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This is who You are

‘The Immigrant’ in Jyllands-Posten

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Abstract

Printed media is a source of information widely available in society. In Denmark, hoarse political attitudes toward immigration created a climate of hostility which at the same time is reflected in the printed media, not only as a communication of what politicians say and do, but as a tone , perspective and angle when reporting. This culminated in 2005 with the publication of 12 cartoons criticizing Islam.

I argue that there is a collective conscience being created constantly through printed media which can be shown in the case study of Jyllands-Posten as it carves an image of the immigrant disseminated in Danish society. Furthermore, there is a difference in the process of the depiction of the immigrant before the Cartoon Crisis which reflects the tension towards them and after the crisis with a less stressful approach, turning ‘the immigrant’ into which is friendlier actor in Danish society in 2006.

Keywords: collective memory, identity, Jyllands-Posten, Cartoon crisis, social imaginary, printed media

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“Now the perception of these people is largely fixed, durably constructed, in popular consciousness, as unruly and unwelcome guests. The media coverage may later change but the cultural world of unbridgeable differences with embedded assumptions of belonging and naturalness cannot easily be undone.”¹

1. Introduction

The printed media plays a very important role in society nowadays hence it is one of our main sources of information to let us know about what is happening in the society to which are connected to. The way articles are written can form our opinions on various issues and for this reason, it is important for us to study the effect this communication has on society and how it is constructed in order to be critical about it and to examine the causes of nationalisms, racism, and general negative attitudes towards groups of people.

Jyllands-Posten being one of the biggest newspapers in Denmark bares the responsibility of its publication strategies, an example of this being September 30th , 2005 when they published the cartoons of Muhammad creating the Cartoon Crisis which for a moment revolted the relations between Denmark and the Arab world and moved international attention into taking stances for or against this publication. However, this publication was just a sign of the tension taking place in Denmark with the immigrants, Muslims and ethnic-Danes. Having this in mind, I intend to make a comparative analysis of the narrative of the immigrant in Jyllands-Posten before and after the Cartoon Crisis.

This is relevant hence it sets an example of the tight connection between the political climate and the information management which at the end results in attitudes taken in the public sphere and shapes the norms, values and beliefs, creating a common conscience and afterwards a common memory.

¹ Hervik, Peter. “The Danish Cultural World of Unbridgeable Differences”. *Ethnos*, vol. 69:2, June 2004 (pp. 247–267). doi: 10.1080/0014184042000212885. P. 264

2. Problem area

The Cartoon Crisis has many aspects to it; it brought up discussions on freedom of speech, respect for minorities, respect for religion and immigration, Western values, West vs. the Muslim world just to mention the most obvious. Furthermore, it intersected many aspects of society, culture, identity, politics, economics, etc. triggering international reactions and stances as whether to support 'freedom of speech' or stand against the 'respect for minorities'. In other words, it is a historical moment that gives the opportunity of studying different disciplines.

The aim of this paper is to make a comparison of articles in Jyllands-Posten in two different time periods as to see how this newspaper refers to the immigrant in Denmark. The reason for this is that by referring to the immigrant Jyllands-Posten is contributing to the creation of a collective conscience of how the 'immigrant' is; and after inspecting how the characterization of the immigrant changes in the articles from one year to the other, open a discussion of why the changes presented in the study happen.

The articles studied encompass the period of approximately a month, six months before and six months after the publication of the cartoons which generated the crisis in this way being able to avoid the peak of the crisis, but being able to illustrate the domestic tensions that brought the crisis in 2005; later on presenting the influence of the international attention the crisis brought on Denmark specifically on Jyllands-Posten's articles.

Furthermore, there is only one section of the newspaper which is of interest for this paper which is the domestic section hence it illustrates the developments in the national sphere, being this the place where the creation of the idea of who the immigrant is gets disseminated to the national readers and thereby the public sphere of the imagined society.

The hypothesis is that before the crisis due to increased right-wing influence in the government, the immigrant was depicted as of negative value to Danish society. This was brought up in the media creating a common conscience and attitude towards non ethnic Danes, by repeatedly naming characteristics of the 'others' which contradict the values of what the imaginary Danish society is; often using the immigrants as the scapegoat to local problems. This negativity disappeared as international pressure looked over Denmark on

treatment of minorities, and the tone used toward immigrants turns positive, creating hereby a shift in the common conscience of how immigrants behave in Danish society.

Questions

- How does Jyllands-Posten help create a common conscience in Denmark of who the immigrants are?
- How does the characterization before and after the Cartoon Crisis differ?
- Why do these changes occur?

3. Method

In order to have a cohesive paper, I felt important and relevant to make a comparison between the narrative of Jyllands-Posten before and after the Cartoon Crisis. Hence there was so much unraveling from the many aspects which this crisis touched upon and so many areas of analysis for so many months after it happened that, looking at the narrative on immigrants six months before the crisis and consequently six months after it happened would give a certainty of covering important changes without touching directly on the immediate effects of the Cartoon Crisis itself.

To choose which section of the newspaper to study was of great relevance since as mentioned before, there were so many aspects where the crisis had influence and many different approaches that can be taken towards it. The section of the newspaper which is read the most and of higher importance to the national population is the domestic section. It reflects the problems in society and the problems which the newspaper wants to bring to the public in exaltation, where the domestic political discourse is available in a concise manner to the citizens. Moreover, assuming this is the most read by the Danes it is the one with most relevance as the information presented in it most have an effect in the individual's strain of thought and in this way I believe, that the social conscience on how 'the immigrants' act and behave is built and attitudes towards them taken.

For the sake of having an open and broad result of the articles in Jyllands-Posten where the immigrant is depicted, the word *Immigrant* ('*indvandrer*' in Danish) was the search word

which was used, which proved to give a large number of results. Hence the narrative analysis is time consuming with a proper analysis, using adequate literature, choosing the approaches around the concept of identity formation, the amount of articles from each year were approximately 20 articles of relevance from each year.

Having the Danish language was an advantage hence I had access to the articles as they were originally written without losing the different nuances which are sometimes lost in translation. For this reason a large part of the quotations are offered in Danish with their translation to English and partly in the reference used in this paper. Furthermore, I consider of importance to mention that my angle on the depiction of the immigrant can be more objective than a native Dane; hence my background is outside of the direct sphere of the characters involved in this paper. I do not belong to the targeted minority or to the ethnic Danish.

The method used is a thematic narrative analysis, as what is being said in the articles is where the focus where the character of study is 'the immigrant' and what is written about them.

The limitations of the method is, that the number of articles is too large if taken a longer period of time and would be very difficult and time consuming to manage for a delimited paper as this one. Albeit the number of articles can lead to some conclusions, it can be questioned if these conclusions would change if the time period was longer. However, the discourse and narrative on the immigrant is taken place every day in the newspaper therefore being impossible to encompass in completion and thereby a limitation of time has to be taken in order to make a comparative analysis. However, I believe that a larger period of time being studied would bring more significant conclusions.

4. Literature Review

It is a fact that social studies intersect different disciplines. However, there are two salient disciplines which influence directly in this study, firstly, there is the political science which gives the structure and it is structured by society. It is of extremely relevance to understand how people are marginalized or integrated and how the political processes have a direct influence in citizens' life. For this reason, knowledge about citizenship and political

inclusion is important. Nasar Meer with a mixed background in sociology and political science has the research interest in race and ethnicity, citizenship, identity, print media and public discourse, among others. His publication “Citizen, Identity and the Politics of multiculturalism: The Raise of Muslim Consciousness” (2010), gave a great insight on the general problem of exclusion of Muslims in Western societies. However, his studies are centralized in the UK with its specific characteristics. They served the purpose of parallel recognition of conflict of the Muslim society in Denmark. The United Kingdom faces different challenges with immigration and integration given that it was a colonial power having ruled geographical areas far away from the UK not only in physical distance, but in culture as well as well as political bonds to these lands. However, many western values are shared and in the Cartoon Crisis they came afloat.

Citizenship was an important concept to inspect as it is the basis in many societies of categorization and differentiation. Nevertheless, the legal parameters that citizenship entails are not the only trait of citizenship which is of importance for this paper. On the one hand, it is discussed by Michael Ryan in relation to the types of citizenship. In the other hand, it is citizenship that acts as the glue sticking people together in a territory, namely what is denominated by Charles Taylor as Social Imaginary.

Charles Taylor has had a long career as an academic being a philosopher, who’s parting point, is in hermeneutics dealing with different subjects of interest, relevant to us, multiculturalism, the politics of recognition, and social imaginary. There are many articles written by him which aim at raising discussions about these subjects such as “Solidarity in a Pluralist Age” (September 2010), “The Other and Ourselves” (July 19, 2002), and his book “Modern Social Imaginary” (2004), amongst many other publications.

Another aspect which is studied is specifically the Cartoon Crisis as a result of the tension with minorities and the majority in Denmark. Heiko Henkel (2010) sees the Cartoon Crisis as a reflection on the struggle of recognition of the Muslims. On the other hand, Jennifer Elisa Veninga in her dissertation (2011) argues for the factors that contributed to the crisis having a theological perspective in sight. There are many more aspects to the crisis that have been studied such as the economic strategies and impacts and international relations such as Knight, John G; Mitchell, Bradley S; Gao, Hongzhi (2009), Scott Reynolds Nelson (2011), Lindholm, Kristina och Olsson, Eva-Karin (2011).

Specifically in Denmark, this incident became the focus of research and study in different disciplines. Strictly related to this paper, the subject of identity in Denmark, ethnocentrism and neo-nationalism became central. Contributing in this field, Peter Hervik has a broad carrier in the area of neo-racism, neo-nationalism, identities today, migration and integration, multiculturalism and diversity, recognition and media sociology, ethnicity media and migration, the Mohammad crisis, among other subjects. All the subjects mentioned above paying special attention to sociology and social conditions.² Previous to him, contributing to the field and making a path was Lise Togeby who had her doctorate in political sciences and had interest like Hervik in racism and ethnic conflict with publications on minorities in Denmark such as “Fra fremmedarbejdere til etniske minoriteter” (“From foreign workers to ethnic minorities”) in 2003.³ Togeby did not contribute to the Cartoon Crisis, and passed away in October 2008.

Regarding the Mohammad cartoon publication, there was as well a strong focus on freedom of speech, and media hence this was the alleged reason to publish the cartoons to begin with, and the reason which impuled other countries to publish them after Denmark did in a form of protest against censorship. However, this subject is not present at all in this paper.

5. Theory and Concepts

There are many different concepts and theories that intersect the subject of media creating a conscience of how people are and behave, and in this way implementing thoughts in people of differentiation, categorization and thereby judgment. The following three, complement each other in order to understand how Jyllands-Posten creates a profile of the immigrant.

5.1 Collective conscience:

The term and theory is built on the idea that communities, like individuals have a conscience; meaning an awoken awareness of situations, conditions and behaviors

² Personprofil Aalborg Univeristet. “Peter Hervik” Accessed August 9,2012.
<http://personprofil.aau.dk/121730>

³ Organization and staff, Lise Togeby. “AMID”. Accessed August 9, 2012.
http://www.amid.dk/org/pdf_togeby.html

surrounding them. According to the Encyclopedia of Social Theory, collective conscience is a collection of sentiments and beliefs which are common to average citizens in a society and as values and norms are shared, there is an organic solidarity between these citizens.⁴

Furthermore, there are memories which are institutionalized, and which give a symbolic texture to society by the hegemonic culture being the dominant culture in the country. The memory, individual and collective exists dependently of a social-historical frame⁵ that is important as this can be shaped by creating environments where information is inclined to a political agenda.

Until this point we have inspected how collective conscience creates a common ground for individuals belonging to a community or society. Albeit it is a form to connote commonality, at the same time the opposite effect can be created as studied by Durkheim who connoted the term '*anomie*' to the isolation of individuals in society leading to suicide as a social effect. The effect of isolation happens at other levels and as consequences of social phenomena where marginalization is sought in societies and the results can be seen in power relation between the different groups within it.

Ethnic Danes have an organic solidarity leaving other individuals not belonging to their organic group out of reach of same status. This is what could be seen in Jyllands-Posten negative angle towards immigrants during 2005, helping contributing to marginalization, isolation, and rejection.

The categorization which stems from the inclusion/exclusion is repeatedly constructed and reinforced through the media; in this case through the depiction of the 'other' in Jyllands-Posten. Printed media is an example of the discourse that happens in everyday Danish society as it sets the topics of general interest as a reference that people use to talk about in their daily life and thereby create a collective conscience. Most of the times, the authenticity and how legitimate the articles are is not questioned at all by the individuals reading them as they are based in concepts and ideas which are already in the public sphere

⁴ Ryan, Michael. "Collective Conscience." In Encyclopedia of Social Theory, edited by George Ritzer, p. 116. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2005. doi: 10.4135/9781412952552.n48.

⁵ Carretero Pasin, A.. "Maurice Halbwachs: Oficialidad y Clandestinidad de la Memoria". *Athenea Digital - Revista de pensamiento e investigación social*, Norteamérica, 0, apr. 2008. Disponible en: <<http://psicologiasocial.uab.es/athenea/index.php/atheneaDigital/article/view/419/399>

and are just being reinforced. In this way, a common knowledge is legitimized, constructed and if it pertains in the same way, it will be part of the common memory of the country and its collective conscience.

5.2 Identity:

The first fact one needs to know about identity is that it is constructed in relation to others, thinking on what makes us different or equal to other human beings we interact with. In that search, we find that on the one hand, there are others that share, thoughts, symbols, values, rituals, just to mention some characteristics, and that these characteristics might lead to a bond between individuals which we identify as a 'we'. On the other hand, as a result of this creation a 'we', there is a creation of the 'other' and a 'them' is generated.

Identity studies have come in focus in the last two decades according to Richard Jenkins. It is so that identity is connected to most aspects in daily life, since we as human beings utilize information we get to categorize people. This information can be visual as to the physical characteristics of a person which can determine possible culture and in that way we might think we can predict behavior. For this reason, identity is a reference for marketing brands and products in order to sell products that convey an identity a person relates either because he/she think they belong to that group or would like to be a part of it, ending in the person buying that object.⁶

Through the information which is available to us i.e. the media, we translate this knowledge to the interaction with others we encounter. This is why identity is translated from the articles published by Jyllands-Posten as a form of categorization and attitudes taken towards the information given. The study of how Jyllands-Posten disseminate information of who the 'the immigrant' is and how they behave is indispensable to understand the interaction and dichotomization of the Danish society which has become multi-cultural and diverse.

⁶ Jenkins, Richard. *Social Identity*. New York: Routledge. 2008.

5.3 Social Imaginary

Thirdly we have the social imaginary that according to Charles Taylor, is constituted by images, stories and legends; it is shared by a large group of people, and it is the “common understanding that makes possible common practices and widely shared sense of legitimacy”⁷. The point being made here is relevant to this paper in two ways. On the one hand, there are two imagined societies which play an important role; one of them is the Danish society as it is imagined and constructed by people in the public sphere, since this is what becomes a ‘reality’ in their perception of the world. On the other hand, we have the immigrant imagined society, which is also reproduced through the communication in the public sphere. In the Danish society, the term immigrant is closely related to Muslim and thereby there is an imagined Muslim community. A full account on why the term ‘immigrant’ is related to Muslims can be read in section 7.3 of this paper. Members of this imaginary society meet in the public sphere through media and face-to-face interaction with other members to discuss matters of common interest and in this way form a common consciousness about the discussed subjects.⁸

There is a difference between what a community is and what is a society which is conceptually relevant as there are different constellations of groups which are hereby claimed imagined by individuals, have different characteristics they hold and how theories predict these groups interact. In the Cartoon Crisis, there are two groups, on the one hand there is in the national level we have the imagined Danish society which is narrated often as a homogenous group; and on the other hand there is the immigrants comprised mainly by Muslims. This is a community based on religious belonging independent of the geographic space and is a group being imagined as well by the Danes as the characterization of this community is formed in the public sphere. By taking the Muslims into an imagined group by the Danes, I am stretching the theory to not only finding narrations gluing people by denominating self ascribing behavior and norms, but ascribing behavior to another group and gluing them together as the ‘others’ in what narratives have told us about ‘them’.

⁷ Taylor, Charles. *Modern Social Imaginaries*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004. Accessed March 21, 2012. <http://site.ebrary.com/ludwig.lub.lu.se/lib/lund/docDetail.action?docID=10207684>. P.23

⁸ Ibid, p.83

Furthermore, the theory of social imaginary relates only to society and not to community. According to Oxford dictionary, society means: “the community of people living in a particular country or region and having shared customs, laws, and organizations”⁹ which excludes the Muslim community from being a social imaginary in spite the belief of belonging together without having face-to-face interaction.

The Danish society which is created on the idea of nation is grounded on a geographical space which delimits until a point the people who belong together. On the other hand when referring to the Muslim community, there is no geographical space and thereby a more abstract and diluted affiliation, why symbols of recognition are used and thereby signals of belonging to this religion.

Moreover, society is broadly discussed in different political theories, and has different traits and aims depending on the theory being discussed. Hence this study does not intend to have a political stance, but make a discourse analysis on the content of the articles chosen for the purpose; a basic definition of society will be the ground of the concept.

A community often connotes a group of people with similar social and political status sharing a familiar sense of collective political, social, or religious identity and act together for the common interest.¹⁰ This has been inspected across borders and connecting people beyond them primarily as globalization, which at the same time as identity has had a large study regarding branding and marketing. A reflection of this is how the Arab world, outside of Denmark, and other Muslim communities reacted to the Mohammad cartoons publication in an act of indignation as the cartoons targeted them as well. Religion in this case served as a common imaginary community. As people are being categorized through this process, of idea exchange, beliefs of ‘others’ become ‘real’ in the discourse.

⁹ "society". Oxford Dictionaries. April 2010. Oxford Dictionaries. April 2010. Oxford University Press. <http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/society> (accessed April 11, 2012).

¹⁰ Brown, Warren C. "Community." Encyclopedia of Political Theory. Ed. Mark Bevir. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 2010. 257-61. SAGE Reference Online. Web. 11 Apr. 2012. Brown, Warren C. "Community." Encyclopedia of Political Theory. Ed. Mark Bevir. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 2010. 257-61. SAGE Reference Online. Web. 11 Apr. 2012.

The usual structures which are inspected by Charles Taylor are firstly the newspaper which has been present since the enlightenment, and the television.¹¹ Surely he would have included the social networks if he had published his book a couple of years later hence the relevance they have achieved in uniting or creating imaginary societies is of extreme significance nowadays.

Charles Taylor states furthermore, that in the social space different kinds of people are distinguished and there are norms connected to them.¹² In this sense there is not only imaginary connection between people, but constrictions in relation to norms which would be another structure of the social space that plays a role in what is being said and forms of behavior which are commonly known as norms. Norms are, according to the International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, firstly rules that prescribe behavior; secondly, they are enforced by sanctions and lastly they are consensual at a group level. In this way, norms are as well a part of the social imaginary, hence they exist based on the belief that there is a group of people belonging together and therefore consent on certain rules of behavior, obey to them or are punished for not doing so. However, it is not that easy to tell apart from what is accepted or not and therefore crisis such as the Cartoon Crisis take place where different beliefs and norms are disputed and society segregated in different opinions towards a stance to defend or oppose. The same goes for the attitudes towards others and in this case the media has a function to set precedence to behaviors towards people, not in a subscribing manner but as constant reinforcement of certain attitudes that will later on be described in the case of Jyllands-Posten.

Extending Taylor's definition, these structures are exceeding the reach in a globalized world with fast communication technologies and thereby the width of the members of the imagined society moves away from a comprised geographic area into other ideals such as religion, language, political affiliation, or other criteria which would make individuals believe they belong with other individuals in a community. Even though this is not the case explained by Taylor and this theory, It is an important part which has not been studied in relation to Social Imaginary and which is of much relevance in today's world, where persons do not need to be in the same geographic space to 'meet' and interact.

¹¹ Taylor, Charles. *Modern Social Imaginaries*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004. Accessed March 21, 2012. <http://site.ebrary.com/ludwig.lub.lu.se/lib/lund/docDetail.action?docID=10207684>. p.94

¹² Ibid. p.26

The first theory which related to this kind of connectivity between persons from faraway places was globalization which united persons as the same goods were available in many different countries making a similar parallel development of emotions and behaviors towards brands and products, exemplified by Mc Donalds and Coca-cola very often. Moreover, the interconnectivity of today is developed as persons meet through social media. The Internet is widely spread and with the developments in say, mobile phones, make the internet accessible twenty-four hours a day. Groups are formed in through social media where people share ideas, photographs, interact with each other creating feelings, emotions and convictions that glue them together.

6. Background

6.1 Why make an analysis of Jyllands-Posten?

As the press became available in masses due to the printing technology, the main political parties got supported by a newspaper in Denmark. Jyllands-Posten was founded in 1871 and supported the right wing party which is the Conservative party which is relevant as it denotes its history of support which is noted in their angle when reporting.

The way Denmark has been managing integration and migration in the last decade has been very contentious internationally, the strength the Danish People's Party (Dansk Folkeparti) gained in influencing the governments and in tightening the restrictions for immigration became controversial. Furthermore, the segregation of the immigrants in society is notorious in the way they are presented in the media in general. As political discourse sets an agenda, the discussion of the immigrant sets parameters for behaviors and beliefs that become institutionalized.

These discussions are available to society by means of communication such as the news and narrowly the newspapers. Jyllands-Posten is a newspaper which despite of the regional name is a national newspaper of national coverage.

As Jyllands-Posten reaches a wide audience, being one of the four biggest newspapers in Denmark, as can be seen in the table below.

Tabel 81		De 20 største dagblade			
		Oplag ¹			
	Hverdage ²		Søndage		
	2010	2011	2010	2011	
tusinde					
MetroXpress	199	201	•	•	
24Timer	138	154	•	•	
Urban	127	93	•	•	
Jyllands-Posten	112	104	147	135	
Politiken	103	99	128	125	
Berlingske	101	101	121	118	
Ekstra Bladet	74	67	103	94	
Børsen	73	73	•	•	
B.T.	68	67	95	89	
JydskeVestkysten	63	60	70	67	
Nordjyske Stiftstidende	52	52	60	57	
Fyens Stiftstidende	47	46	57	53	
Frederiksborg Amts Avis	41	39	•	•	
Kristeligt Dagblad	27	27	•	•	
Information	22	22	•	•	

Aarhus Stiftstidende	22	20	28	25	
Lolland-Falsters Folketidende	18	17	•	•	
Vejle Amts Folkeblad/Fredericia Dagblad	18	16	•	•	
Sjællandske	17	16	•	•	
Horsens Folkeblad	14	14	•	•	

¹ Gennemsnitlige oplag (blade pr. dag) målt i første halvår. ² Inklusive gratisavisene 24timer, MetroXpress og Urban.

Kilde: Dansk oplagsbulletin 2011
Nye tal forventes offentliggjort marts 2013

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So, what makes Jyllands-Posten stand apart from the other Danish newspapers? Well, apart from the conservative points of view that it is known for, the polemics that were created during the Cartoon Crisis in the international sphere by a newspaper of so reduced size, being published in Denmark which in its time is a small country and a small language in the world makes Jyllands-Posten an interesting newspaper to study. Their publication created reactions in others newspapers around the world having a great impact in the discourse of freedom of speech and minority rights. The Cartoon Crisis made this newspaper definitely stand out, create a reputation and to be remembered. It exemplifies

¹³ Danmarks Statistic. *Statistisk Årbog 2012*. Copenhagen: Rosendahls. Accessed from: www.dst.dk/aarbog

the dynamic where narrative and discourse are the consequence and the cause of the marginalization of immigrants in Denmark and the aftermath of such marginalization, which is generally negative, bringing an evil circle in society.

6.2 Danish Political climate 2005

In order to better understand the context in which the articles of Jyllands-Posten were published, it is important to have an overview of the political climate in the area of immigration and integration, as it is the reason why the articles take certain shifts towards specific issues. Even though this study encompasses two years, 2005 and 2006, the time period of the articles in 2006 are from the first part of the year. In lack of worth noting events regarding immigrants in Denmark at the beginning of 2006 apart from the aftermath of the Cartoon Crisis in the Muslim world, this overview of the political climate in 2005 is the ground for both time periods' analysis.

In February 2005 there were parliamentary elections where the ruling government stayed in power and where the Social Democrats lost seats. Due to this decreased support, the leader of this party steps down and Helle Thorning-Schmidt is elected the leader of this political party in April.

The re-election of the Liberal Party and the Conservative gives way to concessions to its supportive party the Danish People's Party which has as a main interest to control the inflow of immigration and is very skeptic to multiculturalism, maintaining that assimilation is the only way immigrants should be accepted in Denmark. The focus in the discourse was the threat that immigrants were to Danish society.¹⁴

Since the terrorist attack of the 11th of September 2001, the Danish government which had ran for two time periods, starting the first one in 27. November 2001 months after the world trade center attack and endured until 2011, became a clear ally of the United States of America, entering armed conflicts such as Iraq and later on Afghanistan.

¹⁴ Bille, Lars. "Denmark". *European Journal of Political Research* 46: 938–942, 2007. doi: 10.1111/j.1475-6765.2007.00736.x

The consequences of this stand point, allying in the War Against Terror¹⁵, in the domestic arena could be seen in the development of attitudes towards immigrants, but especially towards Muslims. The immigration policies during this two-period government became restrictive, even declaring Iraq a safe country

The image of the immigrant hence the consequences of international conflict participation among other things brought uncertainties to the Danish population on their security. Securitization became a political tool to gain support in society towards a restrictive government regarding migration laws.

Furthermore, in this period of time where the governmental elections had taken place, the political parties were finding their place in the new governmental period, preparing for changes which were to be proposed to the parliament and trying to please their supporters. In this aspect, Helle Thorning-Schmidt (Social Democrats spokesman) seemed hesitant in taking a clear stand towards immigration-law propositions, supporting at first the proposition from the governing coalition to tighten regulation in immigration and integration policies, at the same time as they tried to keep ties with the Radical party which was against these stricter reforms.

7. Analysis

Politics give the grounds to the other discussions and the focus Jyllands-Posten brings to the table. In order to have a better overview of the study there are topics which were found relevant as they are aspects that have influence on the identity of the immigrants in the collective consciousness, the agency of the immigrants in society, schools, the labor market, ghettos, and hierarchy. Each section will be divided in the two years with a comparison of the years in each section.

7.1 Who is speaking?

It is relevant to see how the articles are written, who are they quoting and whose opinion are they giving, thus this is the perspective that the public will be able to palpate, to

¹⁵ "the War Against Terror". Cia.gov. Accessed from: <https://www.cia.gov/news-information/cia-the-war-on-terrorism/index.html>

interpret, think about and digest arguments for or against the immigrants. In this section the source of articles of Jyllands-Posten are analyzed as to see how the information is presented to the public when a common sphere is created in society, the sources of information can be authoritarian figures or grassroots. Depending on the source used, a different effect will be perceived by the reader and this is what we intend to discover.

2005

In this year, the news on immigrants had sources that argued with authoritative characters such as politicians which at the time had important posts akin to Ministers, leaders of political parties and in general powerful figures. A clear example of this was Bertel Haarder, minister of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration from 2001-2005, he was quoted as follows :

”Men samtidig skal vi brede en vifte af tilbud ud. Antallet af 16-19-årige med udenlandsk baggrund vil tredobles de næste 10 år,” siger Bertel Haarder. ”Hvis vi ikke sætter hårdt ind, får vi et stærkt voksende proletariat af unge med småjob eller sort arbejde.”¹⁶

“ But at the same time, we broad a range of offers out. The number of 16-19 year olds with foreign background will triple over the next 10 years,” says Bertel Haarder. “ If we do not put much effort in, we are getting a rapidly growing proletariat of young people with small jobs or jobs under the table [meaning not paying taxes from the earnings made from the job]

In this quote he speaks of the danger of youngsters without a job in the future hence the number of teenagers between sixteen and nineteen will be tripled in the next ten years. He continues stating that if they (referring to the government) do not intervene hardly in the issue, there would be a marked growth of the proletarian of young people with small jobs or ‘black’ jobs, making allusion to jobs under the table where taxes are not paid. He is quoted to approach an identified problem with a negative prognosis for the development of the problem.

¹⁶ Thomle, Erik and Johansen, Martin. *Ghetto-børn på Vej mod Proletariat*. Jyllands-Posten: April 23,2005.

The minister Birthe Rønn Hornbech who later on took the post which Bertel Haarder had at the time, wrote in *Jyllands-Posten* the worry she had being a Danish politician who represents the people, for the immigrants' lack of interest in integrating to Danish society in the article "*En Fælles Indsats*" (translation "A Unified Effort").

2006

In the following year, there are articles where it is the immigrants who are being quoted. One of this being the article "*En Verden til Forskel*"¹⁷ which can be translated to "A World of Difference", here a comparison of two schools in Copenhagen is made. One of the schools containing immigrant students, or better said, students with an immigrant background to another school where all the students are Danish. In this article it is the students' opinions that are being quoted and taken as sources of information. Here it is important to note that despite being born in Denmark and being raised in this country, the organic approach to citizenship is noted as the immigrants are categorized in generations.¹⁸

Another instance is when students attended to a workshop and they were asked to relate word to relate words which are stereotypical for Danes or immigrants, in "*Samtale Fremmer Forståelsen*"¹⁹ ("Conversation Brings Understanding") the journalist exalts what the immigrant children's opinions are. These last two articles, use children as information and quotation which might make the recipient of the information more vulnerable to what is being said. Adults are judged harshly hence their personality is established in comparison with children who are moldable.

Moreover, the other immigrant's opinion that is brought to light is in the article "*De Kloge Forlader Danmark*"²⁰ ("The Smart Leave Denmark") where Jamal Q. Lone's reason to leave Denmark as he knew neither him nor his daughter would ever be accepted. Despite him not being a minor, it is a personal story that is being told as he sets himself as example of the marginalization of immigrants in Denmark.

¹⁷ Martinez, Norma J. and Iversen, Mette. "En Verden til Forskel". *Jyllands-Posten*. March 25, 2006

¹⁸ The generations are marked in a way that if ones grandparents came from a foreign country and settled in Denmark that would make one a third-generation immigrant. This classification is generally used in the newspapers and in daily conversations without it having negative connotations.

¹⁹ Mayerhoefer, Andreas. *Samtale Fremmer Forståelsen*. *Jyllands-Posten*: April 1, 2006.

²⁰ *Jyllands-Posten*. *De Kloge Forlader Danmark*. March 28, 2005.

However, it is not only grassroots that are being interviewed and taken as sources of facts and information, in this year there are also opinions from politicians, in the articles “*Nye Ansigter skal Forbedre Image*” (“New Faces will Improve Image”) and “*Indvandrereakademikere skal ud af taxierne*” (“Immigrant Scholars Should be out of the Taxis”) the mayor of Copenhagen, Ritt Bjerregaard, talks of how to give better opportunities to the immigrants whose qualifications are not taken into account.

Comparison

It is apparent at this point the shift of position from the newspaper from 2005 to 2006 regarding how to communicate regarding immigrants. As the person in focus who is giving a statement is usually taken as trustworthy and there is a change in focus from politicians to immigrants themselves. The reason for that is that the journalist’s job to report close to facts and this is the argumentative form which is taken by the writer of the article. By taking politicians in the first year to explain the situation of the immigrants, technically and from a strategic view, it is a top-down approach systematically referring to what is perceived as a social problem. The distance between the Danes who perceive themselves as not being part of the problem and the ‘others’ which are depicted as the immigrants in a general term, who are causing social problems of low employment with accentuation in their lack of engagement is accentuated.

In the year 2006, by taking the opinions of immigrants, the gap between the ‘others’ and ‘us’ diminishes, the angle taken is also different, which is more compassionate towards the immigrants as they are no longer depicted as the sole to high unemployment in this group. Further information about marginalization in the labor market in Denmark, further about this can be read in section 7.5.

7.2 Make an effort!

The political debate is highlighted as to methods that are discussed in order to accentuate integration of the immigrants into the Danish society. It is clear that the keyword for integration is jobs in the Danish context when approaching integration, as the economic means and social competences go hand in hand.

The main reason for this stems from the formation of the Danish culture based on the protestant work ethics which is embedded in the Danish collective identity. As we are aware, scholar disciplines are very often intertwined and for this reason, religion, culture and economics are interconnected with many more disciplines. Benito Arruñá has studied the connection of economics and religion closely with the initial inquiry of the belief that Protestants due to their work ethics should work more and display a social ethic of controlling each other's conduct as individuals are liable for their colleague's debts.²¹

Moreover, the importance of the capital production is very high in welfare states such as Denmark, where each individual contribute with a high portion of their income to pay for the common costs in the healthcare system, schooling and other public services.

Even though the common history of how the state was set to function can have accurate facts, however, it is according to Charles Taylor part of the social imaginary often worked and developed or entirely invented in politics.²² The reason why these characteristics are brought up is to awaken the feeling of belonging between the persons that share the same cultural values and to uphold the existing system.

It is not only in the labor market that the division between Danes and immigrants is noticed and spoken by Jyllands-Posten. The schools are also in great focus as it is here that children coming from foreign countries learn social competences, values and culture in the host country. Interestingly, the pattern of the information given is very similar to the one giving about the participation in the labor market.

Due to these structures of welfare and the common Danish identity founded in the Protestant work ethics, it is repeatedly stated in Jyllands-Posten the importance of work and how this is an essential characteristic of being Danish

2005

²¹ Arruñá, Benito. "Protestants and Catholics: Similar Work Ethic, Different Social Ethic". *The Economic Journal* 120 (2009). Pp.1,6

²² Taylor, Charles. *Modern Social Imaginaries*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004. Accessed March 21, 2012. <http://site.ebrary.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/lib/lund/docDetail.action?docID=10207684>. P.177

In 2005, Birthe Rønn Hornbech, who later on became the minister of integration recalled an episode where the minister of employment Claus Hjort Frederiksen went to neighborhoods with immigrants offering jobs and having difficulties giving them away.²³

However, the agency of the Danish society, government and institutions are crucial and it is expressed in 2005 when despite the political pressure made on the ‘lack of interest’ of the immigrants into getting integrated, the agency of the municipalities into helping the immigrants found their everyday life is appreciated as prizes were given to the municipalities which successfully integrated immigrants in their location by helping them get a job.²⁴ In this aspect, it is also illustrated that efforts made by the local institutions give positive results as immigrants do want to work as well. Therefore, Danish agency is not always met by immigrant passivity as it is repeatedly stated as seen in Birthe Rønns article.

On the other hand, in 2005 it was written that immigrant children were dropping school and thereby being left outside the Danish society. In articles such as “Ghetto-children on their way to the proletariat”²⁵ It is stated that the immigrants lack initiative to work and study furthermore a difference is made between western and non-western immigrants in articles from the same time period. It is clearly stated that the western immigrants participate in the labor market and have work ration nearly is high as the ethnic-Danes. By making this important distinction from western and non-western, a question on the participation of non-western immigrants is set out, furthermore regarding them as culturally lazy as can be detected in the article “*Indvandrere Skæpper I Kassen*”²⁶ (“Immigrants Load the Fund”); precisely stating that immigrants with a western background have a participation rate in the labor market almost as high, consisting of 63 percents in comparison to the Danes who have a participation rate of 77 percent.

2006

In 2006, articles say that the companies show interest in hiring immigrants to work for them but there is a lack of motivation and interest from the immigrants towards these

²³ Hornbech, Birthe Rønn. ”En Fælles Indsats”. *Jyllands-Posten*. April 22, 2005.

²⁴ ”Flest Job til Indvandrere i København”. *Jyllands-Posten*. April 27, 2005

²⁵ Thomle, Erik and Johansen, Martin. ”Ghetto-børn på Vej mod Proletariat”. *Jyllands-Posten*. April 23, 2005.

²⁶ Rasmussen, Kristian Kornø. *Indvandrere Skæpper i Kassen*. Jyllands-Posten: April 21, 2005.

initiatives.²⁷ However, there is some recognition on the fact that there are qualified and highly educated immigrants who are driving taxis hence they are not given the opportunity of having what would be a relevant work for them. It is stated in the “Immigrant academics have to get out of the taxis”²⁸, the same is stated in the article “New Faces will Improve Image”²⁹, so in this period of time it is communicated that there are qualified immigrants that want academic jobs, and the focus is rather on the lack of opportunities for these immigrants to get an adequate job in spite of their education. This problem for the immigrants is escalated by the article titled “The smart leave Denmark”³⁰ where it is said that if Denmark wants to attract highly educated immigrants has to change the approach towards immigrants in general, hence it is not easy to be accepted in Denmark and furthermore, it is the characteristic for how Denmark is known internationally.

Just from the title of the last mentioned article, it is important that the newspaper is showing in a glint that the problem in the integration process of the immigrants is more complex than in the other articles, where the question is simplified to immigrants not wanting to work, and Danes being active in finding them jobs with a negative response from the new comers.

It is stated that the difference of two schools in Vesterbro, a neighborhood in Copenhagen is highly noticeable despite the near location of the two schools in the article “A World of difference”³¹ The article contains different sections if one reads closely. The first subject of discussion is community (in Danish, fællesskab). The school with ethnic Danish students, called Børneuniversitetet (children’s university) is depicted as an utopian school. The teacher plays the guitar and no one interrupts, the children interviewed say how much they like their school because they respect each other and they form a community. This is contrasted with the school of only children with an immigrant background who find a community among themselves taking distance from the Danes:

²⁷ ”Indvandrere Headhunted til Job”. *Jyllands-Posten*. March 26,2006

²⁸ Rasmussen, Kristian Kornø. ”Indvandreakademikere skal ud af taxierne”. *Jyllands-Posten*. March 30,2006

²⁹ Lützen, Maria. ”Nye Ansigter Skal Forbedre Image”. *Jyllands-Posten*. March 27, 2006.

³⁰ *Jyllands-Posten*. ”De Kluge Forlader Danmark”. March 28, 2006

³¹ Martinez, Norma J. and Iversen, Mette. ”En Verden til Forskel”. *Jyllands-Posten*. March 25, 2006

”Vi har fællesskab, fordi vi kan tale urdu sammen, og det kan vi bruge til at drille læreren med. Vi må nemlig kun snakke dansk i timerne. En dansker ville nok føle sig udenfor, hvis der altså var en i klasse.”³²

“We have a community, because we can speak Urdu together, and we can use to tease the teacher. We need only speak Danish in the lessons. A Dane would probably feel left out if there was one in the class.”

The article continues by saying that there are no children with foreign background in the Children’s University school, nevertheless, the students think it would be positive to change this hence they would like to have a different angle in example a Muslim’s perspective on the Mohammed cartoons. The same student continues saying that they also have a shortage on homosexuals.

Even though there is a positive attitude in the statement the student said, wanting to have classmates from a different background, the parting point is the differences. The motivation of wanting classmates of a different background is that they are Muslim.

The students from Oehlenschlägersdages School, the one with students who have an immigrant background do not see the need of including other minorities or ethnic Danes in their school for that matter. In this article, it is made apparent that the ones wanting integration and inclusion are the Danish students, opposing to the immigrants students who expressed their contentment with being majorly Kurd.

Comparison

The immigrants are then depicted as begin different from the Danes hence they do not actively participate in the integration process which is equivalent to the participation in the labor market, due to the Danish cultural and social ethics.

There is a slight difference, as in the articles from 2006, Jyllands-Posten communicates a different approach, and where immigrants are depicted as qualified in terms of education, against what was the common denominator before. Here I am specially referring to Muslim

³² ibid

immigrants, as they are referred to differently than other immigrants, which I will get back on in the chapter about differentiations.

As seen here, the dynamics which are portrayed are the same as in the labor market. The Danes would like to include the minorities, but the minorities do not want to take part in the integration process.

As in the social imaginary it could be seen that Birthe Rønhorn Hornbech uses the work ethics as a value belonging to the Danish culture, in a common sense tone she states that declining a job is unacceptable in Denmark. By stating this, she is asserting the Danish working culture against the immigrants who refuse to work. The passiveness of the immigrants is what contrasts the initiative and agency of the Danes.

Furthermore, the identity trait which is being reinforced as being part of the immigrant is of them not being cooperative.

7.3 I am better than you

When referring to immigrants in general terms the connotation is to Muslim immigrants. There are however times where there is made a distinction and the term does not refer to this minority group. There were two articles which made a differentiation.

In the highest position of the hierarchy are the ethnic-Danes as it is them who set the requirements, aims and goals for the immigrants to achieve. Unquestionable, there are power structures in society which play an important role in how hierarchies are formed and withheld.

Nevertheless, the difference of power and status is not only marked between Danish and not Danish, it is much more complex than that. On the one hand there are different hierarchies within each group and they intercross with categories of other groups and people carrying a status. In this way, there are differences between the status of the Danish people, status within the immigrant group as well and they intersect with each other as will be inspected in the following articles from Jyllands-Posten.

These categorizations are played between contexts as their relevance is not the same at all times, and are at the same time in the eye of the withholder, as not everybody categorizes groups of people in the same way, depending on personal experiences and their environment.

2005

A clear distinction is made in “*Indvandrere skæpper I kassen*”³³ translated to “Immigrants Load the Fund”. The title of this article makes reference to how the economic contribution to Denmark that immigration has, in spite of the positive title, and the positive conclusion the article has as how the immigrants contribute to the Danish society, a clarification had to be made from the beginning as to which type of immigrants the article refers to. The article’s initializes stating that there is barely a third part of the immigrants coming from Western countries and how they are attractive to Danish society hence they have an education and jobs.

Jenkins affirms that human beings not only categorize each other by traits for the sake of it. While doing it, intentionally the categorization is done hierarchically and this hierarchies change according to different situations. Furthermore, these hierarchies are of ambivalence, cooperation, partnership and competition amongst other.³⁴

It is evident that immigrants coming from Western countries are seen as potential partners in Danish society and therefore there is will of cooperation as it is expressed in the article that they are willing to contribute to Denmark. The hierarchy ranked in that way that at the bottom the non-western immigrants, more specifically the ones coming from the Middle East and Muslim countries in Asia such as Pakistan and Afghanistan. It is not all non-western immigrants that are placed at the bottom of the hierarchy as there is a large number of Thai and Philippine (*Filippinerne* in Danish which can be found in the table below) immigration in Denmark, however, they are rarely mentioned in the news and where not mentioned at all in the articles chosen for this paper which had the search word ‘immigration’.

³³ Rasmussen, Kristian Kornø. *Indvandrere Skæpper i Kassen*. Jyllands-Posten: April 21, 2005.

³⁴ Jenkins, Richard. *Social Identity*. New York: Routledge. 2008. P.6

The number of immigrants from the named countries can be seen in the following table:

Antal personer som har søgt om familiesammenføring 2001 - 2006 *						
Nationalitet	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Afghanistan	2.566	676	604	267	206	133
Brasilien	105	115	62	82	82	129
Filippinerne	202	152	140	167	192	218
Irak	2.271	1.679	491	227	344	188
Kina	365	269	177	168	179	199
Pakistan	388	440	175	208	208	171
Rusland	330	276	199	224	173	170
Serbien og Montenegro	307	239	203	196	186	145
Somalia	1.275	988	439	192	202	152
Thailand	737	641	458	562	541	506
Tyrkiet	1.490	1.254	626	631	651	669
USA	259	255	206	161	203	192
Vietnam	314	198	119	144	146	145
Øvrige	4.761	4.068	2.621	2.609	2.687	2.516
I alt	15.370	11.250	6.520	5.838	6.000	5.533

It is mainly Muslim immigrants that are mentioned in the articles, referring mostly to problems with integration and criminality in society.

The salience of incompatibility of Muslim immigrants in Denmark with the Danish culture and is what Hervik calls *value-based journalism* and *value-based politics*, which have streamed the way for what he calls the *end of tolerance* strategy.³⁶ Which results will obviously be the marginalization of the different others in society, leaving them with no power in society.

In Jyllands-Posten, the hierarchical order is set, reminded and kept as the articles set the category of the immigrant, the Muslim immigrant, as not being able to attain the values which are dignified if a Danish citizen. There is a parallel drawn which has significance in this context which is the similarity of the immigrant in Denmark with the Danish people with disabilities, handicapped or directly associated with the *Socialt svage* (the social weak):

³⁵ Udlændingesservice. *Tal og Fakta: på Udlændingeområdet 2006*. May 2007. Ministeriet for Flygtninge, Indvandrere og Integration.

³⁶ Hervik, Peter. "Ending tolerance as a solution to incompatibility: The Danish 'crisis of multiculturalism'". *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 15(2) (2012): 211–225. Accessed April 26, 2012.

In the article *Forældre på Skolebænken* (Parents at the Schoolbench) it is explained a proposal where schools accompany children who are having troubles at school to school. It is emphasized that this model has already been used on socially weak families.³⁷

2006

“Vi kan alle mærke, at det bliver sværere at få fat i arbejdskraft, og derfor er det endnu vigtigere at sprede sin søgning og se på minoritetsgrupper som indvandrere og handicappede”

“We can see that it is harder to get manpower, and it is therefore important to broaden the search and look at minority groups and disabled.”³⁸

*”Socialt svage og indvandrere har fortsat svært ved at få foden indenfor i private andelsboligforeninger trods en seks år gammel ordning, der skulle gøre det lettere.”*³⁹

”Social weak and immigrants still have difficulties getting a foot in the private housing despite a six year old scheme that should have made it easier.”

”Men vi mangler også nogen homoseksuelle, ikke blandt lærerne, men blandt eleverne”

"But we also lack homosexuals, not among the teachers, but among students"

Apparently in her point of view, homosexuals are also a minority that needs inclusion because of their marginalization since she relates them to children with foreign background.

Comparison

There is no difference in this aspect between the two years. The parallel is drawn as a method to identify the immigrants being in the lowest part of the social hierarchy in Denmark. In many cases it is so, that minorities are seen as the weakest in society,

³⁷ Pedersen, Lars Nørgaard. *Forældre på Skolebænken*. Jyllands-Posten. April 26, 2005.

³⁸ Jyllands-Posten. *Indvandrere Headhunted til Job*. March 26, 2006.

³⁹ Ritzau. *Andelsboliger Lukker Land for Socialt Svage*. Jyllands-Posten. March 29, 2006

however this is regulated by politics of inclusion and by the general tone in which the minority is introduced to the public opinion. A good example of this is the Swedish minority in Finland who has a good placement in the social hierarchy having the language recognized as an official language. However, it can be questioned if the Finland Swedes really are a minority, or if there is merely a language barrier.⁴⁰ Regardless of this discussion, what is of importance here is that being a minority should not be a direct categorization as being at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

Moreover, it is important to notice that the social organization is embedded in society in a way that it is even evident in the statement of children as in an article previously mentioned in this paper “A World of Difference”. When students are asked by the journalist if they would like to have classmates with a foreign background, the student answers:

”Vi ville rigtig gerne gå i skole med flere indvandrere...vi har diskuteret Muhammed-sagen meget i timerne, og her mangler vi en muslims syn på sagen...Men vi mangler også nogle homoseksuelle...”⁴¹

”We would really like to go to a school with more immigrants... we have discussed the Muhammed-case a lot in lessons, and we are missing a Muslim angle on the case... But we are also missing some homosexuals...”

Minorities are set by children and youngsters in the same category in the context of inclusion and exclusion as seen in the statement made above by the student in the article.

7.4 A word from above

As known, politics are a two way street, it has been noted before that Jyllands-Posten has a history supporting the right-wing politics. The discourse which is being laid by the public is turned into politics, at the same time as politicians lay a ground for tackling issues they consider relevant and of importance in society. In both years, 2005 and 2006, the government was conservative and made reforms to control in a higher degree immigration

⁴⁰ Research Centre of Wales. *Swedish in Finland*. Last changed April 17, 1998. Access from : <http://www.uoc.edu/euromosaic/web/document/suec/an/e1/e1.html>

⁴¹Martinez, Norma J. and Iversen, Mette. ”En Verden til Forskel”. *Jyllands-Posten*. March 25, 2006

diminish the number of residence permits granted. This section will reflect the narrative exposed by Jyllands-Posten in the area of immigration as it reflect the stance taken towards discourse on immigration.

2005

With the shift of the leader in the Social Democratic party, a strong discourse began on the issue of immigration, due to the new positioning taken by Helle Thorning-Schmidt from the one Mogens Lykketoft had in his time leading the Social Democratic party. In 2005 Helle Thorning-Schmidt criticized and accused the ruling government of neglecting the immigrants in issues of integration.⁴² This created communication between the parties which was written about and described in the articles in Jyllands-Posten.

The previous leader of the Social democrats, Mogens Lykketoft, had taken clear distance against the highly rigid measures in immigration policy.⁴³ The Social democrats had lost public support since the elections of 2001 where *Venstre* was the winning party in a coalition with the Danish People's Party,⁴⁴ and in this year a turmoil took place after the attack of September 11, 2001 known as the 9/11 terrorist attacks which created general suspicion on foreigners from Central Asian countries such as Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the Middle East. Immigration and integration gain top in this moment of history and thereby, the politicians looking for support, turn to this issue in order to gain the trust of the public who are concerned with terrorist attacks and security measures.

As a response to the accusations made by the Social Democrats, parliamentary Birthe Rønn Hornbech, who later in 2007 became the minister of Integration, Migration and Refugees⁴⁵ blamed the Social Democrats earlier approach towards immigration politics took place, claiming that their lack of interest in immigration and integration,⁴⁶ as it had become a weak point for the Social democrats in the earlier years when they lost governmental

⁴² Jyllands-Posten. *Integration: Blandet modtagelse af S-plan*. April 20, 2005.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ "VK-Regeringen fra 2001". Accessed August 1, 2012. <http://danmarkshistorien.dk/perioder/efter-den-kolde-krig-1989-2008/vk-regering-fra-2001/>

⁴⁵ "Birthe Rønn Hornbech". Birthe Rønn Hornbech. Accessed August 1, 2012. <http://birtheroennhornbech.dk/birthe-roenn-hornbech/>

⁴⁶ Hornbech, Birthe Rønn. *En felles indsats*. Jyllands-Posten: April 22, 2005.

power and their opponent ruling were securitizing the country as a result of the international wars and the number of refugees and immigrants coming into the country.

Two days following the publication of this article, an answer from the new leader of the Social democrats was published by Jyllands-Posten where the opposition party's new leader, Helle Thorning-Schmidt comments on the satisfaction over the tight regulations on immigration policy, she even agrees that the number of immigrants has to be reduced in order to have better integration and therefore her support for a rigid immigration policy.⁴⁷

The statements made at this point are of high political significance hence the leader of the social democrat party is making her profile on immigration politics which sets debate in the public sphere as perceived in the above quotation. At the moment, as explained in the section of political climate 2005, the party in government in order to have a majority in the parliament made alliances with the nationalist extreme right-wing party, Danish People's Party.

2006

The focus at this time in 2006, has no longer to do with the positioning of the Social democrats among other political parties, hence they had had a year with the new leader to set their agenda and clarify their cooperation with the party in government and pull away from the point where they serve as the opposition. The focus is down to a practical angle to integration for the immigrants, seeing the main problem discussed, the difficulties the immigrants had to integrate and work in their vocational area.

” Last week came the integration play from integration Mayor Jakob Hougaard (S) and LordMayor Ritt Bjerregaard (S). The move is to encourage more immigrants to work and correct the social imbalance where high-skilled immigrants have an even harder time getting jobs than their ethnic Danish colleagues”⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Svane, Anna Mette and Ditlev, Niels. *Ny S-formand: Jag er Helt Enige med Karen J.* Jyllands-Posten: April 26, 2005.

⁴⁸ Rasmussen, Kristian . ”Indvandreakademikere skal ud af taxierne”. *Jyllands-Posten*. March 30,2006

Regarding jobs in the public sphere the LordMayor states that the percentage of workers belonging to an ethnic minority is too low.⁴⁹

The political discourse turned to a less abstract level and started tackling problems of the time seeing them at a lower level, more precise and concise.

Comparison

The change of focus on immigrants in this section is obvious, in 2005 there was a political confrontation and blaming game from the ruling political party to the opposition and vice versa. This happened as the conditions of the political game had changed with a new leader for the Social Democrats stepping in and thereby a new positioning of this political party was taken place. The subject of immigrants and integration proved to be of importance hence it was mentioned in several occasions.

In 2006, the need to confront each other was not relevant, the focus of the projects which were being built and discussed therefore in *Jyllands-Posten* the articles showed a very practical approach and aimed at the immigrants who were in a wrong vocation due to lack of recognition of their professions. It is a consequent development, firstly stating that immigrants had been neglected, to concrete project to bring them to a fairer position in Danish society.

7.5 Work, work and work

In Denmark the church has played an important role in tradition and in politics furthermore having these traditions of church and state continuing intertwined even though they might seem contradictory to modern western states which are secular. There is a minister of the People's Church in the government, which is just an example of how Danish political identity is bonded partly to the Lutheran Church traditions. Religion made guidelines for how society worked, even more in the past when practicing religion was an obligation embedded in society, compared to nowadays freedom of religion, where following a doctrine in western societies is of personal choice. However, the protestant work ethics are part of the Danish political identity, and can be said are the ground for the welfare system.

⁴⁹ Lützen, Maria. "Nye Ansigter Skal Forbedre Image". *Jyllands-Posten*. March 27, 2006

As it was stated in Benito Arruña's study "the effect of religion is estimated not only on values but also on personal outcomes such as working hours, education and personal success."⁵⁰

Since Denmark is a welfare state, it depends on its labor force to have an income from which taxes are paid, for the country to function and for this reason the participation in the labor market is seen as a priority and a sign of success of integration. It is a challenge for the welfare states to function having a society which is divided, into persons similar to the majority and the minorities which are believed to gain more power and pose a threat to society. The minorities, according to Appadurai, are produced in the nation and its nationalism, furthermore it is claimed that they are failure of state projects. And they are brought up as a threat to the welfare system which is the pride of the Scandinavian countries, and thereby the embarrassment to the state-sponsored image of how a Dane is and to the state's fairness.⁵¹

Not often is it spoken, but has been stated that immigrants from western countries are welcome in the country at the same time as it is said that it is only one third of all immigrants that come from western countries. The reason why these are attractive in comparison to the rest is that they are younger, want to work and contribute to society without using much of the services from the state. It is then stated that immigrants coming from western countries have the same values as the Danes thereby having occupation as a priority, not being a threat as they withhold the Danish norms and principles and act as the state-image of a Danish citizen is, and can become part of the social imaginary.

2005

Jyllands-Postens articles from the 15th of April 2005 up to the 1st of May 2005 depict the immigrant as lazy when it comes in participating in the labor market. However, as there was remuneration for the municipalities getting immigrants to work, a success story is told

⁵⁰ Arruña, Benito. "Protestants and Catholics: Similar Work Ethic, Different Social Ethic". *The Economic Journal*. Volume 120, Issue 547, Article first published online: 2 SEP 2010. P. 892

⁵¹ Appadurai, Arjun. *Fear of Small Numbers*. London: Duke University Press, 2006. p.42

for the municipality of Copenhagen which activated 385 immigrants, and Hvidovre who helped 53 foreigners to get a job.⁵²

Another article which emphasizes on the labor participation is “The Police get Criminal Youngsters to Work”⁵³ where it is described how the police were helping youngsters get back in track by recommending them to companies. The police officer stated that it is specially the young immigrants that are in need since they have no contact with Danish adults. In this article what is striking is that it begins discussing how the police can help youngsters with criminal records that need help. All of a sudden, automatically the topic starts being the immigrants, stating that they miss a connection. There is no assertion of the immigrants being criminals, and it is not explicit how these two categories connect in this article. At the beginning of the article there is no mention on these criminals having an immigrant background, they are characterized as ‘normal kids’. It is at the end where suddenly the focus of the article changes talking about the immigrants. The dynamics is then connecting the word ‘criminal’ to the other subject which is ‘the immigrant’; this obviously has an impact on the image of the immigrant in the collective conscience.

On the other side, Birthe Rønn Hornbech, from Venstre, which is a center-right political party in Denmark, and who later, in 2007 became the minister of Refugees, Integration and Migration and wrote an article emphasizing on the lack of interest in immigrants to work. She wrote that she recalls how immigrants were offered jobs by the minister of Minister of employment and nobody would take them because working was not in their interest.⁵⁴ She furthermore emphasizes that it is not ok to say no to a job in Denmark, making a marked distinction between the immigrants that neglect to work and the Danish normative of taking any job.

Lastly in this section we have the article which describes western-immigrants as an exception to the rest of immigrants in Denmark. In “Immigrants Load the Fund” it is said: “We don’t see them because they are similar to us. We don’t hear them, because they do

⁵² Jyllands-Posten, *Flest Job til Indvandrere i København*. April 27, 2005.

⁵³ Plesner, Eva. *Politiet Får Kriminelle Unge i Arbejde*. Jyllands-Posten. April 25, 2005

⁵⁴ Hornbech, Birthe Rønn. *En fælles indsats*. Jyllands-Posten. April 22, 2005.

not cause any trouble”⁵⁵ In this article, it is stated that immigrants from Western countries are beneficial to Denmark as they share the same values. They are also well educated and therefore Denmark should attract this type of immigration fomenting a divide between desired and undesired people in the country. As in one hand there are the Western immigrants which are desired hence they are similar to the ethnic Danes, on the other hand there are the immigrants from non-Western countries, who are intrinsically not educated and trouble makers: “Public debate swirls around them, while ignoring their crucial concerns, or worse, referring to them as a ‘problem’ which public policy has to deal with.”

2006

In 2006, it is stated in the article “*Indvandrere Headhunted til Job*”⁵⁶ (“Immigrants are Headhunted for jobs”) since there is demand for employees and short supply in Denmark, as the economy was boosting. The companies had therefore broadened their search criteria in order to meet their demand, however according to this article, this is not giving positive results as the companies were offering the immigrants who are unemployed and inactive, to give them internships and education in order to give the qualifications they needed so that they could fulfill the demand and gain from the situation. The conclusion to the article is that the immigrants are not motivated or simply do not want to do it make an effort to meet this demand.

On the other hand, ideas to integrate the immigrants were published such as the Mayor of Copenhagen who intended to make a group of immigrants to clean Copenhagen in order to increase the image of the city, and it is stated that it should have status to be a street cleaner. The projects name is ‘*Gadens Helte*’ which means the ‘Heroes of the Street’. The purpose was to activate the immigrants and help the integrating at the same time. In order to do this the group of cleaners was going to be mixed with half of them being immigrants who have been unemployed for a long time and the other half being Danes. The minister of employment at the time Jakob Haugaard, remarks that it is a good initiative, but that the cleaning branch already is overrepresented by the large percentage of immigrants that work

⁵⁵ Rasmussen, Kristian Kornø. *Indvandrere Skæpper I Kassen*. Jyllands-Posten . April 21, 2005

⁵⁶ Jyllands-Posten. *Indvandrere Headhunted til Job*. March 26, 2006.

in it.⁵⁷ This brings the question of the division of labor according to power structures as at many opportunities the immigrants get under qualified jobs as cleaners or as taxi drivers even having higher education (see section 7.5).

As stated by the minister, it is ascertained that the immigrants are apt, and are wanted for this branch.

From this stance, the next step is to give a hand to the immigrants who have an education but have been forced, due to the lack of acceptance in the labor market to carry under qualified jobs. “*Indvandrera­kademikere skal ud af taxi­erne*” ”Immigrants have to get out of the taxis” making a valid point that there are educated immigrants that have not gotten a qualified help in the municipalities to get a job with their qualifications. Description of a project, helping the municipalities assists better the immigrants as well as getting the immigrants to a relevant field of labor, such as engineers which were on demand in the labor market at the time.⁵⁸

Moreover, role models of persons with ethnic background who have succeeded in the Danish labor market getting jobs related to a higher education. It is recognized that the number of employees in the public sector, specifically in the Municipality of Copenhagen, who have an ethnic background is very low, comprising only 3%. The aim of setting role models is to encourage other immigrants to pursue a carrier at a qualified level for their qualifications. Furthermore, to prove that regardless of immigrant names, people have gotten the opportunity in the Danish labor market.⁵⁹

A noticeable critic is done to the public sector in integrating the immigrants, giving clear examples on relatively easy tasks which have been taken by some local authorities to get immigrant youngsters to work. The focus is no longer the attitude of the immigrants or their cultural characteristics, but an introspective analysis of lacks from the Danish system to bring better results in integration.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Jyllands-Posten. *Indvandrere skal Holde København rent*. March 23, 2006.

⁵⁸ Rasmussen, Kristian Kornø. *Indvandrera­kademikere skal ud af taxi­erne*. Jyllands-Posten: March 30, 2006.

⁵⁹ Lützen, Maria. *Nye Ansigter skal Forbedre Image*. Jyllands-Posten: March 27, 2006

⁶⁰ Jyllands-Posten. *Leder: Bryd barrieren*. March 25, 2006.

Comparison

In this section there is big difference between the two time periods. As mentioned above, in 2005 the focus on the immigrant was negative, the articles written on them were related to passive people who preferred not to work. Furthermore, there is a direct connection made between criminals and immigrants, and at how different they are and how little they contribute to Danish society in comparison to the western immigrants which held the same values, in this case underlining that they work.

In the following year after the crisis, the articles depicted the immigrants as being underestimated in the Danish society in respect to their qualifications and the job opportunities that they are offered. Continuing with statements such as, that the immigrants who have succeeded should be set as role models.

The change is clear as the characteristics changed, from perpetrators to victims of the Danish society; and an approach that sets them in a more egalitarian status with the ethnic-Danes, with a genuine interest in their situation.

7.6 Learning from a young age

Schools are of great importance as it is here that children spend most of their daily hours. They take in knowledge and social competences are developed here. For this reason it is a subject of political debate and it is expressed in the media. Identities are formed in this environment and for that reason there are also many studies on identity and children in Denmark. For this reason it is imperative to see how immigration is tackled in the media regarding schools. A preoccupation and concern about the dropouts and other issues concerning children and their future integration and success in society is accentuated towards immigrant children. The stories told about these children with a foreign background leave out any success or positive story, making a strong accentuation of these children being a social problem.

2005

“Kun godt 40 procent af eleverne fra området skole, Nordgårdskolen, gennemfører en ungdomsuddannelse, mens flertallet opgiver skolegangen og dropper ud inden afslutningen af 10. Klasse”⁶¹

“Only about 40 percent of students from the school area, Nordgårdskolen, continue their studies, while the majority give up school and drop out before completion of 10 class ”
(my translation)

In this article it is stated that the area is a ghetto, the school mentioned is the only school where all its students have two languages, which is a political correct and mild way to say the all have immigrant background. The main problem of these youngsters is that without studies they will not be able to change their social inheritance being marginalized. Furthermore it is stated that the number of children within that age group will be three times larger in ten years time. The quotations on the statistics are from the Minister of Refugees, Immigrants and Migration at the time, Bertel Haarder (Liberal party).

2006

In representing how the immigrant children are in schools, a comparison is made between two schools in the center of Copenhagen, however, this comparison is rather a dichotomization as the two schools’ pupils are described as opposites to one another in the article “A World of Difference”⁶². The Danish pupils are depicted as respectful towards authority (the teachers)

“Ingen forstyrrer lærernes akkorder på guitar, alle er med. Selv de store teenagedrenge synger sammen med smårolleringer...”

“No one disturbs the teacher’s accords on the guitar, everybody is there. Even the big teenage boys sing together with the small...”

This shows respect from the students who do not disturb, are part of the activity and sing along regardless of the age.

⁶¹ Thomle, Erik and Johansen, Martin. *Ghetto-børn på Vej mod Proletariat*. Jyllands-Posten: April 23,2005.

⁶² Martinez, Norma and Iversen, Mette. *En verdentil forskel*. Jyllands-Posten: March 23, 2006

To contrast, the students from Oehlenschlägersgades School are intrinsically described as an disrespectful:

“Vi har et fællesskab, fordi vi kan tale urdu sammen, og det kan vi bruge til at drille lærerne med.”

"We have a community, because we can speak Urdu together, and we can use to tease the teachers with."

In this way, the article continues with other characteristics such as inclusion, stating that the students from Børneuniversitet would like to have classmates with foreign background, as the students from Oehlenschlägersgades School do not want to have ethnic Dane classmates.

In 2006 after the Cartoon Crisis had taken place, Jyllands-Posten published an article where the dichotomization of ethnic Danes and immigrants was put in question in the form of a workshop taken place in a school. The words which the children had to draw relations to were *second-generation immigrant, teacher, blond, mixed marriage and unemployed*. It is difficult to say if it is the journalist or the person in charge of the workshop who had the choice of words, however, it illustrates words which already are charged with connotations and judgment in society and are being reinforced in school in exercises such as this one. Moreover, they are reinforced in the collectivity of society as these words are related to stereotypes of identities in the Danish society. In this article the dissemination of the relation between these words is *perker (a patronizing slang word in Danish for a person that has middle eastern appearance), woman, dumb, religion and lazy*.

Furthermore, in this article the stereotyping continues as there is an exercise where the children had to choose tenant for three apartments having many different people applying. The options were: *Selda who fled from forced marriage, ecologists Keld and Lone who had lived in a collective before, a perpetrator and a blind student*. It is said in the article that there where eleven options for the children to place, however, the ones described are the stereotypes which are being reinforced.⁶³ The stereotypes presented are either for or against Danish values. Forced marriage is named which was a big argumentative factor for

⁶³ Mayerhoefer, Andreas. *Samtale Fremmer Forståelsen*. Jyllands-Posten: April 1, 2006.

the prohibition of family reunification for adults under the age of twenty four in Denmark.

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These examples of dichotomization draws back to the ideas of Durkheim who saw significance in societies binary positions.⁶⁵

Comparison

In 2005 the stance from which the politicians talked about the schools was from an angle of problem identification, regarding immigrants and schools. The problem was found: the immigrants are dropping out of school. The journalists Thomle and Johansen prognoses with statistics the consequences this problem would have, leaving this social constrained area to be one of the poorest in Denmark as a reference of how immigrants behave and how their lifestyle is, underpinning their belief of the lifestyle being repeated in the following generations as they refer to this lifestyle being inherited. The connection with the word inheritance, it is already implied that it has to do with either genetics and rather a condition which immigrants are submitted to.

In 2006 the dichotomization between well behaved ethnic-Danes and the counterpart, immigrants who lack respect, interest in integration as they prefer to speak their home tongue and would not like to have Danish classmates, furthermore a hard stereotyping was being made in the articles presented from this time period.

In this way, the change of focus is the approach used by the journalists as how to present the problem. Either from a thematic view, in 2005, or as a case study which were both of the cases in the two articles mentioned in 2006. There is no shift in the perspective of the dichotomization where in both years the immigrants are in a binary position to the Danes reinforcing these identity traits belonging to the 'immigrants'.

⁶⁴ "Tvangsægteskaber". NyiDanmark.dk. Accessed August 13,2012 from: <http://www.nyidanmark.dk/da-dk/Ophold/familiesammenfoering/aegtefaeller/tvangsaegteskaber.htm>.

⁶⁵ Thompson, Kenneth. 2002. "Editor's Foreword to the Revised Edition." In Emile Durkheim, 1. n.p.: Taylor & Francis Ltd / Books, 2002., EBSCOhost (accessed August 1, 2012).

7.7 Drawing a line

Segregation has happened in a way that in Denmark there are areas where the percentage of immigrants is very high, these areas are usually known as Ghetto areas. The consequences of living in these areas are that the Danish language is not properly learned and thereby the possibility of obtaining a job, or to study are very low.

In 2004 there was a report and a strategy developed by the government to combat the formation of Ghettos. The definition of what a Ghetto is in the report, an area with social problems where the citizens who have resources, move out having the possibility and private investors keep away from the area. The persons moving in are outside of the labor market and have already social problems.⁶⁶ Even though the formation of Ghettos is discussed between the different political parties, that recognize the areas with high percentage of immigrants in 2005, there are several areas where there were a high percentage of immigrants as in the table below:

Boligforening (Kommune)	Andel af voksne på overførselsindkomst (midlertidig og varig) 2002	Andel af indvandrere og efterkommere 2003
Mjølnerparken (København)	71,2 %	92,3 %
Akacieparken (København)	56,9 %	72,9 %
Vapnagård (Helsingør)	58,1 %	27,0 %
Taastrupgård (Høje-Taastrup)	56,8 %	71,2 %
Vollsmose (Odense)	67,3 %	64,3 %
Finlandsparken (Vejle)	59,3 %	59,2 %
Gellerupparken (Århus)	63,3 %	83,5 %
Bispehaven (Århus)	63,7 %	74,5 %

In the first column is the location of the Ghetto, the second column is the percentage of adults which have their income based on money from the state. Lastly, the third column is the percentage of immigrants and their children after 2003.⁶⁷ Even though the statistics are not for the year when the cartoon publication happened, it is the only official document which regards this topic, shortly before the Cartoon Crisis. Moreover, the change of pattern in housing takes years before there is a visible difference and therefore this data is of consistency and relevance.

⁶⁶ Ministeriet for Flygtninge, Indvandrere og integration. *Regeringens strategi mod ghettoisering*. The Danish Government. May 2004. P:15

⁶⁷ Ibid. P.17

2005

In the article "*Ghetto-børn på Vej mod Proletariat*",⁶⁸ "Ghetto Children on their way to the Proletarian" It is stated that it is difficult for children growing up in these areas to get rid of the social inheritance. The interesting point in the statements made in this article is the words that are being used i.e. the word inheritance thus it is a word that relates people directly to the previous generation, and biological parents cannot be changed, it is a fixed fact. Furthermore, if we for example follow Oxford's dictionary with the definition that says that inheritance is "derive (a quality, characteristic, or predisposition) genetically from one's parents or ancestors..."⁶⁹ What is being proposed is the propensity of the new generations to live in the same way their parents did, giving the immigrants in this article a fixed status which depends upon the parents' lifestyle making it permanent rather than temporal and provisional. This furthermore generates a negative cycle where immigrants are not given a chance in the public's mind to leave their lifestyle.

The emphasis of the articles presented during the period refer mainly to the areas shown in the above table; "Copenhagen has to Mix Better"⁷⁰ presents facts from Mjølnerparken. *Ghetto Children Towards Proletariat* by Erik Thomle and Martin Johansen, is based on the neighborhood of Gellerup and these areas present a challenge for the Danish society to integrate, however, the immigrants represented by this newspaper is making a common consciousness in the Danish society about how all immigrants are. Even though it does not reflect the collectivity of immigrants but only the ones living isolated from the rest of society, by doing this, the Danes have a definition of who the immigrant is, even if they meet other immigrants in their everyday life.

This is not to rule out that Danes do not encounter immigrants with different lifestyles in their everyday. But the immediate relation made when talking about the 'immigrant' is the one reinforced by the media.

2006

⁶⁸ Thomle, Erik and Johansen, Martin. "Ghetto-børn på Vej mod Proletariat". *Jyllands-Posten*. April 23, 2005.

⁶⁹ "Inheritance". Oxford Dictionaries. Accessed August 6, 2012. <http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/inherit?q=inherit>

⁷⁰ Pedersen, Lars Nørregaard. *Københavnere skal Blandes Bedre*. *Jyllands-Posten*. April 20, 2005.

In the year 2006 the segregation in ghettos is portrayed as a serious problem hence doctors had moved their practice to other parts of the cities, this is written in the article "*Ingen vil være Læge I Ghetto-områder*"⁷¹ (nobody wants to be a doctor in Ghetto-areas)

The article "*De Kloge Forlader Danmark*" ("The Smart ones leave Denmark") shines a light on the problem as in the political discourse at the time, and still, the need of highly educated immigration is exalted. There is a 'positive list' for immigrants who have the skills which are wanted in Denmark, as to facilitate the process of issuing the residence permit. However, to be accepted as an immigrant does not only depend on having enough education. It is a matter of culture as Western immigrants are more welcome than the others, which would more specifically be the Muslims, as explained in the section 7.3.

It is explained in this article that a doctor Jamal Q. Lone left Denmark as he could see that neither him nor his daughter would ever be accepted in Danish society, and left for the United States, where he ironically is known as the Danish doctor. The writer emphasized how the national image of Denmark had shifted from being represented by athletes, to be represented by the far right-wing politician Pia Kjaersgaard.⁷² This politician was best known for her rhetoric for assimilation, being in this way against multiculturalism and immigration to Denmark in general as can be seen in the following quote:

*"Nutidens indvandrere er for det meste mennesker fra den tredje verden og hovedsagelig muslimer, som ikke har nogensomhelst vilje til at blive en del af danskheden. Tværtimod ankommer disse mennesker med bagagen fuld af noget helt andet. De kommer ofte med den dybeste foragt for alt vestligt, for alt dansk og for alt kristent. De kommer med bagagen fuld af mandchauvinisme, af rituelle slagtinger, af omskæring af pigebørn og af kvindeundertrykkende tøj og traditioner, som hører hjemme i den mørkeste middelalder."*⁷³

"Nowadays immigrants are mostly people from the third world and mainly Muslims, which do not have in the least, will to become a part of Denmark people. On the contrary these persons arrive with a baggage full of the total opposite. They often come with the

⁷¹ Jyllands Posten. *Ingen vil være Læge I Ghetto-områder*. March 23, 2006

⁷² Ritzau. *De Kloge Forlader Danmark*. Jyllands-Posten. March 28, 2006.

⁷³ "Pia Kjærsgaards Årsmødetale 1999". Dansk Folke Parti. Accessed from: http://www.dansksfolkeparti.dk/Pia_Kj%C3%A6rsgaards_%C3%85rsm%C3%B8detale_1999.asp

deepest contempt for everything western, for all the Danish and everything Christian. They come with the baggage full of male chauvinism, of rituals of slaughter, of circumcision of girls and of women's oppressive clothing and traditions, which belong to the darkest middle ages”

This is an example of the rhetoric that went on in the period where the conservative-liberal party was submitted to as they made concession with the Danish People's Party where Pia Kjærsgaard had been the leader.

In this year, the only article that makes allusion to the problematic of the ghettos is “*Ingen vil være Læge I Ghetto-Område*” (“No one wants to be a doctor in ghetto area”). The consequences of the formation of ghettos and the discourse had its consequences as doctors in these areas are unable to sell their practice and many of the doctors which have been exercising their profession in these areas are retiring.⁷⁴

Comparison

The focus on the social problems given by the formation of the ghettos in Denmark is not as big in 2006 as it was in 2005. Nevertheless, it is still mentioned and the consequences escalated as the isolation of the areas from medical care is essential for a functional society. It is positive that Jyllands-Posten is bringing light into this issue which leaves the immigrants defenseless in a foreign country. In this sense, it is a positive shift, from telling the negative circle of the inhabitants of these ghettos and the prospective given by politicians of unemployment and a future of dependency of the state, blaming the immigrants lack of agency in attending to school and getting a job, to an article that sheds light on a problem for the immigrants, where the problem is the lack of practicing doctors in the area and not the immigrants agency to the problem.

Another valid point in 2006 was the allusion to segregation and integration problems. In the article where doctor Jamal Q. Lone is quoted it is expressed how he sees segregation not being related only to geographical areas and ghetto formation, but to the cultural differences and from there a tangential approach by many Danes towards the immigrants.

⁷⁴ Jyllands-Posten. *Ingen vil være Læge i Ghetto-område*. March 23, 2006

7.8 Other Differences

Differences in the dichotomization process are sought, and in this process the terminology is used to accentuate what is believed to make a difference, there are terms that are begin in the common language specifically related to a context and therefore when used a relation to the context where it usually is used is made by the receiver, either in oral or written language. This falls back to Mental Association which refers to the linkage established between objects that have been consciously experienced together in the past. "In virtue of this linkage a present perception or thought of one of them tends to make us recall the other"⁷⁵

A clear example of this is the terms *honor and shame* which are usually connected to patriarchal societies. As they usually recognized as patriarchal, just as Pia Kjærgaard's speech mentioned above, the relation made to this values is possible from symbols which are carried by the Danish minorities, such as veiling of women in the Muslim community. The term of honor and shame is also associated to this minority as there have been crimes committed in order to reinstall family honor such as Ghazala Kahn⁷⁶ who was killed by her brother because she married outside the family's wishes. These killings which are related to the family's honor in Denmark are in the public sphere related to cultural traits and not only religion.⁷⁷

In 2005 this was an article touching upon the concept of honor and shame was published in Jyllands-Posten, and there was an immediate association to these terms being a characteristic of the Muslim culture, in spite of the nature of the issue touched upon being of an expected emotion given the situation. The article's core explains why immigrant families choose Danish families to take care of their children if the biological parents' custody had been taken away from them because of social circumstances, in April 20, 2005 an article was published it is stated that honor is very important among ethnic minorities, there is shame if ones children are placed with foster families because on has failed as a

⁷⁵ Aveling, F., "Mental Association", Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society, New Series, Vol.27, (1926-1927) pp. 340-341.

⁷⁶ "Esma Birdi Bliver Interviewet om Æredrab". Youtube.com with TV2nyhederne, last updated October 2010. Accessed from: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YVDO-3swlic>

⁷⁷ "Kronologi over æresdrab i Danmark". TV2 nyheder. Accessed August 10, 2012. <http://nyhederne-dyn.tv2.dk/article.php/id-3225512:kronologi-over-%C3%A6resdrab-i-danmark.html>

parent.⁷⁸ Curiously enough, this feeling is assigned to foreigners disregarding that this is most likely the same feeling Danish parents would relate to if their children are placed with foster parents. The reason it is written and given attention here, is to emphasize that honor is a factor that rooted in immigrant cultures in order to use it as a behavioral motivation.

Another issue which is worth noticing is health. There are some articles that name aspects that relate immigrants and health and which are then considered of importance to this study as they unravel associations and connotations that become part of the collective image of how the immigrants are. In the article "Obesity Threatens Immigrant Children"⁷⁹ based in an initiative to open a center for ethnic minorities so there can be studied the difference and the relation between sickness and cultural background. The idea is harmless enough as food contains different substances and its effects are directly related to health. But the focus of the article is obesity as it is stated that many immigrants have suffered from hunger in the countries of residence previous to Denmark, and this explains why they overeat. In this article this situation is only depicted as a problem of the immigrants ignoring the increase number of fat and obese children in Denmark coming from ethnic-Danish families. The increase of obesity is a modern concern that is not connected with migration and therefore it should not be disseminated as such.⁸⁰

2006

The first subject of honor which is very interesting to find in the articles, hence it is an often expressed concern about immigrant culture, is not mentioned in the least in the time period chosen in 2006. Nevertheless, there are other aspects which serve for comparison such as issues related to health.

One of the articles touches upon the concern in the low participation in the screening offered by the Association against cancer in Denmark, *Kræftens Bekæmpelse*, in Copenhagen. In this article, *Københavnere Dropper Screening*⁸¹ it is stated that there is a

⁷⁸ Zengin, Melihat. *Nye Plejefamilier til Indvandrerbørn*. Jyllands-Posten , April 20, 2005

⁷⁹ Jyllands Posten, *Fedme truer Indvandrerbørn*, April 23, 2005

⁸⁰ Ekholm, Ola et al., *Sundhed og sygelighed I Danmark og Udviklingen siden 1987*. Statens Institut for Folkesundhed: Copenhagen. 2006

⁸¹ Andersen, Charlotte Frost, *Københavnere Dropper Screening*. Jyllands-Posten. March 24, 2006.

decrease in the number of participants to this examination. One of the doctor states that they know immigrants and older people are groups with low participation and there are many inhabitants of these groups in Copenhagen. Once more there is an allusion to lack of interest in health related to the group of immigrants.

Comparison

In 2005 the focus on the group of immigrants as suffering of obesity due to the conditions they lived in their previous countries of hunger. In 2006 the focal point was that it is widely known that they do not participate in prevention checkups for health. There is no significant change in the statements presented by Jyllands-Posten regarding health in the two years, albeit the image is of concern for their health and passivity about it.

8. Discussion

The focus of the news published during the period studied are focusing in problematic that takes place mainly in problem areas such as the geographical areas where there is a high concentration of immigrants who have not gotten the tools to integrate in Danish society; tools such as language and network for seeking jobs and having contact with other members of the Danish society in order to have a broader network and thereby a more harmonic integration. As the publication focuses in these areas, without necessarily explaining that there are immigrants that have succeeded in Denmark, and have a lifestyle which does not differ much from the Danish, send their children to school, work, pay taxes and do not rely on social help to survive.

The knowledge given does set the newcomers and the Danes in opposing in an adversary situation as the immigrants are depicted as uncooperative in being activated in the labor market, uncooperative in blending with the Danes, unwilling of agency as the Danish system supports them. This being furthermore, regardless of the age, as this characteristics where attached to both immigrant children and immigrant adults, as children drop out of school and prefer not to have Danish classmates as they like to speak their home language, being disrespectful of the authority. The adults decline working when opportunities are given to them and are trouble makers in comparison to the western immigrants who are unnoticed because of their good behavior.

Furthermore there are associations which are constantly made without a real connection to them, as criminals and immigrants, honor and Muslims. Connotations are to be noticed as they are accepted in the public sphere, such as 'immigrants' being a synonym most of the times to 'Muslims' which takes a broad category and gives it a narrow understanding and significance, making the discourse more abstract and confusing.

There is a visible change of angle after the Cartoon Crisis, the approach to describe immigrants became milder and the articles brought their opinions to the table in contrast to the top-approach which was made in 2005 having a strong rhetoric with an iron hand towards the immigrants, blaming them for the social problems which were related to them, which in the following year were dealt with the Danish system that had failed immigrants in the labor market, and in the housing market as well.

The stereotyping of the immigrant is evident from the analysis made above, with a change of approach in 2006. The gap between the 'us' and 'others' became less stressed since the writing angle of the immigrant became more human in a personal narrative of different individuals rather than the political systematic approach of the 'whole' when referring to the immigrants which was taken before. A more empathic direction was taken by the editor in the selection and the direction given to the journalists and their articles.

The power structures are also present in the articles thus a hierarchy can be detected depending on whom and how the subjects are tackled and expressed to society make a difference in the way they perceive reality and their social imaginary of the Danish society.

It is however clear that an image of the immigrant is constantly created as their supposed characteristics are exposed in the articles to the Danish society. These characteristics are depicted in a contrasting manner making binary positions where the Danes can identify themselves and the 'others' and through a process of association have a common belief of how the immigrants are before they meet them in face to face interaction.

The subject of identity, marginalization, segregation, minorities and their rights among others are commonly studied, I found it immensely interesting to add the comparative analysis to it as it did show in this case that it was of significance. Furthermore, the dynamics of society of acceptance or marginalization of the 'other' as part of the political discourse and the media disseminating it is an exciting field to study and would

recommend other to do so. Even more so, when there are general tendencies taking place in regions, such as the skepticism in Europe toward Islam and the right-wing trains of thought being shared in an increase manner with the public opinion.

9. Conclusion

As seen in the above mentioned sections, there is a difference in the way Jyllands-Posten presents the immigrants to the Danish public. In the year 2005 there was a highly expressed political concern of the social problem of the immigrants. In the expressed concern was the high unemployment rate in this group, the lack of attendance in school, the inheritance of behavior and thereby the forecast of unproductive and passive lifestyle among them. Furthermore, criminality was related directly with the word immigrant despite of inconsistency in the article to relate these two categories together.

It is apparent that from the relation of the term immigrant with the content of the articles, in 2005 immigrants are seen as a superfluous in Danish society hence they do not contribute to it, but on the contrary create conflicts with the Danish values of work related to the historic protestant work ethics of productivity for the common gain of the community.

In 2006 the shift in the perspective of how the immigrants are seen and the communication of how they are is impressive. In spite of having the same government in power, the Cartoon Crisis did have an influence in the Jyllands-Posten image making of the immigrant. From being the perpetrators in 2005 to being the victims by not having the help in Denmark to get the jobs they are qualified for. Nevertheless, as stated by Hervik, the differences created cannot be easily erased, more if these differences are reinforced in a daily basis through printed media. The stereotyping of the immigrant and the Dane still was present in 2006, following the previous years with the dichotomization of good/bad, hard active/lazy, perpetrated/perpetrators, respectful/unrespectful and so on.

The recognition of oneself as binary opposition to the persons described as the immigrants creates a common conscience of which group one belongs to. Making a distance of who 'we' are and who we believe the 'others' to be is strategic to claim incompatibly cultures and thereby failure in integration, backing the measures taken by the Danish government at

the moment of making the immigrants a conflict and thereby undesirable by Denmark with the immigration policies and by the public who are fed with this unconscious consciousness of negativity.

I would like to conclude with the starting quotation which is the belief behind this study and why other people should pay attention the information given in an everyday basis.

“Now the perception of these people is largely fixed, durably constructed, in popular consciousness, as unruly and unwelcome guests. The media coverage may later change but the cultural world of unbridgeable differences with embedded assumptions of belonging and naturalness cannot easily be undone.”⁸²

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