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PRIVATE ENTERPRISES AS ACTORS IN INTEGRATION PROCESSES IN DENMARK

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Abstract

Within integration policies in Denmark, something new has happened. Private enterprises have been included in the delivery of a public policy in a Public-Private Partnership that aims at integrating refugees into society. The current issue of the welfare state is to provide public services without increasing the cost for the taxpayers. Public-Private Partnerships can be seen as a solution to this issue. Public-Private Partnership is not a new process in public policies, however it is a new process dealing with integration policies. Through the theoretical perspectives of sociological institutionalism and partnership theories, this thesis uncovers how imitation and roles affect the behavior of institutions and their willingness to partner up in a Corporate Social Responsibility program. Moreover, the structural practice of the partnership is investigated to uncover how the partnership is structured between the two actors. This thesis adopts a qualitative approach and interviews key representatives of the case to generate data for the analysis. The conclusion displays that institutional roles and traditions affect the structure of the partnership and the responsibility for the process of integration. Moreover, the conclusion emphasizes that more structure in organizing a Corporate Social Responsibility program in the integration process in Denmark is needed. Suggesting that further research must be ensured to evaluate the integration program when more time has gone by and results of the program can be seen in a more longitudinal perspective. Furthermore, upscaling the interview sample will be crucial to investigate whether the structural issues found in this thesis are common for all municipalities and private enterprises in the process of the integration program in Denmark.

Keywords: Public-Private Partnership, Institutional change, Integration, Corporate Social Responsibility.

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1 Introduction

"CSR in Denmark is both a vision (a future expectation) for a more integrative welfare state; a new type of labor market in which segmentation is alleviated; and a business strategy to respond to legitimate stakeholder expectations" (Bredgaard 2004:6).

Following the refugee crisis in 2015, 10.900 refugees received asylum and 8.100 were reunited with families in Denmark that year. The Danish Prime Minister called the refugee crisis a challenge to the coherence of the Danish society in his New Year speech (DR 2016). The government in Denmark agreed that a new and more effective focus should be applied onto the integration process for the refugees living in Denmark.

Incorporating the private sector into governmental service provision has for many years been a conventional process in Denmark, and in 2016 the Danish government expanded this cooperation in the form of a Public-Private Partnership into the area of social services. On February 11, 2016 the "three-party" negotiations took place, and the outcome became a new integration process where the private sector plays a significant role in the integration of refugees (Kvist 2016:2). In contrast to the former integration program, the negations concluded in a primary focus on the Danish labor market´s ability to provide integrational resources as language, social norms, culture, and history rather than rendering these beforehand (Udlænding-, Integration og Boligministeriet, 2016).

Several enterprises in Denmark have volunteered to contribute their help in the integration process (Novo Nordisk 2017, IBM 2017) through Corporate Social Responsibility programs. There are different traditional logics of this cooperation between the public administration and the private sphere. The logic of the private sector is a profit-maximizing behavior, whereas the public administration should pursue the common good for society through regulations and neutral administration (Bredgaard 2004:2). These traditional institutional structures of politics and society are argued to change in a partnership between public administration and private enterprises, thus breaking with the traditional understanding of state and market (Bredgaard 2004:3-4). How these institutional

structures have changed in a context of democratic values and market-driven efficiency, and how these institutional structures have affected the process of integration in Denmark, have brought the need to study this phenomenon from a new perspective.

1.1 Aim & research question

This thesis aims at providing a better understanding of the institutional changes that have fostered a PPP between the public administration and private enterprises within the integration program in Denmark and how the partnership is structured. The focus is on the integration program in Denmark going from being a public service administrated by public authorities, to evolving into a PPP where decentralized actors contribute to the integration policy. The ambition is to get a better understanding of the contemporary challenges these institutional changes have brought forward. Researchers in this area have emphasized that the cultural values of a nation constitute the emphasis on CSR (Matten & Moon 2008, Esteban et al. 2017). Strong neoliberal and economic traditions in a country can affect the views on CSR as well as its usefulness (Freeman et al. 2008). Substantial amounts of literature have considered the private sector's reasoning for CSR (Bredgaard 2004, Freeman et al. 2008, Rosdahl 2001, Carroll & Shabana 2009, Weyzig 2009), the public's role in the adoption of CSR (Bredgaard 2004, Matten & Moon 2008, Steurer 2009, Esteban et al. 2017, Carrol & Shabana 2009), as well as the effect that culture has on CSR (Matten & Moon 2008, Esteban et al. 2017). However, limited considerations have been given to the perceptions of roles between the two spheres and how they affect the CSR programs. This extension will be included in this thesis.

Through Public-Private Partnership theory and institutional change theory the explanatory factors in this thesis are organizing practice and institutional structures. The argument is that one of these perspectives is not sufficient to explain the phenomenon of PPP in the process of integration, as both perspectives are argued to play a significant role in the complexity of this partnership. Viewing PPP as a tool for public service delivery of a policy enables not only an understanding of the organization of the partnership but also constitutes an

understanding of the context and culture it is situated in (Hodge and Greve 2011:4). Therefore, this thesis combines the approach of organizing practices of a PPP with sociological institutional theory. This makes the objective of the analysis split into two parts. Firstly, analyzing the organizing practices of the PPP that is established in the case of integration policy in Denmark in order to understand the implications that the structure of a PPP can bring to the possible outcome. Secondly, an analysis of the context and culture the PPP is situated in to understand why this institutional change has occurred and to uncover the effects institutional structures have on the PPP.

The puzzle presented above and the suggestions to examine this puzzle concludes in the following two **research questions** for this thesis:

1. *How is the cooperation between the municipalities and the private enterprises in Denmark organized regarding the integration process?*
2. *What institutional factors motivate private enterprises to enter a Public-Private Partnership?*

This thesis is not a normative study that aims at either promoting or diminishing private CSR in cooperation with public administration. It should instead be seen as empirical research that will try to understand how societal values affect social policies when it comes to including the private sphere into public administration.

1.2 Disposition

The introduction in this thesis highlights the reasoning for the examination of the topic and positioning of the puzzle. Chapter two develops the theoretical framework by discussing the application and operationalization of the concepts of usages. Chapter three will present the methodological considerations of this thesis. The analysis will be presented in chapter four and will take form after the theoretical framework. Chapter five will present a discussion that considers the

implications found in the analysis. Lastly, a conclusion will present the findings of the thesis and lead to a suggestion for researching the topic further. Figure one presents this structure graphically:

Part I: Introduction

Case presentation
Problem background
Purpose of the study
Problem statement
Structure of the report

Part V: Conclusion

Discussion
Conclusion
Future research

Part II: Theoretical framework

Partnership
Public-Private Partnership
Sociological Institutionalism
Corporate Social
Responsibility

Part IV: Analysis

Organizational structure of
the Public-Private
Partnership
Institutional pressure –
Culture-cognitive

Part III: Methodology

Scientific philosophy
Research design
Case study
Theory development
Delimitation

Figure 1: Structure of the research

2 Theoretical framework

Public-Private Partnership is a method of cooperation between the public sector and the private sector. Greve (2003:61) frames PPP as a contract or arrangement between the public sector and private sector. The theoretical framework originates from the conceptualization of PPP as a tool by Hodge and Greve (2011). Positioning the partnership that is investigated in this thesis in the field of *policy*, and *context and culture* frames the theoretical postulation for understanding the PPP. Describing and analyzing PPP and institutional changes is complex and needs to involve various theories. The framework is divided into two parts, understanding the structure of the PPP as a policy, and understanding the institutional structure and -change the PPP is situated in. Given this framework developed by Hodge and Greve (2011), we need to understand PPP as two dimensional, as a political strategy and as rooted in culture and context.

These two concepts will lead the theoretical framework argued to be appropriate to investigate the research questions.

Figure 2: Framework to understand the assumptions of Public-Private Partnership

2.1 Developing the framework

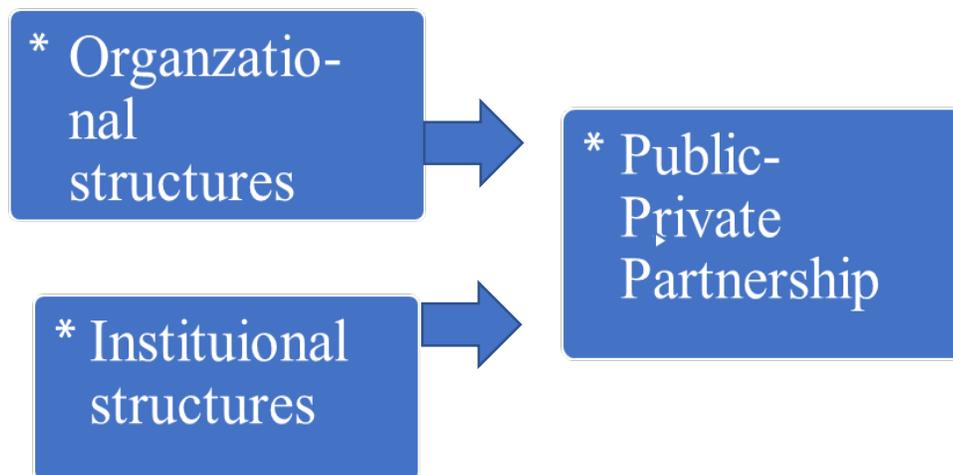The analytical framework intends to provide a tool to understand the organizational and institutional structures of the PPP to address the research questions. Understanding these proponents of the partnership will give insight into why PPP has come to be as well as paving the way for an analysis of what this partnership can provide to a social policy process. The framework is developed as a reading guide by providing a structure for the analysis.

Public-Private Partnership according to Hodge and Greve	
Policy	Culture and context
Organizational structure according to Flinders: Efficiency Risk Complexity Accountability Governance	**Sociological institutionalism & CSR according to Scott and Esteban et al.** Cultural-cognitive system Isomorphism Roles CSR: Values, norms and practices differs due to cultural conditions.

Table 1: Analytical framework overview

Bredgaard (2004:2) explains the concept of PPP to be a political initiative that uses a top-down approach to make decentralized actors involved in political and social policies. The reasoning for including decentralized actors in these PPPs argued to be a means to help execute projects in the public sector where the public administration falls short (Greve 2003:61).

To explain the organizational structure of PPPs a framework developed by Flinders (2005) will be applied. Flinders' (2005) explanation of the outcome of PPP derives from the five concepts *efficiency, risk, complexity, accountability, and governance.* These five concepts will be operationalized in the theory and applied in the analysis to understand the organizing practices of PPP. The five concepts are theoretically captivating due to their explanatory nature and can

address the current debates of PPP and explain the organizing practice behind the PPP as a tool for a policy.

In more traditional analyses of PPP, there are clear and distinct institutional aims in the two sectors that belong to responsibility: institutional responsibility in the private sector and functional responsibility by the public administration (Guarini and Nidasio 2003:3).

Moreover, the application of institutionalism serves to understand the structures in the local context that affects the PPP, the institutional structure of the framework. The institutional structure is seen as the structures in the environment that can explain why private enterprises would go into a partnership with the public sector. From the theory of sociological institutionalism, actions are understood as interpretations of the environment the actor is situated in (Scott 2001:57). Applying the concepts of isomorphism and roles enables this research to look into the environmental structures that create actions. The idea behind applying sociological institutionalism is that as a theory it can explain policy innovation or newly emerged cultural institutions or policy forms (Amenta and Ramsey 2010:18).

The concept of isomorphism working inside a cultural-cognitive system deals with the diffusion of norms and values shaping the behavior of institutions (Scott 2001:57-58). Diffusions and emulation of norms and values are exogenous factors that affect the institution (Amenta and Ramsey 2010:18), or as Scott (2005:57-58) would phrase it, they are the taken-for-granted routines of the institution. When patterns are repeated they can become habituated and objectified with time (Scott 2001:57-58). Roles are therefore the shared understandings and actions that are associated with the actor in question. Roles are transformative through different contexts and can adopt new meanings. However, it should also be recognized that there are prefabricated models of organizing that are scripts from broader institutional structures (Scott 2005:58).

The content of this thesis will follow the theory that will be described. Firstly, the section will explain cooperation between state and enterprises by looking into the concepts that have been used to explain this cooperation. Followed by a theoretically questioning of why the actors would engage in PPP. This section will be divided into two stances, one focusing on the organizational choices and one

on the institutional reasonings. It will be followed by a concluding remark of the operationalization of the concepts presented in table 1.

2.2 Partnership and its history

Partnership theory focuses on understanding the cooperation between state and enterprises. The more formal structure of partnership comes from the stance of corporatism. In the theoretical lenses of corporatism, it is a representation of a system based on interest. Corporatism stems from the interest of the civil society and state structure, and it should be seen as an institutional agreement of structures that serves to represent these interests all at once (Schmitter 1974:86). Corporatism is a praxis that entails a concrete institutional structure and/or practices of group interests; an institutional relationship between authorities and interests (Schmitter 1974:87-88).

Corporatism is a concept that focuses on policymaking and how different actors in the society affect it. It is not a tradition that focuses on partnership, but it has been applied to the study of partnership (Steets 2010:10). From the early stretch of corporatism, it has been seen as a means to transform class conflict into class cooperation. Representing the legal aspect of industrial, economic and professional groups, corporatism became a means to the inclusion of these organizations in the political decision-making process (Steets 2010:10).

Network society governs the act of cooperating governance on a more informal level. Network society should be seen as a new way of facilitating governance through an institutional practice that governs the interests of the state, institutions and societal organizations (Hajre and Wagenaar 2003:1). Hajre and Wagenaar (2003:2) argue that the societal problems no longer can be fixed by traditional political constellations, and it brings in a need for new ways of organizing politics and policymaking. Policymaking generates new forms of governance that are built on mutual interdependence to generate trust (Hajre and Wagenaar 2003:12). The driver behind these new constellations is the practical need they are built upon that is socially constituted by symbols and meanings (Hajre and Wagenaar 2003:2).

The third stance is the voluntary level of cooperation that springs from partnership theory. Partnership is defined as:

"a voluntary cooperative arrangement, public, private and civil society organizations that are formalized with common, nonhierarchical decision-making procedures and that addresses a public policy issue"(Steets 2010:7).

The important notion from Steets' definition of partnership is that it is voluntary but still contains a certain degree of formal arrangement in the cooperation. Steets argues that no matter the institutional differences in a partnership it must provide a clear understanding of who the partners are, a form of consultation and an agreed decision-making procedure (Steets 2010:7). This point of decision and joint decision-making in PPP is what distinguishes a partnership from contracting-out where the public actors define the problem and solution. Contracting-out is based on a principal-agent relationship where the private sector possesses the role of the agent in the relationship (Skelcher 2007:16).

These ways of structuring governance evolve into different establishments. Partnership theory has a character of partnerships formed by actors with diverging interests and opens for partnership in all policy areas (Steets 2010:11). Corporatism tends to focus on highly centralized structures with hierarchy and state authority (Steets 2010:11), whereas network society works in the areas of low degrees of institutionalist structures and more informal coordination of activities (Steets 2010:14). Going from partnership theory to a PPP changes the discussion a bit and adds a significant amount of literature going into the topics of the informality of PPP, its constellation, and its effect and responsibility.

2.3   Institutional change

Institutional change is critical in this thesis to understand how the institutional structures in the society changes. Institutional changes derive from conflicts amongst the institutions competing and in the end, changes become a product of

competition (Haunschild & Chandler 2008:230). Going against the more traditional neo-institutionalism theory, we adopt the approach of Scott (2001:110), who argues that institutions are not in a permanent state but at constant exposure to change which demands efforts to persist in the state in which it is formed. From the theory of DiMaggio and Powell (1983) it is recognized that institutions are vulnerable to the mechanisms of coercive, mimetic and normative isomorphisms. Going into the analytical aspect of institutionalism the goal is to understand the social and cultural context that shapes institutional behavior (Haunschild & Chandler 2008:626). To entirely follow the sources of changes in institutions this section will investigate the exogenous and endogenous factors that can be sources of change for institutions. It is already accepted that institutions are compelled to outside elements, but this debate goes into the topic of institutions´ possibilities to affect the environment as well.

Haunschild & Chandler (2008:631) emphasize some main conditions of changes that springs from the discussions within the literature of exogenous conditions. Firstly, the debate on influence of institutional/technical forces breaks with the traditional acceptance that institutions follow the taken-for-granted structure inside the organizational field. The argument that challenges this concept is that organizations can adapt the structures of the environment in a way that the change both fits and benefits the organizations (Haunschild and Chandler 2008:632). Another exogenous factor that changes institutions is an environmental shock. Environmental shocks constitute changes to the organizational field caused by uncontrolled shifts in the environmental conditions; this can be technological changes, regulatory changes or changes in resource scarcity that can occur suddenly (Haunschild and Chandler 2008:632-633). The counterpart of exogenous factors for changes are endogenous factors. The argument positions organizational actors as being able to innovate and contribute to institutional changes (Scott 2001:75).

Scott (2001:74-75) argues for the concept of endogenous factors as agents being influential in the organizational field. According to Scott agency is the enterprise's capability to affect institutional logics. This would mean that the enterprises would be able to influence and change the logic and organizational field and not just adhere to it.

As an explanatory factor, this debate about exogenous and endogenous changes is brought into the study to add a level to the analysis that can bring understanding as to why institutions would change their traditional functions and go into cooperation. This thesis adheres to this structuration theory of individual and organizational possibility to affect institutional changes as it ascribes to the notion of cultural-cognitive systems´ idea of influence on institutional behavior (Scott 2005:57). As positioned in the field of cultural-cognitive system this thesis sees exogenous and endogenous factors as equally important for changes.

2.4 Objectives of the case

2.4.1 Public-Private Partnership in integration policy in Denmark

In Denmark, significant changes have occurred to the structure of integration policy and to the institutional context it is situated in.

In the official political basis of the new government in 2015 it is stated; Denmark is for those who can and will (Regeringen 2015:23). In 2015 the newly established government announced that they needed to cut significantly in the public financing of integration, as the public expenditures on the integration area expanded significantly due to the refugee crisis and the massive number of refugees the country had to facilitate (Regeringen 2015:23). At this point in 2015, 10.900 refugees received asylum and 8.100 gained family reunification and since then this number has increased (Kvist 2016:1).

The political basis of the new government had the goal of minimizing the expenditures on the integration area by changing the foundation of the integration process in Denmark.

The first step was to reduce the attractiveness of applying for asylum in Denmark, by tightening the regulations in the integration policy. New integration support was implemented for refugees in the country at a level so low that is equivalent to the student support – which is the lowest public support given in Denmark. The argument for setting the integration support this low was that it should be attractive to enter the job market as soon as possible (Regeringen

2015:23). Further tightening was made to the regulation of family reunification, which made it harder for foreigners with a low precondition for integration in the Danish society to reunite with their families. Moreover, the government implemented new rules on the area of permanent residence, as it was made harder to gain Danish citizenship (Regeringen 2015:23), and the temporary residence permits were shortened (Kvist 2016:1).

For the refugees who gained asylum in Denmark, a new integration program was implemented with the goal of fostering job market activity (Regeringen 2015:24).

The new integration program was made along with trade unions and employee associations (Kvist 2016:2), with the ambition that the refugee should be able to achieve an ordinary job within a year. The integration program is therefore cut from three years to one year, with the possibility of being prolonged if the refugee has not gained an ordinary job (Udlænding-, Integration of Boligministeriet 2016:7). Job activity is achieved through internships at the labor market. The new law states that an internship should start within two to four weeks after arriving from the asylum center (Udlænding-, Integration og Boligministeriet 2016:10). These internships must last 13 weeks at a time, and the integration program should correspond to a fulltime occupation of 37 hours a week, a minimum of 15 hours must be at the internship. Time spent at the internship is decided by the given enterprise that hosts the internship and the residual time should be occupied with Danish language training (Udlænding-, Integration og Boligministeriet 2016:9).

To get enterprises involved in this process, both public and private, a bonus scheme for enterprises that hire refugees in an ordinary job has been developed. Enterprises are paid after six months and again after 12 months of employment of the refugee if the refugee is hired for a minimum of 19 hours a week (Udlænding-, Integration og Boligministeriet 2016:20).

2.4.2 The Danish model of administration

Denmark is divided into 98 local municipalities. In paragraph 82 in the Danish constitution it is stated that all municipalities have a right to self-governance, thereby a right to control how to organize public services as long as they abide by

law (The Danish Parliament). In the process of integration this means that the local municipalities can decide themselves how to go about the process of integration.

2.4.3 The theoretical view on integration

In the field of integration one of the newer emphasizes is that integration should not be studied as an end to a situation but should instead be examined as a process (Koff 2002:5). Koff (2002:4) creates an approach to research integration issues by combining theoretical approaches from various of disciplines. Koff´s (2002) theory of integration works with overlapping spheres of integration as seen in the figure below.
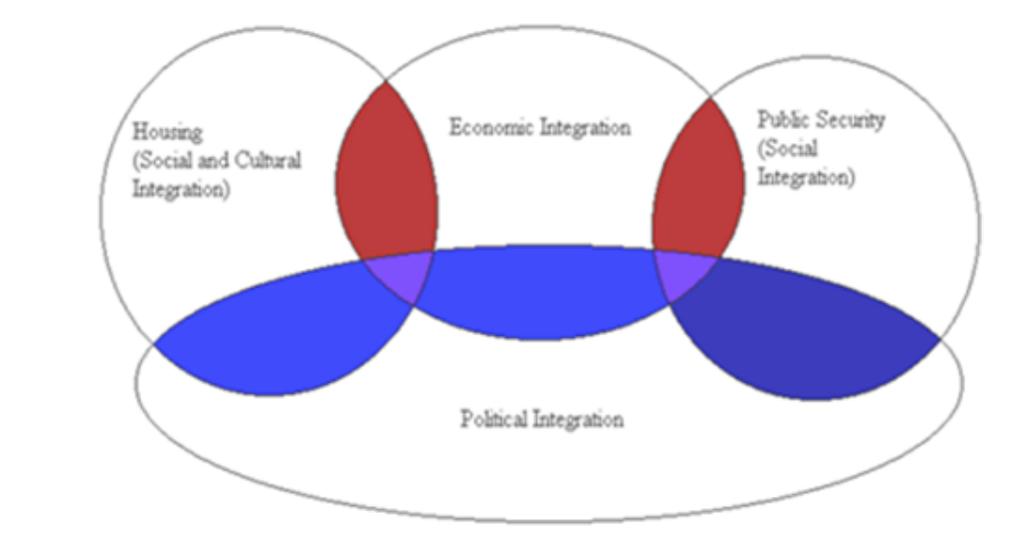
Figure 3: Overlapping spheres of integration (Koff 2002).

Koff's (2002:8) argument is that one sphere of integration cannot be separated from another sphere, given that they all overlap and affect each other. The spheres of integration in Koff's (2002:9) framework include political integration, social integration, economic integration and cultural integration. He claims that "*a political system entails both the laws and institutions which govern social interaction and the actors who participate in it* "(Koff 2002:7). The idea of Koff´s (2002:32) framework is that integration is not just a political issue, but an aspect

of political, social, cultural and economic life and that integration must be a process in all spheres. In Koff´s (2002:38) framework he identifies four variables to explain integration; regular access to political systems, local labor markets, overall levels of social capital and citizen participation in civic life, and political ideology.

This framework by Koff (2002) is used in the thesis as the definition of an integration process. Going into the institutional and organizational structures is essential as these affect the integration process. In continuation with this, Graces-Mascarenas and Penninx (2016:26) stress, that refugees have minimal saying in this process, and that it is essentially the receiving society´s institutional structures that are decisive for the process of integration.

2.5   Factors for organizational structures

2.5.1 Public-Private Partnership

Conceptualizing the concept of PPP is vital for a discussion of PPP. The term comes from an over-debated and ambiguous context, and clarity is needed to go into the academic field. Skelcher (2007:2) emphasizes the term PPP as a structure of governance that includes both government and private actors to achieve societal goals. PPP is seen as a new way of providing public services but not as a privatization of public services. Thus, it should be viewed as an organizational solution to societal problems that the public sector is not able to facilitate on its own (Brinkerhoff & Brinkerhoff 2011:2). PPP is defined as:

> *"...cooperation between public-private actors in which they jointly develop products and service and share risks, costs and resources which are connected with these products and services "(*Greve & Hodge 2011:2).

PPP represents a new form of governance or an alternative governance strategy that disassociates with the traditional hierarchies and market structures in

society. PPP can in theory be seen as a means to good governance (Brinkerhoff & Brinkerhoff 2011:7). Brinkerhoff & Brinkerhoff (2011:7) emphasize that it is not enough to look into the benefits of why a PPP is constructed, as the extent of public benefits should be evaluated as well as how the partners' behavior unifies with the principles and practices of good governance.

Public-Private Partnerships as a tool

In Hodges and Greve´s (2011) terminology PPP is a tool that has multiple meanings to different actors. Understanding PPP as a tool emphasizes the complexity in the dimensions of PPP and the various possible usages of PPP that make the concept even more complicated and contested. To gain an understanding of the possible usages of PPP, Hodges and Greve's model of PPP's dimensions is used to create clarity of the concept.
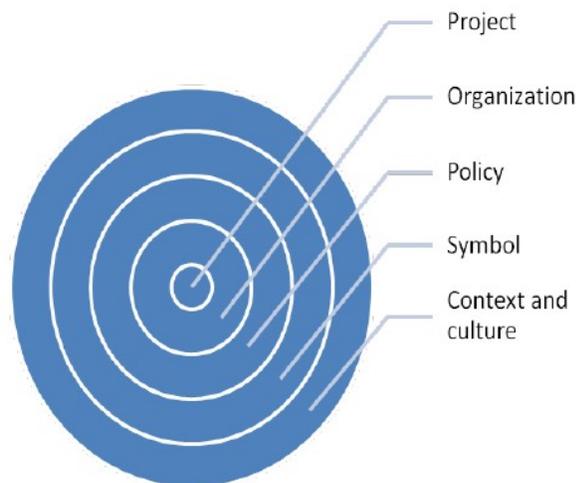
Figure 4: Hodges and Greve 2011:4

The dimensions presented in the model refer to PPP as a tool to service delivery. It can take form as a *project, an organization, a policy, and a symbol*. Significant is that no matter which dimension PPP adheres to it will be affected by the last dimension c*ontext and culture.* The first dimension *project* is seen as a single unit project when a PPP is established to conduct a single project, as building a bridge. The second dimension *organization* is when a PPP functions as

a delivery mechanism for a range of projects, like infrastructure, where the private sector is responsible for funding the projects. The third dimension *policy* sees PPP as an alternative strategy for project delivery for governments. This way of implementing PPP can create various arrangements between the public and private sector. The fourth dimension is *symbol,* which is a way of seeing government structures where PPP is viewed as a way of governance.

For this thesis, PPP is seen as a tool of the third dimension, *policy*. PPP is established in this case as a strategy by the government to a public policy process. In a more longitudinal perspective PPP could evolve into the fourth dimension. For now, however it is arguable that the hierarchal structure of the Danish society still exists and therefore PPP cannot be seen as a symbol of government structure yet. Moreover, the PPP that is established in the case study does not fall under the second dimension of organization, since the PPP established in the case of the integration process is co-financed between the partners.

2.5.2   Corporate Social Responsibility

In the debate about PPP, the concepts of CSR arise as a subfield (Guarini and Nidasio 2003:1). To this notion the concept of CSR brings an aspect of social considerations and its appropriateness for enterprises. This section sketches the academic debate about CSR and its definition. It then follows with two different argumentations as to why enterprises should take a social responsibility.

Carroll and Shabana (2009) go into the debate about CSR with the aim of understanding the arguments and rationales of why companies voluntarily would adopt a CSR program (Carroll and Shabana 2009:86). The idea behind CSR is that companies should go past profit and take a social responsibility as well. There have been many discussions of how CSR has come to be, ranging from companies wanting to engage in social responsibility due extended stakeholder competitiveness to companies responding to the needs of the social environment (Carroll and Shabana 2009:87).

Carroll and Shabana (2009) use the definition of CSR from an earlier developed conceptualization by Carroll that follows*:*

"The social responsibility of business encompasses the economic, legal, ethical, and discretionary [later referred to as philanthropic] expectations that society has of organizations at a given point in time" (Carroll and Shabana 2009:89).

This four-part definition of CSR holds economic and legal responsibilities that are required by the companies, ethical responsibility that is expected and the discretionary responsibility that is desired (Carroll and Shabana 2009:90).

The economic responsibility is the company´s ability to produce goods and services desired by the society ensuring its profits (Carroll and Shabana 2009:90). The legal responsibility is the company's ability to adhere to the laws and regulations of the society it operates in (Carroll and Shabana 2009:91). Ethical responsibility is the actions to promote and pursue social goals that extend the legal responsibility, and the discretionary is the promotions of social responsibility (Carroll and Shabana 2009:95).

The justification of Corporate Social Responsibility

One of the most outspoken justifications of CSR is that enterprises have resources and can contribute where the public authorities fall short (Rosdahl 2001). CSR is about making the business community responsible for issues that traditionally belong to the realm of public administration (Bredgaard 2004:3). The vision of CSR as argued by Bredgaard is *"[a] vision for a more integrative welfare state"* (Bredgaard 2004:6)*,* a welfare state in which both public and private authorities can overcome the issues related to social policies that public administration cannot overcome itself.

Steurer (2009:50) reasons why the public administration should incorporate the private sector in the administration of public policies. He argues for the following benefits. Firstly, it can help the public administration meet their policy objectives on a voluntary basis. Secondly, the state is interested in redistributing public causes into corporate resources. Thirdly, the voluntary assumption of CSR goes beyond the legal possibilities of the social and environmental regulations thereby making these regulations more effective. Fourthly, this broader transition of

public governance can exist by breaking with the traditional hierarchical structure and cooperate with the private sphere in public policies.

Business explanation

The business aspect has several arguments for adopting a CSR program. The most common argument is the economic argument; that CSR maximizes economic profit (Carroll & Shabana 2009:93). However, this view is contested and without evidence in the academic debate; it is still a prevalent argument for adopting CSR (Bredgaard 2004, Carroll & Shanbana 2009). Going into the relations of the cooperation, an argument for adopting CSR is that it creates a competitive advantage in stakeholder competition. The argument is that a better image and reputation created through CSR makes the enterprise more attractive to stakeholders and thereby creating more profit or improved cooperation opportunities (Bredgaard 2004:8-9, Carroll &Shabana 2009:98).

Additionally, Bredgaard (2004:9) argues that enterprises adopting CSR programs create a direct economic return in the form of more committed, loyal and productive employees. The argument is that employees feel more connected to the workplace due to CSR programs and consequently their productivity rises and increases the financial outcome.

Cultural explanation

Esteban, Villardon and Garcia Sanchez (2017) have made a study to emphasize the impact of cultural values on the willingness to adopt a CSR program. The argument presented by the scholars is that normative isomorphism influences the level of CSR in a country as well as its practice (Esteban et al. 2017:18). They find that even though enterprises around the world adopt somehow similar patterns of CSR, their practices differ due to normative institutional characteristics (Esteban et al. 2017:18).

Values, norms, and practices differ due to distinct cultural and national conditions, and these conditions affect business behavior and the practice of CSR (Esteban et al. 2017:18). Esteban et al. (2017:19) use an institutional theory approach to analyze the role that institutional forces play in the degree of CSR an enterprise will adopt. CSR should not be viewed as being solely voluntary but as dictated by the institutional forces in society (Esteban et al. 2017:19). The result

of Esteban et al.'s (2017:27) study is that the institutional macro context influences the practice of CSR in the environmental and social dimension. It is shown that having a robust cultural system increases the commitments to sustainability. An example here emphasized by Esteban et al. (2017) is that the Nordic countries tend to favor social policies due to a historical tendency to liberal democracy.

The approach of cultural values that influence institutional practice elaborated in this section, align with the theory of sociological institutionalism by arguing that the cultural values affect the extent of CSR and thereby claiming that culture of the society creates institutional behavior.

Differentiation between PPP and CSR

In this thesis both the concepts of PPP and CSR are applied to the scope of this case. The two concepts differ in that PPP is the relation between the private and public sector in a cooperation, whereas CSR is a program that private enterprises adopt when they have a motive for thinking beyond profits and into social responsibility. One way for the private enterprise to implement a CSR program is to engage in a PPP. This thesis adopts the concept of PPP as the relation between the two actors, and CSR as the private enterprises' motivation that is utilized through a PPP in the case of the integration process in Denmark.

2.6   Entering a structured partnership

This section will be divided into the following two parts. Firstly, it will use the framework of Flinders (2005) to understand the organizing practices when a PPP is established. Next section will investigate the institutional pressure that can affect the reasonings for entering into a partnership. This section will focus on sociological institutionalism to understand the mechanisms of institutional pressure and roles.

2.6.1   Organizational structures

The justification of a PPP goes on the notion that the private sector as a partner can provide resources and quality to the services otherwise provided by the public sector (Flinders 2005:226). Flinders´ framework sketches the organizing practice of a PPP that relates to its structure by emphasizing *efficiency, risk, complexity, accountability, and governance*.

The framework by Flinders brings forward a list of concepts to take into consideration when entering cooperation between the public and private sector. The analytical framework this thesis will investigate the five issues to uncover the organizing practice of the partnership and explore the decisions that have been made in the structuralizing of the integration process in Denmark.

Efficiency is the argument that the partnership must be cost-effective for an enterprise to enter the partnership. Efficiency is argued to be caused by transferring projects from the public to the private sector. Efficiency can take form as cost-efficiency, productivity and even risk transfer (Flinders 2005:225).

Risk is an integrated part of the institutional agreement of the partnership, an establishment of the relationship and the agreement of the risk assigned to the actors, and this can be decisive for the success of the cooperation. Problematics arise due to the public sector's capital sensitivity and missing opportunity to raise user finances. Including the private sector can solve this problem. By partly or entirely financing projects through the private sector, the risk of the projects should be equally transferred to the private sector (Flinders 2005:226). Flinders (2005:226) argues that this argument is wrong to some extent as he claims that the risk of the project will necessarily always be in the public sector, due to legal and political factors. If a project is failing, the public sector will have no other choice than to subsidize it, as there will be specific services the public sector cannot allow to fail.

Complexity in the public bodies arises due to overseeing and regulating activities of PPPs. A downfall with this can be the muddles of where the responsibility of the instances of the PPP lies. Flinders argues that using PPP as a mechanism of governance needs to be applied to an overall structure of the state and its responsibility, administrative structure and controlling mechanisms (Flinders 2005:228). The complexity of the PPP arises here, as due to the

significant part of independent actors involved in the partnership it becomes hard to negotiate conditions and place responsibility (Flinders 2005:228).

Accountability can be a difficult political topic to deal with: the question of who is accountable for the given project and its outcome. Governments change frequently and getting a government to account for a policy that is constructed by a previous government is critical if the new government does not adhere to the policy. When the policy is implemented in a partnership with the private sector, it adds to the complexity of public accountability. Adding sanctions to a PPP, both the public and private sector would undermine the whole constellation of the partnership that should be based on voluntary means as well as it challenges the enterprises´ willingness of to enter the PPP (Flinders 2005:229). From Flinders' (2005:229) framework, PPP is argued to foster the possibility to create new models of accountability that strengthen the partnership, such as forms of community engagements.

Governance for Flinders (2005:232) goes on the political discussion of accepting the implementation of PPPs into a policy field. Flinders (2005:233) identifies two paradoxes that comes to show when involving the private sphere in public policies. Firstly, the notion of fragmentation, where the argument is that the direct control capacity by the government decreases when more actors are involved. By attempting to create cooperation between the public and private spheres the results intensify a fragmented state structure (Flinders 2005: 233). The second argument is that the focus of PPP becomes the need of the enterprise instead of the need of the users of the public service.

All five concepts of organizing practices will be emphasized in the analysis of organizational structures in section 4.2.

2.6.2 Institutional structures

In the analysis of PPP sociological institutionalism will be used as a part of the theoretical framework. It brings a practical insight into the literature of PPP by emphasizing the importance of cultural and socio-economic roots in the political life (Peters 2005: 9).

In line with CSR and its focus on institutional effects, institutions in sociological institutionalism are socially constructed by norms that serve to

legitimize behavior (Meyer & Rowan 1997:340). Institutions in sociological institutionalism are defined by Scott as;

"consist of cognitive, normative and regulative structures and activities that provide stability and meaning to social behavior" (Scott 2001:33).

A further elaboration of institutions by Jepperson (1991) emphasizes that institutions are socially constructed and that they are reproduced rules of systems operating in relative fixtures of constraining environments and taken-for-granted actions. Sociological institutionalism works with formal organizations as systems of controlled and coordinated activities that legitimize actions in society. These formal organizations are products of high institutionalization (Meyer & Rowan 1997:340). Meyer & Rowan (1997: 443) work with norms constituting institutions that are not simple values but are rationalities in specific and dominant understandings and meanings in institutionalized social structures.

For this thesis, the scope is limited to the *cultural-cognitive* approach. The thesis thereby understands social reality as constructed by shared conceptions and actions legitimized by adopting these shared conceptions (Scott 2001:57).

In cultural-cognitive approach actions are explained and understood through objective conditions but also through actors' subject interpretations of them (Scott 2001:57). External cultural values and norms are what constitute internal interpretative processes and behaviors of institutions (Scott 2001:57).

Perception of roles

Scott argues that social roles get a different meaning when they are analyzed within the cultural system than within the normative systems. The routines and compliances that the institutions follow are often seen as norms, so incorporated into the culture they are overlooked and taken-for-granted (Scott 2001:57-58). The roles institutions follow are situated in the context they exist in and are formed by these contexts (Scott 2001:57). These roles become habitualized by actions being repeated in a certain context, so they keep being reinforced. What is important here is the common frame of the organizational field, its belief and culture are constituting these roles (Scott 2001:58).

For an institution to act in the social life it must gain power by achieving legitimacy. In the field of cultural-cognitive system legitimacy is a product of the degree of cultural support that an organization contains (Scott 2001:59). It is a typical frame of references or definitions of a situation that can produce legitimacy for an institution (Scott 2001:61). Meyer & Rowan (1977:340) argue that it is the myths of ingrained institutional rules that generate legitimacy, and these ingrained institutional rules or frame of references are what constitute the roles of institutions as well as their behavior.

Perception of behavior

Adopting a particular behavior goes into to concept of isomorphism. Institutions' primary goal is to legitimaze actions to ensure their success and survival. Institutional theory's goal is to locate social and cultural context of institutions that shape organizational behavior (Meyer & Rowan 1977:352). DiMaggio and Powell (1983) work with the notion that "*rational actors make their organizations increasingly similar as they try to change them*"(DiMaggio and Powell 1983:147). DiMaggio and Powell's purpose is to explain homogenization of organizations, arguing that in the first period of an organizational field the organization shows diversity in approach and form, but with time it will change towards homogenization (DiMaggio and Powell 1983:148).

Working inside the *cultural-cognitive* system actions are taken-for-granted behavior that is rooted in the social context, and this social context exists of social rules and guidelines that dictate behavior (Scott 2001:68). Scott argues that behavior desents from taken-for-granted rules in society but innovation can change these rules. Innovation of behavior or practices strives from instituional changes or isomorphism. This thesis does not engage in the field of coercive isomorphism of instituional changes that work with legal practice for insitutions to follow (DiMaggio and Powell 1983:150-151), because private enterprises are not legally obliged to enter a PPP. However, this thesis works with both mimeitc isomorphism and normative isomorphism. Due to many similarites in these two fields and their significance for this thesis we merge the two concepts under the term normative pressure. Mimitc isomorphism according to DiMaggio and Powell

(1983:151) arises as a countermeasure to tackle uncertainty. Uncertainty fosters mimetic behavior by institutions and restores the homogeneity of the organizational field. This imitation of behavior is not necessarily deliberative actions, but it often occurs within an organizational field when an organization perceives another organizations as more legitimate or successful. Normative isomorphism is constituted of what DiMaggio and Powell (1983:152) terms professionalization. Professionalization is the collective struggle of defining conditions as well as methods of work and it is the cognitive base that constitutes occupational autonomy.

Merging these two perspectives aims at understanding behavior as inherent in individual behavior as well as the imitating behavior that institutions adopt to advance their competitive advantage.

3 Methodology

This chapter aims to explain the methodology and assumptions made with regards to investigate the institutional changes in the integration process in Denmark.

This chapter will start by discussing the underlying assumptions and how they affect the theoretical development of this thesis. Subsequently, the methodological choices and argumentations will be presented. This will be followed by the arguments for the research design, its relevance and obstacles. The chapter will lastly present a limitation of the thesis.

3.1 Theory development

This thesis intends to go into the context of the integration process in Denmark, and goes into the socio-cultural context of the reality the case is situated in. Following an interpretive approach, the social reality is constructed from culture, context, and meanings that affect the experience of the social reality. The contribution of this thesis is to understand and interpret the context of the chosen case (Saunders et al. 2015:140). In a subjectivist approach perceptions and actions of actors are reflections of the social reality (Saunders et al. 2015:130), therefore this thesis will mainly be based on interviews of key figures in the case.

As the thesis´s process is an ongoing movement between the theoretical considerations and findings, abductive inference is chosen to approach the theory. Abductive inference works by uncovering an observation worth investigating, work out the possible theory that can explain the phenomena of observation and uncovering facts of the observations by working with the theory and data to explore and explain themes of the phenomena (Saunders et al. 2015:148). The advantage of applying an abductive approach is that it goes back and forth between data and theory and in some sense combines both the inductive and the deductive approach. It does not limit the thesis to either understanding what is

happening or trying to explain why something is happening (Saunders et al. 2015:148).

The small amount of existing information explains the choice of an abductive inference approach in the context of partnership, PPP and institutionalism where little data exists in the lens of PPP in public policy making of the integration process in Denmark.

The theory development aims to modify the existing literature to explain the above-mentioned phenomena that this thesis seeks to understand, by applying the theoretical framework on the interviews conducted with key informants of the case. With this approach we aim at understanding the PPP in the case of the integration process in Denmark as well as bring an insight into why private enterprises will go into a PPP with public authorities.

3.2   Research design

3.2.1 Methodological choices

The focus of qualitative research is to study "*meanings and the relationships between them*" (Saunders et al. 2015:168). The scope of this thesis is going to be exploratory as the aim is to understand the phenomenon of cooperation between the public administration and private enterprises in the integration process. The advantage of an exploratory study is that it is flexible and can change and adapt as the investigation moves forward (Saunders et al. 2015: 174-175). For this thesis, a multi-method qualitative study, semi-structured interviews, and document analysis are chosen (Saunders et al. 2015:168). The reasoning for a multi-method, rather than a mono-method is to get a wider understanding of the institutions investigated in this thesis. Document analysis can contribute to the data collection in the form of various documents to understand the cooperation between the public administration and private enterprises. Semi-structured interviews are conducted to add a layer to the data collection that can bring the underlying

meanings and representations of the integration process by the actors involved in the process.

3.2.2 Research strategy – a case study

A single-case study is applied as the strategy for analyzing the puzzle of PPP in the case of the integration process in Denmark. Case study works with the interaction between the subject/objects and the case in the given context. It is a way of exploring a phenomenon in the reality it exists in (Saunders et al. 184-185). The reasoning for choosing a case study is to be able to understand the boundaries and interactions between the PPP and the integration process in Denmark.

This thesis uses theories of PPP and sociological institutionalism to build a theoretical framework that can be utilized exploratorily to understand the components of the cooperation between the public and private sector.

 To conduct a case study, it is essential to find observable or recorded data as well as being able to investigate historical and contemporary events of the case (Beckmann & Padmanabhan 2009:348).

As mentioned, this case study is mainly going to be investigated through a multi-method qualitative study by applying interviews and various documents to be able to identify institutions, what they are and their key features (Beckmann & Padmanabhan 2009:362).

3.3   Data collection and data analysis

3.3.1 Semi-structured qualitative interviews

Interviews are meant to uncover knowledge about the social world that is constructed by human interaction and knowledge generated through conversations (Legard et al. 2003). Conducting an interview is thereby a significant method to uncover knowledge about phenomena such as integration and partnership.

Interviewing key representatives from the institutions in focus in this thesis contributes with expertise knowledge to the investigation. Given that it is highly constituted that institutions' formal structures and practices can be two separate things (Meyer & Rowan 1977:341), interviews could provide an understanding of institutional practice to explore whether the partners comply with the organizing practice of the partnership.

The informants in the interviews are representatives from private enterprises and local municipalities who all holds significant positions in structuring the individual partnerships in the integration process. The goal is to construct primary data that enables the knowledge of why enterprises are a part of the integration processes in Denmark and how the organizing practice of the partnership functions. In Appendix 1 a presentation of the key informants can be found.

3.3.2 Planning

As interviews serve as the central part of the data, it has been essential to plan these interviews to ensure the outcome is as representative as possible.

First consideration of planning has been who to interview. It was important to find representatives for both the public administration and private enterprises. For the interviewees from the local municipalities it was an essential criterion that their work involved working with the integration process for refugees. Everyone contacted from the local municipalities have been directly in contact with the refugees and in charge of their integration process.

For the private enterprises, it has been important that the enterprise is or has been a part of the integration program and that the private enterprise has agreed to take refugees in labor market activity.

Difficulties in the process of ensuring the interviews must be accounted for here. For this thesis 12 private enterprises and 41 municipalities were contacted. This resulted in interviews with three private enterprises and two local municipalities. This interview sample was not chosen from any strategy or specific reason, but strictly from who had responded to the inquiry. It is without a doubt not the optimal way to structure an interview sample, but due to the lack of respondents it was not possible to structure differently. The declining responds from the municipalities were primarily due to missing time and resources. The

reason why some private enterprises could not participate was not due to lack of interest but because of a large number of requests from students. Having more control over the interview sample could have ensured even more varied interviews but it is not seen as limiting the results of the thesis. Tendencies are found amongst the interviewees and it shows differences which the claims and findings of this research is built on.

Second consideration in planning these interviews was how to ensure the answers given were honest so that the results of the analysis represent the meanings and ideas of the interviewees. Vague answers are tried avoided by minimizing evaluating questions in the interviews. The focus of the topic guide (Appendix 2) has been to ask questions related to the organization and the structure of the partnership. To some extent, these questions follow the theoretical framework to make the data and theory applicable. Framing the topic guide to uncover structural and organizational matters is an attempt to avoid vague, unclear and rehearsed answers that could occur when asking to evaluate the integration program in Denmark.

3.3.3 Document analysis

As Beckmann & Padmanabhan (2009:348) argue, one of the leading ways to uncover understandings of institutions is through document analysis. Beckmann & Padmanabhan (2009) emphasize that it is possible to discover social embeddedness, such as informal institutions, traditions, norms, religions, etc. through the use of official statistics and historical records. To reveal the institutional embeddedness, the formal rules, and the role of governance in institutions (Beckmann and Padmanabhan 2009), this thesis uses document and text analysis. It uses public statements and surveys about the integration program to uncover the societal debate it has fostered and to uncover the governmental emphasis on integration to understand the legal constraints of the local government. Lastly the thesis uses studies conducted of other CSR programs implemented in social policies in Denmark. The reason for applying document analysis is to support the findings uncovered in the interviews.

3.4 Delimitation

This thesis is limited from taking a comparative analysis approach. A comparative approach to this thesis would undoubtedly strengthen the generalizability by making this case study replicable in more cases. There are two reasons for this limitation; firstly, it is unique to see cooperation between public administration and private enterprises in integration policies. The closest we come to this type of cooperation in Denmark will be the Danish Active Labor Market Policy where the public and private sectors work together to ensure labor market participation. Due to the significant differences in these two programs this thesis does not make a comparison of the two cases.

Applying a case study has a limited ability to estimate a causal effect (Beckmann & Padmanabhan: 348). However, PPP in social policies is not only limited to integration and therefore it is to some extent generalizable and leads to the possibility that this theoretical framework could be applied in other fields of studies.

The second limitation of a comparative study is differences amongst countries. A comparison of how different nations have dealt with this issue would be beneficial to understand the limitations and the possibilities of this type of PPP in social policies. However, differences amongst countries political, cultural, values, etc. bring significant complications to a comparison of this type, because the theoretical framework of this thesis relies on a contextual focus.

4 Analysis

This chapter will go into the empirical findings of the integration process in Denmark with regards to the challenges and impact of the organizational and institutional structures of PPP.

The first section goes into the question of what integration is as perceived by the public administration and the private enterprises interviewed. Further, the governmental view on integration is added as they control the legal constraints the other actors are subject to. The aim is to sketch out which goals the actors work towards. The second section follows Flinders´ (2005) framework of organizing practice to look into the *policy* and structure of the cooperation. The last section looks into the institutional structures of the society that affects institutional practice.

4.1 What is integration?

In order sketch out what integration is for the two actors in the process of integration, all interviewees were asked: "what does integration mean for you?" This question in itself is quite broad and can bring a variety of answers, but the question serves to understand which goals the actors try to achieve with this program and more importantly whether they are working towards the same goal.

4.1.1 Public sector

The political view of integration must be seen as a product of the integration program implemented in Denmark, as presented in section 2.4.1. In general, this view entails an idea that integration first and foremost happens through labor market activity and that getting hired in an ordinary job is the end means to integration. This view forms the legal requirements for the municipalities to adhere to in their management of the integration process.

Due to the local self-governance of municipalities, it is up to the individual municipality to decide what measurement they will apply in the process of

integration, as long as it follows the legal requirements. Therefore, this legal demand for job market activity can be seen as the minimum demand in the integration process.

In the interviews with the two municipalities, it springs that the municipalities have a different view on integration:

"Overall I believe that integration should be thought of as more than just being able to work. Language, work, leisure time, associations, volunteering all has to be incorporated. All of this should be given equal meaning. Right now, it is only work. It is only work" (Nihal Ocak, The Municipality of Køge).

Nihal expresses in the quote that in the Municipality of Køge they view integration as more than a labor market activity and economic independence from the municipality. Due to self-governance, the Municipality of Køge is allowed to decide the extent of their integration process, and they have chosen to look at integration as a process of all relations presented in the quote above.

When a refugee gets a job and becomes economically independent from the municipality the case of the refugee is closed, and the municipality is left with no legal engagements or ties to the refugee. Even though the municipalities view integration as a process that consists of a lot more than work and employment they are still constrained by the governmental view of integration which sees employment as an end goal. Thus, self-governance only brings integrational possibilities inside the legal frames. The problematics of the idea of integration with an end goal questions whether it happens too fast. If a refugee gets hired shortly after beginning the integration program the municipality lose contact with their integration process: *"The refugees that gain an ordinary job, well we do not really hear anything from them "*(Charlotte Yvonne Niemann, The Municipality of Odsherred).

To this matter Nihal expresses:

"Right now, there is an economic boom but what about a couple of years from now when the economy is declining again. We all know who loses their employment and on top of that, they cannot speak Danish. Then what? Then we are left with an even larger group of refugees where the

only thing we can say is, well they had a job but what now?" (Nihal Ocak,
Municipality of Køge).

This goes to show, that integration in the public sector is conflicted and dependent on the actor, government or municipality. In the municipalities it is additionally defined by the actors in control of the integration program in each local municipality, but no matter what view the given actor has it will always be bound by the legal constraints.

4.1.2 Private sector:

The three interviewees representing the private enterprises all shared the same view of what integration consists off, which is language:

"it is really important that the communication be in place and that is actually the key to integration; it is the language "(Mirella Jakobsen, BC Hospitality group).

"First and foremost, to teach them to speak Danish" (Jens Hansen, Danish Crown).

"they have to want to learn the language if they want to be here. That is my philosophy for integration" (Lars Holm, Scandlines).

All three quotes above states the same and thereby underline an emphasis of language leading to integration. The problem connected to these statements also seems to be relatively the same, if the language does not keep up, the refugee cannot be hired.

"...I promise you all when you speak as good Danish as these two [two refugees that just got hired] I also have a job for you... it might not be the correct way, but it is strongly motivating for people that want a job" (Jens Hansen, Danish Crown).

The context of this quote is an example from Danish Crown´s first round of internships for refugees. 14 refugees got an internship, and all 14 got offered a job

as soon as their Danish language were sufficient enough to understand the work tasks.

This view of integration of the private enterprises presented here is quite similar to the view of the government. It states that integration happens when the Danish language is sufficient enough to handle the given work task. However, their views differ in how to get there. The government emphasizes that integration happens by being active on the labor market, whereas the private enterprises emphasize that integration happens by learning Danish so that they *can* be a part of the labor market.

4.2   The process of integration

To start with, this analysis seeks to answer the first research-question; *How is the cooperation between the municipalities and the private enterprises in Denmark organized regarding the integration process?* This section will investigate Flinders' (2005) theoretical assumption of an organizing practice to PPP: *efficiency*, *risk*, *complexity*, *accountability*, and *governance*, to understand the practicalities in the organizing practice of the PPP in the integration process in Denmark. This part of the analysis will mainly use the interviews conducted with key informants from private enterprises and local municipalities as data. It will secondarily draw on the factual information from official documents and other publications on the subject. This section will describe the five concepts of the organizing practice visible in the case of the integration process in Denmark. The underlying meanings of these concepts will be discussed in section 5, as it will be connected to the overall structure and effect of the integration process according to the informants this case builds on.

4.2.1 Efficiency

The argument for entering a PPP is according to Flinders' (Flinders 2005: 225) framework due to efficiency; the service delivery process needs to become more efficient. Efficiency is different from partnership to partnership and from policy to policy. The argument for implementing a new policy process on integration for

refugees in Denmark is to cut down on the economic resources spent on the integration process (Section 2.4.1). This becomes a cost-efficiency argument. Key informant Jens from Danish Crown explains that they have, in cooperation with the Confederation of Danish Industry (DI), calculated the economic costs saved by getting just one refugee into an ordinary job.

"...getting a refugee into the labor market creates a net profit for the municipality over 100.000 Danish kroner a year. "(Jens Hansen, Danish Crown).

Subsequently, for every refugee on the labor market, the municipalities save a 100.000 DKK a year. If a municipality has been allocated around 300 refugees in a few years, getting any of them into the labor market is a significant economic gain.

Activating refugees through labor market participation-based internships, wage subsidy[1] or IGU (Basic integration education)[2] from the beginning will foster knowledge and experience within the labor market. The goal is that through both knowledge, experience, and connection to the labor market, the chances of getting a job at a given enterprise should be improved.

DI advises private enterprises to take more refugees in and the local municipalities to bring a greater focus on getting the refugees out at the labour market. DI bases this advise on a claim that there will be economic consequences for the society if the integration process fails and thus, they join the widespread notion that labor market activity is the key to integration (DI 2017).

Refugees entering employment quicker by achieving labor market integration through the enterprises is the goal of the integration program (Section 2.4.1). Moreover, if it succeeds a significant amount of financial funds will be saved. For now, 30.2% of the refugees in Denmark are employed or enrolled at an education institution (Børsen 2018). The numbers further show that this development is

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[1] Wage subsidy means hiring a refugee where the enterprise can get refunded a maximum of 50 % of the salary payed to the refugee in a period of up to 12 months. However, the subsidy is limited to 75.09 DKK per hour (The Municipality of Copenhagen).
[2] IGU is a two-year program that combines internship at an enterprise with an education program. The enterprise gets a bonus of a maximum of 40.000 DKK for hiring a refugee in an IGU position (The Municipality of Copenhagen).

significantly faster than two years ago (Børsen 2018). If the reason for this positive development lies in the integration program, then it is working directly towards being a cost-efficient method to implement this PPP in the public policy of integration.

Economic efficiency is an explicit goal from the Danish government in the process of integration (Section 2.4.1). Flinders (2005:226) additionally emphasizes that the efficiency of PPP service delivery can be caused by the risk being transferred to the private sector. Whether this happens will be the aim of the next section.

4.2.2 Risk

When entering a PPP, the argument follows that risks are transferred to burden the private sector when service delivery is falling. According to Flinders (2005:226), the notion goes that the risk, often an economic risk, of a program when organized as a partnership between the public and private sector, will fall on the private actor and not as traditionally on the public sector.

However, Flinders (2005:226) argues that the public sector rarely will be able to let a service delivery program fail; if a bridge is not finished the public administration must subsidize and finish the bridge. Flinders argues that no matter how much risk is being transferred to the private sector, the public sector will always end up with the risk if the private actor refuses.

When it comes to the integration program, it is not clear what the risks are. Moreover, when the risks are of a social matter, the private enterprises may not have the resources to handle them or may not even want to bear the risk.

The outcome of an integration program should of cause be integration. As presented in section 2.4.3, integration should not be considered an end state but as a process. The risk in the case of integration policy is that the process of integration can fail, and if so the responsibility is not explicitly placed to a particular actor.

A process is complicated to measure and as Charlotte from the municipality of Odsherred emphasizes; "*We do not see the results before later. It is a long process getting results here*" (Charlotte Yvonne Nieman, Municipality of Odsherred). Even though integration is a process, there is already put up measurements for

how well integration is going by the governmental instances. On the webpage integrationsbaromenteret.dk the Ministry of Immigration and Integration updates the key numbers in the integration process in Denmark, namley how many refugees are enrolled in the integration program, how many are in a job, how many of these are eligible for the labour market, how many are learning Danish, how many have passed the Danish language test and how many have committed crimes (integrationsbarometeret 2018).

Even though integration is a process, it can be argued that it is measured as an end goal by measuring the parameters above. These parameters mainly measure labor market activity and language ability. Section 4.1.2 states that the private enterprises view language as the means to employment and thereby integration. This meaning that if the refugees are not sufficient enough in Danish to handle a job they will not get hired. If they are not getting hired in the labor market, the integration, if measured in labor market activity, will fail. Thus, the question is whether the public or private sector will end up with this risk of failure.

The risk that is transferred to the private enterprises in the case of integration is that there will be fewer employees to hire due to language barriers. If the goal of the partnership is to recruit employees (see the section of governance 4.2.5) and the refugees they want to employ are not qualified or equipped for the job position, the question then is whether the private enterprises would put more resources into the process of integration, or even take the responsibility of the process and the risk of it. Jens from Danish Crown puts is like this; *"... then we just pick up some temporary substitutes in Poland or other places, someone that's already skilled"* (Jens Hansen, Danish Crown).

Mirella at BC Hospitality Group agrees on this matter. Both enterprises agree that they would prefer to recruit from the local society including refugees, and that this is the reason for their participation in the partnership. She emphasizes that *"If it shall be worth it for us, resource-wise... then there are not enough qualified candidates" (*Mirella Jakobsen, BC Hospitality Group).

If the process of integration fails, the private enterprises already have other solutions. The burden of the risk in the integration program can thereby not fall on the private enterprises. In this case of the process of integration Flinders' (2005:226) argument can be proven right. The argument that private enterprises take the responsibility of providing the means towards integration by offering

labor market activity and language training. Though, if the outcome is not sufficient enough by the end of the 13 weeks internship, the refugee goes back to the municipality along with the responsibility and risk for the integration. DI has ascribed problematics to this issue and suggested that the municipalities expand their internships to 26 weeks to make sure that the refugees are more qualified and connected to the workplace, thereby expanding the possibilities to get at job (DI 2017).

4.2.3 Complexity

The third step in Flinders' (2005:227) framework is to figure out the complexity of the partnership. Inviting several independent actors into the policy process creates quite a regulatory landscape to control. This delegation to independent actors is called "distributed public governance", and the problem with this form of administration is that it creates confusion as to where the responsibility of the public services delivery lies (Flinders 2005:227). Below is a figure that sketches out the different actors involved in the process of integration program and their connection.
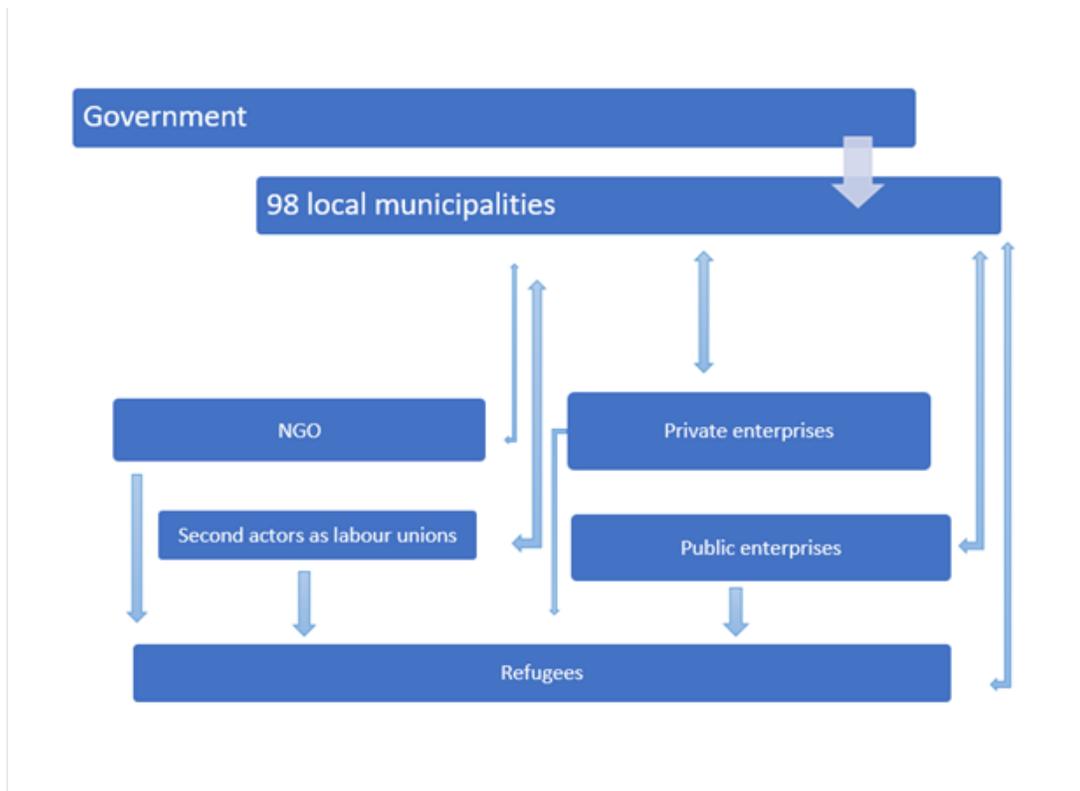
Figure 3: Illustration of the actors is involved in the integration process.

It is visible from the figure above that both the municipalities and the refugees are connected to all other actors and besides these two, there is no connection between the rest of the actors[3]. Clear in this illustration is what Flinders (2005:227) points out in this framework; that the number of independent actors creates complexity in the process of the PPP and the administration of it. The municipalities are the actors administrating the cooperation between all other actors in the program.

The problem emphasized in the interviews with the private enterprises is the missing cooperation between the 98 different municipalities. The self-governance in Denmark (see section 2.4.2) means that municipalities set their own agenda for the process of integration and that there is no demand or initiative to work across the municipalities' boundaries.

> *"The municipalities are first and foremost thinking about their own citizens and getting them out"* (Nihal Ocak, The municipality of Køge).

The problematics emphasized regarding self-governance in the municipalities are first and foremost the bureaucracy when an enterprise has to coordinate with several municipalities to fill out the positions the enterprise wants to offer to refugees.

> *"Our biggest challenge has been bureaucracy. An organization as large as we are, we often need to recruit. We primarily would like to recruit candidates from the labor market here, mm. But it is not possible for one municipality to attend our needs"* (Mirella Jakobsen, BC Hospitality group).

To this matter Jens from Danish Crown adds when asked about the cooperation with the local municipalities:

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[3] This thesis does not go into the context of the role of the refugee. However, it is important to acknowledge that the refugees play a role in the integration program. The refugees' role is limited to attitude and behavior towards the integration program or actors involved as they do not have any legal power.

"...It is different from municipality to municipality how it functions. I think it is strange when we have found a model with the municipality of Sønderborg that works that we are not allowed to copy this model to other municipalities" (Jens Hansen, Danish Crown).

Self-governance in the Danish municipalities creates a structural problem in the organization of the PPP. This problem results in private enterprises having to put more resources into planning the partnership, or what becomes several partnerships; one with each municipality the enterprise cooperates with. If the structure of the process gets too complicated, there is a chance that the private enterprises up out of the partnership. The newspaper Berlingske Business have surveyed the integration program in a top leader panel of leaders from the 1000 largest enterprises in Denmark (Berlingske Business 2018). The significance of this survey is that only 13% of the respondents value the integration program as good or very good. From this survey two reasonings have been emphasized to cause this outcome amongst the business leaders. First reason is missing dialogue and understanding from the municipalities. Second reason is the bureaucracy and administrative process behind the program (Berlingske Business 2018). This survey supports the view of the private enterprises interviewed for this thesis, that it takes resources to engage in the integration program and the structure of it makes private enterprises unsatisfied with the program.

Another problematic regarding self-governance is that there is a problem concerning the number of refugees that could have been offered an internship or a job, but due to the structure of the partnerships and the lack of cooperation between municipalities, some refugees miss the chance of getting considered for a job or internship, being placed in the wrong municipality. As emphasized in the section of *risk* the private enterprises that need to recruit employers will end up going to Poland instead to hire workers. This solution is problematic when looking at the number of refugees with a job in Denmark. As section 2.5.2 emphasizes there are 26.288 refugees enrolled in the integration program (Appendix 3) and only 34% of these are in an internship (Integrationsbarometeret). This means that while a significant number of refugees could be available to take a job, some enterprises end up recruiting outside the local society.

To this dilemma DI has called for a new organization of the structure of the integration program with the purpose of making sure that more refugees can enter the labor market. DI stresses that the current structure of distributing refugees to the municipalities from a quota system is not efficient. DI suggests that the program should be structured more coherently between the municipalities. This is suggested in order to make it possible to keep an overview of the job possibilities and distribute refugees after a system that places more refugees in the municipalities with more job possibilities (DI 2017). The suggestion by DI would be a way to ensure that the complexity of the integration does not foster different opportunities for the refugees.

An issue that comes to show in the administration of the integration is namely that refugees have different opportunities for integration depending on the municipality they are placed in, due to the different contact with enterprises and the emphasis on integration the given municipality ascribes. As DI advises this could possibly be avoided with a common reference for the integration process and a system that distributes refugees after job possibilities (DI 2017).

4.2.4 Accountability

Accountability goes into the matter of how to account for the quality and outcome of the public service delivery. The problematics revolve around how to make sure the accountability is shared between the partners. However, the two sectors work with different ideas of accountability in their traditional work. Thus, the question is, whether it is possible to find a new model to ensure that the private enterprises provide the service delivery, they signed up for. Flinders (2005:229) emphasizes that one of the significant challenges regarding accountability lies in changing governments and how a political body should manage a relationship they did not contract. To this, a new model of accountability must be thought into the partnership.

Flinders goes into the debate about penalties when it comes to holding enterprises accountable for achieving the goal of the PPP. Penalties can be sufficient if the amount of the penalty is high enough to affect the enterprise in question (Flinders 2005:229). Going into the debate about penalties in cooperation on social policies between public and private actors there is a problem in the

notion of voluntarism. The definition of a CSR program (section 2.5.2) goes on the premises that it is a voluntary program as well as an extension of the legal obligations that the private sector holds to the society (Steurer 2009:50). Additionally, Steurer (2009:50) argues that this premise of voluntarism of CSR is what makes it effective. The argument is that enforcing penalties on private enterprises to secure the accountability for the CSR program could cause them to be less effective. On the contrary, Bredgaard (2004:5) argues that voluntarism comes with issues as well, issues that goes on the notion of accountability. Bredgaard (2004:5) points out that voluntarism can create problems with free riding, sporadic adoption and enterprises using the CSR as a marketing stunt. These problems generate questions about the accountability of the integration program. However, Bredgaard (2004:5) underlines in line with Steurer that enforcing penalties will have a negative outcome for the CSR program. This demolished conception of voluntarism in a CSR program questions how to ensure accountability for the program.

Flinders (2005:229) argues that there are many more models of accountability than the model of penalties or the traditional model of the public sector where the accountability falls on the public sector, and that new forms of PPP can foster new models of accountability. New forms of accountability must still possess a degree of democratic legitimacy, and it is brought up in the framework of Flinders (2005:229) that community engagement could be a new model of accountability in PPP.

In the case of the integration program in Denmark, the accountability of the integration process is difficult to place on the actors involved. Legally the administration of the integration program is in the hands of the local municipalities under the legal constraints of the government (See section 2.4.1). This administration involves planning job market activities and Danish language lessons for the refugees. When it comes to being accountable for the execution of the actual practicalities of the process of integration, such as knowledge of the labor market, using a computer or taking a bus to work, it is out of the hands of the municipality. In the same matter, this accountability does not fall under the tasks of private enterprises, at least not the management that decides and negotiates this partnership. It could thus be argued that the accountability of the actual execution of integration of refugees falls on the people who interact with

them in their everyday life and who thus becomes accountable for the practicalities of the integration process. In this case, it falls on the employees of the enterprise that have a refugee in labor market activity.

"I have a lot of conversations with my employees where we discuss the program ... Because it demands many resources, both work wise but also human resources. I have told them, that I do not want to take interns in if they are left alone working. There´s no gain in that" (Lars Holm, Scandlines).

Lars from Scanlines emphasizes throughout the interview that he let the employees decide whether to take a refugee in because he demands that his employees must be motivated in order to participate in the program. He keeps stressing that Scandlines is participating in this program to contribute to the integration process and as the quote above stresses; Lars does not see the benefits for the refugees if they are not interacting with the employees and have a place they can go to for help and advice.

Taking Lars' view on benefits of the integration of refugees that occur when interacting with the employees of the enterprise it is arguable that the accountability of this integration process to some extent falls on the employees and the emphasis they are willing and allowed to put into the program. If this notion is correct, this type of partnership possesses a degree of what Flinders (2005:229) accounts for as community engagement.

Whether this notion of community accountability is beneficial for the integration process or not is hard to evaluate this early after the implementation of the new integration program. However, it is safe to state that the employees who take responsibility for the refugees at the enterprise have a direct effect on the integration of the refugees.

4.2.5 Governance

Going into the question of governance Flinders (2005:231-233) stresses two points. Firstly, he focuses on the fragmentation of the state structure, and secondly, in continuation of the section above, openness, transparency and

accountability. The point is how we make sure that the focus of the partnership is on the users' needs of the public service and not the needs of the enterprises.

Due to a need to secure the welfare state and its service delivery without raising the costs for the taxpayers a fragmented state structure arises. PPP becomes an instrument to achieving this goal, but it comes with issues as well (Flinders 2005:231). Utilizing the benefits of the private sector can be viewed as a new model to ensure the quality of the services in the public sector. Flinders argues that this will cause a fragmentation of the state structure by giving the private sector a degree of control over the service delivery (Flinders 2005:233).

The tricky part about the role of the actors goes on the premises of the cooperation and which needs are in focus. Nihal from the Municipality of Køge expresses when asked what they demand of the enterprises in the cooperation;

"The situation is that we have to play by the premises of the enterprises. We must see the assignment, as it should not be a burden for enterprises to take in refugees" (Nihal Ocak, The municipality of Køge).

Flinders (2005:234) stresses that the focus of the cooperation in the PPP differs significantly from traditional public service. The focus in a PPP becomes on the needs of the enterprises, contractors and consumers and not as traditionally on the needs and focus of the public interest (Flinders 2005:234). As Nihal expresses in the quote above the terms of the cooperation are decided by the enterprises.

The focus and terms depend on the given enterprise, and from the interviews made for this thesis it seems like it differs due to the reason and motivation for entering into this partnership. The question thus becomes for whose interests this partnership is created. The reasons for entering the partnership are expressed in all three interviews with the representatives of the enterprises, where two different reasons are presented. The first one is due to shortage of workforce with the aim of recruiting employees. Secondly, all three representatives from the enterprises stress that they are participating in taking a social responsibility. The matter of social responsibility will be brought up in section 5.2 about cultural values.

Two out of the three representatives from the private enterprises express that they are first and foremost participating in this partnership to recruit employees.

"Well for us it is a combination of two things. The most important is that we need the labor force, so we see this as a case of self-help. Because we need the labor force and we can contribute to taking part in the process of social responsibility" (Jens Hansen, Danish Crown).

As opposed to the two other enterprises, Jens from Danish Crown expresses more clearly that their emphasis does not include integration:

"I am going to say it like this; integration is not something we have a huge emphasis on" (Jens Hansen, Danish Crown).

It shows here that some enterprises participate in CSR programs due to the business explanation presented in section 2.5.2, to uphold or expand their competitive power. This does not mean however, that this reasoning is less meaningful or effective than any other, bearing in mind that hiring refugees will to some extent foster integration no matter the reason. As refugees must uphold a certain level of Danish to get hired, this means that whether or not there is a focus on integration, a process of integration will happen nevertheless. Additionally, from section 4.1.1, it is clear that the end goal of integration in the view of the Danish government is employment and if recruitment leads to employment it must lead to integration in the governmental viewpoint.

Lars from Scandlines has a different view on being a part of the integration program and its purpose. At Scandlines they rarely employ the refugees mainly due to language barriers and the fact that the refugees do not have the qualifications to be hired. Thus, recruitment is not the reason for Scandlines to take in refugees. Lars expresses that it is to take social responsibility, but he further expresses "*We want to participate on equal terms as the rest of the enterprises down here* (Lars Holm, Scandlines). As with the two other enterprises, it is visible from this quote that part of the motivation for participating in the partnership is due to their competitive advantage or in the case of Scandlines as a fear of not being able to compete with the other enterprises around them.

However, the goal of integration as presented in the theory of integration (Section 2.4.3) is not in line with this reasoning. The definition of integration contains access to political systems, labor market, social capital and participating in civic life (Koff 2002:38). Learning enough Danish to secure an ordinary job

and thereby economic independence is a part of the definition of the integration, but not all of it. This leads to asking whether this pragmatic relationship is good or bad, is it better that enterprises involve in CSR programs and do the little their resources allow than not involving if they cannot fully commit. Acknowledging that private enterprises cannot be expected to meet the entire process of integration if it does not benefit the functions of the enterprises. In the case of the integration process, the issues arise that are presented above in section 4.1.1 about what happens when refugees are no longer in the integration program and thereby not under the authority of the municipalities or legal constraints of the integration program. Is it safe to assume that the refugees are integrated or is it as in the case Nihal from the municipality of Køge describes reinforcing the same integration gap as with the Turkish refugees?

4.2.6 Overview of the section

This analysis has aimed to outline the organizing practice the partnership is built on – the structures and agreements of the partnership. The purpose has been to sketch out the different functions that the two partners hold in the cooperation and how it is decided. What is general throughout the analysis in relation to Flinders' (2005) framework efficiency, risk, complexity, accountability, and governance is that there is no explicit agreement on what function the two partners hold. Both partners have a clear idea of what emphasis they are willing to put in to the partnership as well as what the purpose of the partnership should fulfill. Moreover, the legal constraints of the integration program foster some issues when it comes to the notion of being integrated and the possibilities to affect the process of integration. One of the issues that are shown in the analysis is that the process of social integration becomes a voluntary program. This involves both the municipalities and the refugees. The municipalities are not legally obligated to deliver social integration, and the refugees are not legally obligated to accept the offer of social integration if it is given. The emphasis for social integration derives from the goals of the actors, and in this analysis it is shown that the two municipalities highlight a need to focus on social integration. However, what is shown is that the administration of the integration program comes to be a focus on the needs of the private enterprises and their stake in the

program. This shows that the two actors have different functions in the partnership which this analysis stresses when it comes to the responsibility of the refugees and the risk of the integration program.

The functions occupied by the two actors are to an extent given from the roles they ascribe themselves and each other. Looking into these roles is the context of the next section.

4.3   The institutional values' effect on the process

The section above has investigated the organizing practice of PPP as a tool to a *policy*. Hodge & Greve (2011) emphasize in their framework that no matter what uses the PPP is established for, it is inferior to the culture and context it is located in. This section of analysis aims at answering the second research question *What institutional factors motivate private enterprises to enter a Public-Private Partnership*? This will be investigated by seeking to understand the culture and context that affects the extent of participating in CSR programs, and the focus will be on institutional roles and isomorphism from normative pressure. It is clear from the theory section that institutional practices are affected by exogenous factors as culture and values. Looking into specific roles that are connected to institutional practices, it is clear the endogenous factors matter as well to the institutional change process. It is further constituted that roles differ according to the context they are placed in. Even though roles and structures are formed and reformed over time in sociological intuitionalism, legitimacy is still achieved through the adoption of stable structures and identities (Scott 2001:61).

4.3.1 Roles

Bredgaard (2004:2) states that the traditional roles of the public sector and private sector are clearly divided. As Freeman (2008:4) argues, the private sector contributes to the society by creating and stabilizing the labor market and profit maximizing. The public sector is on the other hand expected to provide public

service delivery and pursue the common good for the society through regulations and neutral administration (Bredgaard 2004:2).

Steurer (2009:50) argues that it is possible to go into a PPP by breaking the traditional roles and hierarchical structures between the two actors and reshape the structures of these roles. The interesting part to explore here is whether these roles still dictate the structures of the partnership. From the view of institutionalism, we know that institutional roles are defined in the context they exist in (Scott 2001:57). In the context of the integration process in Denmark, both the local municipalities and the private enterprises have clear perceptions of their roles in the integration program as well as the role of the opposite actor.

> *"No matter if the enterprise is private or public; the cost will be considered. The enterprise has to sell and make a profit on their service, also when taking a refugee in"* (Charlotte Yvonne Niemann, Municipality of Odsherred).

Private enterprises' role is to profit maximize and stabilize the labor market (Freeman 2008:4). This role of the private market is backed by the values the representatives of the municipalities ascribe to the private enterprises in the process of integration as shown in the quote below.

> *"It is hard to expect that private enterprises will teach cultural values and social skills when their focus is on work and employment"* (Charlotte Yvonne Niemann, Municipality of Odsherred).

The values that the private enterprises are ascribed are related to work and employment, and they cannot be expected to go into values such as culture or social skills. In the same belief, private enterprises' perceptions of their role foster the same values. When asked about social integration Mirella from BC Hospitality Groups answers the following;

> *"Well yes, it is possible for us to handle, but it is not something we want to spend our resources on"* (Mirella Jakobsen, BC Hospitality Group).

Alternatively, when Jens from Danish Crown states, *"integration is not something we have a huge emphasis on"* (Jens Hansen, Danish Crown), integration and especially social integration is viewed as the responsibility of the

public sector and not something that falls under the responsibility of the private sector. This view is a representation of the role that is ascribed to the private sector; this role corresponds to the more traditional view of the private sector as described by Freeman (2008:4).

It is not only the traditional roles of the private sector that should be reconsidered in a partnership facilitating a CSR program. The role of the public sector equally has an impact on the outcome of the integration program. Throughout the interviews it is pinpointed that the traditional structures and the missing willingness to think in new structures or new types of cooperation interferes with the possibility of this cooperation. For instance, Mirella from BC Hospitality Group points out:

"I think everyone is willing to support the project. it is not all municipalities that are willing to think outside the traditional frame to make it work" (Mirella Jakobsen, BC Hospitality Group).

Both municipalities interviewed for this thesis emphasize that their municipalities are doing something extra and unique for the process of social integration (Nihal Ocak, Municipality of Køge. Charlotte Yvonne Niemann, Municipality of Odsherred). With this emphasis they distance themselves from the role that other municipalities enforce.

"We are initiating a project for kids, young people, and much other projects. So that is pretty special for the municipality of Køge" (Nihal Ocak, Municipality of Køge).

As emphasized earlier in the analysis the self-governance of the municipalities is hindering the possibilities for enterprises to hire the number of refugees they are capable of hiring. However, it also paves the way for new possibilities for the municipalities to fulfill their desired role in the integration process as the municipality of Køge.

PPP should be reshaping the structure of the roles in the public and private sectors by leading a shift in involvement by the two sectors according to Steurer (2009:50). This should happen to foster a broader and more effective transition of public governance. From the interviews and statements presented in this section, it

is visible that in this case the more traditional roles are reinforced. Especially when it comes to the perception, the two sectors have of each other.

4.3.2 Normative pressure

Isomorphism is the concept that covers why institutions mimic each other's actions. In the view of sociological institutionalism, the reasons for the hegemonizing behavior are ascribed to taken-for-granted instances of the society; the cognitive legitimization of actions is ascribed to reinforced social rules and guidelines (DiMaggio and Powell 1983:153). From the framework of Esteban et al. (2017), we know it is the cultural conditions in the context that makes values and norms differ and thereby behavior and practice differ (Esteban et al. 2017:18). Understanding why private enterprises choose to be involved in the process of integration we must investigate the values and norms these enterprises adhere to. Following the representation of the values and norms presented in the interviews will prompt this.

All three private enterprises mention several times throughout the interviews that the reason for participating in the program is firstly to recruit employees and secondly to take social responsibility.

"We want to take social responsibility, so these people can earn their own salary and add some utility to the society" (Jens Hansen, Danish Crown).

As already established, social responsibility is not something that falls under the traditional role of private enterprises and their responsibility (Freeman 2008:4). Going back to the definition of CSR (section 2.5.2) social responsibility falls under the category of discretionary responsibility. Carroll and Shabana´s (2009:05) definition goes to the responsibility that is expected by society. According to the definition, adopting a behavior of social responsibility as a private enterprise will happen due to expectations of society. These expectations that affect the behavior of private enterprises differ according to the local context it is situated in and its cultural values (Scott 2011:57).

As the quote above implies, social responsibility resembles activating refugees, so they can contribute to society. This value springs from the notion that

integration is labor market activity. If the norm is that private enterprises should take a social responsibility through the integration process more and more enterprises should, according to the theory (Scott 2001:57), be willing to mimic this behavior. This norm is not only found in the interviews conducted for this thesis. DI have advised enterprises to take this social responsibility because the refugees "*need to contribute to our common welfare*" (DI 2017). This can be reaffirming the norm as take-for-granted, that social responsibility is expected of the enterprises.

Lars from Scandlines has an interesting and confirming way to express the reason for participating in the partnership.

"We want to participate on equal terms with the rest of the enterprises down here" (Lars Holm, Scandlines).

This quote exemplifies the fact that behavior is subjective interpretations of external frames (Scott 2001:57). Lars expresses that they want to be a part of the integration process on equal terms with the rest of the enterprises in their region. Reasoning the adoption of a CSR program by stating that it is because the other enterprises do it, is a confirmation of this taken-for-granted behavior that social responsibility have evolved into.

Social responsibility at the private enterprises is not exclusively aimed at refugees. All the enterprises emphasize that they have other social groups than refugees and work at getting these groups activated on the labor market in the same type of CSR programs.

"We have good experience with this type of program form our project with citizens revising cash benefits from the government (Jens Hansen, Danish Crown)

"The new thing I am working on is interns from Bo & Naboskab. It is another field, but in the end, it is also just a person that wants to work a couple of hours a week and get the opportunity to be a part of the society" (Lars Holm, Scandlines).

Esteban et al. (2017:18) argue that due to liberal democratic history and emphasis on the welfare state, the Nordic countries tend to focus on social policies

when adopting CSR programs. This point is visible in the cases from the private enterprises interviewed in this thesis. The aim of adopting a CSR program for the private enterprises is not because they are particularly interested in integration. Integration of refugees is seen as a fringe benefit, but the reason for entering into a CSR program is to take a social responsibility – the content of the CSR program is not the significant factor. Social responsibility is something these three private enterprises take for granted that they must adopt.

> *"...at the same time, it is a part of our responsibility to the society"*
> (Mirella Jakobsen, BC Hospitality Group).

The private enterprises see it as their responsibility to contribute to society by involving in initiatives that aim at being socially responsible. This can be argued to be normative pressure or taken-for-granted norms, which forms the behavior of the private enterprises.

This section emphasizes the degree of impact that roles and normative pressure have on adopting a partnership. The context that private enterprises are situated in affects the degree of social responsibility. This part of the analysis has shown that social responsibility is a taken-for-granted action by enterprises in Denmark. Moreover, this section has emphasized that the more traditional roles of the public and private sector are still being reinforced – especially reinforced by the perceptions the two actors ascribe to each other. In contradiction to the argument by Steurer (2009:50), who argues that the effectiveness of CSR programs stems from the reshaped roles and breaks with traditional structures between the sectors, this analysis shows that these roles have not changed.

In the next section it will be discussed what effect these reinforced traditional roles and structures have on the outcome of the CSR program.

5 Combining the two analytical approaches

This thesis has investigated the partnership that is established between the public administration and private enterprises in the integration process in Denmark. The idea behind the partnership is to make the process of integration in Denmark more effective, and the aim of this thesis has been to explore whether this is the case. The thesis has studied this by examining the structure of the partnership and the reasons for entering into the partnership, which was investigated by interviewing key informants on the area. When applying Flinders' (2005) framework of PPP and looking into the emergence of the partnership, structural dilemmas and inherent norms and roles come to show, and these can be argued to have an effect on the outcome of the integration process.

Partnership between the public and private sectors can be seen as a new way to structure governance (section 2.2). The analysis of this thesis has examined a new structure of organizing governance in Denmark: implementing a CSR program in integration policies. The theoretical framework has shown that a PPP is not just the structure of the policy, it is also the culture and context the partnership is situated in (Section 2.5.1). The aim of this section is to combine the two analytical approaches that have been the foundation for the analysis and to discuss how these two analytical approaches are equally important to understand the partnership, why it exists, and how it is structured.

5.1 Structural practice

The analysis of structural practice follows Flinders' (2005) framework of organizing practice. This was applied to understand the overall theoretical aim of Hodge and Greve (2011), that emphasized that a PPP as a tool for service delivery of public services is constructed as a *policy* that is affected by the culture and context it is situated in. Flinders' (2005) organizing practice framework is used

because it is developed to understand the political issues behind the partnership. Following the analysis some overall political issues arise.

As a point of departure, this section goes into the issues of complexity. The complexity of the partnership is found in the analysis to be challenging due to the local self-governance system in Denmark. The issue brought up in the analysis in this relation is the differentiation of the integration process in the different municipalities.

From section 4.1 it is visible that there is no clear agreement on what integration is, ought to be or the process. Integration, constrained by the legal regulations, becomes an interpretative means to the individual actors involved in the process, thus it is arguable that integration then differs according to the actors. The challenge that comes to mind here is whether a partnership can be useful when the actors involved work towards different goals.

Flinders' (2005) argument is, that when the number of independent actors is intensifying it challenges the notion of responsibility that the public sector usually possesses. Responsibility is dependent on the interpretation that is attributed by the given actors (Scott 2001:57). If integration is interpreted as learning enough Danish to complete some given tasks and thereby getting a job, as is the case of the private enterprises (section 4.1.2), then it can be argued that the private enterprises fulfill the goal and to some extent bear the responsibility. Thus, whoever holds the responsibility of the action must be determent by the goal of the action. If integration is seen from the perspective of the municipality of Køge or Odsherred, then basic Danish language and ordinary jobs cannot be classified as integration.

> *"Saying that the refugee just needs to secure and ordinary employment, I can just confirm that that is not enough. We have several refugees that are not proficient enough in Danish, even though they have been there for two even three years"* (Nihal Ocak, Municipality of Odsherred).

The refugees are not legally constrained by the municipality as soon as they have secured an ordinary job. If one adhered to a view on integration that is similar to the theory (section 2.4.3) or to that of the municipalities of this case (section 4.1.1), a job would not equal integration. The responsibility in this

interpretation of integration can as emphasized in the analysis be left to the community, where community-based responsibility may work as a model for a new approach to responsibility. However, there is no guarantee that the integration of these refugees does not reproduce the problem that Nihal from the municipality of Køge explains happened with Turkish refugees in Denmark in the 1970's.

> *"...a citizen can easily get a job where everything goes fine, but if he cannot talk to his neighbor, if he cannot participate in the social activities, if he does not have any friends or familiars, then what? It is obvious that there are many things that lack, and it is a shame. Because we are really just reproducing a situation where it takes several generations, as the Turkish group. They are really well integrated now, but it took several generations before it happened and that is what we repeat now if we do not start to think in the entirety"* (Nihal Ocak, The Municipality of Køge).

From the framework of Flinders (2005) applied on the interviews, it shows that the partnership established in the case of integration policy in Denmark is a complex partnership that involves a significant number of actors working towards different goals. As shown in the two quotes above this can cause trouble with what integration entails, inducing a debate on where the responsibility lies. Community-based responsibility could work as a solution to make sure that one of the actors in the integration process takes responsibility of the outcome – the structure of this model is thus up for further discussion. In the case of integration, the complexity of the partnership and its independent actors causes a great deal of confusion as to where the responsibility of the process lies. This will foster a risk that refugees are not integrated to the extent they need, or the society needs. As Nihal explains in the quote above, there is a risk of them being without a job in a couple of years and if their Danish is not sufficient they cannot get a new job, thus getting back in the responsibility of the municipality. This confirms Flinders' (2005) argument that no matter what, the risk of the service delivery will fall back on the public sector.

5.2 Social responsibility

Connected to the section above, the debate of responsibility and complexity highlights political issues that can occur in a PPP in the case of integration policies. This section will discuss the reason behind adopting a CSR program as a private enterprise within the case of the integration process as analyzed in section 4.3. By applying the theory of sociological institutionalism in the form of Scott´s (2001) cultural-cognitive system, it is found that social responsibility has become an institutional norm. Private enterprises adhere to this norm as if it were a taken-for-granted behavior in society. Enterprises adhering to this norm of social responsibility will work according to the theory of normative pressure, giving reasons for other enterprises to mimic this behavior. As emphasized by Lars from Scandlines they adopt a CSR program because they want to participate on equal terms with the rest of the enterprises in the region (Lars Holm, Scandlines).

The problematics brought out from this is not the fact that there is a norm in society of business doing good. The problematics of this norm is what is already hinted in section 4.3: a pragmatic dilemma of businesses doing good for the sake of doing good. This dilemma is not limited to the case of integration but goes beyond the case and into the matter of partnerships established with the purpose of making service delivery of social services more efficient. As initiated in the analysis which follows the framework of Flinders (2005), the focus of the CSR program in the case of integration is not on the needs of the users of the program. On the contrary, it focuses on the needs of the enterprises, where recruitment was shown to be the significant factor for engaging (section 4.2.5). A second factor was the intention of taking a social responsibility. This is the intriguing pragmatic question: does it matter to the outcome, whether the intention to do good is for own reasons?

Following the analysis in this thesis it is implied that the functions of the PPP are attributed to the roles that the actors ascribe each other and themselves. The private enterprises are described as following the needs of consumers and profit maximizing and not in responsibility for the process of integration; they are merely in charge of making room for refugees at the enterprise (section 4.3.1). As this thesis shows throughout the analysis this means that there are no regulations to the CSR program. There are two actors with two different goals that both play

by the rules and demands of one of the actors, the private enterprises. Missing regulations of the CSR program originates from the idea that the municipalities have to play by the demands enforced by the private enterprises and adjust their work to the role, that the private enterprises desire. Additionally, the analysis shows that when the refugees are in ordinary jobs the municipalities' legal responsibility ceases, the voluntary option of social integration, Danish lessons etc., takes over. Thus, the municipalities rarely hear from the refugees again – before they are unemployed again and might not hold the ability to speak proper Danish.

The logic of this structure of the PPP follows, that there is a risk of refugees getting a job at a private enterprise too fast when the private enterprises implement the CSR program with the aim of recruiting new employees. The analysis shows that the municipalities interviewed for this thesis bear a real concern that the refugees at the labor market are not fully integrated even though they have obtained an ordinary job.

In correlation with the pragmatic dilemma of enterprises conducting social responsibility, is it better that private enterprises participate to the extent they can, providing jobs for refugees, or should they not participate unless they are willing to take all the responsibility that the integration process entails? This thesis has shown, through the framework of Flinders (2005), that there is a risk connected to programs of social responsibility. The risk, in this case, is stated to be that there is a chance that the refugees will not get integrated in society due to private enterprises' lack of social responsibility.

The argument of recruitment and the norm of adopting social responsibility is essentially a self-interest of the private enterprises. The intention of implementing the CSR program is thereby not a bad intention, but it can be seen as implemented out of self-interest for the private enterprise. Fostering the dilemma of doing good for own reasons and whether it is acceptable or not and to what outcome this can bring are brought up in the last part of this section.

5.3 Does partnership change the process of integration?

Do private enterprises partnering up with the local municipalities change the process of integration in Denmark? This thesis has analyzed and discussed the positive as well as the undesirable effects of a PPP. From the views of the interviewees it is observable that the assessment of this matter is mixed and dependent on the actor, the role, and the interpretation of integration. As the case stresses in section 4.2.2, the risk of the integration program falls on the public administration, since the refugees are back at the municipality if they do not get ordinary jobs after an internship or if they are let go.

"It is a short-sighted solution" (Nihal Ocak, Municipality of Køge).

As Nihal implies in the quote above she is missing confidence in the integration program that is established as a PPP. In her view this integration program resembles a quick fix to a current problem. But it is a fix that in her opinion does not solve the problem or foster integration.

"I think it is great that so many refugees are in labor market activity and not just at home. However, there should be resources to work with making these people good citizens" (Nihal Ocak, Municipality of Køge).

This missing trust in the program is a definite conformation of the municipalities' view of the integration process as being much more than labor market activity. It should on equal terms contain social integration and set aside resources to ensure that the refugees evolve into good citizens (Nihan Ocak, Municipality of Køge). On the other hand, the representative from the municipality of Odsherred Charlotte is less skeptic about the integration program. She emphasizes that this partnership could be the solution, but as for now, no one is proficient enough to facilitate the process.

"A lot of it is that it takes time before mastering the program. There are lot bureaucratic things that need to fall into place before we are ready to get started with the work that actually involves the citizens" (Charlotte Yvonne Niemann, Municipality of Odsherred).

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Charlotte points to the fact that the bureaucratic process behind the program is not in place yet. This correlates with the critiques found in the analysis from the enterprises, finding that the private enterprises are partly unsatisfied with the way the municipalities facilitate the integration process. Charlotte's argument is that this program could be the solution, but it takes time to learn how best to facilitate it.

"I think it is going to succeed. We just need time, we need time, and the private enterprises need time" (Charlotte Yvonne Nieman, Municipality of Odsherred).

The time factor is thus a critical point in the process of integration when the refugees have no connection to the municipality after attaining an ordinary job. Going into Bredgaard's (2004) analysis of the CSR program in the Danish Active Labor Market Policy he claims that it is evident that CSR cannot be a traditional administration. Bredgaard states; "*CSR are almost everywhere constructed as experimental implementation involving trial-and-error, policy-oriented learning and evaluation*" (Bredgaard 2004:13). The idea that CSR is a test of a program structure as Bredgaard has found and as Charlotte explains above, the actors in the PPP will learn as they go. This will most likely at some point end in a best practice for the structure of PPP in social policies. Working towards this best practice of administrating the CSR program is important, and as shown in the analysis of this thesis the CSR program gets refugees into the labor market, so they can contribute to society (Section 4.3.2). However, when the CSR program is more a test than a best practice it must question the responsibility of the integration of the refugees that are and have participated in integration during this test period. As section 4.1.1 states, the municipalities do not hear from the refugees again so there is no one to control that their process of integration was successful.

Has the integration process then changed by establishing it as a partnership between the local municipalities and private enterprises and how has this change affected the options for the refugees? On the one hand, as Nihal points out, a lot of the refugees are not just sitting at home anymore but are out in labor market activity or in a job where they are contributing to society. Economically, this is

positive in the sense that the partnership between the public and private sector in the integration process was originally jointed due to cost-efficiency. Less refugees in the integration program is less cost for the society and thereby achieving the original goal of the program set by the Danish government. On the other hand, if both the public and private sector are still learning how to facilitate the integration process, as Charlotte points out, there can be no guarantee that the refugees who no longer participate in the program will be integrated, as long as the two partners in the partnership has not yet found the optimal way to structure the process.

The integration process described here goes into the debate that revolves around the emphasis given to the individual person and its needs, arguing that refugees contribute to society by working and thereby utilizing a benefit that brings value to society. This argumentation descends from the governmental and enterprise interpretation of integration (section 4.1.2). What this argumentation does not hold is a focus on the refugees as individual citizens that should be integrated into society but instead as a group of citizens that should contribute to the society. This springs from the significant focus on integration mainly being a process of labor market activity.

As pointed out this is not a view on integration that all actors adhere to. As emphasized throughout this thesis, labor market activity is not something the local municipalities adhere to as the only means to integration, although they are only legally obliged to follow this process of integration. Emphasized in this thesis is the missing responsibility of social integration. Argued in the analysis this responsibility of social integration is left to the colleagues at the private enterprise.

"Then we have some enterprises that actively goes into it and wants to strengthen the citizen by offering an internship, strengthen their language and invite the person into social activities that the enterprise and just be really active in the process. Then there are the enterprises that thinks, the citizen must take control over learning Danish and take care of him-self, here the enterprise chooses not to play an active part" (Nihal Ocak, Municipality of Køge).

What Nihal emphasizes is that the responsibility of the extent of integration is left to the private enterprise and to what emphasis ascribed to integration. It is up

to every single enterprise how to structure their implementation of the integration program. Lars from Scandlines demands of his employees that they are willing to and have time to go into the process of social integration and be involved in the refugees at the enterprise (Lars Holm, Scandlines). Whereas Jens from Danish Crown demands a certain level of Danish to employ the refugees, from then on, they are regarded as ordinary employees with no claim to social integration (Jens Hansen, Danish Crown). The positive outcome of the process that Jens interprets as integration is that refugees are treated equally as native citizens and can work and earn their own salary and have their private life away from the enterprise. This approach to the process cannot guarantee a social integration, but it guarantees self-sufficiency for the refugees. On the contrary the process that Lars facilitates focuses on the process of social integration but as Lars emphasizes they do not provide jobs after the internships. This process then fosters social integration to some extent but not self-sufficiency for the refugees. Choosing one or the other model is yet up to the subjective interpretation of integration by the private enterprise.

What is evident from this discussion and generally throughout this thesis is that the matter of efficiency and integration depends on the subjective interpretation of the actors in the PPP. Constituting a partnership between the public and private sector has with no doubt made the integration process in Denmark more cost-efficient. Whether the process of integration have a positive or negative outcome is with mixed feelings of the key representatives interviewed for this thesis, and it is a matter of how the partnership between the given enterprise and municipality is structured.

6 Conclusion

This thesis has looked at the Public-Private Partnership that is established to facilitate the integration program in Denmark. The thesis has observed the partnership through the theory of Public-Private Partnership and sociological institutionalism. These two theoretical perspectives have brought the opportunity to investigate the organizing practice of the partnership as well as the local cultural context that shapes behavior of organizing practice. The theory has been applied on interviews with key representatives from the public administration and private enterprises that are part of the integration program. The findings of this thesis are limited to the interviewees' perceptions and emphasis on the case of integration.

Applying this theoretical perspective on the case of integration locates some dilemmas connected to the organizing practice and cultural norms that can affect the outcome of the integration process as presented in section 4 and section 5. Essential to conclude is that the interviews indicate some structural dilemmas to the perception of integration due to the significantly different nature of the interviewees' perceptions. There is found to be no collective agreement of what integration is; this generates a procedure of integration that works towards different goals. The significant problem that has come to show in this thesis is that it is not just the two central actors of this partnership, local municipalities and private enterprises, whose goals differ. The public sector has an internally inconsistent agreement of what integration ought to be. From the government having a notion of integration as labor market activity to the municipalities having 98 different views on integration due to local self-governance. With this descends the dilemma of different treatments for refugees in the integration program dependent on the view on integration at the local municipality. This differentiation of municipalities, as emphasized in section 5, does not only create different opportunities for the refugees, but as seen in the interviews, it creates different structures for the individual partnerships, and even more problematic; it is evident in the interviews that there is a lack of structure in the partnership.

This lack of structure originates from somewhere, and to explore this, this thesis has investigated the local institutional cultural effect on the partnership. From the views presented in the interviews, it is possible to conclude that the structure of the partnership originates from the inherent roles and perceptions that the two actors studied hold of each other. The traditional roles that the two sectors are built on are constitutional for the structure of the partnership.

"It is hard to expect that private enterprises will teach cultural values and social skills when their focus is on work and employment "(Charlotte Yvonne Niemann, Municipality of Odsherred).

With the perception of roles comes the question of responsibility and risk – who to ensure the process of integration. This thesis has from the interviews confirmed Flinders´ (2005) notion that the risk of the partnership will fall on the public sector. In the case of social integration, it is found to be problematic, that the municipalities lose contact with the refugees who have secured ordinary jobs. As emphasized in this thesis, integration focused on labor market activity is ensured. Thus, it is questionable who holds the responsibility of social integration and what consequence this missing responsibility will foster – both municipalities interviewed for this thesis have their ideas of what this means to the process of integration (section 4.1.1).

Lastly, the study questions the reasons for private enterprises to implement a program of social responsibility. Observable in the interviews is the prominence on social responsibility that is an untraditional emphasis for private enterprises but as argued in section 5, it has become a norm in society. At least a norm that the private sector subjectively interprets as something they should hold.

As showed from the interviews this norm becomes problematic when it is the reasoning for establishing the partnership. Implementing a CSR program can become more crucial than the actual aim of the program.

"I am going to say it like this; integration is not something we have a huge emphasis on" (Jens Hansen, Danish Crown).

Concerns for the outcome and responsibility of the actual process of integration come to mind here. However, this thesis does not intend to bring an evaluation or a solution to the partnership established in the process of integration

– It does however intent to problematize and contribute to embody and elaborate some of the contemporary issues of a PPP in social policies.

7 Further research

This thesis brings forward the conceptions and discussions of an integration process organized in cooperation between the public and private sectors. Significant issues about the integration process are brought up in this thesis but for further research it will firstly be important to observe whether these findings are tendencies that appear when interviewing a larger sample of interviewees in the integration program. The small and unstructured sample of interviewees in this thesis were due to time constrains but in the group of local municipalities it was due to missing responds. Why the municipalities do not want to participate in interviews about the integration process must be investigated and then go into depth with this investigation by interviewing more municipalities.

The second entity will be to study this research in a more longitudinal perspective. Due to the limited time that has passed since the implementation of the integration program the development of the process is hard to evaluate on. Further research must be conducted when more time has passed to be able to evaluate on the results of the integration program.

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9   Appendix

Appendix 1: Sampling

Five key informants have participated in interviews for this thesis and have been chosen due to their role in the integration process. There are three informants from private enterprises and two informants from municipalities in Denmark. Below a short presentation of the informants will be sketched out.

Key informant 1: Mirella Jakobsen from **BC Hospitality group.** Mirella is Group Responsible Hospitality Manager and has been a part of the refugee program since it started. BC Hospitality Group has 3000 employees and 750 of them are permanent employees, the rest are connected to the enterprise. BC Hospitality group has participated politically in the decision process of the project "Sammen om Integration" and Mirella is on the advisory board as one out of two company representatives in the organization of the project. BC Hospitality Ground has around 30 refugees employed right now and have activated many more through their internship programs for refugees. In 2017, 43 % of the refugees in activation at BC Hospitality Group were hired after the ended internship.

Key informant 2: Jens Hansen from **Danish Crown.** Jens is Head of Group Communication and has followed the refugee project closely since its beginning. Danish Crown has around 25.000 employees distributed on their different sites all located in Denmark. Danish Crown has hired 200 refugees since their first program for refugees in 2015, and they have activated many more.

Key informant 3: Lars Holm from **Scandlines.** Lars is the chief of distribution at Scandlines, and he has been involved in the program for refugees since it started at Scandlines from planning the program to executing it. Scandlines have around 2000 employees and have activated 30 refugees. Lars has had seven refugees in his department, and of the total number of refugees, only a few have been hired.

Key informant 4: Nihal Ocak from the **municipality of Køge**. Nihal is the team coordinator at the center for Danish and Integration. The center for Danish and Integration is the extension job center in Køge, where the integration program is divided into two departments. The job center is the institution that deals with

employment activity in the integration program. The center for Danish and Integration takes care of the social and cultural activity in the integration program. Around 300 refugees has been allocated to the municipality of Køge since the beginning of the refugee crisis in 2015.

Key informant 5: Charlotte Yvonne Niemann from the **municipality of Odsherred**. Charlotte is the consultant for cooperation at the municipality of Odsherred. Charlotte's work only focuses on the area of refugees since the new integration program was implemented in 2016. Charlotte is the only consultant for cooperation at the municipality of Odsherred, where they have received 270 refugees since the beginning of the refugee crisis in 2015.

Appendix 2: Interview guides

Interview guide for local municipalities

Thesis and aim

This thesis seeks to investigate the close cooperation between the public administration, specifically the municipalities, and private enterprises regarding the integration process. In theory cooperation makes perfect sense but it is a unique method of structuring public service. The aim of the thesis is to study the effects of cooperation by examining the structure of the partnership.

The thesis examines the organization of the integration process between the public and private sector in order to study the effects that this new cooperation can create. Further it tries to understand why a private enterprise would enter into a structured cooperation with the public administration.

Introduction	The institution's background	How many refugees have been allocated to your municipality?
		How many private enterprises do you cooperate with?
The structure of cooperation	Perspective from the municipalities	How has it affected you as a municipality, that the procedure of the integration

		program has been changed?
		Which impact do you mean the changed procedure has had in regards of the integration of each individual citizen?
		What do you see as the big challenges in the integrations program and thereby the integration of refugees?
		How do you deem your citizens integrated? And is it affected by the changed integration process?
		Do you allocate a desired number of refugees to the private enterprises?
	The cooperation with private enterprises	How do you ensure that the private enterprises take responsibility for the actual integration process?
Effect	The organization's assessment of the cooperation	How do you think the refugees' possibility of integration in society is affected by the cooperation?
		If I say, that some would think the missing

		cooperation between the different municipalities causes jobs lost for the refugees, what do think about that?
		Do you consider this integration program to be a solution to be continued? Or should the structure change?
		Could something have been done differently to benefit the cooperation?
Further comments:		Do you have something to add?
		Thank you for your time.

Interview guide for private enterprises

Thesis and aim

This thesis seeks to investigate the effects of the cooperation between the public administration and private enterprises regarding the changed legislation on the integration process. The "three-part" negotiation and the initiative on "together on integration" is a new way to cooperate that breaks with the traditional structures in our society.

The thesis examines the organization of the integration process between the public and private sector in order to study the effects that this new cooperation can create. Further it tries to understand why a private enterprise would enter into a structured cooperation with the public administration.

Introduction	The organization's background	How big is the organization? How have you chosen to structure the process?
		Number of refugees in the program?
		Number of refugees hired after finished internship?
Motivation	The organization's reasoning for involving	What is your intension with participating in the initiative for you as an enterprise?
		Why is it important to your enterprise to take part in such a program?
		What is integration to you?
Organizing	The structure of cooperation	What kind of work do the refugees do at your enterprise?
		Have you tried ensuring the integration of the refugees working at your enterprise?
		Have you received the desired number of employees from the program? - If no, why?
Effect	The organization's assessment of the cooperation	How do you think the cooperation has affected the

		integration process?
		Do you feel that the program and cooperation in general with the public administration has so far been a success?
		Could something have been done differently to benefit the cooperation?
		Is this something you could see yourselves as a part of in the longer run? Maybe also with other marginalized groups other than refugees?
Further comments:		Do you have something to add?
		Thank you for your time.

Appendix 3: Refugees enrolled in the integration program
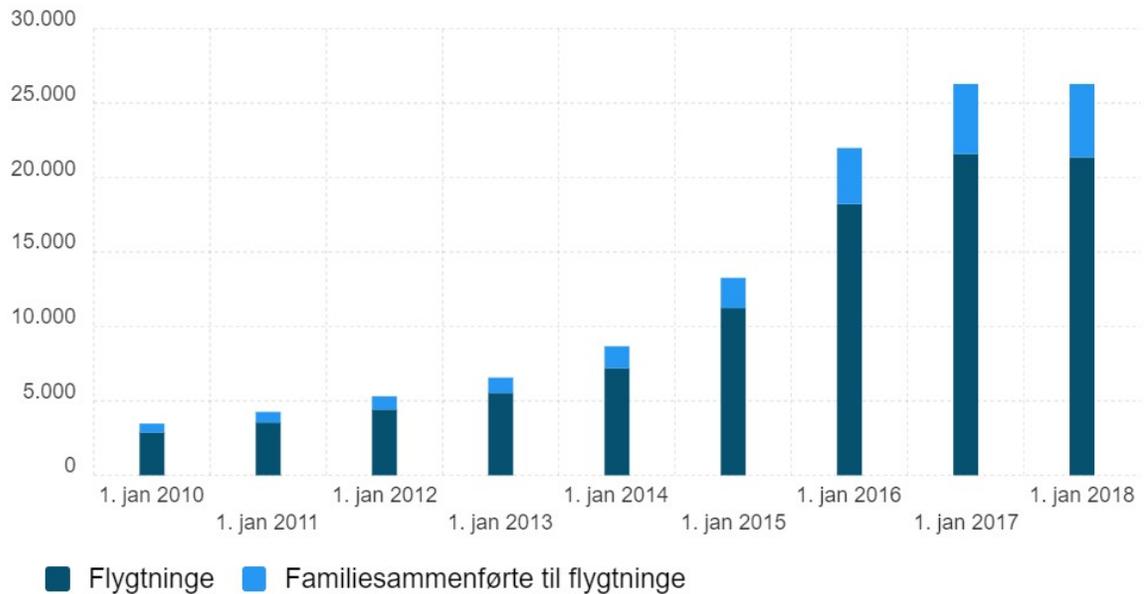
Appendix 3 shows the number of refugees that are enrolled in integration program at the beginning of 2018. It is illustrated by the dark blue figure and in the beginning of 2018 this number of refugees were 21.365.

To this, a number of family members that are reunited to the refugee are included, which is illustrated by the blue pillar in the figure above, this number is 4.923. Corresponding to a total number of 26.288 people enrolled in the integration program by the 1st of January 2018.