent the development of ethnic neighbourhoods on the grounds that they isolated immigrants from having contact with Danes. This gave them negative social capital, amoral familism, that strengthens their inwards bonds with the culture of their country of origin (bonding capital), but weakened their capacity to participate fully in the Danish society economically and culturally (bridging capital). Segregation and the combination of low employment rates with high crime rates in neighbourhoods with many immigrants may also add to the prejudice Danes have towards ethnic minorities (Matthiessen, 2009).

This study provides mixed evidence of the impact of the density of immigrants in a neighbourhood upon respondents' stock of social capital. Along a relational dimension it is observed that immigrants living in more ethnic neighbourhoods have less bridging capital. But the results of the

[138] Clientalism in this context refers to an individual with diminished agency and whose existence is depending of services of the welfare bureaucracy (Graham, 2002)

statistical models showed that ethnic density in neighbourhood has limited effect on attitudes. Adopting norms and values in Denmark and thereby accepting the social transaction cost involved seems to be unrelated to ethnic density of the neighbourhoods of immigrants.

In the public debate the problems associated with parallel living are more normative than relational. In that perspective the findings of this study put into question the policymakers' support of preventing the development of ethnic neighbourhoods. A major problem in "ghettoes" is the very high number of residents outside the labour market, and ASDI does not include data on attitudes towards work. But if, as indicated in ASDI, the ethnic composition of neighbourhoods is an insignificant determinant of attitudes towards norms and values in Denmark, the discussion of ethnic neighbourhoods should be based on their socio-economic and not ethnic properties.

However, in ASDI increased ethnic density in a neighbourhood is significantly associated with not having a Danish friend, which otherwise tends to make immigrants more inclined to agree with the norms and values included in ASDI. Also, living in ethnic neighbourhoods may slow the acquisition of language, which will disadvantage a person in the labour market (Matthiessen, 2009). Secondly, according to network theories (Mikkelsen, 2001), immigrants with a bigger network of Danish social contacts are also more likely to find employment. Therefore, regulation of ethnic minorities' settlement may indirectly serve the intended purpose of providing immigrants with social capital beneficial for cultural integration.

11.4.3. Policies promoting membership of inter-ethnic organisations

This survey shows that inter-ethnic organisations will not familiarize immigrants with Danish life and values and incorporate them in the Gemeinshaft. Membership of inter-ethnic voluntary organisations has a very limited effect on attitudes. But, it appears to be clearly associated with having Danish friends. Therefore, the argument to encourage immigrants to participate in inter-ethnic organisations run parallel with the argument justifying prevention of ethnic neighbourhoods. The policy is further justified by the very low chances that immigrants in neighbourhoods with many immigrants will participate in inter-ethnic associations.

11.4.4. Policies on education

Education provides resources that will enhance an individual's capability to function in society. It leads not only to better job opportunities but also to cognitive skills that enable an individual to navigate in a complex world and tolerate or perhaps even appreciate its multiplicity of ideas, cultures, etc. Education of young immigrants and descendants has increasingly become the main measure of integration of immigrants in Denmark. In line with Government policy the policymakers who were interviewed saw education as a means to improve systemic integration and learn Danish values. Such expectations are also attached to the improved educational attainment of young women with an ethnic minority background, see chapter three.

While educational level is the main determinant of the level of social capital among Danes it hardly appears to influence attitudes of immigrants, including trust. It is also noticeable that occupational level also shows a limited relation with attitudes. The initial expectations back in the 1980s that the descendants would integrate in the Danish educational system on equal terms with Danes and adhere to Danish norms have proven wrong. In line with previous research this study suggests that young immigrants and descendants adopt more traditional values similar to those in their country of origin.

The statistical models applied in the analyses do not control for where highest level of education has been obtained. Therefore, it is not possible to estimate institutional effects of education in Denmark and in immigrants' country of origin. But the findings of ASDI suggest that education does not appear to affect immigrants' levels of trust or to nurture more secular values and norms. In MRII's attitudinal survey of 2006 (MRII, 2007), which surveyed descendants educated in Danish institutions, a similar outcome was registered. It suggests that education alone does not provide the capability or willingness to accept the social transaction costs involved in adapting to values and norms of the Danish society.

Re-evaluation of educational policies

The above findings must lead to a re-evaluation of integration strategies, assuming that the state still thinks it is within its domain to develop more secular norms and values of newcomers. It is beyond the scope of the thesis to deliberate in depth on educational policies. I will just bring to the fore a few comments.

Education of students with an ethnic minority background increasingly focuses on developing values of social citizenship (liberal ideas of family life, gender equality, civic engagement, etc.) and acquiring knowledge of Danish culture. Subjects such as history, Danish and Christianity are being reconceptualized within the renaissance of Danish culture in order to strengthen Danish identity (Mouritsen et al, 2013). In light of the high percentage of descendants leaving the educational system with very poor academic qualifications (Egelund et al, 2009) and the growing number of youngsters opposing those values they have been taught at school, the strong "culturalization" of ethnic students appears misjudged. The state's attempt to secure a culturally homogenous population and national cohesion seems overeager and to backfire. The concern overshadows two pressing problems: First, the academic underachievement of descendants, particularly boys, and its link to poor labour market integration (Mouritsen et al , 2013). It could be argued that there has been an over-emphasis on persuading immigrants to pay the cost of assimilation at the expense of helping them to participate in the labour market and in the educational system on equal footing with Danes. Secondly, the increased number of children choosing private education, leaves *folkeskolen* (the state school) with an increasing proportion of academically and socially weaker

children[139]. This "bleeding" of students undermines the position of *folkeskolen* as a unifying institution of the universal welfare state and its values of solidarity.

11.5. Concluding words: the importance of inter-ethnic relations and strategies to improve them

Whenever the Government propose or implement integration measures a trade off between costs and benefits must be considered. For the Government social cohesion is the ultimate aim of integration of immigrants. A society divided along ethnic and cultural lines may come with huge costs in terms of loss of homogeneity and consensus about basic values. The big question is whether the universal welfare state can survive such conditions or whether solidarity will become more particularistic (Miller, 1995), see page 17. This raises the question of the collective action dilemma. Integration is a good from which everybody benefits, but integration involves individual costs that make free-riding the obvious choice for a utility-maximizing individual (Nannestad, 2004:293). Incentives can be used to overcome a reluctance to negotiate the costs, such as Start Assistance. But most important seems trust in fellow citizens; that they will reciprocate at the same level as oneself (White, 2003). The findings of ASDI suggest that this trust exists between a majority of Danes and immigrants resembling the demographics of the respondents in ASDI.

The trust between policymakers and ordinary citizens (Danes and immigrants) may not be equally strong. The policymakers and Danes seemed to agree about a more assimilative approach to integration, but as argued above the policymakers way of expressing themselves and their attempt to control the public debate may anger many Danes and cause them to be less willing to accept the cost involved in the inclusion of immigrants in the society. A quite similar construction of attitudes can be observed among immigrants. A majority of immigrants appeared to support policies that enhance structural integration even though it could be argued that these policies infringe their civil rights. There is a willingness to contribute to society. Though they may not agree with Start Assistance, the use of this incentive to work seemed not to have had any detrimental affect on their social trust in Danes. But many immigrants clearly disagreed with norms and values related to family life and religion. It has been suggested (Schmidt et al, 2000) that the more reactionary attitude observed among the younger immigrants and descendants in this and other studies is a counter reaction against the assimilative pressure applied on them and the lack of respect of their ethnic identity. The institutionalization of norms and the attempt to "teach" social capital may backfire, and this thesis suggests that the huge costs of these assimilative measures is not matched by its benefits. The transformation of norms and values into governmental decrees and yardsticks of "belonging" may only come across as repressive policies. The interviews of immigrants in the

[139] In 2011 about 15% of children in basic education attended a private school. This figure is estimated to rise to 19% by 2020 (Cevea, 2012)

MPhil clearly demonstrated the lack of respect of their ethnic identity by Danes caused resentment to the extent that immigrants did not want to socialize with Danes.

The findings of ASDI indicate that willingness of immigrants to adopt norms and values are more likely among those with Danish friends. Equally, Danes' acceptance of direct social transaction costs is positively correlated with having immigrant friends. Secondly, local policymakers with a first hand knowledge of immigration seem to have a better understanding than their colleagues in Parliament, that integration policies must distribute the social transaction cost more evenly. If acculturation leading to assimilation of immigrants is the aim of integration policies, the findings of the thesis and their discussed implications on the relationship between Danes and immigrants suggest that the vast investment in integration of immigrants may be better spent by stimulating inter-ethnic relations rather than enforcing certain values and norms on immigrants. This involves considering a number of strategies:

1) strengthening of human skills of immigrants improving their competiveness in the labour market.

2) radical reassessment of housing policies, preventing ethnic concentration. This involves low concentration of social housing and possible measures to discriminate residency on the basis of socio-economic status.

3) avoidance of the increased social (ethnic) division of children in education by strengthening *folkeskolen* (state school) and preventing the increased depletion of well-functioning students. This may not only involve allocating more resources to *folkeskolen*, but it could also include measures limiting the free school choice and making private education less attractive (more expensive)[140].

4) stimulation of youth participation in inter-ethnic organisations.

5) recognition by the policymakers of immigrants' ethnic and religious identities and interplay with structural and cultural integration. Such recognition may also include acceptance of dual citizenship.

6) establishing a better contact between Parliamentarians and immigrants, giving immigrants a *voice* in policymaking and providing Parliamentarians with a closer knowledge of integration.

7) an encouragement and trust in a free debate of the implications of a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society.

Some of these measures may seem radical. But the radicalism rest not only with their possible restriction of *rights*, but more with the fact that the social transaction costs incurred to maintain the coherence of the society must also be born by Danes.

11.6. Contributions from researching attitudes of policymakers and ordinary citizens.

Answering the puzzle why integration of immigrants in Denmark causes much antagonism the thesis investigates a possible division between attitudes of policy makers and Danes and

[140] The government in Denmark covers about 80% of the cost of private schools

immigrants on issues related to integration. Such comparison has provided an original insight into the relation between policymakers and ordinary citizens.

Shedding light on this puzzle the thesis has also brought together ideas from two different disciplines, economics and political science, combining the concepts of social transaction costs and social capital. To my knowledge there is no precedence for such an approach and therefore no empirical knowledge to build on. Except in a more strict economic sense rational choice theory has not been applied in immigrant studies (Andersen, 2002). The thesis demonstrates that a multi-discipline framework can help to explain why certain aspects of integration either succeed or fail. In doing so it has supplemented existing explanations of the attitudes of different actors. A social capital approach makes it possible to investigate out-group contact and its association with attitudes, while the theory of rational choice allows us to interpret the findings from the perspective of an actor as a rational utility-maximizing person considering the cost of human interaction. Integration of immigrants implies *adaptation* and *change,* and within a rational choice approach an actor actively makes decision whether to adapt and accept changes. An individual is not only perceived as a victim of social structures, but as an individual with agency. Naturally, such an approach is controversial for many social scientists. But the aim and the contribution of the thesis is not to disprove "marionette theories". The theoretical contribution of the thesis is solely to demonstrate that alternative perspectives may shed a different light on attitudes related to integration of immigrants, and thus add to the understanding of the complexities of integration. In that process the thesis exemplifies the inadequacy of post-materialism as a universal theory applicable to all populations. In line with other studies this study suggests that structural conditions, particularly education, appear not to influence the formation of social capital to the same extent among immigrants and the native population. It also added to the common theory that education is the pivotal predictor of an individual's acceptance of a social transaction cost. In the thesis it emerged that *proximity* of a cost may be a more accurate predictor of accepting a social transaction cost.

11.6.1. Limitations of the thesis

The undertaking of this study has primarily been a learning process. Initially a set plan was constructed for collecting and analysing data. However, the process has been very iterative. Data collection proved much more difficult than anticipated and the analyses presented many limitations of the data. These limitations of the research are important to keep in mind.

The case study method implies certain limitations. The findings drawn from such a study is limited to analytical generalization. It allows us to derive some tendencies but not to generalize the findings to the observed population (Yin, 1994). The benefit of a study of this character rests on its capacity to test the application of analytical concepts and possibly affirm a relation between them. In that process underlying mechanisms can be revealed and offer explanations for the observed outcomes (Pitidol, 2013).

The samples, particularly in the quantitative survey, were not constructed on ideal principles. The aim of assembling samples that are representative on parameters important for the study, is easily compromised by unrepresentative response. Among policy makers Centre Right politicians were hard to engage for an interview, and at national level they are under-represented. The choice of samples for the quantitative survey was much guided by finding an institution which would cooperate and allow me to access their affiliates on-line. The chosen method of the quantitative survey produced a sample made up predominantly by people at work and of a higher educational level. The ethnic composition of the sample did not accurately reflect the population of immigrants in Denmark. Any generalizations made from such sample must be done with these limitations in mind. The number of immigrants is low and the statistical findings of this group of respondents must be viewed within the limitations such a sample provides. There is a risk that an underpowered sample may overlook relationships.

The study of a group of Danes and immigrants confined into a limited geographical area, and in the case of Danes mainly to one institution, also limits the ability to generalise the findings. The administration of the questionnaire by the municipality may also have resulted in selection bias, as the sample collated at the municipality has a higher education level than the anticipated level for all employees. It cannot be excluded that the municipality saw an interest in restriction the sample to employees they expected would express views conducive for the image of its employees.

11.6.2. Recommendations for future studies

It is important to approach this study as an unconventional contribution to the study of immigrants in Denmark. Future studies will hopefully develop rational choice theory and make it a more acceptable approach. The validity of the findings of this study would benefit from extending this study into multiple cases in a comparative fashion, encompassing bigger samples and more advanced stratification of sampling. More elaborate models are needed to investigate the relation between an individual's stock of social capital and its determinants, e.g., the effect of level and place of education. A post-materialist approach has appeared to be insufficient for determining predictors of immigrant's attitudes. More extensive research of attitudes of immigrants is needed to clarify the impact of and the interplay between them, ethnicity and religion in order to develop theoretical frameworks for attitudinal analyses of immigrants.

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Appendices

Appendix 5.1

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL POLICY AND INTERVENTION

Barnett House, 32 Wellington Square,
Oxford, OX1 2ER, United Kingdom
www.spi.ox.ac.uk

Information sheet for civil servants and politicians

28.01.11

Name if interviewee

Regarding research project about integration of non-Western immigrants.

I hereby contact you in your capacity as member of Committee for Foreigners and Integration.

My name is Jesper Kulvmann. I'm a DPhil student at the department of Social Policy and Intervention at University of Oxford, UK. As part of a study of integration of non-Western immigrants in Denmark, I carry out interviews with native Danes, immigrants and descendants from non-Western countries and Danish politicians and civil servants working with immigration and integration of immigrants. The title of the project is: The impact of social capital and social transaction costs upon attitudes of native Danes and non-Western immigrants towards each other, and the contrast between these views and those of policy makers.

The project deals with attitudes of ethnic Danes and non-Western immigrants and descendants towards integration. It focuses particularly on the level of social contact between ethnic Danes and non-Western immigrants and the demands these groups put to each other to integrate immigrants and descendants, economically, socially and culturally. It is expected to include 700 people in the survey.

A number of interviews with bureaucrats and politicians at national and local level will also be performed to uncover their attitudes on integration. The aim of the interviews is also to elucidate their opinions on the relationship between the welfare state and the multicultural society and the law making process regarding integration of immigrants. For this purpose I contact you and ask for your voluntary participation. Politicians from all the political parties represented in Parliament and civil servants at the ministry of Refugees, Immigration and Integration and at regional administrations will be interviewed. The interview is based on open questions and takes the form of a conversation. It is set to last approximately one hour. With your permission it will be tape-recorded. You may at any time choose not to answer a question and to withdraw from the interview.

The information collected from the interviews with civil servants are confidential and anonymous according to legal requirements, and any reference to information given by a civil servant will be under a different name. Interviews with politicians are not anonymous. As this survey is an

independent study no information will be passed on to any authorities but will only be shared within the research team. Neither will data collected in this survey be offered for other researchers. The research will be written up as a thesis. On successful submission of the thesis, it will deposited both in print and online in the University archives, to facilitate its use in future research. The thesis will be published with open access to all internet users and by so accessible to the general public.

The researcher, who is the only person with a code to access the data, stores all information collected digitally. At the end of the project all information collected will be destroyed.

If you have a concern about any aspects of this project, please speak to the researcher (tel. 60684435) who will do his/her best to answer your query. If you remain unhappy and wish to make a formal complaint, please contact the Research Ethics Committee at the University of Oxford (ethics@socsci.ox.ac.uk; +44 (0)1865 614871; Social Sciences & Humanities Inter-Divisional Research Ethics Committee, Oxford University, Hayes House, 75 George Street, Oxford, OX1 2BQ, UK).

The project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee.

Researcher: Jesper Kulvmann

Tel. 60684435

e-mail: jesper.kulvmann@stx.ox.ac.uk
Supervisor: Professor David Coleman
Tel. 0044 (0)1865 270345
e-mail: david.coleman@spi.ox.ac.uk

Sincerely,
Jesper Kulvmann

Appendix 5.2.

Consent form

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL POLICY AND INTERVENTION

Barnett House, 32 Wellington Square,
Oxford, OX1 2ER, United Kingdom
www.spi.ox.ac.uk

Title: The impact of social capital and social transaction costs upon attitudes of native Danes and non-Western immigrants towards each other, and the contrast between these views and those of policy maker.

Researcher: Jesper Kulvmann
Tel. 60684435
Mail address: jesper.kulvmann@stx.ox.ac.uk

I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated 28.01.2011 ( )

I have had the opportunity to consider information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily ( )

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I'm free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason ( )

I understand that my participation is not anonymous ( )

I agree that citations from this interview can be used in the dissertation and be published ( )

I have been informed about procedures if I have any concerns about the project, and if I wish to make a complaint ( )

I agree that the interview will be recorded ( )

I agree to take part in the above study and that I will be given a signed copy of the consent form to keep ( )

_____	_____	_____
Name of interviewee	date	signature
_____	_____	_____
Name of researcher	date	signature

Appendix 5.3

Topic guide: Politicians and members of ethnic councils

Objectives

- Explore perceptions of integration and a multicultural society.
- Explore politicians' experience of Danish integration policies.
- Investigate the policy making process in terms of participating actors, use of information, involvement of interest groups and national influence on regional integration policies.
- Obtain information about politicians' personal contact with non-Western immigrants.

I. Introduction

Presentation of myself and my research.

- Aim of the interviews.
- Duration / recording of interview.
- Obtaining consent.

II. Personal data

- Political appointments.
- Years in Parliament/ member of municipality council.
- Professional connections with immigrant organisations.
    - Through political channels or non-political contacts.

III. General discussion on integration

Explore the civil politicians' perception of some concepts prominent in the discussion of integration.

- What does the interviewee think the concept "integration" contains?
- Perception of what a multicultural society involves?

IV. Aim of Danish integration policies and main challenges

1. Clarify what the interviewees think are the main objectives of Danish integration polices.

2. Clarify interveiwees' views of the role of native Danes and immigrants in the integration process.

- What is the main priority of integration policies in Denmark?
- Main problems, challenges etc..
- Possible differences between local and national problems/challenges.
- Assess what the interviewees think Danes and immigrants consider the main problems.

V. General questions on integration

Establish interviewees' attitudes towards some key elements of integration.

- How does interviewee define "Danish norms and values"?
- Some immigrants want to maintain own norms and values, and they do not want to socialize with Danes. What right does the state have to interfere in other people's lifestyle?
    - Marriage pattern
    - Gender roles
    - Upbringing of children

- Does the interviewee think that differences among immigrants mainly are rooted in cultural/national or religious differences?
- What role does religion play?
    - (if religion is a factor in the integration process) Should integration initiatives recognize religion as a factor for integration and aim policies at Muslims?
    - Are politicians afraid of recognizing that religion is a factor for integration?
- Does interviewee think that immigrants and Danes have similar feeling of solidarity towards the welfare state?
    - If not: What are the consequences for the welfare state itself?
    - To what extent does the interviewee think that Danish integration policy is driven by ideology or more pragmatic attitudes?

VI. Sources of information and decision-making

Politicians

Explore how the interviewees gain information?

- Explore the level of contact with organisations representing ethnic minorities.
- Which interest groups does the interviewee consult?
- Does interviewee think that representativeness is an issue?
- Does the interviewee get information from the Ministry of Integration/administration of municipality?
- Does the interviewee think that the politicians (Parliament/municipality) have an influence on integration policies?

Members of ethnic councils

Explore to what extent the councils have an influence on integration policies and discuss the representativeness of the councils.

- What do the interviewees think is the domain of action of the councils?
- Are the councils supported by immigrants and by which groups?
- Do politicians listen to the councils?
- Are there any formal routes of communication between councils and policymakers (MRII, municipality administration, municipality councils?

VII. Inquiry of possible elitist approach to integration.

Investigate interviewee's attitude towards claims that integration policies are elite driven.

- What is the position of the interviewee on the claim that integration policies are elite driven?
- Is the multicultural society an elitist idea?
- Lower income Danes are said to pay the highest price integrating immigrants. Is this group heard sufficiently?

VIII. Examples of specific integration policies

Discuss more specificly Danish integration policies or topics that have been prominent in the debate about immigrants.

- Does living in neighbourhood dominated by own or non-Danish ethnic groups impede integration?
- Does the interviewee agree with moving well-functioning native Danish families into ethnic ghettoes?

- Does the interviewee agree that ethnic families by law should be forced to make their pre-school children attend kindergarten?
- What is the interviewee's opinion of Start Assistance?
    - Does interviewee think that Start Assistance is a discriminatory measure?
    - What effect does it have on attitudes of Immigrants?
- Surveys show that some descendants of Muslim immigrants develop more dogmatic Muslim values than their parents. What is the perception of the interviewee on this and reasons for this development? (social disadvantage, increasing discrimination, outcome of multicultural policies, living in ghettoes, influence from within Muslim community, etc.)?
- (for politicians in Odense) How does interviewee view the option of bussing students?

VIII. Personal information and interviewee's contact with immigrants

Establish how much contact the interviewee has with immigrants in his non-professional life.

- Education.
- Employment before/ besides political activity.
- Place of living.
- Are there any non-Western immigrants in the neighbourhood of the interviewee
- Does interviewee have any friends with a non-Western background that he/she sees privately?
- Do members of the ethnic councils have Danish friends?
- Does the interviewee have any colleagues of non-Western origin?
- Is the interviewee an active member of a voluntary organisation?
- Children?
    - Does the interviewee have children in education?
    - Do they attend state school/ private school?

IX. Conclusion

- Ask summary/concluding questions.
- Express gratitude for participation.

Appendix 5.4.

Topic guide: civil servants

Objectives

- Explore civil servants' perception of integration and a multicultural society Explore civil servants' experience of Danish integration policies.
- Investigate the policy making process in terms of participating actors, use of information, involvement of interest groups and national influence on regional integration policies.
- Obtain information about civil servants' personal contact with non-Western immigrants.

I. Introduction

Presentation of myself and my research.

- Aim of the interviews
- Duration / recording of interview.
- Obtaining consent.

II. Personal data

- Professional background
    - Job title
    - Education
    - Professional experience working with integration issues

III. General discussion on integration

Explore the civil servants' perception of concepts prominent in the discussion of integration.

- What does the interviewee think the concept "integration" contains?
- Perception of what a multicultural society means?

IV. Aim of Danish integration policies and main challenges

1. *Clarify what the interviewees think are the main objectives of Danish integration polices.*
2. *Clarify interviewees' views of the role of native Danes and immigrants in the integration process.*

- What is the main priority of integration policies in Denmark?
- Main problems, challenges etc.
- What are the reasons for lacking systemic integration
    - Employment
    - Education

V. General questions on integration

Establish interviewee's attitudes towards some key elements of integration.

- How does interviewee define "Danish norms and values"
- Some immigrants want to maintain own norms and values, and they do not want to socialize with Danes. What right does the state have to interfere in other people's life style
    - Marriage pattern
    - Gender roles
    - Upbringing of children
- Does the interviewee think that differences among immigrants mainly are rooted in cultural/national or religious differences?

- What role does religion play?
    - (if religion is a factor in the integration process) Should integration initiatives recognize religion as a factor for integration and aim policies at Muslims?
- Are policymakers afraid of recognizing that religion is a factor for integration?
- Does interviewee think that immigrants and Danes have similar feeling of solidarity towards the welfare state?
    - If not: What are the consequences for the welfare state itself?
- To what extent does the interviewee think that Danish integration policy is driven by ideology or more pragmatic attitudes?

VI. Sources of information and decision-making

Civil servants at the MRII.

Explore how policies develop and the relationship between the Ministry and politicians/the government.

Explore the level of contact with organisations representing ethnic minorities.

- What is the balance of inputs in the process of developing integration policies between the Ministry and the government/politicians?
- How does the interview perceive the balance of influence on integration policies between central government and local governments?
- Does interviewee experience a conflict of interests between the different actors?
- What is the extent of hearings of interest groups and academic experts (academic reports/papers)?
    - Which interest groups?
    - Does the interviewee feel these groups actually represent the main views of those people they claim to represent?

Civil servants at the municipalities of Copenhagen and Odense

Explore the level of influence civil servants and local governments have on integration policies.

Explore the level of contact with organisations representing ethnic minority groups.

- To what extent is local integration policies dictated by the central government?
- What is the extent of hearings of interest groups and academic experts (academic reports/papers)?
    - Which interest groups?
    - Does the interviewee feel that these groups actually represent the main views of those people they claim to represent?
- Do the national politicians understand the problems municipalities face?

VII. Examples of specific integration policies

Discuss more specificly Danish integration policies or topics that have been prominent in the debate about immigrants.

- Does living in neighbourhood dominated by own or non-Danish ethnic groups impede integration?
- Does the interviewee agree with moving well-functioning native Danish families into ethnic ghettoes?
- Does the interviewee agree that ethnic families by law should be forced to make their pre-school children attend kindergarten?
- What is the interviewee's opinion of Start Assistance?
    - Does interviewee think that Start Assistance is a discriminatory measure?
    - What effect does it have on attitudes of Immigrants?

- Surveys show that some descendants of Muslim immigrants develop more dogmatic Muslim values than their parents. What is the perception of the interviewee on this and reasons for this development? (social disadvantage, increasing discrimination, outcome of multicultural policies, living in ghettoes, influence from within Muslim community, etc.)?
- (civil servants in Odense) How does interviewee view the option of bussing students?

VIII. Personal contact with immigrants

Establish how much contact the interviewee has with immigrants in his non-professional life.

- Place of living
- Are there any non-Western immigrants in the neighbourhood of the interviewee?
- Does the interviewee have any colleagues of non-Western origin?
- Does the interviewee have any non-Western friends that he/she sees privately?
- Is the interviewee a member of a voluntary organisation with non-Western immigrants?
- Children?
    - Does the interviewee have children in education?
    - Do they attend state school/ private school?

IX. Conclusion

- Ask summary/concluding question
- Reaffirm confidentiality and anonymity.
- Express gratitude for participation.

Appendix 5.5.

Topic guide: Peter Gundelach

Objectives

- Explore Gundelach's perception of integration and a multicultural society.
- Explore Gundelach's perception of nationalism in Denmark.
- Explore factors affecting Danes' solidarity with immigrants.
- Discuss theoretical approach to studying attitudes of Danes towards immigrants.

I. Introduction

Presentation of myself and my research.

- Aim of the interviews.
- Duration / recording of interview.
- Obtaining consent.

II. General discussion on integration

Explore perception of some concepts prominent in the discussion of integration.

- What does the interviewee think the concept, integration, contains?
- Perception of what a multicultural society means?

III. Identity

Investigate dimensions of identity and its relevance in an integration perspective, particularly the "relational dimensions".

- How does interviewee define "ethnicity"?
- Is the relational notion of an ethnic group not just an academic re-formulation in an attempt to avoid concepts such as ethnicity, culture, history etc.?
- How does interviewee see the debate on whether norms and values are specifically Danish or of more universal character?
- How would interviewee describe Danish nationalism?
- Also the highly educated section of Danes shows an attitude of nationalism, according to EVS. Aren't they just "closet assimilators" as well?
- Effect of the value orientated policy of the Government: Have the Danes in the words of Søren Krarup woken up or is it a matter of welfare chauvinisme?

IV. Welfare state and solidarity

Explore views on the Danish welfare state, its fundamental ideas and origin and on its role of integrating immigrants.

- Historical preconditions for the Danish welfare state.
- Elaborate on the notion that sameness is seen a precondition for "equality".
- "The progressive dilemma". Is this problem not more relevant in a universal welfare state, such as Denmark, than in a more liberal economy?
- How does interviewee perceive Start Assistance. Is it a sign of lack of solidarity?
    - Sign of individualism/ welfare chauvinism/ protecting of the common good/ sensible integration policy for the good of the immigrants?

V. The debate

Examine the role the media has on public opinion and interviewee's opinion of the public debate in Denmark.

- What is interviewee's view of the public debate in Denmark.
- Nannestad thinks that its impact is overrated. What is your opinion?
- Who governs whom? (Politicians, media, the people, researchers).
- The public debate is blamed for causing more negative attitudes towards immigrants. Isn't it the "elite" that judge ordinary people for simply not agreeing with them?
- Have the liberals been put on the defensive now?
- Social costs are more accepted among the better educated. How much does it have to do with this group of Danes having limited contact with immigrants and their lack of experience with any direct economic costs?

VI. Post-materialism

Discuss the value of post-materialism for the studying of attitudes of immigrants.

- Relevancy of post-materialism in general and particularly in the perspective of analyzing attitudes of immigrants.
- Have analyses of attitudes of Danes relied too much on a perspective of intolerance/ethnocentrism/discrimination.

VII. EVS

Discuss the parameters in EVS used for measuring Danes' level of tolerance towards ethnic minorities and the validity of the findings presented in "Smaa og Store Forandringer"[141].

- How does interviewee define tolerance?
- How do we know that the parameters used for measuring tolerance actually measure this dimension?
- Tolerance perhaps a sign of some kind of convenience. We have got used to foreigners supplying cheap labour for the better educated Danes?

VIII. Closing words

- Ask summary/concluding questions.
- Express gratitude for participation.

[141] Book edited by Peter Gundelach. The book presents analyses of the 2010 EVS.

Appendix 5.6.

Topic guide: Mehmet Necef

Objectives

- Explore interviewee's perception of integration and a multicultural society.
- Investigate interviewee's opinion of Danish research on immigrants.
- Investigate the role of the welfare state integrating immigrants.
- Investigate interviewee's claim that research on immigrants in Denmark has been misguided by an emphasis on intolerance and discrimination.

I. Introduction

Presentation of myself and my research

- Aim of the interviews.
- Duration / recording of interview.
- Obtaining consent.

II. General discussion on integration

Explore perception of some concepts prominent in the discussion of integration.

- What does the interviewee think the concept, integration, contains?
- Perception of what a multicultural society means?

III. Danish research on immigrants

Explore interviewee's critique of research on attitudes of Danes and immigrants and his views on research being part of a politicized understanding of integration.

- What is interviewee's perception of Danish research on issues related to immigrant studies?
- Why does interviewee think that Danish researchers are governed by "orientalism"?
- How does interviewee view social exclusionism?
- Discuss the danger of including non-social factors analyzing integration?
- Interviewee supports the "rational choice theory" analyzing Danes' behaviour. Is it equally applicable on immigrants?
    - Does the theory not overlook important factors related to the background of immigrants?

IV. The need of assimilation

Discuss the balance between assimilation and maintainanace of ethnic identity.

- How do immigrants fit into a culture that interviewee finds should emphasize its historical and geographical roots?
- Explain the concept "hyphenated citizen" and how immigrants can assimilate and maintain own culture at the same time.
- Have interviewee elaborate on his claim that you cannot be part of a clan/family [slægt] and at the same time be an individual.

V. Welfare state and solidarity

Investigate interviewee's views that social assistance has a negative impact on integration of immigrants.

- Interviewee writes that immigrants do no understand the mechanism of the welfare state and that descendants have grown up in a culture of dependency of the state. How did that dependency develop?
- What is the interviewee's view of Start Assistance?
    - Can we operate with a two-tier system and expect immigrants to feel included on equal footing with other citizens in the society?
    - Garbi Schmidt claims that the poor educational attainment of descendants is an outcome of some kind of revolt against social exclusion. What does interviewee think about this school of thinking?

VI. Muslims in Denmark

Explore to what extent being Muslim is a factor influencing integration

- How does the interviewee evaluate the concern about the role of Islam in society?
- Is it more a debate about ethnicity than religion?
- Why do interviewee think that Muslims will be secularized and differentiate between worldly and religious?
    - Is it a belief in Modernity?

VII. The debate

Examine the role the media has on public opinion and interviewee's opinion of the public debate in Denmark.

- What is interviewee's view of the public debate in Denmark.
- Nannestad thinks that its impact is overrated. What is your opinion?
- Who governs whom? (Politicians, the media, the public, researchers)
- Interviewee pose the question in " Danskernes racism" if the ethnocentric person is also a racist. Is he?

VIII. Closing words

- Ask summary/concluding questions.
- Express gratitude for participation.

Appendix 6.1

Profiles of Parliamentarians

The profiles of members of Parliament are provided as it is expected that non-Danish readers will have no knowledge of the interviewees. The profiles may give an indication of the individual status of the politicians within their political party and in Parliament.

No local politicians had been or were members of Parliament or had held any high profile positions at national level within their respective parties. No profile is therefore created for this group.

Amnitzbøll, Simon Emil: MP since 2005. Representing the Liberal Alliance. He has previously represented the Social Liberals and The Right Wing Centre. Re-elected at the Parliamentary election September 2011.

Andersen, Liv Holm: MP since September 2011 representing the Social Liberals. She was previously the spokesperson on integration for the youth section of the Social Liberals.

Fuglsang Meta: Permanent MP since 2010 representing SF. She was for many years a councillor in the municipality of Vordigborg (1994-2003). She is currently vice-chairman of SF. She lost her seat in Parliament at the election, September 2011.

Haarder, Bertel: Member of Parliament since 1975 representing the Liberals. Re-elected at Parliamentary election, September 2011.

1982 – 1993: Minister of Education
1994 – 2001: Member of the European Parliament
1997 – 1999: Vice-chairman of the European Parliament
2001 – 2005: Minister of Refugee, Immigrants and Integration
2005 – 2010: Minister of Education
2010 – 2011: Interior and Health Minister

Henriksen, Martin: MP since 2005 representing DF. He is very prominent in the political debate on integration. Re-elected at the Parliamentary election, September 2011.

Henriksen, Rene: MP for DF since 2008. He has also been a member of the city council of Guldborgsund since 2005. Re-elected at the Parliamentary election, September 2011.

Hønge, Karsten: MP since 2007 representing SF. Was a member of the county council of Funen 2001-2006. Prior to 2007 he was leader of a trade union for carpenters. He has published pamphlets on integration of immigrants. Lost his Parliamentary seat at the election 2011.

Jelved Marianne: MP for the Social Liberals since 1987

1990 – 2007 : Party leader
1993 – 2001 : Minister of economic Affairs
2001 – 2007, and from 2011 - : Parliamentary Group Leader
2012 - : Minister of Culture

Khader, Naser: MP since 2001. Originally, he represented the Social Liberals. He broke with them and founded the Liberal Alliance. From 2009 he represented the Conservative Party. He has been a prominent figure in the political and public debate on integration, and he has published numerous books on the topic. Naser Khader came to Denmark from Syria as a child. Lost his Parliamentary seat at the election 2011.

Kier, Vivi: MP for the Conservative party from 2007. She was a Conservative councillor in Odense from 2002 - 2010. She has participated much in the public debate on immigrants in Odense. Lost her seat in Parliament at the election, September 2011.

Krag, Astrid: MP for SF since 2007. Vice-chairwoman of the parliamentary group of SF. Since September 2011 (after interview) and until 2014 Minister of Health. Re-elected at the election 2011. In 2014 she broke with SF and currently represent the Social Democrats in Parliament.

Krarup, Søren: MP for DF since 2001 and previously a priest in *folkekirken,* the Danish state church. He has for many years been one of the most prominent right wing political debaters in

Denmark. He has published more than 40 works on Christianity, Danish nationalism and history. During the interview he spoke of himself as the spiritual father of DF. Did not seek re-election at the Parliamentary election 2011.

Kristensen, Henrik Dam: MP for the Social Democrats.

1990 – 2004 : MP
1994 – 1996 : Minister for Agriculture and Fisheries
1996 – 2000 : Minister for food
2004 – 2006 : Member of the European parliament
2006 - : Secretary General of the Social Democratic Party
2007 - : MP
2011 - : Minister of Transport

Panduro, Maja: MP for the Social Democrats since 2009. Councillor in the city council of Randers 2005 – 2009. Re-elected at the Parliamentary election 2011. Since September 2011 Political Spokesperson of the Social Democrats.

Petersen, Niels Helveg: MP for the Social Liberals since 1966. Did not seek re-election at the Parliamentary election, September 2011.

1978 – 1988: Parliamentary group leader
1988 – 1990: Minister of Economic Affairs
1993 – 2001: Foreign Minister

Schmidt-Nielsen, Johanne; MP for the Red-Green Alliance since 2007. Parliamentary leader of the party. Considered the leader of the Political Left in Denmark. Re-elected at the Parliamentary election, September 2011.

Øktem, Fatma: MP for the Liberals since September 2011. Descendant of Turkish immigrants.

Appendix 9.1.

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL POLICY AND INTERVENTION

Barnett House, 32 Wellington Square,
Oxford, OX1 2ER, United Kingdom
www.spi.ox.ac.uk



6.3.2011

Head of Department
Michael Hein Petersen
Department of Labour and Social Affairs
Tolderlundsvej 2
5000 Odense C

Regarding research project on integration of immigrants

I hereby contact Odense kommune [municipality of Odense] to ask for your cooperation in a project researching integration of non-Western immigrants. I'm familiar with the integration policy of the municipality and its commited effort in this area, and I find that this project may be of interest to you.

My name is Jesper Kulvmann, I'm from Odense, but currently studying for a PhD at the Department of Social Policy and Intervention, University of Oxford. This research project is part of PhD thesis titled: The impact of social capital and social transaction costs upon attitudes of native Danes and non-Western immigrants towards each other, and the contrast between these views and those of policy makers. The project is supervised by Professor David Coleman, Department of Social Policy, University of Oxford.

As part of the project interviews with non-Western immigrants and descendants and ethnic Danes will be conducted. The survey aims to clarify attitudes of the respondents towards demands one can put to immigrants and Danes to integrate immigrants into society and at work places. This includes asking questions about identity, social contact with people of different ethnic background and about attitudes towards norms and values in society. The survey also holds questions related directly towards the work place of the respondents. These questions concentrate on level of contact between Danes and immigrants at work and outside the work place and on immigrants' experience of recognition of their qualifications. Danes will also be questioned about their willingness to assist an immigrant colleague overcoming language problems by spending extra time explaining work related matters to him or her.

I would like to interview employees at the municipality of Odense, as your workforce includes many different ethnic groups and employees with different educational background. The project is not an evaluation of staff policies of the municipality. No questions aim at the organisation itself or its management. However, I think this survey can be beneficial for you organisation, as it will provide information about the relationship between employees of different ethnic backgrounds and their perception of each other. It can contribute to an evaluation of the integration policy of the municipality. If there are certain issues that the municiplaity would like to be surveyed, these can be included in the survey. A report of the results of the survey will be provided the municipality.

The survey has the form of a questionnaire with so-called closed questions. It will be distributed by e-mail. Completion of the questionnaire is estimated to take about 20 minutes. Participation is anonymous, and collection and storage of data follow statutory regulations.

Besides this survey, national and local politicians and bureacrats working with integration of immigrants will be interviewed to compare their attitudes with the attitudes of ordinary citizens. Politicians and bureaucrats in Odense will be interviewed.

Therefore, I ask for your coooperation to send out a questionnaire to all employees with a known e-mail address. Besides sending out the e-mail the survey does not involve any other administrative work for the municipality.
I'm happy to forward the complete Phd proposal and the questionnaire, just as I would like to attend a meeting if the municipal is interested in carrying out the survey.

Sincerely
Jesper Kulvmann
Dphil candiate
Department of Social Policy and Intervention
University of Oxford
Oxford
Ox2 7QF
jesper.kulvmann@stx.ox.ac.uk

Appendix 9.2

English translation of attached message to the questionnaire sent out to Labour union members

Dear member,
We have been contacted by Jesper Kulvmann, who is surveying attitudes of Danes and ethnic minorities. Jesper Kulvmann is Danish and studies at the University of Oxford.

The survey is a questionnaire and participation is anonymous. We will not see individual answers but receive a report of the overall results.

In 3F [name of labour union] we work hard to include all our members. We are, therefore, very interested in learning more about some of the issues, that this survey provides answers for.

We hope very much, that you will look positively at the survey and make you opinion known and thereby helping us all to gain more knowledge.

Page one is written in a difficult language. That is because there are certain rules that must be followed when such a survey is carried out. The labour union guarantee that the survey is according to rules outlined on page one. There is no money between the researcher and the union.

If you have any questions regarding the survey or you need some assistance, you can contact Franse Lund, tel. 88 92 24 63.

I hope you will spend some time on a good cause.

You must click on the link to open up the questionnaire

Kind regards,

Charlotte Vincentz Petersen
Section leader
3F Odense GOPS

Appendix 9.3.

Questionnaire

1. Formal information

28.01.2011

Information about the survey

Title: The impact of social capital and social transaction costs upon attitudes of native Danes and non-Western immigrants towards each other, and the contrast between these views and those of policy maker.

Researcher: Jesper Kulvmann
Department of Social Policy and Intervention
Tel. 60684435
e-mail: jesper.kulvmann@stx.ox.ac.uk

Supervisor: Professor David Coleman
Department of Social Policy and Intervention
Tel. 0044 (0)1865 270345
e-mail: david,coleman@socres.ox.ac.uk

I'm a Danish PhD student at the department of Social Policy and Intervention at University of Oxford, UK. As part of a study of integration of non-Western immigrants in Denmark I carry out interviews with ethnic Danes and non-Western immigrants/refugees and descendants. The study focuses on attitudes and expectations towards each other and issues related to integration. A number of politicians are also interviewed in order to clarify their attitudes as well.

Therefore, I ask for your voluntary participation. You must be at least 18 years of age and be able to read and understand Danish. The completion of the questionnaire is set to take approximately 20 minutes. You may at any time choose not to answer a question and withdraw from the interview.

The information collected are confidential and anonymous according to legal requirements. As this survey is an independent study no information will be passed on to any authorities but will only be shared with the research team. Neither will data collected in this survey be offered for other researchers. The information will only be used by the researcher for a thesis bearing the above title. The thesis will be accessible to the public.

All information collected are stored digitally by the researcher, who is the only person with a code to access the data. At the end of the project all information collected will be destroyed.

If you afterwards have any questions or are displeased with some aspects of the survey, please contact me either by e-mail or telephone. If you remain unhappy please contact the department of Social Policy and Intervention, University of Oxford, which will direct your complaint to the appropriate body.

2.
In the questionnaire "Immigrants and descendants" refer to immigrants, refugees and descendants from non-Western countries, e.g. Africa, Iran, The Middle East, Turkey, Thailand and Bosnia. It means countries outside EU and not from Norway, Switzerland, USA or EU-countries such as Rumania or Poland.

In order to make it more simple the term "Danes" is used to denote ethnic Danes, who are born by ethnic parents (the researcher fully recognize that also many immigrants, refugees and descendants are Danes, but in this survey the term "Dane" denotes only ethnic Danes).

3. Please indicate that you have read the above information and tick the following boxes.

- ☐ I confirm that I have read the information about the survey
- ☐ I understand that my participation is anonymous and voluntary
- ☐ I give my permission to publicise the survey
- ☐ I have read the information how I can submit a complain
- ☐ I confirm that I want to participate in the survey

4. Which ethnic group do you belong to?

- ☐ Ethnic Dane (born to parents of whom at least one is a Danish citizen born in Denmark
- ☐ Immigrant (born outside Denmark by non-native Danish parents) (referred to nr.67)
- ☐ Descendant (born in Denmark by parents of whom both were born outside Denmark) (referred to nr. 72)

5. Do you have religious denomination?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No (referred to nr. 7)
- ☐ Do not know (referred to nr. 7)
- ☐ Do not want to answer (referred to nr. 7)

6. If yes: Please tell me your denomination

- ☐ Protestantism
- ☐ Catholicism
- ☐ Islam
- ☐ Hinduism
- ☐ Judaism
- ☐ Other
- ☐ Do not want to answer

7. Are you a member of the state church?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Do not know
- ☐ Do not want to answer

8. People have different views about themselves and how they relate to their country of residence. Please tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

statement	strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree	do not know	do not want to answer
I see myself as part of my local community							
I see myself as part of the Danish nation							
I see myself as part of a religious community							

9. Who would you not like as neighbours? Please indicate any of the groups listed that you would not like as neighbours.

- ☐ People with a criminal record
- ☐ People of a different race
- ☐ People with large families
- ☐ Homosexuals
- ☐ Muslims
- ☐ Jews
- ☐ Gypsies
- ☐ Can accept members of all groups mentioned above
- ☐ Do not want to answer

10. Today most local governments aim at allocating immigrants housing in areas with predominantly Danes. Please indicate to which level you agree with each statement.

statement	strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	dis-agree	strongly disagree	do not know	do not want to answer
Immigrants living in neighbourhoods with many immigrants will not be properly integrated in the society							
It is a fair measure of local governments to prevent ethnic neighbourhoods in order to improve integration							

11. People talk about the changing roles of men and women today. Please indicate to which level you agree with each statement.

statement	strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree	do not know	do not want to answer
It has a negative effect on a pre-school child if the mother works outside the home							
Both husband and wife should contribute to household income							

12. Which of these statements is the nearest to your opinion?

- ☐ For the greater good of society it is better if immigrants maintain their distinct customs and traditions.
- ☐ For the greater good of society it is better if immigrants do not maintain their distinct customs and traditions but take up Danish customs.
- ☐ Do not know
- ☐ Do not want to answer

13. Apart from weddings and funerals, about how often do you attend religious services these days?

- ☐ At least once a week
- ☐ Once a month
- ☐ Once a year
- ☐ Only on special holy days
- ☐ Never
- ☐ Do not know
- ☐ Do not want to answer

14. Should books that portray a religion negatively be prohibited by law, or should they be allowed?

- ☐ Should definitely be banned
- ☐ Should probably be banned
- ☐ Should probably be allowed
- ☐ Should definitely be allowed
- ☐ Do not know
- ☐ Do not want to answer

15. Would you accept the construction of a mosque with minarets in your local neighbourhood as long as it does not call for prayers?

- ☐ Yes absolutely
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ Perhaps
- ☐ Absolutely not
- ☐ Do not know
- ☐ Do not want to answer

16. Please indicate how important you find each condition is for you to have a successful marriage.

statement	very important	important	neither important nor unimportant	unimportant	very unimport.	do not know	do not want to answer
Same social background							
Same ethnic background							
Same religious background							

17. According to you, how many immigrants do the following?

statement	almost all	many	some	almost none	do not know	do not want to answer
Claiming state benefits to which they are not entitled						
Paying cash for services to avoid taxation						
Driving under the influence of alcohol						
Having casual sex						
Lying in their own interest						
Accepting a bribe in the course of their duties						

18. According to you how many Danes do the following?

statement	almost all	many	some	almost none	do not know	do not want to answer
Claiming state benefits to which they are not entitled						
Paying cash for services to avoid taxation						
Driving under the influence of alcohol						
Having casual sex						
Lying in their own interest						
Accepting a bribe in the course of their duties						

19. How much to you agree with the following statements?

statement	strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree	do not know	do not want to answer
In order to integrate non-Western immigrants into the labour market native Danes must accept to spend more time explaining things to colleagues with a non-Western immigrant background?							
In order to integrate non-Western immigrants into the labour market native Danes must accept at times to perform some of this person's working tasks due to lack of language or technical skills?							

20. At your present or previous working place(s) have you had colleagues with a non-Western background?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No (referred to nr. 23)
- ☐ Do not know (referred to nr. 23)
- ☐ Do not want to answer (referred to nr. 23)

21. Do you have or have you had any social contact with non-Western colleagues at your present or previous place of work?

- ☐ A lot
- ☐ Some
- ☐ Very little
- ☐ None
- ☐ Do not know
- ☐ Do not want to answer

22. Do you or did you socialize with non-Western colleagues after work.

- ☐ A lot
- ☐ Some
- ☐ Very little
- ☐ None
- ☐ Do not know
- ☐ Do not want to answer

(all answer options referred to nr. 24)

23. If no to nr 21

Please indicate possible reasons for not having had colleagues with a non-Western background.

- ☐ I have deliberately chosen to work in an environment with no immigrants
- ☐ I have deliberately chosen to work in an environment with no Muslims
- ☐ None of my workplaces employ or have employed non-Western immigrants
- ☐ Other reasons
- ☐ Do not know

24. How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

statement	strongly agree	agree	neither agree or disagree	disagree	strongly disagree	do not know	do not want to answer
The cultural life in Denmark is undermined by non-Western immigrants							
It is Muslim immigrants in particular who undermines Danish culture							
In the future the proportion of Muslim immigrants will become a threat to society.							

25. You will now be asked some questions about your neighbourhood. Please specify how many non-Western immigrants live in your neighbourhood?

- ☐ None (referred to nr.28)
- ☐ A few
- ☐ Some
- ☐ Many
- ☐ Mainly all
- ☐ Do not know (referred to nr. 28)
- ☐ Do not want to answer (referred to nr. 28)

26. How many people with a non-Western immigrant background do you think are Muslims?

- ☐ None (referred to nr. 28)
- ☐ A few
- ☐ Some
- ☐ Many
- ☐ Mainly all
- ☐ Do not know (referred to nr. 28)
- ☐ Do not want to answer (referred to nr. 28)

27. Do you have any social contact with the Muslim immigrants or descendants in you neighbourhood?

- ☐ A lot
- ☐ Some
- ☐ A little

☐ None
☐ Do not know
☐ Do not want to answer

28. Do you have any social contact with the non-Muslim immigrants or descendants in your neighbourhood?

☐ A lot
☐ Some
☐ A little
☐ None
☐ Do not know
☐ Do not want to answer

29. **Are you a member of a voluntary organisation, which also have members with a non-Western background?**

☐ Yes
☐ No (referred to nr. 31)
☐ Do not know (referred to nr. 31)
☐ Do not want to answer (referred to nr. 31)

30. Do you speak as much with members of a non-Western origin than with Danish members?

☐ Equally much
☐ Less
☐ No social contact
☐ Do not know
☐ Do not want to answer

31. Do you have any friends with a non-Western immigrant background, whom you invite to your house or who invite you to their place?

☐ Yes
☐ No (referred to nr 34)
☐ Do not want to answer (referred to nr 34)

32. Are some of these friends Muslims?

☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Do not know
☐ Do not want to answer (all answer options referred to nr. 34)

33. There can be different reasons for not having friends with a non-Western immigrant background. Please indicate if the following reasons apply to you. You may tick several boxes.

☐ I have no social contact with immigrants
☐ No common interests
☐ Attitudes are generally too different
☐ Hesitation from my part to engage in a friendship with immigrants
☐ Immigrants hesitate to engage in a friendship with Danes.
☐ Other reasons
☐ Do not know

☐ Do not want to answer

34. It is often mentioned that non-Western immigrants and Danes live parallel lives with very little social contact between them. Do you have a duty to make an effort to get to know non-Western immigrants outside your work?

☐ Yes very much
☐ Yes
☐ To some extent
☐ Not much
☐ Absolutely not
☐ Do not know
☐ Do not want to answer

35. **Due to cost saving measures some local governments only serve halal meat in kindergartens. Do you think it is acceptable that children are only offered halal meat and not meat from conventional slaughtering?**

☐ Very acceptable
☐ Acceptable
☐ Neither acceptable nor inacceptable
☐ Inacceptable
☐ Very inacceptable
☐ Do not know
☐ Do not want to answer

36. **A growing number of students in the state school have their roots in a Muslim culture. Would you approve that the curriculum in the state school reflects this by making the teaching more multicultural, including studying Muslim values?**

☐ Very much
☐ Much
☐ To some extent
☐ Not very much
☐ Absolutely not

37. **Please indicate to which level you agree with the following statements.**

statement	strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree	do not know	do not want to answer
Classes with children of different ethnic and religious backgrounds is an enrichment for the environment in a class							
The academic level suffers when there are many children of non-Western background in a school class							

statement	strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree	do not know	do not want to answer
If the concentration of children with a non-Western background is high at a school, the school has a right to move some of those students to another school							

38. Do you have children?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No (referred to nr. 50)

39. How many? (denote it by a number, e.g. 3)

☐

40. Do you have children who have not started formal schooling?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No (referred to nr 43)

41. Do they attend a day-care institution?

- ☐ Yes (all of them) (referred to nr. 43)
- ☐ Yes (some of them) (referred to nr. 43)
- ☐ No
- ☐ Do not want to answer (referred to nr. 43)

42. Please indicate possible reasons why your child/children do not attend a day-care institution. You may indicate several reasons.

- ☐ My child/children are between 0 -6 months old
- ☐ My chid/children are between 7 months and 3 years old
- ☐ My child/children are between 3 – 6 years old
- ☐ I do not want my child/children attending a day-care institution
- ☐ It is best for my child/children to be cared for at home
- ☐ Other reasons
- ☐ Do not know
- ☐ Do not want to answer

43. Do you have or have you had school seeking children?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No (referred to nr.50)

44. Does at least one of you children or have at least one child attended a private school?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No (referred to nr. 47)

45. Which denomination does the private school belong to?

- ☐ Christian
- ☐ Muslim
- ☐ Another religion

☐ Non-religious
☐ Do not know

46. There can be different reasons to choose a private school. Please indicate if any of the following statements denote your reasons for choosing a private school? You may tick several boxes.

☐ The free school offers a hihger academic standard or more creative courses than *folkeskolen* (the state school)
☐ The free school is smaller and provides a better social environment
☐ The private school has students representing multiple different ethnic backgrounds
☐ The local state school has many non-Western immigrants, who affect the academic level negatively
☐ The local state school has many non-Western immigrants, who affect the social environment negatively
☐ The free school is a religious school
☐ Other reasons
☐ Do not know
☐ Do not want to answer

47. In any of your children's classes are there or have there been children with non-Western backgrounds?

☐ Yes
☐ No (referred to nr. 50)
☐ Do not know (referred to nr. 50)
☐ Do not want to answer (referred to nr. 50)

48. Have you moved or ever considered moving your child to a different class or school because of too many non-Western immigrant children in your child's class?

☐ Yes
☐ No (referred to nr. 50)
☐ Do not know (referred to nr. 50)
☐ Do not want to answer (referred to nr. 50)

49. There can be several reasons for moving your child. Please indicate if any of the following reasons have been part of your considerations.

☐ The academic level suffer(ed) because of the non-Western immigrants
☐ Parents of non-Western background do/did not participate in parental work
☐ There is/was an ethnic division in the class that affects or affected the social environment in the class negatively
☐ Other reasons
☐ Do not know
☐ Do not want to answer

50. Gender.

☐ Male
☐ Female

51. Please tell me your age (write a number, e.g. 32).

☐

52. What is the highest education you have completed*?*

- ☐ No higher than *folkeskole* (state school)
- ☐ Studentereksamen (A-level) and vocational training (EFG, SOSU, business school[142])
- ☐ Medium long or higher education (teacher college, nursing school, university)

53. Please tell me which of the following statuses apply to you.

- ☐ Never been married
- ☐ Married (referred to nr. 56)
- ☐ Divorced, widowed and live without a partner (referred to nr. 58)
- ☐ Cohabiting with a partner (referred to nr. 56)

54. If single

Do you have and have/had a boy/girlfriend?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No (referred to nr. 60)
- ☐ Do not want to answer (referred to nr. 60)

***55.* Is or has previous boy/girlfriend been Muslim?**

- ☐ Yes (referred to nr. 60)
- ☐ No (referred to nr. 60)
- ☐ Do not want to answer (referred to nr. 60)

56. Does your wife/husband/partner have a non-Western background?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No (referred to nr. 61)
- ☐ Do not want to answer (referred to nr. 61)

57. Is your wife/husband/partner Muslim?

- ☐ Yes (referred to nr. 61)
- ☐ No (referred to nr. 61)
- ☐ Do not want to answer (referred to nr. 61)

58. Did your wife/husband/partner have a non-Western background?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No (referred to nr. 61)
- ☐ Do not want to answer (referred to nr. 61)

59. **Was your previous husband(s)/wife(s) Muslim*?***

- ☐ Yes (referred to nr. 61)
- ☐ No (referred to nr. 61)
- ☐ Do not want to answer (referred to nr. 61)

60. **Do you live:**

- ☐ Alone (referred to nr. 62)
- ☐ With your parents (referred to nr. 62)

[142] EFG refers to training as a carpenter, bricklayer, hairdresser etc. . "SOSU" is a social worker, mainly working with elderly people or at hospitals.

- ☐ With a relative(s) other than your parents (referred to nr. 62)
- ☐ With a friend(s) (referred to nr. 62)
- ☐ Other living arrangements (referred to nr. 62)
- ☐ Do not want to answer (referred to nr. 62)

61. Do you live*:*

- ☐ With your wife /husband/partner
- ☐ With your wife/husband/partner and parents or parents in law
- ☐ Other living arrangements
- ☐ Do not want to answer

62. Please indicate the status that describes you most accurately. You may tick more than one box.

- ☐ Public employed
- ☐ Private employed
- ☐ Full time paid employment
- ☐ Part time paid employment
- ☐ Unemployed
- ☐ Job training

63. In which profession/occupation do you work? If more than one job, please choose your main job.

- ☐ Professional (e.g. medical doctor, teacher, lawyer)
- ☐ Skilled manual worker
- ☐ Unskilled manual worker
- ☐ Job training
- ☐ Unemployed

64. Please indicate within which of the following brackets of income your combined income falls into, counting all wages, salaries, social assistances, pensions and other incomes originating from savings and investments.

- ☐ Below 200.000
- ☐ Between 200.000 - 299.000
- ☐ Between 300.000 - 499.000
- ☐ Between 500.000 - 699.000
- ☐ Above 700.000
- ☐ Do not want to answer

65. Please tell me about your housing condition.

Do you live in:

- ☐ Privately owned home (referred to nr. 132)
- ☐ Rented accommodation (referred to nr. 66)
- ☐ Co-operative (referred to nr. 132)

66. Do you live in:

- ☐ Rented private accommodation (referred to nr. 132)
- ☐ Building society (referred to nr. 132)
- ☐ Social housing (referred to nr. 132)
- ☐ Do not know (referred to nr. 132)

(second half of questionnaire directed towards immigrants)

67. What is your country of origin?

68. What is your original nationality ?

69. Are you a Danish citizen?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

70. How many years have you live in Denmark?

71. Please tell me your immigrant status.

☐	Economic immigrant	(referred to nr. 76)
☐	Refugee	(referred to nr. 76)
☐	Family reunified with economic immigrant	(referred to nr. 76)
☐	Family reunified with refugee	(referred to nr. 76)
☐	Other	(referred to nr. 76)

Question to be asked of descendants

72. What is the country of origin of your parents?

Mother:

Father:

73. What is the nationality of your parents?

Mother:

Father:

74. Please indicate the immigrant status of your father.

- ☐ Economic immigrant
- ☐ Refugee
- ☐ Family reunified with economic immigrant
- ☐ Family reunified with political refugee
- ☐ Other

75. Please indicate the immigrant status of your mother.

- ☐ Economic immigrant
- ☐ Refugee
- ☐ Family reunified with economic immigrant
- ☐ Family reunified with political refugee
- ☐ Other

76. Do you have a religious denomination?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No (referred to nr. 78)
- ☐ Do not know (referred to nr. 78)
- ☐ Do not want to answer (referred to nr. 78)

77. Which denomination do you belong to?

- ☐ Protestantism
- ☐ Catholicism
- ☐ Islam
- ☐ Hinduism
- ☐ Judaism
- ☐ Other
- ☐ Do not want to answer

78. Are you a member of the state church?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Do not know
- ☐ Do not want to answer

79. Please indicate the status that describes you most accurately. You may tick more than one box.

- ☐ Public employed
- ☐ Private employed
- ☐ Full time paid employment
- ☐ Part time paid employment
- ☐ Unemployed
- ☐ Job training

80. People have different views about themselves and how they relate to their country of residency. Please tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

statement	strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree	do not know	do not want to answer
I see myself as part of my local community							
I see myself as part of the Danish nation							
I see myself as part of a religious community							

81. Who you would not like as neighbours? Please indicate any group listed that you would not like as neighbours.

- ☐ People with a criminal record

- ☐ People of a different race
- ☐ People with large families
- ☐ Homosexuals
- ☐ Very religious people
- ☐ Jews
- ☐ Gypsies
- ☐ Can accept members of all groups mentioned above
- ☐ Do not want to answer

82. Today most local governments aim at allocating immigrants housing in areas with predominantly Danes. Please indicate to which level you agree with each statements.

statement	strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	dis-agree	strongly disagree	do not know	do not want to answer
Immigrants living in neighbourhoods with many immigrants will not be properly integrated in the society							
It is a fair measure of local governments to prevent ethnic neighbourhoods in order to improve integration							

83. People talk about the changing roles of men and women today. Please indicate to which level you agree with each statements.

statement	strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree	do not know	do not want to answer
It has a negative effect on a pre-school child if the mother works outside the home							
Both husband and wife should contribute to household income							

84. Apart from weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious services these days?

- ☐ At least once a week
- ☐ Once a month
- ☐ Once a year
- ☐ Only on special holy days
- ☐ Never
- ☐ Do not know
- ☐ Do not want to answer

85. Should books that portray a religion negatively be prohibited by law, or should they be allowed?

- ☐ Should definitely be banned
- ☐ Should probably be banned
- ☐ Should probably be allowed
- ☐ Should definitely be allowed
- ☐ Do not know
- ☐ Do not want to answer

86. Please indicate how important you find each condition is for you to have a successful marriage.

statement	very important	important	neither important nor unimportant	unimportant	very unimport.	do not know	do not want to answer
Same social background							
Same ethnic background							
Same religious background							

87. Which of these statements is the nearest to your opinion?

- ☐ For the greater good of society it is better if immigrants maintain their distinct customs and traditions
- ☐ For the greater good of society it is better if immigrants do not maintain their distinct customs and traditions but take up Danish customs
- ☐ Do not know
- ☐ Do not want to answer

88. According to you, how many Danes do the following?

statement	almost all	many	some	almost none	do not know	do not want to answer
Claiming state benefits to which they are not entitled						
Paying cash for services to avoid taxation						
Driving under the influence of alcohol						
Having casual sex						
Lying in their own interest						
Accepting a bribe in the course of their duties						

89. According to you how many immigrants do the following?

statement	almost all	many	some	almost none	do not know	do not want to answer
Claiming state benefits to which they are not entitled						
Paying cash for services to avoid taxation						
Driving under the influence of alcohol						
Having casual sex						
Lying in their own interest						
Accepting a bribe in the course of their duties						

90. What is the highest education you have completed?

- ☐ No higher than *folkeskole* (state school)
- ☐ Studentereksamen (A-level) and vocational training (EFG, SOSU, business school[143])
- ☐ Medium long or higher education (teacher college, nursing school, university)

91. Where have you taken your highest level of education?

- ☐ In Denmark
- ☐ In your or your parents' country of origin
- ☐ Do not know

92. Have the highest education you completed in your or your parents' country been recognized in Denmark?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No (referred to nr. 97)
- ☐ Do not know (referred to nr. 98)

93. In your present or past jobs have you or have you had Danish colleagues?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No (referred to nr. 98)

[143] EFG refers to training as a carpenter, bricklayer, hairdresser etc. SOSU is a social worker working mainly with elderly people or at hospitals.

94. You will be asked some questions about your skills and your Danish colleagues' attitude towards these skills and yourself. Please indicate to which extent the following statements describe your experiences.

statement	very much	much	to a certain extent	not so much	not at all	do not know	do not want to answer
My skills have been respected on equal level with my Danish colleagues							
I generally perform work tasks below my level of skills							
Occasionally I have felt discriminated by native Danish colleagues							

95. Do you have or have you had any social contact with Danish colleagues at your present or previous place of work ?

- ☐ A lot
- ☐ Some
- ☐ Very little
- ☐ None
- ☐ Do not know
- ☐ Do not want to answer

96. Do you or did you socialize with Danish colleagues after work?

- ☐ A lot (referred to nr. 98)
- ☐ Some (referred to nr. 98)
- ☐ Very little (referred to nr. 98)
- ☐ None (referred to nr. 98)
- ☐ Do not know (referred to nr. 98)
- ☐ Do not want to answer (referred to nr. 98)

97. Please tell why you do not have or have had Danish colleagues at work. Please indicate to which extent the following statements apply to you.

statement	very much	much	to a certain extent	not so much	not at all	do not know	do not want to answer
I prefer to work in an environment with other immigrants							
My language skills make it easier for me to work together with only immigrants							
I do not like to have any social contact with Danes							
I think I will be discriminated by native Danes if I work amongst them							

98. You will now be asked some questions about your neighbourhood. Please specify how many non-Western immigrants live in your neighbourhood.

- ☐ None
- ☐ A few
- ☐ Some
- ☐ Many
- ☐ Mainly all
- ☐ Do not know
- ☐ Do not want to answer

99. Do you have any social contact with Danes in your neighbourhood?

- ☐ A lot
- ☐ Some
- ☐ A little
- ☐ None
- ☐ Do not know
- ☐ Do not want to answer

100. Are you a member of a voluntary organisation, which also have Danish members?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No (referred to nr. 102)
- ☐ Do not know (referred to nr. 102)
- ☐ Do not want to answer (referred to nr. 102)

101. Do you speak as much with members of a non-Western origin than with Danish members?

- ☐ Equally much
- ☐ Less
- ☐ No social contact
- ☐ Do not know
- ☐ Do not want to answer

102. Do you have any Danish friends whom you invite to your house or who invite you to their house?

- ☐ Yes (referred to nr. 104)
- ☐ No
- ☐ Do no know (referred to nr. 104)
- ☐ Do not want to answer (referred to nr. 104)

103. There can be different reasons for not having Danish friends. Please indicate if any of the following reasons apply to you. You may tick several boxes.

- ☐ I have no social contact with Danes
- ☐ No common interests
- ☐ Attitudes are generally too different
- ☐ Hesitation from my part to engage in a friendship with Danes
- ☐ Danes hesitate to engage in friendship with immigrants
- ☐ Other reasons
- ☐ Do not know
- ☐ Do not want to answer

104. It is often mentioned that non-Western immigrants and Danes live parallel lives with very little social contact between them. Do you have a duty to make an effort to get to know Danes outside your work?

- ☐ Yes very much
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ To some extent
- ☐ Not much
- ☐ Absolutely not
- ☐ Do not know
- ☐ Do not want to answer

105. Please indicate to which level you agree with the following statements.

statement	strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree	do not know	do not want to answer
Classes with children of different ethnic and religious backgrounds is an enrichment for the environment in a class							
The academic level suffers when there are many children of non-Western background in a school class							
If the concentration of children with a non-Western background is high at a school, the school has a right to move some of those students to another school							

106. Do you have children?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No (referred to nr 118)

107. How many? (denote it by a number, e.g. 3)

☐

108. Do you have children who have not started formal schooling?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No (referred to nr 111)

109. Do they attend a day-care institution?

- ☐ Yes (all of them) (referred to nr. 111)
- ☐ Yes (some of them)
- ☐ No
- ☐ Do not want to answer (referred to nr. 111)

110. Please indicate possible reasons why your child/children do not attend a day-care institution. You may indicate several reasons.

- ☐ My child/children are between 0 -6 months old
- ☐ My chid/children are between 7 months and 3 years old
- ☐ My child/children are between 3 – 6 years old
- ☐ I do not want my child/children attending a day-care institution
- ☐ It is best for my child/children to be at home
- ☐ Other reasons
- ☐ Do not know
- ☐ Do not want to answer

111. Do you have or have you had school seeking children?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No (referred to nr. 115)

112. Does at least one of you children or have at least one child attended a private school?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No (referred to nr. 115)

113. Which denomination does the private school belong to?

- ☐ Islam
- ☐ Protestantism
- ☐ Catholicism
- ☐ Another religion
- ☐ Non-religious
- ☐ Do not know
- ☐ Do not want to answer

114. There can be different reasons to choose a private school. Please indicate if any of the following statements denote your reasons for choosing a private school. You may tick several boxes.

- ☐ The private school offers better academic standard or more creative courses than the state school
- ☐ The private school is smaller and provides a better social environment
- ☐ My child/children were discriminated in *folkeskolen* (state school)
- ☐ The private school has students representing multiple different ethnic backgrounds
- ☐ The local state school has many non-Western immigrants that affect the social environment negatively
- ☐ The private school is a religious school
- ☐ Other reasons
- ☐ Do not know
- ☐ Do not want to answer

115. In any of your children's classes are there or have there been children with non-Western backgrounds?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Do not know
- ☐ Do not want to answer

116. Have you moved or ever considered moving your child to a different class or school because of too many non-Western immigrant children in your child's class?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No (referred to nr. 118)
- ☐ Do not know
- ☐ Do not want to answer

117. There can be several reasons for moving your child. Please indicate if any of the following reasons have been part of your considerations.

- ☐ The academic level suffer(ed) because of the non-Western immigrants in the class
- ☐ Primarily, I want my child to be amongst children with a Muslim background
- ☐ Primarily, I want my child to be amongst Danish speaking children
- ☐ My child was discriminated by Danish children
- ☐ There is/was an ethnic division in the class that affects or affected the social environment negatively
- ☐ There is/was a poor parental support in the class
- ☐ Other reasons
- ☐ Do not know
- ☐ Do not want to answer

118. In Denmark it is the norm that all pre-school children attend pre-kindergarten and kindergarten. Do you agree that the government puts pressure on families with a non-Western background to send their children to a day-care institution in order for the children to learn Danish and to be part of a traditional Danish upbringing?

- ☐ Agree very much
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Disagree very much
- ☐ Do not know
- ☐ Do not want to answer

119. Gender.

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female

120. Please tell my your age (write a number, e.g. 32).

☐

121. Please tell me which of the following status apply to you:

- ☐ Never been married
- ☐ Married (referred to nr. 123)
- ☐ Divorced, widowed or live without a partner (referred to nr. 124)
- ☐ Cohabiting with a partner (referred to nr. 126)

122. Do you have and have/had a Danish boy/girlfriend?

- ☐ Yes (referred to nr. 126)
- ☐ No (referred to nr. 126)
- ☐ Do not want to answer (referred to nr. 126)

123. Is your wife/husband Danish?

- ☐ Yes (referred to nr. 127)
- ☐ No (referred to nr. 127)
- ☐ Do not want to answer (referred to nr. 127)

124. Was your previous husband(s)/wife(s) Danish?

- ☐ Yes (referred to nr. 126)
- ☐ No (referred to nr. 126)

125. Is your partner Danish?

- ☐ Yes (referred to nr. 127)
- ☐ No (referred to nr 127)
- ☐ Do not want to answer (referred to nr. 127)

126. Do you live:

- ☐ Alone (referred to nr. 128)
- ☐ With your parents (referred to nr. 128)
- ☐ With a relative(s) other than your parents (referred to nr. 128)

- ☐ With a friend/friends (referred to nr. 128)
- ☐ Other living arrangements (referred to nr. 128)
- ☐ Do not want to answer (referred to nr. 128)

127. Do you live:

- ☐ With your wife /husband/partner
- ☐ With your wife/husband/partner and parents or parents in law
- ☐ Other living arrangements
- ☐ Do not want to answer

128. In which profession/occupation do you work? If more than one job, please choose your main job.

- ☐ Professional (e.g. medical doctor, teacher, lawyer)
- ☐ Skilled manual worker
- ☐ Unskilled manual worker
- ☐ Job training
- ☐ Unemployed
- ☐ Do not know
- ☐ Do not want to answer

129. Please indicate within which of the following brackets of income your combined income falls into, counting all wages, salaries, social assistances, pensions and other incomes originating from savings and investments.

- ☐ Below 200.000
- ☐ Between 200.000 - 299.000
- ☐ Between 300.000 - 499.000
- ☐ Between 500.000 - 699.000
- ☐ Above 700.000
- ☐ Do not want to answer

130. Please tell me about your housing condition.

Do you live in:

- ☐ Privately owned home (referred to nr. 132)
- ☐ Rented accommodation (referred to nr. 131)
- ☐ Co-operative (referred to nr. 132)
- ☐ Do not want to answer (referred to nr. 132)

131. Do you live in:

- ☐ Rented private accommodation
- ☐ Building society
- ☐ Social housing
- ☐ Do not know
- ☐ Do not want to answer

132. You have finished answering the questions. I hope you enjoyed participating in the survey. Please indicate whether you found the questions relevant.

- ☐ Very relevant
- ☐ A little relevant
- ☐ Not relevant

Appendix 12: List of tables.

Chapter 8

Table 8.2: Number of politicians who had or had had contact with immigrants at work

Policy position	worked with immigrants	immigrant colleagues
Councillors (17)	9 (2)	8 (2)
Parliamentarians (17)	5 (2)	7 (2)

Source: aggregated data from interviewees with politicians for DPhil thesis 2011. Number in brackets indicates in the first column total number of interviewees. In column 2 and 3 numbers indicate respondents who were not questioned on this variable.

Table 8.3: Number of politicians in relation to number of out-group friends

policy position	none	few	mixed
Parliamentarian (17)	6	8	3
Councillors (17)*	10	4	2

Source: aggregated data from interviewees with politicians for DPhil thesis 2011.
Number in brackets indicates total number of interviewees.
** one councillor provided a very unclear answer*

Table 8.4: Number of politicians in relation to number of non-Western immigrants in their neighbourhoods

Policy position	none	few	mixed
Parliamentarian (17)	6	3	8
Councillors (17)	8	5	4

Source: aggregated data from interviewees with politicians for DPhil thesis 2011.

Chapter 9

Table 9.6: Distribution of total number of members of the labour union and respondents of the labour union in ASDI, according to gender.

	Danes				Immigrants			
Gender	Respondents		Members of union		Respondents		Members of union	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
women	60.8	31	61.0	2220	66.7	18	67.7	484
men	39.2	20	39.0	1419	33.3	9	32.3	231
Total	100.0	51	100.0	3639	100.0	27	100.0	715
Missing value		3				2		

Table 9.7: Distribution of respondents with further education according to employment and occupational status

Ethnic group	unemployed	unskilled	skilled	professional	sum	N
Danes	0	1.1	36.0	62.9	100.0	272
immigrants	14.3	8.1	42.9	34.7	100.0	22

Table 9.8: Non-western immigrants in ASDI according to country of origin, in numbers

Country		**Country**		**Country**		**Country**	
Immigrants	**N**	**Immigrants**	**N**	**Immigrants**	**N**	**Immigrants**	**N**
Turkey	18	Thailand	5	Syria	2	Morocco	1
Bosnia	13	Iraq	4	Afghanistan	2	Tunisia	1
Vietnam	12	Egypt	3	Moldova	2	Tanzania	1
Lebanon	9	Palestine	3	Russia	1	Uganda	1
Somalia	7	China	3	Kosovo	1	Kurdistan	1
Iran	6	Pakistan	2	The Philippines	1	Albania	1
Serbia	5	Sri Lanka	2	Ukraine	1	Jamaica	1
						unknown	1
Descendants							
Turkey	4	Afghanistan	1	Egypt/Iraq	1	Pakistan	1
Total							117

Notes: non-Muslim countries: Vietnam, Thailand, China, Sri Lanka, Moldova, Russia, The Philippines, Ukraine, Tanzania, Uganda, Jamaica

Table 9.9: Distribution of immigrants in percentage according to their immigrant status

	Per cent	N
Economic immigrant	6.6	7
Refugee	38.1	40
Family reunified w. economic immigrant	22.9	24
Family reunified with refugee	18.1	19
Other status	14.3	15
Total	100.0	105

Table 10.40: Distribution of Danes and non-Western immigrants in the general population according to housing conditions, in percentage

	owner	renting	total
Danes	62%	38%	100%
immigrants	24%	76%	100%

Source: Baadsgaard, 2010

Table 10.41: Distribution of Danes and immigrants according to frequency of attending a religious ceremony, in percentage

	Danes	**immigrants**
At least once a week	0.00	13.51
Once a month	6.75	9.01
Once a year	13.49	9.01
Only on special holidays	47.23	43.24
never	31.08	12.61
Do not know/no answer	1.44	12.61
sum	100.00	100.00
N	415	111

Source: ASDI

Table 10.42: EVS 2008: Distribution of Danes in percentage according to level of agreement with statements on marriage and gender roles

		agree v.much	agree	disagree	disagree v. much	sum	N
Mother working	Danes	1.37	7.51	41.3	49.82	100.0	423
Dual income	Danes	33.26	44.18	19.41	3.15	100.0	424

Source: EVS 2008
Notes:
Mother working: It has a negative effect on a pre-school child if the mother works outside the home.
Income: husband and wife should contribute to household income

Table 10.43: Distribution of Danes and immigrants in percentage according to level of agreement with the statement that the academic level suffers when a school class includes ethnic students

	Agree very much	agree	indifferent	disagree	Disagree v. much	sum	N
Danes	8.82	27.94	33.09	18.63	5.88	100.00	408
immigrants	13.73	26.47	16.67	21.57	9.80	100.00	102

Source: ASDI

Table 10.44: Distribution of Danes and immigrants in percentage according to level of agreement that classes with children of different ethnic and religious backgrounds are an enrichment of the environment in a class

	agree very much	agree	indifferent	disagree	Disagree v. much	sum	N
Danes	18.84	53.27	23.37	3.52	1.01	100.00	408
immigrants	36.78	45.98	10.34	5.75	1.15	100.00	102

Source: ASDI

Table 10.45: Distribution of Danes and immigrants in percentage according to having considered moving their child/children to another school due to too many students with an ethnic minority background in the class of their child/children

	Considered moving child	Not considered moving	No know	sum	N
Danes	4.4	94.4	1.2	100.0	249
Immigrants	10.9	87.5	1.6	100.0	64

Table 10.46: correlation between dependent variables in table 10.18, Danes.
(obs=280)

	soccon_	socctw	nei-con	tottac	neighimm.
d_soccon	1.0000				
d_socctw	-0.2459	1.0000			
d_neighcon	0.3752	-0.1645	1.0000		
d_tottac	0.7968	-0.4169	0.6158	1.0000	
d_neighimm	0.0699	-0.1164	0.1645	0.1246	1.0000

Notes: *d_soccon : having a friend*
d_socctw : social contact with an immigrant colleague outside workplace
d_neighcon : contact with neighbours with an immigrant background
d_tottac : accumulated contact
d:neighimm : density of immigrants in neighbourhood of respondents

Table 10.47: correlation between dependent variables in table 10.18, immigrants.
(obs=79)

	soccon	_meetcol	nei~con	totcon	_neighimm
i_soccon	1.0000				
i_meetcol	0.3641	1.0000			
i_neighcon	0.3341	0.4040	1.0000		
i_totcon	0.4225	-0.4457	-0.0255	1.0000	
i_neighimm	-0.1847	0.0121	-0.0241	-0.1454	1.0000

Notes: *i_soccon : having a friend*
I_meetcoll : social contact with a Danish colleague outside workplace
i_neighcon : contact with Danish neighbours
i_totcon : accumulated contact
i_neighimm : density of immigrants in neighbourhood of respondents

Table 10.48: Collinearity diagnostics of independent variables in table 10.19, Danes.
(obs=399)

Variable	SQRT VIF	VIF	R-Tolerance	Squared
d_education	1.69	1.30	0.5925	0.4075
d_income	1.14	1.07	0.8750	0.1250
d_statemploy	1.76	1.33	0.5680	0.4320
d_gender	1.02	1.01	0.9813	0.0187
d_age	1.10	1.05	0.9070	0.0930
d_neighimm	1.02	1.01	0.9812	0.0188
Mean VIF	1.29			

Notes: d_neighimm: density of immigrants in neighbourhood of respondents

Table 10.49: Collinearity diagnostics of independent variables in table 10.19, immigrants.
(obs=79)

Variable	SQRT VIF	VIF	R-Tolerance	Squared
i_education	1.35	1.16	0.7413	0.2587
i_statemploy	1.64	1.28	0.6080	0.3920
i_gender	1.05	1.03	0.9505	0.0495
i_age	1.08	1.04	0.9236	0.0764
i_yearsinDK	1.39	1.18	0.7184	0.2816
i_neighborh	1.17	1.08	0.8526	0.1474
Mean VIF	1.28			

Notes:
i_yearsinDK: years lived in Denmark
i_neighborh: density of immigrants in neighbourhood of respondents

Table 10.50: cross tabulation of immigrants' age and years lived in Denmark, in percentage

Age	Years spent in Denmark				
	2<= years <=10	11 <=years <= 20	21<= years	Total	N
18 <= age <= 30	36.8	47.4	15.8	100.0	19
31 <= age <= 45	39.0	23.7	37.3	100.0	59
Age >= 46	23.8	28.6	47.6	100.0	21
Percentage	35.4	29.3	35.3	100.0	
N	35	29	35		99

Table 10.51: Collinearity diagnostics of independent variables in table 10.28 – 10.39, Danes
(obs=396)

Variable	SQRT VIF	VIF	R-Tolerance	Squared
d_education	1.70	1.30	0.5892	0.4108
d_income	1.18	1.09	0.8463	0.1537
d_statemploy	1.79	1.34	0.5594	0.4406
d_gender	1.03	1.01	0.9713	0.0287

d_age	1.03	1.01	0.9728	0.0272
d_trust	1.05	1.03	0.9482	0.0518
d_friend	1.03	1.02	0.9706	0.0294
Mean VIF	1.24			

Table 10.52: Collinearity diagnostics of independent variables in table 10.28 – 10.39, immigrants

(obs=78)

Variable	SQRT VIF	VIF	Tolerance	R-Squared
i_education	1.48	1.22	0.6736	0.3264
i_statemploy	1.70	1.30	0.5874	0.4126
i_gender	1.33	1.16	0.7492	0.2508
i_age	1.21	1.10	0.8237	0.1763
i_neighborh	1.34	1.16	0.7471	0.2529
i_friend	1.58	1.26	0.6312	0.3688
muslim	1.70	1.30	0.5894	0.4106
i_yearsinDK	1.68	1.30	0.5939	0.4061
i_memvol	1.12	1.06	0.8961	0.1039
Mean VIF	1.46			

Table 10.53: correlation between dependent variables in table 10.28 – 10.39, Danes
(obs=376)

	local	Danish	religion	soccon	books	ethnic	work	mul.ass.	prevent.	mosque	clmove	ext.time
d_local	1.0000											
d_danish	0.4092	1.0000										
d_religion	0.2238	0.2003	1.0000									
d_soccheat	0.0076	0.0546	0.0638	1.0000								
d_books	0.0519	0.0512	0.1297	0.0120	1.0000							
d_ethequal	0.1012	0.0548	0.1477	0.2970	0.1235	1.0000						
d_workmoth	-0.0616	-0.0906	0.0507	0.0120	0.0659	0.0180	1.0000					
d_mul_ass	-0.0621	-0.0636	-0.0372	0.0466	0.0673	0.0231	-0.0153	1.0000				
d_prevention	0.1289	0.0516	0.0293	0.1598	-0.0619	0.1661	0.0839	-0.0512	1.0000			
d_mosque	-0.0166	-0.0372	-0.0645	-0.3470	0.0692	-0.2638	-0.1463	0.1161	-0.2499	1.0000		
d_clmove	0.0524	0.0406	0.0166	0.2460	0.0205	0.2246	-0.0096	-0.0118	0.3547	-0.2477	1.0000	
d_exttime	0.0538	-0.0634	-0.0276	-0.0502	0.0934	-0.0301	0.0554	0.0062	-0.0915	0.0876	-0.0161	1.0000

Table 10.54: correlation between dependent variables in table 10.28 – 10.39, immigrants
(obs=82)

	loccom	dancom	relcom	soccon	books	ethnic	work	mul.ass.	prevent.	clmove
i_loccom	1.0000									
i_dancom	0.7648	1.0000								
i_relcom	0.4030	0.3885	1.0000							
i_soccheat	0.3798	0.3220	0.0324	1.0000						
i_books	0.0416	0.0191	0.1318	0.1882	1.0000					
i_ethnequal	0.2099	0.2615	0.3004	0.2900	0.3507	1.0000				
i_workmother	0.1162	0.0400	0.2479	0.2667	0.2032	0.3041	1.0000			
i_mul_ass	0.2033	0.2176	0.2909	0.1497	0.3105	0.4582	0.1825	1.0000		
i_prevention	0.2426	0.3862	0.2298	0.1765	0.2852	0.5132	0.2692	0.3387	1.0000	
i_clmove	0.2778	0.2389	0.0178	0.2566	0.0977	0.1082	0.1370	0.0551	0.1917	1.0000

Notes

Local: *identification with local area*

Danish: *identification with Danish society*

Religion: *identification with religious community*

soccon: *having an out-group friend*

Ethnic: *same ethnic background for a successful marriage*

Work: *relationship between children and working mother*

Mul.ass. *attitude towards integration policy*

Prevent.: *attitude towards prevention of ethnic neighbourhood*

Mosque: *attitude towards building a mosque in neighbourhoo*

Table 10.55: cross tabulation of status of employment of immigrants and feeling of belonging to Denmark, in percentage

Status of employment	Feeling part of the Danish society						
	agree v. much	agree	indifferent	disagree	disagree v. much	Total	N
Unemployed	11.1	33.3	27.8	22.2	5.6	100.0	18
Unskilled	27.8	55.6	16.7	0.0	0.0	100.0	18
Skilled	50.0	38.2	5.9	2.9	2.9	100.0	34
Professional	47.1	41.2	11.8	0.0	0.0	100.0	17
Percentage	36.8	41.38	13.8	5.75	2.3	100.0	
N	32	36	12	5	2		87

Table 10.56: questions asked to determine various dimensions of trust

According to you how many immigrants do the following?

Claiming state benefits to which they are not entitled.
Receiving cash for services to avoid paying taxes.
Driving under the influence of alcohol
Having casual sex
Lying in their own interest
Accepting a bribe in the course of their duties

1. almost all
2. many
3. some
4. almost none
5. do not know

Table 10.57: tabulation of immigrants' frequency of attending a religious ceremony and educational level

Educational level	Attending church						
	at least once a week	at least once a month	at least once a year	on special holidays	never	Total	N
Basic education	13.1	21.7	13.1	39.1	13.0	100.0	23
Medium education	22.7	13.6	18.2	40.9	4.55	100.0	22
Further education	12.5	4.2	2.1	62.5	18.8	100.0	48
Percentage	15.1	10.8	8.6	51.6	14.0	100.0	
N	14	10	8	48	13		93

Table 10.58: tabulation of Danes supporting a multicultural or an assimilative approach to integration according to education level

Educational level	Multicultural or assimilative approach to integration					
	multicultural	assimilative	do not know	do not want to answer	Total	N
Basic education	5.0	50.0	45.0	0.0	100.0	20
Medium education	9.8	43.6	36.6	9.8	100.0	112
Further education	28.9	24.9	41.0	5.1	100.0	273
Percentage	22.5	31.4	40.0	6.2	100.0	
N	91	127	162	25		405

Table 10.59: tabulation of immigrants supporting a multicultural or an assimilative approach to integration according to education level

Educational level	Multicultural or assimilative approach to integration					
	multicultural	assimilative	do not know	do not want to answer	Total	N
Basic education	23.1	26.9	34.6	15.4	100.0	26
Medium education	57.7.	30.8	7.8	3.9	100.0	26
Further education	55.6	16.7	20.4	7.4	100.0	54
Percentage	48.1	22.6	20.8	8.5	100.0	
N	51	24	22	9		106

Table 10.60: tabulation of Danes finding that Muslims undermine Danish culture and level of education

Educational level	Danes of the opinion that Muslims undermine Danish culture						
	agree v. much	agree	indifferent	disagree	disagree v. much	Total	N
Basic education	15.0	40.0	25.0	5.0	15.0	100.0	20
Medium education	10.2	23.2	20.4	27.8	18.5	100.0	108
Further education	1.9	10.1	22.9	29.2	36.0	100.0	267
Percentage	4.8	15.2	22.3	27.6	30.1	100.0	
N	19	60	88	109	119		395