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The Political Strategies to Dismantle the "Ghetto"

Understanding the "Ghetto" in Denmark through the Nationalist and "Othering" Discursive Lenses

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Abstract

Since 2010, the Danish governments have issued an annual list of disadvantaged social housing areas in Denmark, which later became known as the "ghetto list" (*ghettolisten*). The list categorizes social housing areas with socioeconomic problems, and where many of the residents are immigrants or descendants with non-western backgrounds. The list is accompanied by political strategies (known as the "ghetto strategy") aimed at accelerating the integration process of the targeted communities into Danish society. The political strategies positions nationalism and nativism at the center of the narrative. Through the narrative of national values, the "ghetto strategy" raises a sense of differentiation between "ghetto" and Danish society, based on the construction of the "ghetto" as lack of "Danish values" (*danske værdier*). This has the effect of placing them as a "parallel society" (*parallelsamfund*) and preventing them from integrating into Danish society – the very opposite of the strategy's stated aim. This thesis investigates the discourse of "ghetto," and explores its relationship to the practice of "othering" in Danish politics. The results show that the "ghetto strategy" in Denmark could be understood as built upon a power structure of socioeconomic inequality, ethnocentrism, populism, nativism, and nationalism. Moreover, the Danish integration policy framework's underlying rationales are not neutral but rather heavily influenced by the political, historical, and social contexts that situated the "Danishness" and the set of values that construct it.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis; Denmark; Nationalism; "Othering;" "Ghetto" communities.

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To my friends and professors in Sweden, my friends in Indonesia and Cambodia, my brother and his wife in Istanbul, and my mom in Bandung, this is for you!

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List of abbreviations

ALT	Denmark Alternative Party
CD	Denmark Centre Democrats
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
COVID-19	Coronavirus disease 2019
DF	Danish People's Party
EEA	European Economic Area
EL	Denmark Red-Green Alliance
EU	European Union
KF	Denmark Conservative People's Party
LA	Liberal Alliance
RV	Danish Social Liberal Party
S	Denmark Social Democrats
SF	Denmark Socialist People's Party
UFG	Outside the parliamentary group/ independent politician
UN	United Nations
V	Denmark's Liberal Party

1. Introduction

> "[...] *human beings have a strong dramatic instinct toward binary thinking, a basic urge to divide things into two distinct groups, with nothing but an empty gap in between. We love to dichotomize. Good versus bad. Heroes versus villains. My country versus the rest."*
>
> - Hans Rosling et al. (2018), *Factfulness*

Since 2010, the Danish governments have issued an annual list of disadvantaged social housing[1] areas in Denmark. The list, which later became known as the "ghetto list" (*ghettolisten*), categorizes urban areas in Denmark that have a large percentage of unemployment, high share of residents with low educational attainment and low-income level, a considerable number of convicts, and whose many residents are immigrants or descendants with non-Western backgrounds (Regeringen, 2010; 2018a). The political discourse on the main reason for these problems focuses on the lack of Danish values (*danske værdier*) held by the communities living in these urban areas (Løkke Rasmussen, 2010b; 2018). The Danish government has continuously been attempting to integrate these communities into the mainstream Danish society. Such efforts include the publication of political strategies, which later became known as the "ghetto strategy" (ghetto-strategi). The "ghetto strategy" papers suggest policy packages to incentivize the neighborhoods to shed their "ghetto" status. However, the controversial aspect of the policy packages is the special measures, as they target only communities that live in social housing areas listed on the "ghetto list."

While the publication of "ghetto" strategies in Denmark is not new, the ethnic minorities, specifically those living in the "ghetto" areas, are still finding difficulty in fully integrating themselves into Danish society (Danish Institute for Human Rights, 2019). Furthermore, the political strategy also impose special measures for the targeted communities, including restricting access to social housing (Regeringen, 2018a; Folketinget, 2018a). These conditions reveal the possibility of social and economic barriers that exclude the "ghetto" community

[1] Social housing (*almene boliger*) is a non-profit housing sector with the self-financing mechanism for construction, maintenance, and residents counselling (see Larsen & Hansen, 2015, p.269)

from the mainstream Danish society. The Danish Institute for Human Rights (2019) concludes that the political strategy may "have negative consequences for people on low incomes, people with criminal records as well as ethnic minorities and their opportunities for finding appropriate accommodation" (Danish Institute for Human Rights, 2019, p.22).

I will in this thesis argue, that the "ghetto strategy" increases the sense of differentiation and stigmatization among the targeted communities. Regarding the differentiation, the strategy considers the "ghetto" community, to be in opposition to the Danish society, through its lack of Danish values (Jensen, 2016; Simonsen, 2016). Meanwhile, regarding this stigmatization, the political strategy paper considers the problem of the "ghetto" community to be a failed integration with the rest of Denmark (Staver, Brekke & Søholt, 2019; Tarasiewicz, 2017; Jensen, 2016). This discourse has the effect of positioning the targeted communities as "parallel society" (*parallelsamfund*) and, at the same time, hindering the potential for their integration into Danish society.

1.2 Purpose and research questions

In light of the publication of the "ghetto strategy," this thesis intends to investigate the discourse surrounding the "ghetto," explicitly concerning Denmark's established goal of dismantling the communities that live in these areas. In addition, this study intends to analyze the relationship between the "ghetto" as a discourse and the practice of "othering." Additionally, this study attempts to explore the underpinning sociopolitical and developmental context behind the emergence of "ghetto" and "parallel society" in Denmark. This study does not specifically cover the topic of territorial stigmatization, as previous studies have addressed similar issues (see Olsen, 2019; Larsen, 2014; Larsen & Möller, 2013; Jensen & Christensen, 2012). I summarize some of prior studies in Chapter 2.

To achieve this study's aim, I first question how the "ghetto" has been conceptualized in the Danish political discourse between 2004 and 2018. This question guides me to discursively examining the political strategy papers that

represent distinct points in time, namely 2004, 2010, and 2018. The next question seeks to understand the Danish government's political strategies through the perspective of nationalism and "othering." The research questions of this thesis are presented as follows:

1. *How has the "ghetto" been conceptualized in the Danish political discourse between 2004 and 2018?*
2. *How has the "ghetto" discourse been manifested within the legal and institutional structures in Denmark?*

This thesis's analytical framework consists of the theory of nationalism and the concept of "othering." Nationalism theory sets to investigate the discourse on Danish values and "Danishness" (*danskhed*) in the political scene. Meanwhile, the concept of "othering" provides crucial insight into the construction and categorization of two different identities: the Danish and the "ghetto."

1.3 Relevance to development studies

Immigration is a global issue across the spectrum of developed and developing countries (Murphy, 2018, p.160; Wilis, 2014, p.212-213). It is important to note that, the sustainable development goal (10), which focuses on inequality reduction within and among countries and (16) that promotes justice, peaceful, and inclusive societies (UN, 2020), is among the global agendas that are relevant to the issues surrounding the immigrants, descendants, and their communities. Therefore, the problem surrounding the integration of immigrants, descendants, and their communities to be a matter of development issues.

In many countries, immigrants, descendants, and their communities face many barriers to integration due to their experience of discrimination and hostility from the host society (Constant et al., 2009). In Denmark's case, the issues on immigrants and descendants has often been political and associated with certain ideologies and political values, such as nationalism, conservatism, populism, and ethnocentrism (Mouritsen & Vincents Olsen, 2013; Simonsen, 2016; Chatzopoulos, 2019). Thus, the investigation of political values becomes vital in

understanding the issues surrounding the immigrant, descendants, and their communities.

1.4 Terminology

This section explains some of the terminology used in this thesis.

1.4.1 Danish values and "Danishness"

In the prime ministers' speeches and "ghetto strategy" papers, Danish values refer to values and norms that are considered to be acceptable in Danish society. The are various definitions that explain Danish values, including "liberal-mindedness," "freedom," and "equality" (Fogh Rasmussen, 2004). Meanwhile, "Danishness" refers to the mentality, culture, and way of thinking that made Danish identity is distinctive (Damsholt, 2020). It is a set of values that constructs Danish identity and culture and is formed through Denmark's history (ibid.).

1.4.2 Immigrants, descendants, and non-western backgrounds

In the prime ministers' speeches, "ghetto strategy" papers, and parliamentary debates, the terms "immigrants," "descendants," or "non-western backgrounds" repeatedly use without any clear explanation. These terms portray non-western immigrants in Denmark as a homogeneous and fixed group (despite having various backgrounds). Nevertheless, this thesis will use these terms following the empirical materials.

1.4.3 The "ghetto" and "parallel societies"

The terms "ghetto" and "parallel society" are used interchangeably in the political documents, to refer to disadvantaged social housing areas in Denmark and the communities that live inside the areas. Many residents of the "ghetto" areas are immigrants or descendants with non-Western backgrounds (Regeringen, 2010; 2018a).

1.4.4 Government

This thesis uses the term "the government" to refer to the center-right coalition government[2] (Denmark's Liberal Party (V), Conservative People's Party (KF), with parliamentary support from the Danish People's Party (DF)), which held office at the time of the publication of the "ghetto strategy" papers between 2004 and 2018.

1.5 Disposition of the thesis

This thesis is structured into seven sections. Chapter 2 provides an insight into previous studies on stigma in the "ghetto" areas and the identity construction of the "ghetto" residents in Denmark. Then, Chapter 3 introduces the theoretical framework of the thesis. Afterward, the philosophy of science, the methodological approach, and the selected method are elaborated upon in Chapter 4. For the empirical portion of the study, Chapter 5 describes the Danish political landscape and the historical background of Denmark's social housing sector. For the analysis portion, Chapter 6 presents the discourse analysis of the "ghetto" in Danish politics. Finally, Chapter 7 provides conclusions and reflections.

[2] The center-right coalition government have a political stance that are closer to the center than other right-wing politics.

2. Previous studies

This thesis investigates how the "ghetto" has been conceptualized in the Danish political discourse between 2004 and 2018. Moreover, it aims to understand the relationship between the "ghetto" discourse and the practice of "othering" in Danish politics. The topic of the "ghetto" and "parallel society" have been intensely discussed in academia. Therefore, it is important to create an overview of what has been analyzed, written, and argued about the topic to understand the link between this thesis and prior research.

2.1 The stigma in "ghetto" areas

Previous research has extensively studied the stigma in disadvantaged social housing areas. In Denmark's case, prior research has employed the framework of territorial stigmatization to investigate the political, social, spatial, and discursive elements of Danish "ghetto" (see Olsen, 2019; Larsen, 2014 in the context of Copenhagen; Jensen & Christensen, 2012 in the context of Aalborg). The account of territorial stigmatization has its conceptual foundation in Loïc Wacquant's work on identifying distinctive spatial properties in disadvantaged urban areas, specifically "ghetto" areas in the south of Chicago and suburbs of Paris. These urban areas reveal a process that Wacquant refers to as "advanced marginality" (Wacquant, 2007). This process emphasizes a symbolic dimension to the emergence of marginal groups in urban areas. Wacquant argues that neoliberalism has shaped the urban political, social, and physical landscape, which has influenced the emergence of the marginal groups (ibid.). The mechanism of territorial stigmatization entails a spatial process that affects neighborhoods' physical and social changes (Slater, 2017). The marginalization of the neighborhoods further influences the policy toward these areas (Slater, 2017; Wacquant, 2007).

Larsen (2014) has studied the social-spatial structure in Copenhagen's "West End" (*Vestegnen*) neighborhood. His study takes a point of departure in Bourdieu's field-analytical approach and Wacquant's comparative sociology of

advanced marginality (Larsen, 2014, p.1388). Larsen employs Bourdieu's field-analytical approach to explain the nexus between the neighborhoods' social-spatial structure and the state's dynamic roles in the social housing regulation. He focuses on how the state has played a role in shaping the housing market by exercising control over subsidies and taxation, mortgage, and urban planning. Hence, the process has the long-term effect of concentrating people from lesser privileged backgrounds in the social housing sector (ibid.). Larsen further illustrates the relationship between the structural socioeconomic transformation over time and its consequences for the people living within the social housing areas. He argues that the interplay between the housing market policy and the residents' rising socioeconomic inequality has become the underlying factor for the territorial stigmatization to which marginalized neighborhoods throughout the country are subjected (Larsen, 2014, p.1400). The framing of the stigmatized areas is influenced by the political discourse and socioeconomic structure, and involves a labeling process of the areas as "outside the common norm" (Wacquant, 2007). Wacquant argues that this condition may pave the way for the authorities to justify special measures in the stigmatized areas that deviate from common law and practice, which could further marginalize the occupants (Wacquant, 2007, p.69).

The reasoning behind the special measures in stigmatized areas was the focus of a thesis by Olsen (2019). Her study focuses on the production of story-lines based on the "ghetto" spatial representation in formal discursive practices. Olsen argues that the spatial limitation, as a result of territorial stigmatization, has influenced the implementation of special measures in the Danish "ghetto" (Olsen, 2019, p.61). The spatial limitation also paves the way for defining the "ghetto" as a problem and legitimizes its presence in Danish society. Meanwhile, the spatial representation involves discursive processes that portray the "ghetto" as a place outside the Danish society. Olsen argues that the labeling of the "ghetto" as a stigmatized place is evident through the categorization of the "severe ghetto" areas (*hårde ghettoområder*), which pave the way for the Danish government to

justify special measures to facilitate urban renewal in disadvantaged social housing areas (Olsen, 2019, p.62).

2.2 "Ghetto" versus Danish identities

Simonsen (2016) investigates how the "ghetto" and Danish identities are conceptually connected from the dimension of urban sociology. Her study takes a point of departure in Laclau and Mouffe's discourse-analytical framework. It attempts to examine the construction of "ghetto" and "Danish" identities presented in the 2010 "ghetto strategy" (Simonsen, 2016, p.84). Simonsen argues that the "ghetto" can be seen as an antagonistic identity that emerges from the discursive construction of Danish values in the political strategy paper (ibid, 2016, p.96). The origin of this "ghetto" antagonism is heavily influenced by nationalism, which constructs national identity in confrontation with other identities (Simonsen, 2016, p.89; Armstrong, 1982, p.5).

In the formation of "ghetto" identity, the nationalism allows its antagonistic identity construction to interweaves with temporal (e.g., History of the nation, past and future events) and spatial (e.g., Territorial boundary) claims (Simonsen, 2016; Özkirimli, 2010). Through this approach, it establishes the "Danishness" and constructs a imaginary border between the "ghetto" and Danish values, to affirm national identity (Simonsen, 2016). The 2010 "ghetto strategy" paper's temporal claim is evident by the formulation of Danish values' genesis narrative, which excludes the people with immigrant backgrounds from its construction (ibid, p.94). Meanwhile, the spatial claim is visible in the political strategy paper through the portrayal of the "ghetto" as a space that disintegrates the unity and cohesion of Denmark's national imaginary space (ibid.).

However, there is a doubt regarding the prospect of the "real-integration," as Simonsen identifies that "potentially adverse functions" of the discourse are invoked in the political strategy paper (Simonsen, 2016, p.96). Based on the etymological meaning of the word "integration," it is interpreted as a process of reuniting equivalent parts that previously separated, to form a new, greater whole.

Nevertheless, the "ghetto strategy" lacks of the point that emphasizes the bringing together of parts to form a new whole (ibid, p. 95); instead, the paper does the opposite by constructing an antagonistic relationship between the "ghetto" and "Danishness" and emphasizes the removal of one part to complete each other's identity. Consequently, the construction of different identities plays a role in the differentiation that prevents the equivalence important in the integration process (ibid, p.96). Meanwhile, the transformation of differences into equivalence could deprive the meaning that is essential to the "ghetto" and "Danishness" to be fully identified. This explanation forms the basis of Simonsen's argument on why incorporating the "ghetto" discourse into Danish society would be unproductive and even destructive to the integration process of immigrants and descendants in Denmark (ibid.).

2.3 Partial conclusion on previous studies

Previous research on the Danish "ghetto" primarily investigates the territorial stigmatization of the disadvantaged social housing areas in Denmark. The territorial stigmatization in Denmark was partly influenced by the housing market and urban planning policies that further transformed the socio-spatial structure of the city. The stigmatization process involves labeling the area as a place that lacks the common norm, further justifying special measures of the government inside the stigmatized areas. Regarding the empirical materials, previous research primarily considers the political strategy papers and politicians' public statements as the empirical materials for their analyses. In this sense, the conceptualization of the "ghetto" discourse and discursive practices have been political, indicating that the integration of immigrants, descendants, and their communities have become an issue for political expediency.

The previous study by Simonsen (2016) indicates that the "ghetto" political strategy has employed the narratives on nationalism, national values, and national identity. In her study, Simonsen discusses the systematic formation of "ghetto" and Danish identity in Danish political discourse in 2010. In her research, she

argues that the full definition of “ghetto” became an important element in contradicting and clearly defining Danish values and “Danishness.” These accounts imply the important role of the “othering” process in constructing the “ghetto” as the “other.” The “othering” process may be considered the determinant of the construction of “ghetto” identity and the underlying values and perceptions that conceptualize it. There are no studies that have examined the evolution of the “ghetto” discourse from the perspective of nationalism and “othering.” By writing this thesis, I intend to investigate the discursive evolution of the “ghetto” in Danish political discourse between 2004 and 2018.

3. Theoretical framework

This thesis investigates how the "ghetto" has been conceptualized in the Danish political discourse between 2004 and 2018. Moreover, it aims to understand the relationship between the "ghetto" discourse and the practice of "othering" in Danish politics. In this chapter, I explain the theoretical framework of nationalism and the concept of "othering." I begin by explaining the theory of nationalism and its significance in the construction of identity. Meanwhile, the concept of "othering" provides crucial insight into the construction and categorization of other identities.

3.1 Nationalism and national identity

Through the lens of nationalism, I write this thesis to investigate the construction of national identity. It is important to note that, by understanding nationalism, it will open a step to comprehend perceptions and boundaries that construct a national identity. In Denmark's case, this theoretical lens would allow me to investigate the social values and nationalist interrelated claims that construct Danish identity and "Danishness" in political discourse. In particular, this thesis uses theory of nationalism developed by Özkirimli.

Özkirimli's theory of nationalism draws on Gramsci and Foucault's account on power relations and discourse, and the contemporary concepts of nationalism (Özkirimli, 2010, p.205, 213). He frames nationalism as a discourse that constructs the meaning of a nation. By referring nationalism as a "discourse," he argues, it "helps us make sense of and structure the reality that surrounds us" (ibid, p.206). Özkirimli comprehends the nation as a symbol, which has multiple meanings, and signifies its definition through the competition by different groups in maneuvering and capturing its substance (ibid.). A previous study by Armstrong (1982, p.5) argues the reproduction of a nation as a symbol involves the comparison to and exclusion of the "strangers." Therefore, one can say that

nationalism is a process of signifying boundaries that mark the differences between national identity and others.

Özkirimli developed an analytical framework of nationalism that consists of three-stage approaches. The first step of Özkirimli's approaches is to define the discourse of nationalism (ibid, p.208). Drawing on the definition of discourse by Foucault, discourse refers to "practices that systematically form the object of which they speak" (Foucault, 1972, p.49). Therefore the discourse of nationalism is situated in the reality and sets the limits of how we interact with the surroundings. The discourse of nationalism can manipulate a national and cultural identity and further influence the perceptions and boundaries that define them. To explain the significance of boundaries for the definition of identity, Özkirimli introduces the social interaction model of the Norwegian anthropologist Fredrik Barth, which demonstrates that groups tend to define themselves not by referring to their characteristics but by differentiation, that is, by comparison to other groups (Özkirimli, 2010, p.146). In that sense, the characters of a group are never fixed. There are outside factors that influence the group member's perception and boundaries that define the group (ibid.). By being aware of the complexity, it is essential to study the discourses within the boundary mechanisms behind the construction of group identity. Nevertheless, it is essential not to reduce discourses to language, but treat it as statements produced and established in social and historical contexts (ibid, p.206).

The second step of Özkirimli's approaches presents three sets of interrelated claims that characterize nationalist discourse (ibid, p.208). These interrelated claims distinguish nationalism from other discourses based on collective belief systems (ibid, p.209):

1. Identity claims, the nationalist discourse divides the world into a binary representation of identity "us" and "them," stressing characteristics that differentiate the identity on both side, and positions each of identity as homogeneous and fixed.

2. Temporal claims, which seek to present the "linear time of the nation" by demonstrating the nation's links to the past. The particular past that the nationalist elites opt to reflect present concerns and legitimize their political decisions.
3. Spatial claims, which reconstruct space as a national territory or "home," either actual or imagined, which encompasses processes of territorial imagination.

The third step of Özkirimli's approaches is identifying the mode of operation of the nationalist discursive construction (ibid, p. 210). This final step is connected to "the material and institutional structures that underpin the nationalist discourse" (ibid.). Özkirimli argues that this last step consists of discursive processes in which individuals are made "national" (ibid.). It is important to understand that the dominant nationalist discourse is the winner of the struggle for hegemony among various nationalist discourses. The process of achieving such discourse hegemony embarks on "self-reproduction and naturalization until its values become common sense" (ibid, p. 212). In the process of achieving hegemony, the state structures, and the civil society, such as educational institutions or political establishments, directly or indirectly shape the structures (ibid.). When nationalist discourse finally achieving hegemony, it is difficult to be influenced by competing discourses. Therefore, attaining hegemony causes the nationalist discourse to be natural (ibid, p. 211).

Hegemony is vital to the nationalist discourse. Hegemony shapes "the boundaries of the 'speakable,' define what is realistic and what is not practical, and drives certain goals and aspirations into the realm of the impossible" (ibid, p. 213). Furthermore, hegemony is essential in many discursive contexts. In many forms of discourse that relate to protests and resistances, in order to be registered or heard, there is a need to adopt the forms and languages of domination (ibid.). Nevertheless, Özkirimli argues that it is crucial to be aware of the nationalist discourse's unpredictability and heterogeneity (ibid, p. 209). The nationalist discourse has the tendency "to present its choices of identity, past and territory as the reflection of the immutable 'essence' of the nation [...] [as nationalist

discourses are] outcomes of social practices that can be challenged and changed" (ibid,). The nationalism has a complex and dynamic structure and is not fixed and linear as its discourse is perceived to be (ibid, p. 210).

Özkirimli's theory of nationalism allows me to understand how identity formation is embedded in Danish values' discourse, "Danishness," and "ghetto" values. Thus, by applying Özkirimli's theoretical approach, it would help me to identify national identity as a nationalist discourse with distinctive marks in identity, temporal, and spatial claims. In applying the theoretical approach, it is worth investigating political statements produced and established within social and historical contexts, which serve as parts of the nationalist discursive construction. This process is essential for the nationalist discourse to become hegemonic and natural in society.

3.2 "Othering" and other identity

The concept of "othering" provides the theoretical framework needed to comprehend the construction, boundaries, perceptions, and categorization of different identities. Moreover, the concept of "othering" helps me to understand the formation of national identity and its "other" from the lens of nationalist discourse, in which mechanisms of power, stereotypes, binaries, and mirroring influence the identity construction. Jensen (2011, p.65) defines "othering" as discursive processes that involve both powerful and subordinate groups, in which the powerful groups identify or describe the other groups in a reductionist way. It is important to note that the powerful groups may or may not be the majority group by number. The discursive processes entail the characterization and problematization of the subordinate groups. Such discursive processes condition identity formation among the subordinate groups while affirming the legitimacy and superiority of the powerful groups (ibid.).

The process of "othering" is vital to the construction of national identity, since the process involves the binary representation of the "us" and the "other" (Spencer, 2006, p.8). The "other" represents an area of consensus, a method to delineate the

"self," and the shared cultural or subcultural values (ibid.). The binary representation of two different identities is essential to the process of "othering" in creating and connecting social relations and boundaries of the national identity and the "other" (ibid, p.13). These borders link people with an image of a homogeneous society with a cohesive culture and values. Nevertheless, the construction of a group as an "other" depends on the social and historical contexts of a nation, in which "race" and ethnicity, for example, can serve as "markers of difference that reflect the social construction at a particular time" (ibid.).

The mirroring of the "us" with the "other" is essential to the process of "othering" (Jensen, 2011, p.64). One can see that the human cultures are determined by "constant creations, re-creations, and negotiations of imaginary boundaries between 'we' and the 'other(s).'" (Benhabib, 2002, p.8). The "other" is a necessary part of "us" due to its importance in the existence of the latter concept (ibid.). The differences between the two identities are essential to fully conceptualize and define them (Hall, 1997, p.234). The differentiation entails boundaries and perceptions crucial to the identity construction of the "us" and the "other." The binary representation of the two identities is often through the dichotomous relationship between the two identities (Jensen, 2011). The stereotypical dichotomies, such as "civilized" and "uncivilized" or "black" and "white," are established to construct the "us" and differentiate it from the "other" (Hall, 1997, p.235; Spencer, 2006, p.12). These stereotypical dichotomies can be viewed as a process to simplify people's characteristics and represent them as fixed by nature" (Hall, 1997, p. 257). The process of "othering" can, therefore, construct boundaries and perceptions of who belongs to the "us" based on desirable criteria and place the rest as the "other" (ibid, p. 258). Nevertheless, the process of "othering" is not necessarily associated with a negative depiction of the "other" and a more positive connotation of the "us." Positive stereotypes of the "other" can also occur, primarily if there is an association with certain subcultures (Jensen, 2011, p.69).

To sum up, the process of "othering" emphasizes the power relations between two different identities, namely the "us" and the "other." The dynamic relationship between the two identities represents the power to mark, assign, and classify people in a certain way (Hall, 1997, p.259). Therefore, by acknowledging the power relations in a specific context, the discourse of "othering" is both restrictive and productive in that it constructs new discourses, produces new knowledge, and has an ability to shape new practices and new institutions (ibid, p. 260).

3.3 Operationalization of the theoretical framework

In the analytical framework, the theory of nationalism and the concept of "othering" reveals several essential mechanisms in the discursive construction of national identity. These mechanisms include the identity, spatial, and temporal claims. Moreover, the mechanisms include the binary representation of "us" and "other," which are associated with the process of "othering." Hence, the formation of national identity also involves the identity construction of the "other." The two identities can be compared, highlighting the boundaries and perceptions of what is perceived to be Danish identity or "Danishness" and what does not belong and is further classified as the "other." To connect the theoretical framework with the discursive dimension, I elaborate on Fairclough's critical discourse analysis (CDA) in the methodology chapter (Chapter 4), which serves as both the theoretical and methodological approaches.

4. Methodology

This thesis investigates how the "ghetto" has been conceptualized in the Danish political discourse between 2004 and 2018. Moreover, it aims to understand the relationship between the "ghetto" discourse and the practice of "othering" in Danish politics. Since this thesis examines the discourse through both textual and social dimensions, it can be considered that critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a relevant approach (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002). CDA provides an opportunity to investigate how language use can establish and reinforce power relations in society (Fairclough, 2013b; Wodak, 2001).

Accordingly, this section elaborates on the methodological dimension and research design of this thesis. A fundamental distinction is made between methodology and method. A methodology refers to the rationale of the research approach and concerns the theories or principles behind it (Della Porta & Keating, 2008, p.28; Jackson, 2011, p.26). Meanwhile, a method refers to the means of data collection, including "what are the tools and data collection strategies?" (Della Porta & Keating, 2008, p.28). By describing the rationale of the research process, the methodology has an essential role in establishing a connection between the theories and methods. In this section, I first consider the philosophy of science that underlies the methodological approach's choice. Second, I elaborate on CDA as the methodological approach, the document analysis as the selected method, and the reasoning behind the selection of the empirical materials. Moreover, this part describes the limitation of the study and my positionality as a researcher.

4.1 Philosophy of science: critical realism ontology and social constructivism epistemology

The relevance of CDA as the methodological approach of this thesis is founded in the critical realism ontology and social constructivism epistemology. Ontology refers to the concern about what kind of things exist in the universe, and assumptions regarding the entities' forms and nature (Della Porta & Keating, 2008, p.21). The ontological question is, "how do researchers conceptualize what they study?" (Klotz & Lycnh, 2007 in Jackson, 2011, p.26). Meanwhile, epistemology focuses on the process of knowing about and understanding the reality (Della Porta & Keating, 2008, p.21). In other words, epistemology concerns the philosophy around the study of knowledge and addresses questions such as "how do the researchers know what they know?" (Klotz and Lycnh, 2007 in Jackson, 2011, p.26). These considerations play a critical role in guiding the research orientations and influencing the researcher's decision to use specific research methods.

This thesis reflects critical realism at the ontological level. Critical realism ontology distinguishes between the "real" world and the "observable" world (Bhaskar, 1975). The "real" world consists of structures independent of human perceptions and cannot be observed. Meanwhile, the "observable" world is constructed from our perspectives and experiences on "observable" events and structures (ibid.). According to critical realists, the independent structures can cause "observable" events, and people can interpret social facts only if they understand the structure that generates events (Dean, 2006; Archer, 1998; Bhaskar, 1975). Bhaskar (2013) illustrates the critical realism approach through a three-layered ontology. The first layer is the "empirical," which consists of observable events. The second layer is the "actual," which includes independent events generated by the "real" that may or may not be observable. Finally, the third layer is the "real," which refers to underlying structures and mechanisms that may cause other levels (Bhaskar, 2013; Saunders et al., 2009). The distinction is present in this thesis. In my analysis, I address the "empirical" level through the

textual discourse of “ghetto” political strategies. I observe the “actual” level through discursive practices in terms of how the government manifests the “ghetto strategy” into the political process. Finally, the “real” level is represented by the legal and institutional structures that have enduring properties in society.

In this thesis, I apply the social constructivism epistemology within realism. My standpoint is that the knowledge about social facts is constructed; however, this does not reflect a robust social constructivist approach, as I do not consider all observable facts to be socially constructed (Jackson, 2011; Sayer, 2000). This study still accommodates the statistical information regarding socioeconomic conditions and the physical environment, which serve as the cornerstone of the Danish “ghetto strategy.” This thesis aligns with Bhaskar’s account on social ontology. No social facts are easy to observe without considering other elements (Bhaskar, 2013), including non-social events. Therefore, in the steps of understanding reality, our access to the facts is conceptually mediated through multidimensional approaches. In this sense, theoretical lenses, methodological approaches, and the researchers’ positionalities may help to closely comprehend reality.

The exploration of the critical realism and social constructivism accounts mentioned above provides essential insight into understanding the role of discourse in the constructed and situated knowledge of social reality. Moreover, it helps to acknowledge the limitations of the discursive dimension in reflecting the actual reality and realizing its opportunity to accommodate different non-discursive materials. These points serve as the methodological reason for this thesis to apply Fairclough’s CDA. The CDA often considers critical realism ideas by combining discursive and other materials in its analytical approach (Fairclough, 2013a). Sayer explains that many objects in the universe are not socially produced (Sayer, 2000, p.44). Moreover, she argues that what can be constructed depends on the properties of the ‘materials’ (including people, institutions, and ideas) used in the construction (ibid.). Through the lens of social constructivism within realism, researchers may have access to reality through

language and linguistic practices. These practices reflect the way that people understand the social processes through their description, explanation, or illustration of the world and their daily lives (Gergen, 1985, pp. 266-67). Nevertheless, it is important to know that the language and linguistic practices are not the only part of the reality, because other objects construct and position the reality.

4.2 Critical Discourse Analysis and selected method

In the following section, I present CDA as the methodological approach and document analysis as the selected method of this thesis. Drawing on insights from critical realism, I argue that the methodological basis and the selected methods are aligned with the epistemological stance of discourse in constructing and situating the experienced reality. In addition, this stance has made me aware of the limitations of discourse in reflecting reality and acknowledging that the potential exists to integrate other non-discursive elements into a larger picture (Sayer, 2000; Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002).

4.2.1 Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

To analyze the empirical materials, I selected Norman Fairclough's CDA to analyze the empirical materials. Fairclough uses the terms "discourse" to relate texts to their social purposes (Fairclough, 1992). In contrast to the more post-structuralism approaches that consider all social practices as discourse (e.g., Laclau and Mouffe), Fairclough argues that discourse is only one among many elements of social practice (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002; Kolankiewicz, 2012). In this way, Fairclough's CDA represents a more realist approach than other discourse theories.

Fairclough's CDA emphasizes the importance of systematically analyzing spoken and written language from various sources of knowledge (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002, p.65). Although CDA primarily employs a detailed analysis on how discursive practices operate in specific texts, relying on only textual analysis is not sufficient for discourse analysis. Rather, "An interdisciplinary perspective is

needed in which one combine textual and social analysis" (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002, p.66). Based on this account, it is clear that Fairclough acknowledges the dynamic relationships between discursive and social practices, and this differs from post-structuralism approaches that focus on the discursive dimension alone (ibid.).

In operationalizing Fairclough's CDA, texts and discursive practice represent two different dimensions; therefore, they are analytically separated (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002, p.69). The discursive practice plays a role in the interaction between the texts and social practice, in which people use language to produce and consume documents, while the texts themselves shape and are shaped by social practice. The study of discursive practices centers on the ability of the writers of texts to draw upon established discourse and genres to produce a document and how the recipients of these documents then interpret and consume the texts.

In this regard, this thesis employs Fairclough's three-dimensional model in providing a methodological framework for discourse analysis. Philips and Jørgensen (2002, p.68) reproduce Fairclough's three-dimensional model as elements of the study of a "communicative event" that includes text, discursive practice, and social practice. The three-dimensional model of Fairclough's CDA focuses not only on the linguistic features of the text, but it also must emphasize the discursive practice and broader social practice (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002, p.68).

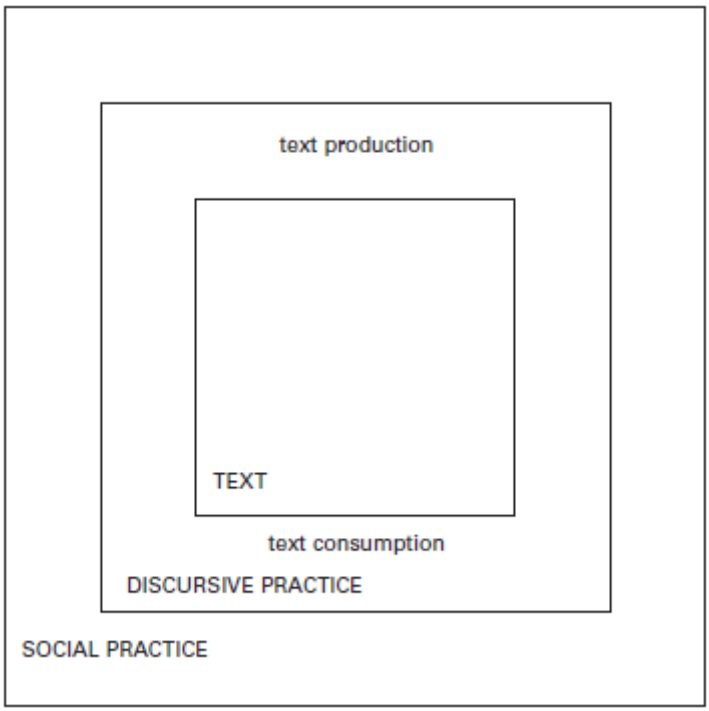

Figure 4.1: Fairclough's three-dimensional model

Source: Fairclough (1992) in Phillips & Jørgensen (2002, p.68)

4.2.1.1 Text dimension

The first level of Fairclough's three-dimensional model consists of text. In this dimension, the main analytical focus is the linguistic structure of the speech, writing, visual image, or a combination of these. In this thesis, the text is only written texts in the form of political strategy papers, transcribed speeches, and parliamentary debates. The text analysis focuses on the smaller details, such as wording and terminology, and moves toward the broader characteristics of the text, such as writing style and text structure. Depending on the textual production, which involves the producer and consumer of the text, the meaning of a word or the terminology used to explain something might be somewhat different. The text's production process brings me to the next level of Fairclough's three-dimensional model: the discursive practice.

4.2.1.2 Discursive practice dimension

The second level of Fairclough's three-dimensional model consists of discursive practice. In this dimension, the main analytical focus is the relationship between discourse and social practices. In other words, the discursive practice is the dimension in which discourse norms become reality. It is essential to acknowledge that the elements of discursive practice consist of the production, interpretation, and consumption of the text. Nevertheless, in this thesis, the discursive practice primarily focuses on the institutionalization of the "ghetto" discourse, which is then manifested into the legislative package and further enacted into law. Fairclough (1992, p.78) argues that the production and distribution of text might have political purposes in establishing power relations within society. In Denmark's case, the parliament has a role in the law's enactment process, which involves discussions, debates, and voting of the proposed bills. In this thesis, the parliamentary debates engage various political parties in the law enactment process, indicating that I must look beyond the final result of the legislative voting process to fully understand the Danish parliament's political dynamics.

Regarding the text's consumption, it is important to understand that the consumer of the text can be either an individual or a group. Fairclough (1992, p.79) argues that the genre of a text influences its consumption. Therefore, reading a political document is not done the same way as an academic journal or a fiction book (ibid.). Moreover, many other socioeconomic factors, such as social structures and norms, may influence the consumption of the text (ibid, p.80). Furthermore, the text's use is heavily influenced by the distribution process of the text. For example, texts produced by a national government have a different distributional pattern than those produced by an international organization, resulting in different types of consumption, distribution, and redistribution (ibid, p.79). Furthermore, the types of distribution and redistribution are influenced by the target consumers, including not only the direct audience but also non-direct audiences that somehow consume the text (ibid.).

Moreover, the discursive practice dimension includes an analysis of the text's coherence, the nature of the text as a persuasion/threat/information/etc., and the intertextuality and interdiscursivity of the text (Fairclough, 1992, p.75). Coherence refers to the general understanding that a text makes sense regarding the organization of its content. Nevertheless, the text's coherence depends on the connections and interpretations that the consumer makes when reading the text and "making sense" of it (ibid, p.84). In other words, a text only makes sense to a consumer that makes sense of it.

Understanding the nature of the text can be challenging to determine due to the text's ambiguity. Therefore, context interpretation is needed to minimize the ambiguity of the text. Fairclough (1992) argues that interpreting the context can be done by considering the people's situation and the power relation between them. Intertextuality refers to the interrelationships among texts that shape the meaning of a text. Meanwhile, interdiscursivity relates to the connections between different genres and discourses throughout the text. In the discursive practice, intertextuality is not only a mechanism in which texts are interrelated but also a social practice that involves the method of constructing and interpreting discourse (Fairclough, 1992).

4.2.1.3. Social practice dimension

The second level of Fairclough's three-dimensional model consists of social practice. In this dimension, the analytical focus is the social effects of discourse on people's lives and behaviors. As the final dimension of Fairclough's three-dimensional model, the social practice is the dimension in which the previous dimensions are formed and are part of it. Fairclough (1992, p.86) argues that social practice is a space in which discourse creates actual consequences in the lives of people and their communities. It is important to note that ideologies and values may influence the construction of some discourse. Nevertheless, it is important to understand that not all discourse is fundamentally ideological

(Fairclough, 1992, p.91). In the context of Denmark, social practices are primarily determined by the political ideology and values at the time of text production.

4.2.2 Selected method: Document analysis

In terms of material collection, I focused on document analysis, which is a qualitative research method that uses a systematic approach to examine, interpret, and make meaning out of documentary evidence and develop empirical knowledge (Prior, 2003; Gross, 2018). The selected materials for document study were selected based on three criteria:

1. Have topics relevant for the "ghetto" and "parallel society" in Denmark (keywords: ghetto, ghetto area (*ghettområde*), social housing (*almene boliger*), parallel society (*parallelsamfund*), integration, initiatives, strategy),
2. Be published within the timeframe of the publication of political strategy papers (2004–2018), and
3. Include language used by authoritative people, as Wodak argues that "language is not powerful on its own" (Wodak, 2001, p.4). She further explains that language "is a means to gain and maintain power through the use that powerful people make of it" (ibid.).

The primary sources provide a first-hand account of the information necessary for the analysis. Meanwhile, secondary sources may have involved analysis, synthesis, reproducing quotes, and interpretation from the primary sources (Eco, 2015, p.45). Four types of documents are included as the primary sources of the analysis: political speech transcripts, political strategy papers, proposed legislation (bills), and parliamentary debate transcripts. These documents are written in Danish, which means that I must translate them into English. Additional secondary documents are included in the analysis, including the government reports, non-government reports, and academic literature.

4.3 Empirical materials

The primary data to be analyzed are the Danish government's political strategy papers, referred to as the "ghetto strategy." The first publication of the "ghetto strategy" was in 2004, during the Fogh Rasmussen administration. The "ghetto strategy" is perceived as a political manifesto in addressing the "ghetto" and "parallel societies." The "ghetto strategy" consists of initiatives and legislative package[3] to cope with the negative development in disadvantaged social housing areas. The legislative package includes bills to incentivize the neighborhoods to shed their "ghetto" status; however, these bills do not become law until they are passed through the parliamentary debates and voting process. Additionally, it should be noted that the publication "ghetto strategy" usually accompanied by the prime minister's new year speech or parliamentary speech on the "ghetto" problems. Furthermore, the prime minister speeches, the publication of "ghetto strategy" papers, and the parliamentary debates became an important routine between 2004 and 2018 in Danish politics.

The facts above underlie the selection of the other three primary sources used for analysis: the prime ministers' speeches, the bills, and the parliamentary debates. Nevertheless, it is important to consider that, between 2004 and 2018, there were only three specific time points in which the "ghetto" emerges in the Danish political discourse, namely during Fogh Rasmussen administration in 2004 and Løkke Rasmussen's administration in 2010 and 2018. The collected documents have been found in the Danish government's archives, parliamentary archives, and ministerial archives.[4]

[3] Also known as the ghetto package (*ghettopakken*)

[4] Online archives

Table 4.1: Primary documents included in the analysis

Administration	***Title***	***Type***	***Year***	***Author***
Anders Fogh Rasmussen	"Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen's New Year's Address 2004"	Political speech transcript	2004	Anders Fogh Rasmussen
	"The Government's strategy against Ghettoization" (*Regeringens strategy mod ghettoisering*)	Political strategy paper	2004	The Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration
	Bill L32 amending the Social Housing Act	Proposed legislation	2004	Ministry of Social Affairs
	Parliamentary debate on the bill L32 amending the Social Housing Act	Parliamentary debate	2004	The Danish Parliament
***Lars Løkke Rasmussen* (1st term)**	"Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen's New Year Address 1 January 2010"	Political speech transcript	2010	Lars Løkke Rasmussen
	"Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen's Opening Address to the Folketing on 5 October 2010"	Political speech	2010	Lars Løkke Rasmussen
	"Return of the Ghetto to Society: Taking Action against Parallel Societies in Denmark" (*Ghettoen tilbage til samfundet*)	Political strategy paper	2010	The Ministry of Social Affairs
	Bills L60, L61, L62 amending the Social Housing Act	Proposed legislation	2010	Ministry of Social Affairs
	Parliamentary debate on the bills L60, L61, L62 amending the Social Housing Act	Parliamentary debate	2010	The Danish Parliament
***Lars Løkke Rasmussen* (2nd term)**	"Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen's New Year Address 1 January 2018"	Political speech transcript	2018	Lars Løkke Rasmussen
	"A Denmark without Parallel Societies: No 'Ghettos' in 2030" (*Ét Danmark uden parallelsamfund: Ingen ghettoer i 2030*)	Political strategy paper	2018	The Ministry of Economic Affairs and the Interior
	Bill L38 amending the Social Housing Act	Proposed legislation	2018	Ministry of Social Affairs
	Parliamentary debate on the bill L38 amending the Social Housing Act	Parliamentary debate	2018	The Danish Parliament

In addition, secondary sources for the analysis include the government reports, namely the "ghetto list," Danish social housing reports, and political and demographic statistics. Additional secondary documents are non-government report from the Danish Institute for Human Rights and academic literature. The secondary sources may provide a better understanding of the historical and developmental contexts of the Danish "ghetto."

One crucial point in analyzing both primary and secondary documents is to consider the documents as situated products, and produced in (different) social and organizational settings (Eco, 2015; Prior, 2003). Therefore, in the analysis, there is a need to understand each empirical material's context, including the important events that followed the publication of the documents.

4.4 Limitation of the study

As previously mentioned, other than investigating the conceptualization of the "ghetto" in Danish political discourse between 2004 and 2018, I intend to look at the relationship between the textual discourse and the practice of "othering." To explore the relationship between texts (political strategy papers) and discursive practices, I make my analysis focus primarily on the textual discourse and legislative process (parliamentary debates). Furthermore, this thesis is naturally limited through its scope. Consequently, its results cannot explain the discursive and social effects that arise from the "ghetto" policies on society in general.

Due to time constraints, the selected primary sources for the analysis only scoped to the Danish government's documents published between 2004 and 2018. Other government documents published outside the period that contributed to the conceptualization of "ghetto" in Danish political discourse not being selected for analysis, as well as other sources served as different opinions toward these events. Nevertheless, the selected empirical provided legitimate materials for understanding the conceptualization of the "ghetto" in Danish political discourse.

The temporary travel restriction from Sweden to Denmark due to the COVID-19 pandemic has prevented me from conducting participatory research in Danish "ghetto" communities. It is important to understand that the participatory research can be considered a method to introduce the perspectives of community members or community-based organizations, which balance the views of the more powerful groups (Bastida et al., 2010). Another limitation was that the primary documents used in this thesis are in Danish, which created the need to translate the texts from Danish to English for better analysis; however, I was aware that the translation process could deprive the meaning of certain words in the original language. To avoid this occurrence, I provide an appendix that consists of the translation of quotations.

4.5 Research positionality

The research process involves the analysis, synthesis, and interpretation in the framework of knowledge production. By using the theoretical framework and philosophy of science approach, I am simultaneously constructing reality while producing knowledge. It is essential to understand my position concerning the field I am studying. Furthermore, I am aware that position might influence the way I perceive the "reality" and interpret the analytical results. There will always be different positions on how reality appears (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002, p.22). Therefore, one can say that the possibility exists of manipulating the research process through the personal bias that may later produce different findings.

During the research process, when the researcher interprets the empirical materials, the results are a combination of what is in the text and what is influenced by his/her previous knowledge and personal history (Fairclough, 2001, p. 118). This awareness brings me to pursue a more reflexive analytical approach by incorporating the idea of "reflexivity" from Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992, p.36). Such reflexive thinking shall carefully consider individual positions, acknowledging that the previous knowledge or background may shape the researcher's way of seeing the world while being objective and fair in the research

process. As a person who grew up in a non-Western country with a Muslim majority population (Indonesia), I therefore interpret based on my previous knowledge and personal history, as it is impossible to be entirely neutral. However, I will attempt to be as objective as possible and focus on the context of the text in the interpretation process.

5. Danish political landscape and social housing sector

This thesis investigates how "ghetto" has been conceptualized in the Danish political discourse between 2004 and 2018. Moreover, it aims to understand the relationship between the "ghetto" discourse and the practice of "othering" in Danish politics. In this chapter, I provide historical and developmental contexts of the Danish "ghetto." In the first part, I elaborate on the political context behind the emergence of the concepts "ghetto." The second part then investigates the development context of the social housing sector in Denmark. The contextualization of the research is vital to understand the backgrounds of the Danish "ghetto strategy" before proceeding with the analysis section.

5.1 Danish political landscape

Over the past decades, the Danish political landscape has been disrupted by a surge in nativist and anti-immigrant rhetoric, backed by the Danish People's Party (DF). The party was described as a far-right populist (Bieling, 2015; Widfeldt, 2000; 2014), with political focus on immigration and integration (Bjørklund & Andersen, 2002). Moreover, the party has been critical of the previous Social-Democratic-led[5] government's immigration policies (ibid.). Furthermore, the party rejects multiculturalism (Kosiara-Pedersen, 2020) and does not accept Denmark's multi-ethnic transformation (Dansk Folkeparti, 2002). Since its inception in 1995, DF has gained political support on the Danish political scene. In 1998, the party reached parliamentary representation by gaining 7.4% of the votes and securing 13 parliamentary seats (Nordsieck, 2019). Furthermore, in the 2015 elections, the number of votes increased significantly, as the party won 21% of the votes and secured 37 parliamentary seats (see Figure 5.1).

[5] The centrist coalition government, consists of the Social Democrats (S) and Danish Social Liberal Party (RV).

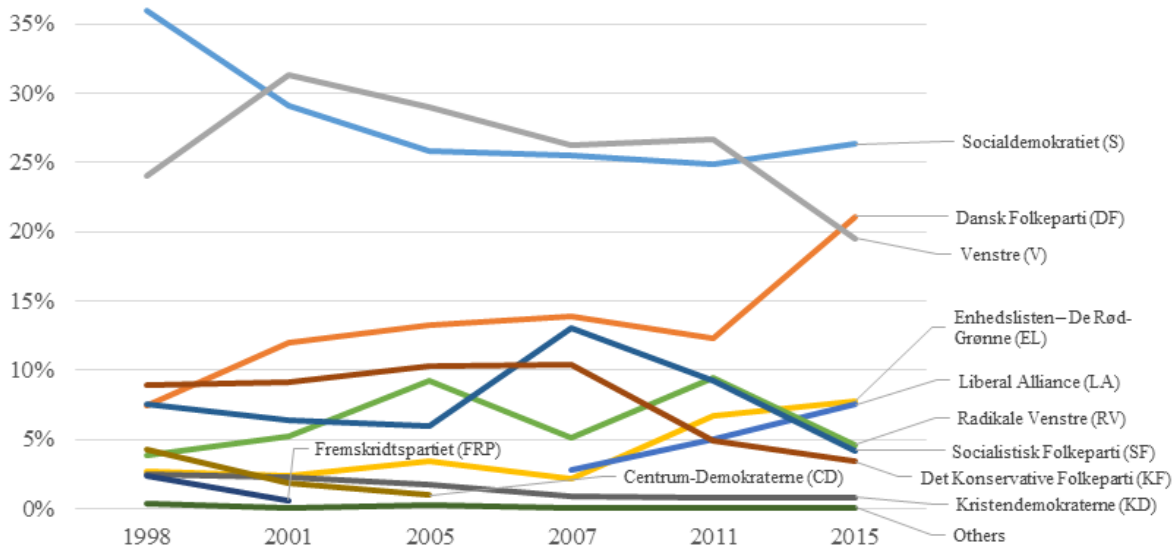

Figure 5.1: Percentage of vote in Danish legislative elections, 1998–2015.

Source: Nordsieck, 2019 (adjusted to illustrate the line graphs)

The result of the 2015 elections caused DF to become Denmark's second-largest political party after the center-left Social Democrats (S) (Meret & Gregersen, 2019; Nordsieck, 2019). While DF has no direct responsibilities for holding office as a result of the 2015 elections, the party played a key role as parliamentary support for the the center-right coalition government[6], alongside the Denmark's Liberal Party (V) and the Conservative People's Party (KF). The coalition government relies on the support of other parties to achieve majority when voting to enact or reject bills in the Danish parliament (Folketinget, 2015). This political endorsement places DF in a prominent programmatic position, and plays a role in shifting the focus of the Danish political agenda on the issues of immigration and integration.

The term "ghetto" has often been used by media, and in everyday language since the 1990s to refer to disadvantaged social housing areas in Denmark. Nevertheless, the political discourse of the "ghetto" has emerged with the presence of DF on the political scene (Meret & Gregersen, 2019), with DF politicians started to use the term "ghetto" in parliamentary debates and discussions (Folketinget, 1997; 2003). It was during the Fogh Rasmussen

[6] In the 2015 Danish general election, the Social Democrats (S), despite of gained more seats than other parties in the parliament, lost the government because the center-right coalition had a majority with the help of supporting parties, including the Danish People's Party (DF).

administration between 2001 and 2009, the "ghetto" began to enter the Danish political discourse. Subsequently, the "ghetto" term has been associated with disadvantaged social housing areas in Denmark and with numerous ethnic minorities, including ethnic Danes, who live side by side.

5.2 Danish social housing sector

Based on the statistics in January 2019, approximately 986,657 people are living in Danish social housing, which constitutes one-sixth of the population in Denmark (Landsbyggefonden, 2019). Moreover, there are approximately 555,360 social housing units, representing one fifth of all accommodations in Denmark (ibid.). Social housing is an essential part of the Danish welfare society and is accessible to all households. It aims to provide a good standard and safe and affordable accomodation for all (Vestergaard & Scanlon, 2014).

The modern concept of Danish social housing was developed during the Social Democratic-led government (ibid.). The construction of social housing was booming during the beginning of the Danish welfare state (Engberg, 2000). From the 1960s to 1970s, approximately 200,000 of the 600,000 social housing units were built in Denmark (Bech-Danielsen & Stender, 2017). The primary purpose of this massive construction of social housing is to provide adequate universal access housing (ibid.). For this purpose, the rent is regulated to remain within reach for low-income residents (Engberg, 2000).

The Danish social housing is organized in independent housing associations and is strictly regulated by law and subsidized by the local municipality (ibid.). The sources of funds for the construction of new housing units was received through municipalities, which covers 14% of the construction cost (Landsbyggefonden, 2020). The remaining values are covered by mortgage loans (84%) and tenants' lease (2%) (ibid.). The National Building Fund[7] (Landsbyggefonden) is a collective fund which channeled the payments of the tenants for the construction, maintenance and renovation of social housing (Landsbyggefonden, 2020; Engberg, 2000).

[7] The purpose of the National Building Fund, based on the original law from 1967, is to promote the self-financing model in the Danish social housing sector (Larsen & Hansen, 2015, p.269). There were several amendments to the law, including in 2002, that allow the fund to finance the new construction of social housing units (ibid.).

1960 – 79	Construction of approximately 200,000 social housing units.
1976	White paper on housing policy: warning about socioeconomic issues in social housing areas.
1980s	Building damages found. Massive refurbishments of social housing buildings.
1985	The "Winther" report: social housing suffering from socioeconomic and physical problems.
1990	Discourse emerges about "problem affected areas"
1993	City committee's (*byudvalget*) first social measures
2000s	"Ghetto" emerges in Danish political discourse

Figure 5.2: Timeline of the social housing development in Denmark, 1960–2000s.

The massive construction of social housing units during the 1960s and 1970s was, at first, a great success in solving housing shortage issues in urban areas. However, during the 1970s, some issues on social housing emerged. The improvement of prosperity and tax advantages made single-family houses more attractive than apartments in social housing. With the possibility of buying their own home and the relatively more expensive fees of social housing, Danish families primarily rejected the social housing options (Bech-Danielsen & Christensen, 2017).

Another factor that further influenced public disinterest in the social housing options was the change of traditional family values. The trend of individualism emerged, creating new ideals for housing in which an individual could express himself or herself (Bech-Danielsen, 2008). As more prosperous families bought their own homes, the only option available to less privileged families was to occupy the social housing units (Bech-Danielsen & Christensen, 2017). In 1976, the Danish labor movement released a white paper on housing policy. The paper warned that the social housing units were being developed into homes for citizens from a low socioeconomic background (ibid.).

By the beginning of the 1980s, there was extensive physical damage in many Danish social housing buildings (Bech-Danielsen et al., 2011). The construction damages resulted in numerous expensive renovation projects. Concurrently, the criticism of the social housing at that time was aimed toward the physical and

aesthetic aspects of the buildings. The criticism included the monotonous facade of housing blocks that limited the possibilities to express individuality and self-identification (Bech-Daniselsen & Christensen, 2017). The growing need for renovations further influenced the change of the mandate of the National Building Fund to support renovation projects, while the state would support the construction of new homes.

In 1985, the Winther committee was appointed by the coalition government of Centre Democrats (CD) and the Denmark's Liberal Party (V) to investigate social housing suffering from socioeconomic and physical problems. The committee consists of stakeholders from the social housing association, the business sector, and the city government. In late 1985, the Winther committee published a report confirming the warning from the 1976 white book, that social housing was being developing into homes for citizens from a low socioeconomic background (Bech-Danielsen & Christensen, 2017). The Winther report categorized social housing that was suffering from "social, economic and physical problems" (*samspilsramte boligområder*) and concluded that a more focused effort was needed to solve the problem (ibid.). In the previous study, Larsen (2014, p.1388) argues that the state played a role in shaping the housing market through urban planning policies and market dualism that have a long-term effect on concentrating people from lower socioeconomic backgrounds within the social housing sector. Nevertheless, the Winther report framed that socioeconomic and physical problems arise due to social housing, itself.

Around 1990, there was an increase in awareness within Danish politics regarding socially disadvantaged groups in social housing areas. These areas were referred to as "problem affected areas" (*problemramte boligområder*) in political debates that focused on the concentration of ethnic minorities and the failure of integration policies (Bech-Danielsen & Christensen, 2017). At that time, municipal representatives and mayors from the western parts of the Greater Copenhagen region actively participated in these political debates. In 1993, enhanced by the political debates, the national government established the town committee

(byudvalget) to prepare a holistic approach that contained physical, economic, and social measures to solve the problems in disadvantaged social housing areas (ibid.). The town committee establishes a combination of housing refurbishments, reduced rent rates, and social initiatives to prevent crime. At that time, coordinated social measures were born in the social housing sector, with increased collaboration between social housing associations and the local municipality. During the evaluation of their programs, the town committee realized valuable resources are available in these social housing areas that may contribute to positive changes if accompanied by a holistic approach (Munk, 1999).

The 1990s were marked by the emergence of a holistic approach in addressing social housing problems. Through funds provided by the National Building Fund, the housing refurbishments program continued throughout that decade (Bech-Danielsen & Christensen, 2017). However, many criticisms were aimed at the insignificant changes in the physical structure and the scale of social housing (Holek et al., 2008). At the same time, immigrants and integration became large issues in Danish politics, and the debate regarding disadvantaged social housing areas began to focus on the ethnic backgrounds of residents (Ritzau, 2018). In addition, the government's increasingly harsh position on social housing issues influences the vocabulary used to describe it. Since the late 1990s, social housing that was previously categorized as "problem affected areas" began to be referred to as "ghettos" (Bech-Danielsen & Christensen, 2017). This situation continued until the turn of the millennium, when the term "ghetto" formally entered Danish politics. The emergence of the word "ghetto" in official use to refer to disadvantaged social housing areas has introduced a widespread use of that terminology in Danish political discourse.

5.3 Partial conclusion

This section provides the background of the Danish political landscape and social housing sector. This section aims to comprehend the political and developmental contexts surrounding the "ghetto" in Danish political discourse. The first factual

information I highlight above is how the political focus on immigration and integration issues emerges from the influence of certain political parties in Denmark, especially DF. Second, from the historical trajectory, evidence reveals that the socioeconomic and physical problems in "ghetto" were partially influenced by the urban planning and housing policies from previous decades. Nevertheless, many of the government's reports frame that these problems arise due to social housing, itself. Lastly, the introduction of the term "ghetto" in Danish politics began in the late 1990s, influenced by the government's increasingly harsh position on social housing issues, which influences the vocabulary used to describe it.

6. Discursive construction of Danish “ghetto”

This thesis investigates how the “ghetto” has been conceptualized in the Danish political discourse between 2004 and 2018. Moreover, it aims to understand the relationship between the “ghetto” discourse and the practice of “othering” in Danish politics. In the previous chapter, I have presented the political landscape and social housing sector to comprehend the historical and developmental contexts of the “ghetto” in Denmark. In this chapter, I provide the discourse analysis of the “ghetto” in Danish politics

Since the early 2000s, the Danish Government has been at the forefront of solving problems in the “ghetto” areas. These areas have thus been the subject of political debates and have sparked the introduction of special measures and classification systems aimed at identifying, registering, and enacting special rules to the area. The main element for classification used repeatedly is the definition of what constitutes the area, including the community dimension. For a long time, the definition of a “ghetto” has been subject to interpretation by many administrations in Denmark, all of which developed their explanation of what comprises the area.

In the following chapter, I investigate the discursive construction of the “ghetto” in Danish politics. The analysis focuses primarily on three points in time: 2004, 2010, and 2018. These years mark instances of “ghetto strategy” paper publications, which contributed to the construction of the current “ghetto” discourse. Table 6.1 overviews the development of “ghetto” discourse and the transformation of the criteria that define the “ghetto” at each point of time. “The ‘ghetto’ values discourse” refers to how the Danish and the “ghetto” values are conceptualized in the Danish political discourse. Meanwhile, “the ‘ghetto’ textual discourse,” “discursive practice,” and “social practice” represent the discourse analysis based on the three-dimensional model of Fairclough’s CDA.

Table 6.1: Overview of the discursive construction of Danish "ghetto"

Year	The "ghetto" values discourse	CDA **The "ghetto" textual discourse**	The "problem affected" criteria
2004	Danish values as "liberal-mindedness," "freedom," and "equality" The "ghetto" unintentionally mix up the Danish values **Interrelated claims of nationalist discourse** Problems that are not natural to Denmark Failed immigration policies of previous governments	Threat to its residents Barrier to integration process Socioeconomic problems **Discursive practice** "Ghettoization" prevention "Resource-poor" vs "resource-rich" residents **Social practice** Tighter rules in granting access to social housing	A "problem affected" area: Social housing area with more than 1,200 residents, and at least 50% of the residents in a housing block or 40% of the residents in the area are being unemployed
2010	**The "ghetto" values discourse**	**The "ghetto" textual discourse**	**The "ghetto" criteria**
	Danish values as "freedom of diversity," "responsibility," "respect for the laws of society," "freedom of expression," and "equal opportunities for men and women" The "ghetto" lack of the Danish values **Interrelated claims of nationalist discourse** Holes in the Danish map Historical narrative of Denmark Fundamental values that construct "Danishness"	"Danishness" vs "ghetto" values Threat to Danish society due to criminal activities **Discursive practice** Residents' ethnic backgrounds The need for "ghetto" residents to engage in Danish society **Social practice** Tighter rules and control on who are eligible and can access social housing Refurbishment process of disadvantaged social housing areas Financial aid for relocation assistance	A "ghetto" area: Physically coherent social housing blocks with at least 1,000 residents. Additionally, the area must meet at least two of the following criteria: 1) The percentage of residents that have an immigrant, descendant, or non-Western background is higher than 50% 2) The percentage of residents aged 18–64 years old that are outside the labor market or with no education is higher than 40% 3) The number of citizens convicted of violating the criminal code, the firearms act, or drug laws exceeds 270 persons per 10,000 tenants

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="6">2018</td><td>The “ghetto” values discourse</td><td>The “ghetto” textual discourse</td><td>The “ghetto” criteria</td></tr>
<tr><td>Danish values as “equality,” “open-mindedness,” and “tolerance”

The “ghetto” lack of the Danish values

Negative spiral and counterculture</td><td>Being (ir)responsible to themselves

Adverse effects for future generations

Multifaceted threat to the welfare state</td><td rowspan="6">A social housing area is classified as “vulnerable” if it meets two or more of the following criteria:

1) The percentage of residents aged 18–64 years old who are outside the labor market or with no education is higher than 40%

2) The number of citizens convicted of violating the criminal code is three times as high as the national average

3) The percentage of residents aged 30–59 years old with low educational attainment (only elementary level) is higher than 60%

4) The residents’ average income in the area is less than 55% of the average income in the regional level

A social housing area is classified as a “ghetto” if two or more of the above criteria are met, and additionally, the percentage of residents with an immigrant, descendant, or non-Western background is higher than 50%

A social housing area is classified as a “severe ghetto” if it has been on the “ghetto list” for four consecutive years</td></tr>
<tr><td>Interrelated claims of nationalist discourse</td><td>Discursive practice</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Holes in the Danish map

Danish rules, laws and norms cannot prevail in the “ghetto” areas

The need for firmer immigration policy to shape the future</td><td>Residents’ ethnic backgrounds

Adverse effects that could erode the Danish norms

Adverse effects on children and young generations</td></tr>
<tr><td>Social practice</td></tr>
<tr><td>“Vulnerable,” “ghetto,” and “severe ghetto” as the new categories of disadvantaged social housing areas

Special measures in the “severe ghetto,” including policies on children and young generations, crime and security, and social housing

*For the special measures in the social housing sector:

1) Privatization, relabeling, and demolition of social housing blocks.

2) Tighter rules and control on who are eligible and can access social housing

3) Address crime by canceling leases</td></tr>
</table>

6.1 2004: Beginning of the "ghetto" political discourse

The Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen's speech in 2004 revolves around the issues of unsuccessful immigration and integration policy in Denmark (Fogh Rasmussen, 2004). As previously explained in Section 5.1, the concept of "ghettos" has been used in media and in everyday language since the 1990s; however, Fogh Rasmussen's New Year speech was the first use of "ghetto" discourse in a formal political speech. His speech was broadcast on national television, so it was viewed by the general public. In his statement, the prime minister criticizes the immigration and integration policies enacted by the previous social-democratic-led government in past decades:

> "Many years' failed immigration policy has, for instance, created immigrant 'ghettos,' where the men are unemployed, the women are isolated, and the family only speak the languages of their native country" (Fogh Rasmussen, 2004).

In his speech, Fogh Rasmussen claims that previous integration policies have failed to prevent the formation of poorly integrated immigrants that are concentrated in disadvantaged social housing areas in Denmark. He refers to these concentrations as "ghettos" and argues that their formation in Denmark leads to "violence, crime, and confrontation."

> "The formation of 'ghettoes' leads to violence, crime and confrontation. We know this from other countries. Denmark is neither willing nor able to accept this development" (Fogh Rasmussen, 2004).

Interestingly, Fogh Rasmussen's statement illustrates the comparison between Denmark and other countries, and claimed that the problems associated with the "ghetto" are previously known only "from foreign countries" (ibid.). From the speech, it is clear that the prime minister uses spatial and temporal nationalist claims to discursively construct the problems of the "ghetto," and portrays these problems as not natural to Denmark." Additionally, in his speech, the prime

minister constructs the idea of the Danish values and contrasts the "ghetto" misunderstands of these norms.

> "[...] They unintentionally mix up the Danish 'liberal-mindedness' with capriciousness. Danish freedom with emptiness. Danish equality with indifference. And they view Danish society with contempt" (Fogh Rasmussen, 2004).

In his speech, Fogh Rasmussen explains the consecutive set of Danish values as "liberal-mindedness," "freedom," and "equality" (ibid.). Moreover, he argues that the "ghetto" unintentionally mix up these values with "capriciousness," "emptiness," and "indifference" (ibid.). Furthermore, he emphasizes the importance to "respect the values on which the Danish society is based," and he encourages that immigrants and their descendants learn from those "immigrants who are doing well in Danish society" (ibid.). From this point, one can see that the Danish values and the "ghetto" values are not yet well defined, as the use of the word "unintentionally" reflects a misunderstanding rather than a differentiation between the two sets of values.

The prime minister's statements were followed by the first political strategy paper with the title "The Government's strategy against Ghettoization." In this paper, the government describes the "ghetto" problems and provides policy initiatives to prevent "ghettoization" (*ghettoisering*), which refers to an increasing concentration of people who do not have contact with the surrounding society (ibid.). The central policy proposed by the government in this paper is a bill that made it possible to have a tighter control on who could move into housing units in disadvantaged social housing areas.

6.1.1 Strategy plan to prevent "ghettoization"

In the first "ghetto strategy," published not long after Fogh Rasmussen's speech, the "ghetto" areas are described as places associated with unbalanced representation of poorly integrated immigrants in disadvantaged social housing areas (Regeringen, 2004). The political strategy paper includes no definitive

criteria for what formally constitutes a "ghetto."; nevertheless, it does mention socioeconomic indicators typically "characterizing Denmark's 'ghettos'" (ibid, p.15). This document paved the way for a bill (L32) allowing for municipalities and the social housing association to manage the settlements of people into disadvantaged social housing areas, thus enabling the creation of a more balanced representation of residents (Folketinget, 2004b).

Although the first political strategy paper is more accommodative toward ethnic minorities than the government plans published later, it began using the term "parallel society" as a direct consequence of the "ghetto" formation. The strategy uses the term "parallel societies" to characterize the possible formation of ethnic enclaves in disadvantaged social housing areas (ibid, p.12). In the following Sections, I discuss how the "ghetto" communities were discursively constructed through various genres in the paper at the time of publication (2004).

6.1.1.1 Threat to its residents

The introductory chapter of the 2004 political strategy paper begins by stating the government's intention: "The government wants all the citizens to be able to enjoy the many opportunities that a democratic society offers" (Regeringen, 2004, p.7). The government further describes the "ghettos" as those areas where "everyday lives of individuals are marked by limitations and lack of opportunities" (ibid.). The intention clearly expresses the government's view of the "ghetto" as undesirable for Denmark. Nevertheless, the government presents the "ghetto" as a threat, not to the wider society but rather to their residents' life opportunities. This is visible through the use of the adjective "exposed" or "vulnerable" (*udsatte*) in the paper (ibid.), suggesting that the "ghettos" are threatened by external forces, rather than perceived to be responsible for their conditions. Moreover, the government considers that the "ghettoization is not the result of free choices by free people. The ghetto areas are not formed because someone wants them" (ibid.). Instead, in the paper, the government links the "ghettoization" with unsuccessful urban planning, integration, and labor market policies of the past decades (ibid.). This way of framing the "ghettoization" is in

stark contrast with the 2018 strategy, which constructs the idea that "ghetto" areas and "parallel societies" are comprised of people who choose not to actively participate in Danish society (Regeringen, 2018a) (see Section 6.3.1.1).

6.1.1.2 Barrier to integration

The government explicitly states in the introductory chapter that "ghettoization represents a barrier to integration." The government further mentions that the areas "where the majority of citizens are unemployed immigrants and descendants" are among those with a barrier to integration (Regerigen, 2004, p.7). This government's standpoint is based on the assumption that the ethnic concentrations in the Danish "ghetto" areas prevent the residents from being able to establish contacts with the surrounding society. This is further elaborates in the third chapter of the 2004 strategy, titled "Ghettoization – a barrier to integration," which focuses on the nexus between immigrants, integration, and "ghetto" areas (ibid, p.11).

The third chapter begins by stating the government's goal that "the residential areas, where immigrants, refugees, and their descendants live, should be places where they meet Danes. [...] Where one hears and learns Danish" (ibid, p.11). In addition, it states that these residential areas are supposed to be "platforms for a general integration into [Danish] society" while also being able to facilitate "increased knowledge of the norms and values that are valid here" (ibid, p.11). Starting from this chapter, the government stresses the importance of understanding Danish values, as previously mentioned in Fogh Rasmussen's 2004 New Year speech. Nevertheless, the government continues to describe the "ghetto" as "physically secluded from the surrounding community" and further can develop into ethnic enclaves "without significant economic, social and cultural contact with society at large" (ibid, p.12).

6.1.1.3 Socioeconomic problem

The "ghettoization" is conceptually clarified in the fourth chapter, titled "Ghetto – what, where and how many?" (Regerigen, 2004, p.14). The fourth chapter begins

by explaining "ghettoization" as an unintentional result of the spatial planning process that influences the resident compositions in the housing sector (ibid, p.14). The spatial planning process results in the division of resident compositions where "resource-rich" citizens are mostly living in private properties, while many of the "resource-poor" citizens are living in disadvantaged social housing units (ibid.). By coincidence, in the "resource-poor" citizens' category, many consist of immigrants and descendants. Another factor that influences the concentration of ethnic minorities is the difficulty to "gain access to [...] the private property market" (ibid.). Thus, one can see that the political strategy paper explains why immigrants and descendants continue to cluster in particular areas, influenced mainly by socioeconomic factors rather than ethnicity and cultural factors. Furthermore, it describes why ethnic clustering might not be driven by deliberate choice on the part of the immigrants and descendants themselves but rather due to reasons beyond their ability to control.

The fourth chapter of the political strategy paper is essential, as it presents indicators that characterize disadvantaged social housing areas in Denmark prior to the introduction of the actual "ghetto" criteria in 2010 (ibid, p.15). The first indicator is the high share of unemployed residents and those who depend on cash benefits. The second indicator is that the areas consist primarily of tenants with no or a low level of educational attainment. The third indicator constitutes the areas with the majority of social housing units. The fourth indicator concerns the lack of attributes to attract "resource-rich" tenants to settle in. And lastly, the fifth indicator explains the areas that are generally not attractive for private investment (ibid.). One can see that these indicators have not touched the ethnic and cultural dimensions. Nevertheless, these indicators further influenced the development of the 2010 "ghetto" criteria.

6.1.2 Institutionalization of "ghettoization" preventive measures

Following Fogh Rasmussen's New Year speech and the publication of the first political strategy paper, the Danish parliament approved a bill (L32) that enables municipalities and the social housing association to manage the settlements of

people into disadvantaged social housing areas (Folketinget, 2005a). It is important to note that in the bill, the disadvantaged social housing areas labeled as "problem affected" (*problemramte*) areas (ibid.). This bill refers to a problem affected area as a social housing area with at least 1,200 residents living in one or more housing blocks, and at least 50% of the residents in a housing block or 40% of the residents in the social housing area are being unemployed (ibid.). The bill provides municipalities with the authority to reject prospective tenants from the waiting list of social housing located in problem affected areas. One of the criteria for the rejection is if the prospective tenants had been on cash benefit[8] in the last six months (ibid.). The bill focuses on socioeconomic-based criteria, which reflect the discursive construction in the 2004 political strategy paper. Nevertheless, it omits some of the indicators that are typically "characterizing Denmark's 'ghettos'" as mentioned in the paper (e.g., Education level of the tenants). It is important to note that the bill does not include ethnicity as part of the criteria (ibid.).

The bill enactment process involved a parliamentary debate that was characterized by a general consensus in which the representatives of all parties agreed on the problem of "ghettoization" (Folketinget, 2005b). In the debate, S stated that "Initiatives must be taken to [...] reduce the disparity between Danes and immigrants, reduce unemployment, reduce the dissimilarity between residential areas and the rest of society" (ibid.). V further argued that "it is not a problem that certain ethnicities are concentrated in specific housing. Nevertheless, it is a problem when not all citizens have or are given real opportunity to participate in and contribute to the development of society [...]" (ibid.). V's argument shares the same perspective with the political strategy paper's discursive construction on the "ghetto" as a threat to its residents, rather than to Danish society. Similar to the paper, the discursive subjects primarily focus on socioeconomic problems rather than ethnicity and place focal point of "ghettoization" on the influx of "resource-poor" residents into the social housing in problem affected areas. Furthermore, the bill was enacted into law on 28 April 2005; with V, S, DF, KF, RV, and SF voting in favor; and EL voting against (Folketinget, 2005c).

[8] Cash benefit (*kontanthjælp*) is cash assistance that is given to Danish citizens who would not be able to support themselves or their families. This category also includes start-up benefit (*starthjælp*), which is a monthly-based transfer income for persons who immigrated to Denmark after 1 July 2002.

In the beginning of 2005, the government established a program committee (*Programbestyrelsen*) with representatives from the social housing association, the business sector, and municipalities. The main tasks of the program committee includes investigations into the state of social housing in problem affected areas and proposes new initiatives to prevent further "ghettoization" (Folketinget, 2004a). Moreover, the program committee has the duties of observing and contacting municipalities that are having problems and listening to what they are needed (ibid.). In 2008, the program committee published a report consisting of recommendations for dealing with problems in social housing sectors. As part of its conclusion, the committee states that more radical and long-term physical and social changes were needed to prevent further "ghettoization" (Programbestyrelsen, 2008).

6.2 2010: Construction of "ghetto" and Danish identity

Two years after the program committee published the recommendation report, the "ghetto" discussion in Danish politics resurfaced. At that time, Lars Løkke Rasmussen (V) had become prime minister, representing the center-right coalition. In 2010, The prime minister provided a New Year speech similar to that of 2004. His speech was broadcast on national television, so it was viewed by the general public. In his remarks, Løkke Rasmussen linked the concept of "parallel society" with the "ghettos" in Denmark. He declared that, over time, Denmark was influenced by multicultural values from immigrants and descendants who positively contributed to Danish society. Nevertheless, he argued that for immigrants and descendants to integrate, they would need to adopt Danish values (Løkke Rasmussen, 2010a).

The prime minister further addressed the "ghetto" problem associated with the lack of Danish values in his opening speech to the parliament on 5 October 2010. In his speech, he expresses that over generations, Denmark has built up a safe and secure society (Løkke Rasmussen, 2010b). Nevertheless, he claims that "holes in the Danish map" have appeared where "Danish values are no longer leading"

(ibid.). Moreover, the speech illustrates the everyday problems associated with the "ghetto" in Denmark.

> "When firemen can only do their job with police protection. When schools and day care facilities are vandalized. When respect is substituted with harassment and crime. When parallel systems of justice appear. Then values such as trust, freedom and responsibility no longer exist" (Løkke Rasmussen, 2010b).

In this sense, the speech frames these problems in relation to the lack of Danish values. Interestingly, the statement greatly differs from Fogh Rasmussen's New Year speech in 2004 that explains the "ghetto" misunderstands of Danish values. Therefore, one could say that the speech depicts Danish values as a fundamental element that constructs acceptable values in society. Furthermore, the prime minister's address to the parliament was the first extensive definition of what is perceived to be Danish values.

> "For generations, we have built up a safe and secure, affluent and free society in Denmark. [...] But the crucial factor has been and still is our values. Freedom of diversity. Responsibility for the things we share. Respect for the laws of society. Freedom of expression. Equal opportunities for men and women" (Løkke Rasmussen, 2010b).

In his speech, the prime minister connects the historical narrative of Denmark to illustrate the importance of Danish values. The statement shows identity and temporal nationalist claims' interplay with the description of values that are natural to Denmark. The description of fundamental values reveals the discursive construction of "Danishness." As previously explained, "Danishness" is a set of values that constructs Danish identity and is formed through Denmark's history (Damsholt, 2020). Therefore, in the prime minister's statement, by defining the "ghetto" lack of the Danish values, the speech discursively constructs the "ghetto" as the negation of full "Danishness," or in other words, the opposite of Danish identity.

The prime minister's parliamentary speech was followed by the second political strategy paper with the title "Return of the Ghetto to Society: Taking Action against Parallel Societies in Denmark." As reflected by the title, the strategy places the "ghetto" as a fixed group in opposition against Danish society. The paper defines the "ghetto" problem as one that lacks integration with the rest of Denmark.

6.2.1 Strategy plan to (re)integrate the "ghetto"

In the second political strategy published in October 2010, the paper presents the "ghetto" criteria, which was formulated as an extension of the "ghetto" indicators introduced in 2004. These criteria not only consist of socioeconomic aspects but also began to consider the ethnic backgrounds of the tenants as part of the assessment. The central policies proposed by the government through this paper are three bills, which made it possible for tighter control in granting access to social housing, to attract private investors for social housing refurbishments, and to grant relocation assistance.

In the document, the government uses the word "ghetto" interchangeably with "parallel society," which indicates that the two terms are unequivocally similar in referring to disadvantaged social housing areas. In addition, the paper applies a sharper tone toward the "parallel society" and "ghetto" compared with the previous government plans. The government argues that "parallel societies" are unacceptable and therefore must be transformed to become an integral part of Danish society. The following sections will focus on how the "ghetto" communities were discursively constructed through various genres in the paper at the time of publication (2010).

6.2.1.1 "Danishness" versus "ghetto" values

The introductory chapter of the 2010 political strategy paper begins with an alternative description of Danish values as "Freedom to be different. Equal opportunities for men and women. Responsibility for the community. Democracy. Respect for society's laws. Basic trust in wanting each other to be well"

(Regeringen, 2010, p.5). The government further contrasts the "ghetto" in which the outlined Danish values are no longer dominant and "where, for that reason, the society's rules are less effective" (ibid.). One can see the government discursively constructs the "Danishness" by listing all these qualities presented as part of the Danish values. Meanwhile, depicting the "ghetto" lack of these qualities, as well as claiming that society's rules are less effective (in the "ghetto"), can be seen as the process of constructing the opposite of "Danishness."

In the political strategy paper, it is essential to see how the government uses "we" as the grammatical subject. Simonsen (2016, p.92) argues that the government uses "we" to stress unity and community, which allows the construction of a fixed Danish identity. Meanwhile, the depiction of the "ghetto" values as the opposite of "Danishness" thus transforms it into an anti-identity (ibid.). The formulation of two opposite identities frames the "ghetto" and Danish society antagonistic relationship, and further constructs a boundary between the two identities.

Additionally, the paper exemplifies the striking differences between the "ghetto" and Danish society through the metaphorical illustrations of "ghettos" as secluded and "resemble fortresses" from the rest of the society (Regeringen, 2010, p.6).

6.2.1.2 Threat to Danish society due to criminal activities

In stark contrast with the 2004 political strategy paper that portrays "ghetto" as a threat to its residents, in the 2010 "ghetto strategy," the government began to place the narrative of "ghetto" criminal threats to the wider society (Regeringen, 2010). In the paper, the government links "ghetto" with the rising criminal problems in disadvantaged social housing areas (ibid.). Moreover, the government argues that it is crucial to reduce the criminal behavior of some residents to achieve proper integration with Danish society (ibid. p.5). The way the government describes and links the "ghetto" with criminal problems may foster insecurity in the surrounding communities. The construction sense of insecurity in "ghetto" areas also evident in the fifth chapter of the paper, titled "combating social problems and crime" (ibid, p.30). The section explains that the experience

of crime, violence, and vandalism has become part of everyday life in "ghetto" areas (ibid, p.31). The daily experiences of crimes further validate the government's argument that police presence is vital to ensure safety in areas where crime rate is high (ibid.).

6.2.1.3 Formal criteria of Danish "ghetto"

It is important to note that the 2010 political strategy paper begins to shift the focus toward the immigrants and descendants with non-western backgrounds, which was lacking in the previous paper. In the 2010 paper, the link between the "ghetto" and residents with non-Western backgrounds can be seen in the formulation of the "ghetto" criteria (Regeringen, 2010, p.37). Based on the 2010 "ghetto" criteria, a social housing area can be categorized as a "ghetto" area if it consists of physically coherent social housing blocks with at least 1,000 residents (ibid.). Additionally, the area must meet at least two of the following criteria:

1. The percentage of residents that have an immigrant, descendant, or non-Western background is higher than 50%.
2. The percentage of residents aged 18–64 years old that are outside the labor market or without education is higher than 40%.
3. The number of citizens convicted of violating the criminal code, the firearms act, or drug laws exceeds 270 persons per 10,000 tenants.

The government proposed the "ghetto" criteria as a legal concept in three bills (L60, L61, L62) on the amendment of social housing act (Folketinget, 2010a).

6.2.2 Institutionalization of the"ghetto" criteria

Following the parliamentary speech and the publication of the second "ghetto strategy," the Danish parliament approved three bills to amend the social housing act. These bills included the legal criteria of "ghetto" for the first time. The first bills is L60, which allows municipalities and the social housing association to place stricter rules on granting access to social housing in areas that have been classified as "ghettos." The second bill is L61, which establishes an investment framework to attract investors in the refurbishment process of social housing

areas. And lastly, the third bill is L62, which allows for granting financial aid for relocation assistance of residents in "ghettos" (Folketinget, 2010a). The enactment of these bills involves a debate in parliament on 2 December 2010 (Folketinget, 2010b).

Unlike the 2004 "ghetto" debate that is characterized by general consent, the 2010 debate were more fragmented (Folketinget, 2010b). There were some disagreements from some political parties take place regarding aspects of the bills. The differences primarily center on the formulation of the "ghetto" criteria. By referring the bill (L60) that places stricter rules on granting people access to social housing, S puts that "[...] it refers to people from non-EU countries, from non-EEA countries [...]. Thus, the definition goes for some countries and not for ethnicity" (ibid.). The Red-Green Alliance[9] (EL) further questions the problematization based on ethnic background by stating that they "are not sure that just living together is a problem" and express more positive views toward L62 than other bills (ibid.). However, in the debate, other parties share different views regarding the proposed bills. KF argues that "[...] there can be a challenge when meeting many people with different ethnic backgrounds to achieve positive integration" (ibid.). Moreover, the Socialist People's Party (SF) argues that the problem arises when "[...] they do not have the necessary social resources or the linguistic or other cultural resources required to engage in Danish society" (ibid.).

It is essential to notice that the debate more greatly emphasizes the criterion of the tenant's ethnic background rather than the rest of the socioeconomic criteria of what causes a social housing to become a "ghetto." The shift of main focus from socioeconomic to ethnic backgrounds in the 2010 debate serves as evidence regarding the use of the discourse of "Danishness" versus "ghetto" identity in the formal discursive practice. Additionally, it is important to note that the parliamentary members also use the word "ghetto" interchangeably with "parallel society" in the parliamentary debate. It reveals that these two terms are already exist close-knit in referring to disadvantaged social housing areas within the formal discursive practice. The "ghetto" criteria were enacted into law on 17

[9] The Red-Green Alliance (EL) is a far-left political party. The party had provided parliamentary support for the centrist coalition government in 1998, 2011, and 2019. Throughout parliamentary debates, the party had the most critical position toward the "ghetto strategy."

December 2010, with V, DF, KF, RV, and LA voting in favor; EL voting against; and S, SF, and UFG voting neutral (Folketinget, 2010c).

A year following the enactment of the laws, there was a change of government in which S formed a centrist coalition government with the Danish Social Liberal Party (RV)[10] and the Socialist People's Party (SF)[11] from 2011–2014. During this period, the government included two additional criteria that define a "ghetto," namely income and education level (Folketinget, 2013a). In the parliamentary debate, the inclusion of these criteria is supported by the other parties, save for V and DF (Folketinget, 2013b). V argues that the inclusion of education, income, and access to the labor market does not necessarily solve the problems of criminality and "parallel society" (ibid.). Moreover, DF claims that the new criteria would cause the "ghetto" to be vaguely defined (ibid.). Nevertheless, the new "ghetto" criteria were enacted into law on 19 December 2013, with S, RV, SF, LA, KF, and UFG voting in favor and V, DF, and EL voting against (Folketinget, 2013c).

6.3 2018: Plan to dismantle the "ghetto"

Prior to the publication of the third "ghetto strategy" in 2018, there was a change of government occured in 2015 with V and KF again forming the center-right coalition government. During this period, Lars Løkke Rasmussen (V) served as the prime minister. Still, DF played a key role, functioning as parliamentary support for the government.

In 2018, five years after the centrist coalition government amended the "ghetto" criteria, the prime minister provided a New Year speech similar to those of 2004 and 2010. His speech was broadcast on national television, so it was viewed by the the general public. In his speech, Løkke Rasmussen claims that "holes have appeared in the map of Denmark" (Løkke Rasmussen, 2018). In particular, he emphasizes the lack of Danish values in these areas as the main reason "[...]where Danish values such as equality, open-mindedness, and tolerance are losing ground" (ibid.). One can see that Løkke Rasmussen's speech delivers spatial and

[10] The Danish Social Liberal Party (RV) is a center-right political party. Alongside the Social Democrats (S), these parties had formed the centrist coalition government in 1994, 1998, and 2011.

[11] The Socialist People's Party (SF) is a center-left political party. It was only in 2011 that the party formed a coalition government together with RV and S.

identity nationalist claims. Regarding the spatial claim, the prime minister illustrates the parallel societies to be a nationwide problem.

> "Throughout the country there are parallel societies. Many people with the same problems are gathered together. That creates a negative spiral. A counterculture" (Løkke Rasmussen, 2018).

In this sense, the speech frames the "ghetto" problems due to the concentrated "parallel societies." Interestingly, the statement draws on the narrative of a negative spiral and counterculture. Therefore, one could claim that the prime minister's speech depicts the "parallel societies" as the total opposite of the mainstream culture in society. Furthermore, in his speech, Løkke Rasmussen argues that the immigration policies in previous decades have contributed to the formation of a "parallel society";

> "I am convinced that decades of a lax immigration policy has played a contributory role. More people were let into Denmark than we were able to integrate. We cannot change the past, but we can learn from it when shaping the future. Therefore, I want a firm immigration policy" (Løkke Rasmussen, 2018).

Løkke Rasmussen's statement draws a similar narrative to Fogh Rasmussen's speech in 2004, which criticizes the immigration and integration policies of the social-democratic-led government. It is important to note that in 2018, the center-right government (V, KF, DF) had been in office since the previous decade, with interruption between only 2011 and 2015, further preventing them from blaming their own integration policies. Nevertheless, in his speech, Løkke Rasmussen uses the narrative about the future as justification for the implementation of firmer immigration policy. Therefore, one can say that his statement exhibits identity, temporal, and spatial nationalist claims to construct the "ghetto" as a problem that needs to be solved immediately.

Regarding social controls, the prime minister argues that "Danish rules, laws and norms cannot prevail in areas that lack Danish values" (Løkke Rasmussen, 2018).

He notes that the government would prepare initiatives that only target areas where the problems are largest. Moreover, he explains that the initiatives would ensure that ghettos no longer exist in Denmark in the near future. In his speech, Løkke Rasmussen mentions that the government can pull down the "ghettos" and rehouse the residents in different areas to ensure there is full integration of the residents into the Danish values and culture. Thus, through his remarks, the prime minister concludes that there is a need for a targeted effort to solve the "ghetto" problems (ibid.).

The prime minister's parliamentary speech was followed by the publication of the third "ghetto strategy" titled "A Denmark without Parallel Societies: No 'Ghettos' in 2030." As reflected in the title, the political strategy paper consists of ambitious plans to eliminate so-called "parallel societies."

6.3.1 Strategy plan to end "parallel societies"

In the 2018 "ghetto strategy," the government proposes that Denmark must be free from all "ghettos" by 2030. According to the "ghetto strategy" paper, the government is interested in ensuring that Denmark is a cohesive nation and is based on democratic values (Regeringen, 2018a, p.4). In addition, the government seeks for all people in Denmark to participate actively in the development of the country (ibid.). Furthermore, the government argues that active participation can also be achieved if Denmark is coherent and without "parallel societies" (ibid.).

The 2018 political strategy paper notes that the population of immigrants and descendants with non-Western backgrounds, has dramatically increased over the past 40 years (Regeringen, 2018a, p.4). In the paper, the government indicates that between 1980 and 2018, there was a significant increase, from 50,000 to 500,000, in immigrants and descendants with non-Western backgrounds living in Danish "ghettos" (ibid.). While the paper notes that many immigrants are doing well in terms of integration, it also states that many others are unemployed and actively choose to not participate in Danish society (ibid.).

In contrast with the previous political strategy papers, the third "ghetto strategy" focuses on much more negative measures toward "ghettos." The document consists of harsher initiatives, such as "punishment," "strict control," "sanction," and "criminalization," which previous papers never mention (ibid, p.8). In the following sections, I discuss how the "ghetto" communities were discursively constructed through various genres in the paper at the time of publication (2018).

6.3.1.1 Being (ir)responsible to themselves

In the 2018 paper, the government illustrates "ghettos" as "isolated enclaves" in which "the citizens do not take sufficient responsibility" and "do not actively participate in Danish society and the labor market" (Regeringen, 2018a, p.5). One can see that the government frames the problems in "ghetto" areas as being due to the lack or insufficient responsibility of its residents. Through this narrative, the government shifts the blame to "ghetto" residents' self-agency, in a sense that their preferences to not participate in Danish society contribute to inequality-related problems. It is important to note that, while in the 2004 "ghetto strategy," the government frames the "ghettoization" as a problem caused by the failure of integration policies of the social-democratic-led government throughout previous decades, in the latter papers, the government does not do this to the same degree. Additionally, this way of framing the "ghetto" also starkly contrasts with the argument in the 2004 "ghetto strategy" paper, which states that the "ghetto" is a threat to the future of its residents (see Section 6.1.1.1).

6.3.1.2 Adverse effects for future generations

Another dimension emphasized in the political strategy paper is the government's concern about the possible adverse effects of the "ghetto" on the future Danish generations. Through the paper, the government states that "we cannot afford to lose several generations of children and young people" (Regeringen, 2018a, p.8). To avoid these adverse effects, the government argues the importance of learning the Danish language and acquiring the skills needed to enter the education system and, later, the labor market (ibid.). There is emphasis that the children must learn

the Danish language properly from an early age and meet other children for whom Danish is their mother tongue. Moreover, the government argues that there are clear duties for parents to provide care and support for their children, including daily supervision (ibid.). The section then follows with a contrasting illustration of the threats posed by gangs and criminals, which creates insecurity and harasses the residents in the "ghettos" (ibid.). The way the government frames the narratives illustrates the threat posed by the "ghettos" to the young generations in Denmark. Furthermore, it reinforces the government's argument for implementing harsh and strict rules for criminal offenders and tighter police controls in certain areas (ibid.). It is important to note that the focus on harsher initiatives, such as punishment and strict control, greatly differs from the preventative focus of the 2004 "ghetto strategy."

6.3.1.3 Multifaceted threat to the welfare state

In the 2018 political strategy paper, the "ghetto" describes as a burden to the economy, insecurity, and individual freedoms (Regeringen, 2018a, p.5). The government's argument regarding the economic burden was supported by a statistical report from the Ministry of Finance, which reveals that immigrants and descendants with non-Western backgrounds cost the state 36 billion kroner in 2015 (ibid.). Moreover, the government argues that Danish taxpayers could have saved almost 17 billion kroner if non-Western immigrants had been employed to the same extent as Danes. Regarding the insecurity, the government illustrates that loss of "resource-rich" citizens out of the "ghetto" areas due to an increase in crime, in the long run, will cause hindrances in attracting new citizens from the same category (ibid.). Regarding the burden to individual freedoms, the government illustrates that "[...] social control and inequality puts strict limits on the individual freedom of expression" (ibid.). It is important to note that in this context, "social control" refers to sociocultural barriers that could threaten individual freedom of expression.

Through the illustration of the "ghetto" as a burden to Denmark, one can see that the government presents the "ghetto" as a multifaceted threat to the society.

Furthermore, the government argues that the only solution to prevent such a danger is the complete abolition of "ghettos" in Denmark (Regeringen, 2018a, p.6). Interestingly, the narrative represents nationalist sentiment through the statement that "Denmark must continue to be Denmark. The places where we have parallel societies, Denmark shall be Denmark again" (ibid.). In this sense, the statement clearly demonstrates that the "ghetto" areas are not being considered part of Denmark, and highlights the necessity of reclaiming the areas through interventions to dismantle the "parallel societies."

6.3.1.4 Amendment of the "ghetto" criteria

It is important to note that in the 2018 political strategy paper, the government began to renew its focus on social housing areas where more social problems and challenges exist (Regeringen, 2018a, p.7). In the paper, the government argues that there is no need to subject non-"ghetto" areas to address problems in the "ghetto" areas. The renewed focus draws on the speech by the prime minister that the Danish rules, laws and norms cannot prevail in areas that lack Danish values, further justifying the government's intention to apply special measures toward the "ghetto" areas and their inhabitants. Moreover, the focus also draws on the discourse of binary representation presented in the paper, which depicts that the "ghetto" is not considered part of Denmark.

As presented in the previous analysis, at this time, the government began to frame the "ghetto" residents' self-agency and sociocultural barriers as one of the factors contributing to their socioeconomic problems and unfreedoms. Drawing on the discourse regarding the cultural barrier and self-agency, the government suggests an amendment of the "ghetto" criteria (Regeringen, 2018a, p.11). It is important to note that, unlike previous "ghetto" criteria, which place the ethnicity criterion on par with the other criteria, in the 2018 formulation, the ethnicity is now a pre-requisite criterion to other criteria in classifying a social housing area as a "ghetto" (Regeringen, 2018b, p.3). Moreover, the "ghetto" criteria currently employs three categorizations of disadvantaged social housing areas, namely

"vulnerable social housing," "ghetto," and "severe ghetto" (ibid.). According to the 2018 political strategy paper, a social housing area is classified as "vulnerable" if it meets two or more of the following criteria:

1. The percentage of residents aged 18–64 years old who are outside the labor market or without education is higher than 40%.
2. The number of citizens convicted of violating the criminal code is three times as high as the national average.
3. The percentage of residents aged 30–59 years old with low educational attainment (only elementary level) is higher than 60%.
4. The residents' average income in the area is less than 55% of the average income in the regional level.

A social housing area is classified as a "ghetto" if two or more of the above criteria are met and if it additionally fulfils the pre-requisite criterion requiring that the percentage of residents with an immigrant, descendant, or non-Western background is higher than 50%. In addition to this, the 2018 "ghetto strategy" establishes a new category, the "severe ghetto," which defines an area that has been classified as "ghetto" for four consecutive years (Regeringen, 2018a, p.13). Figure 6.1 shows the geographical distribution of "vulnerable," "ghetto," and "severe ghetto" areas in Denmark.

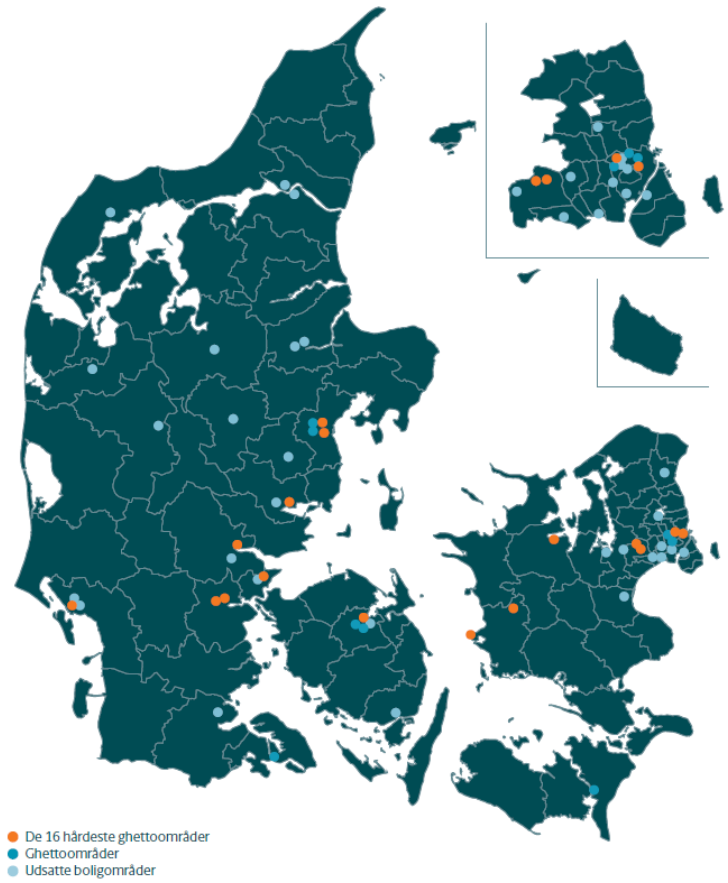

Figure 6.1: Geographical distribution of "vulnerable," "ghetto," and "severe ghetto" areas in Denmark.

Source: Regeringen, 2018a (adjusted with english translation)

In the political strategy paper, the government suggests special measures toward social housing areas that are classified as "severe ghettos." These special measures include policies on children and young generations, crime and security, and social housing (Regeringen, 2018a). The formulation of these policies was deeply influenced by the narratives of the purposively concentrated immigrants and descendants in disadvantaged social housing areas, the discourse on the cultural barriers, and the discourse on the adverse effect of the "ghetto" on children and young generations. Nevertheless, in this thesis, I focus on only the discursive practice in the social housing dimension in the form of the parliamentary debate on the amendment of the social housing act. It is important to note that the government's amendments to the social housing act have been

made continuously since the beginning of the publication period of the "ghetto strategy" (see sections 6.1.2 and 6.2.2).

Before the parliamentary debate on the housing bill (L38), the center-right coalition government, in conjunction with S, DF, and SF, signed housing initiatives that would be fundamental to the formulation of the housing bill (Regeringen, 2018b). Among the initiatives is the new formulation of the "ghetto" criteria in addition to special measures toward social housing areas that are classified as "severe ghettos." The special measures include a reduction of the social housing stock to no more than 40% (Regeringen, 2018b, p.3). To achieve this target of social housing stock reduction within 12 years, there exist a set of strategies, including the conversion into private and co-operation housing and the demolition of housing blocks (ibid, p.4). Additionally, among the initiatives, there is an introduction of new rental rules and conditions based on which the social housing association is entitled to reject prospective tenants if they are on cash benefit, are unemployed, are convicted of a crime, or have a non-Western background (ibid, p.7).

6.3.2 Institutionalization of special measures against the "ghetto"

Following the agreement on the housing initiatives, parliamentary debates were held and bills were passed on special measures toward social housing areas classified as "severe ghettos." L38 is one of the discussed bills in the Danish parliament and proposed a new law to amend the existing social housing act (Folketinget, 2018a). The bill was meant to address four main areas. First was to amend the "ghetto" criteria with the inclusion of "severe ghetto" as a new category. Second was to develop initiatives to dismantle the "ghettos" in Denmark, including privatization, relabeling[12], and demolition of housing blocks. Third, was to tighten rules on who are eligible and can access the social housing. Finally, forth was to address crime by canceling leases (ibid.).

The parliamentary debate on the bill took place on 11 October 2018. The parliamentary debate was characterized by a consensus among the supportive

[12] The relabeling process includes changing the function of the family social housing into public elderly housing or youth/student housing.

parties that “ghettos” have adverse effects that would erode the Danish norms, culture, values, and laws (Folketinget, 2018b). KF stated that “[...] if there were ‘ghetto’ formations in disadvantaged social housing areas, where there is no [cultural] norm to go to work, and where children grew up without learning Danish, then, of course, as a society, you have to intervene” (ibid.). This quote describes the necessity of intervention of the “ghetto” formation, as it has unacceptable norms for Danish society.

Furthermore, SF argued that the recent development of Denmark presents “[...] a division of the way we live, the way we go to school, and the way we live on” and compares the situation with Denmark in the past, which was deemed to be more cohesive (ibid.). The argument exhibits the temporal nationalist claim of the present Denmark’s current worrisome situation through links to the past. In the debate, the narrative of the necessity of intervention is closely entangled with the identity (through the norms) and temporal nationalist claims to justify the political decisions of supporting the implementation of special measures in the “severe ghetto.”

Additionally, the parliamentary debate specifically addressed the prevention of the adverse effect of the “ghetto” on children and young generations. KF stated that one of the bill’s goals is to prevent children from growing up in an area that has massive problems (Folketinget, 2018b). Moreover, S and SF argued about the importance of mixed residential areas and schools for the integration of both Danish children and children with other ethnic backgrounds (ibid.). Nevertheless, EL shared its disagreement on the bill’s purpose, and questioned whether the initiatives can ensure that the children could have a good place to grow up:

> “[...] As I see it, it is still a huge challenge to face the fact that many - including families with children - are losing their homes with this ghetto package. That is why I am very interested in what the representative intends to do so that these children can have a good place to grow up” (The Red-Green Alliance in Folketinget, 2018b).

The argument by EL was reasonably logical as the "ghetto strategy" would involve the implementation of a 12-year plan to gradually re-house people and change the composition of the residents in the "severe ghetto." The next on, KF, responded that the new rental rules and conditions based on which the social housing association is entitled to reject prospective tenants (with specific criteria, including those on cash benefit) would naturally replace the residents over the upcoming years (ibid.). Nevertheless, KF and DF argued that a need still exists for an extra effort through special measures in addressing the social problems in the "severe ghetto" (ibid.). The bill was enacted into law on 22 November 2018, with S, DF, V, LA, SF, and KF voting in favor; and EL, ALT, and RV voting against (Folketinget, 2018c).

7. Conclusions and reflections

This thesis investigates how the "ghetto" has been conceptualized in the Danish political discourse between 2004 and 2018. Moreover, it aims to understand the relationship between the "ghetto" discourse and the practice of "othering" in Danish politics. In the previous chapter, I present a discourse analysis to investigate these issues. In this chapter, I provide the overall conclusions of this thesis. Additionally, this chapter includes some reflections that I consider essential in discussing this topic.

The "ghetto" political strategies in Denmark embody systemic segregation between the residents in "ghetto" areas and Danish society. Through the publication of the "ghetto strategy" papers, the institutionalization of the "ghetto" criteria, amendments of the social housing act, and more recently implementation of special measures in the "severe ghetto," it was evident that the government's standpoint between 2004 and 2018 become increasingly harsh toward "parallel society." The formulation of "ghetto" political strategies was primarily initiated and supported by the center-right coalition government, with DF playing a pivotal role as parliamentary support. Their support was evident in the parliamentary debates and during the voting process. By acknowledging DF's opposition to immigration and rejection of multi-ethnic transformation (Bjørklund & Andersen, 2002; Dansk Folkeparti, 2002), one can observe that ethnocentric and nativist-based rhetoric influenced the formulation of the political strategies.

Regarding the conceptualization of the "ghetto" in Danish political discourse, the analysis illustrates a significant change of the "ghetto" discourse between 2004 and 2018. In 2004, when the "ghetto" entered Danish political discourse, the "ghetto" was depicted as the problems of socioeconomic inequalities in disadvantaged social housing areas. At that time, the political strategy was more accommodating toward immigrants, descendants, and their communities. The government presented the "ghetto" problems as a threat to the residents' life opportunities, rather than to Danish society. Additionally, the government framed

the “ghettoization” as a problem caused by the failure of integration policies throughout previous decades, not by the residents’ deliberate intention. However, the “ghetto” discourse drastically changed between 2010 and 2018, as the “ghetto” became increasingly associated with a hostile environment where Danish values are lacking. In 2018, the “ghetto” problems were depicted as a multifaceted threat to Danish society and future generations. It further impacted the government’s renewed focus on various issues other than the social housing sector, including on children and young generations, and crime and security.

Regarding the nationalist interrelated claims in the discourse analysis, drawing on Özkirimli (2010), the spatial, temporal, and identity claims are crucial to the formation of the “Danishness” and the “ghetto” identity. It is important to note that in 2004, the government used spatial and temporal claims to construct the “ghetto” through the narratives of history and comparison with other countries and hereby portrayed the “ghetto” problems as not being natural to Denmark. Nevertheless, at that time, the identity claim had not yet emerged, as there was no clear value-based division between Danish society and the “ghetto.” The identity claim began to appear in 2010 through the extensive definition of Danish values, the interpretation of the “ghetto” as a lack of these values, and the institutionalization of ethnicity-based criteria to define the “ghetto” area. The government began to use the combination of identity, spatial, and temporal claims to discursively construct the “ghetto” as not being acceptable for Danish society. Nevertheless, 2018 was the year when the signifier of the interrelated claims became bolder. At that time, the government claimed that Danish rules, laws, and norms could not prevail in the “ghetto” areas, and proposed firmer immigration policy, which is considered important for the nation’s future. All of the claims mentioned above justify the implementation of special measures in “severe ghetto” areas, and the long-term plan to dismantle the “parallel society” in Denmark.

Rather than being based on objective measures, the “ghetto” concept has been politically instigated and influenced by nationalist and nativist sentiment. The

inception of the political discourse into the integration framework, therefore, contributing to segregation between the "ghetto" and Danish society (or, in other words, the practice of "othering"). Drawing from Simonsen (2016), the differentiation and segregation between the "ghetto" and Danish society in the political discourse would be detrimental to the integration process. The discursive construction of "Danishness," Danish identity, and the "ghetto" would prevent the equivalence between each part that is essential for integration[13] (Simonsen, 2016). Moreover, stigma-related discourse can exacerbate this situation. The stigma associated with the "ghetto" areas paves the way for authorities to justify measures that deviate from common law and practice (Wacquant, 2007). The deviation from common law leads to the deprivation of capabilities and human rights of the "ghetto" residents (Danish Institute for Human Rights, 2019). As a result, political strategies could maintain the targeted community in a marginalized position.

To conclude, the discourse analysis revealed that the "ghetto" political strategies in Denmark could be understood as being built upon a power structure of socioeconomic inequality, ethnocentrism, populism, nativism, and nationalism. Therefore, one can say that the underlying thoughts behind the Danish integration policy framework are not neutral but rather heavily influenced by the political, historical, and social contexts that situated the "Danishness" and the set of values that construct it.

7.1 Further research

As previously mentioned in the study's limitations, due to time constraints and travel restrictions, this thesis focused on only the discursive construction of the "ghetto" and the practice of "othering" in the political dimension. Therefore, a proposal for future research related to this thesis's topic could investigate the perspective of non-Western immigrants, descendants, and their communities regarding the "ghetto strategy." Such a study could serve as a way to investigate how government policies and programs may affect (or not affect) individuals'

[13] Based on the etymological meaning of the word "integration," it is interpreted as a process of reuniting equivalent parts that previously separated, to form a new, greater whole (Simonsen, 2016, p. 95).

daily experiences from this group. One must conduct this study through qualitative research using multiple in-depth interviews with respondents from the residents of "ghetto" areas.

Another interesting proposal for future research is to analyze the Danes' attitudes toward immigrants and descendants. Considering that anti-immigration sentiments were at the core of DF's political campaign in addition to the increased support from Danish voters from 1998–2015, this might indicate increased negative attitudes toward immigrants. Such a study could serve as a way to investigate the factors and determinants that might influence the Danish population's negative (or positive) attitudes about immigration. Furthermore, this study could be conducted following a quantitative method using various data set options, including those provided by the European Social Survey (ESS)[14] and the World Values Survey (WVS)[15].

[14] ESS is a cross-national survey that measures attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors of population across European countries (ESS, 2020).

[15] WVS is a worldwide national survey that studies values, beliefs, and sociopolitical impacts in time series. As of 2020, the survey has covered 78 countries (WVS, 2020).

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Appendix: Translation of quotations

Page 46: *Many years' failed immigration policy...*:

> "Mange års fejlslagen udlændingepolitik har f.eks. skabt indvandrerghettoer, hvor mændene er arbejdsløse, hvor kvinderne er isolerede, og familierne kun taler hjemlandets sprog."

Page 46: *The formation of 'ghettoes'...*:

> "Ghettodannelser fører til vold og kriminalitet og konfrontation. Det kender vi fra udlandet. Og det hverken kan eller vil vi acceptere i Danmark."

Page 47: *They unintentionally mix up...*:

> "De kommer til at forveksle det danske frisind medvægelsind. Den danske frihed med tomhed. Den danske lighed med ligegyldighed."

Page 47: *Respect the values on...*:

> "Og de bliver nødt til at forstå og respektere de værdier, som det danske samfund bygger på."

Page 47: *Immigrants who are doing...*:

> "Mit budskab til dem er: Lær af de indvandrere, der klarer sig godt i det danske samfund."

Page 48: *Characterizing Denmark's 'ghettos'...*:

> "Der kan dog allerede nu foreløbigt peges på følgende karakteristika, der typisk kendetegner ghettoer i Danmark."

Page 48: *The government wants all...*:

> "Regeringen ønsker, at alle borgere skal kunne nyde godt af de mange muligheder, som et moderne hverdagsliv i et demokratisk samfund byder på. At alle borgere har en hverdag, der først og fremmest er præget af muligheder og frie valg frem for begrænsninger."

Page 48: *Everyday lives of individuals...*:

> "At der i stigende grad udvikles områder, der er fysisk, socialt, kulturelt og økonomisk afsondrede fra det øvrige samfund, og hvor det enkelte menneskes hverdagsliv er præget af begrænsninger og mangel på muligheder."

Page 48: *Ghettoization is not the result...*:

> "Ghettoiseringen er ikke et resultat af frie menneskers frie valg. Ghettoområderne er ikke dannet, fordi nogen ønsker dem. Tværtimod. Den negative udvikling i visse boligområder hænger i høj grad sammen med tidligere års fejlslagne planlægning og integrations- og arbejdsmarkedspolitik."

Page 49: *Ghettoization represents a barrier [...] where the majority of citizens...*:

> "Regeringen finder det yderligere foruroligende, at ghettoiseringen udgør en alvorlig barriere for integrationen – særligt i områder, hvor hovedparten af borgerne er arbejdsløse indvandrere og efterkommere, hvor der er mange sociale problemer, og hvor der stort set ikke er nogen kontakt til det omkringliggende samfund."

Page 49: *Ghettoization – a barrier to integration...*:

> "Ghettoisering – en barriere for integration."

Page 49: *The residential areas, where...*:

> "Det er regeringens mål, at de boligområder, hvor indvandrere, flygtninge og deres efterkommere bor, skal være steder, hvor de mødes med danskere. Hvor der etableres netværk på tværs af personlige og kulturelle forskelle. Hvor man hører og lærer dansk."

Page 49: *Platforms for a general [...] increased knowledge of the*

> "Boligområderne skal være platforme for en generel integration i samfundet og for et øget kendskab til de normer og værdier, der gælder her."

Page 49: *Physically secluded from the...*:

> "For det første er ghettoområderne typisk karakteriserede ved at være fysisk afsondrede fra det omkringliggende samfund."

Page 49: *Without significant economic, social...*:

> "Er der samtidig tale om områder, hvor hovedparten af beboerne er arbejdsløse indvandrere, flygtninge og efterkommere, kan områderne udvikle sig til egentlige etniske enklaver eller parallelsamfund uden væsentlig økonomisk, social og kulturel kontakt til samfundet i øvrigt."

Page 49: *Ghetto – what, where and...*:

> "Ghettoer – hvad, hvor og hvor mange?"

Page 50: *Resource-rich* [...] *resource-poor*:

> "Ressourcestærk borgere køber deres bolig i ejerboligområder, hvorimod de mereressourcesvage borgere bor enten i private udlejningsboliger i belastede områder eller – som det er tilfældet for hovedparten af indvandrere og efterkommere i Danmark – i almene boliger i udsatte områder, der helt eller næsten udelukkende består af almene boliger."

Page 50: *Gain access to...*:

> "Dertil kommer, at det ofte i praksis kan være vanskeligere for etniske minoriteter at få adgang til og fodfæste på det private boligmarked (andelsboliger og privat udlejningsbyggeri), hvor lejligheder ofte formidles via netværk."

Page 51: *Problem affected...*:

> "Med strategien præsenterede regeringen en række initiativer, som har til formål at vende udviklingen i de mest problemramte boligområder og at bidrage til at forebygge, at nye opstår."

Page 51: *Initiatives must be taken to [...] reduce the disparity...*:

> "Der skal initiativer i gang for at mindske den sociale ulighed mellem børn og unge, mindske den sociale isolation blandt teenagere, mindske afstanden mellem danskerne og indvandrerne, mindske arbejdsløsheden, mindske afstanden mellem boligområderne og resten af samfundet."

Page 51: *It is not a problem that certain...:*

> "For Venstre er det ikke i sig selv et problem, at bestemte befolkningsgrupper koncentreres i bestemte boliger. Men det er et problem, når ikke alle borgere har eller får reel lige mulighed for at deltage i og bidrage til samfundets udvikling [...]"

Page 52: *Holes in the Danish map [...] Danish values are no longer…*:

> "Men der er opstået en slags huller i danmarkskortet. Steder, hvor de danske værdier tydeligvis ikke længere er bærende."

Page 53: *When firemen can only...*:

> "Når brandmænd kun kan komme ind og udføre deres arbejde under politibeskyttelse. Når skoler og institutioner bliver udsat for hærværk. Når chikane og kriminalitet er trådt i stedet for respekt. Når parallelle retssystemer vokser frem. Så er værdier som tillid, frihed og ansvar ikke-eksisterende."

Page 53: *For generations, we have...*:

> "I Danmark har vi i generationer opbygget et trygt, rigt og frit samfund. Øget velstand og materiel fremgang har her stor betydning. Men det afgørende har været og er stadig vores værdier. Frihed til forskellighed. Ansvar for det fælles. Respekt for samfundets love. Ytringsfrihed. Lige muligheder for mænd og kvinder."

Page 54: *Freedom to be different...*:

> "Frihed til forskellighed. Lige muligheder for mænd og kvinder. Ansvar for det fælles. Folkestyre. Respekt for samfundets love. En grundlæggende tillid til, at vi vil hinanden det godt."

Page 55: *Where, for that reason...*:

> "Og hvor de regler, der gælder i resten af samfundet, derfor ikke har samme effekt."

Page 55: *Resemble fortresses*:

> "Ghettokvarterenes karakter af fysiske 'fæstninger' skal brydes, så de bliver mere attraktive og en integreret del af det omkringliggende samfund."

Page 55: *Combating social problems and...*:

"Bekæmpelse af socialt bedrageri og kriminalitet."

Page 57: *It refers to people from...*:

"Som jeg læser lovforslaget, lægger det op til, at folk fra ikke-EU-lande, fra ikke-EØS-lande og folk, der ikke er fra Schweiz, er de folk, man ikke vil have kan blive anvist til de udsatte boligområder og områder med kombineret udlejning. Dermed går definitionen efter nogle lande og ikke efter en etnicitet."

Page 57: *Are not sure that...*:

"Nu tror jeg, at integration er noget, der foregår, når man er på arbejde; det er, når man uddanner sig; det er, når man selvfølgelig færdes ude i samfundet. Jeg er ikke sikker på, at bare det at bo sammen giver noget problem."

Page 57: *There can be a challenge...*:

"Vi anerkender, at der kan være en udfordring, når man samles mange mennesker med en anden etnisk baggrund i forhold til at opnå en positiv integration."

Page 57: They do not have the necessary...:

"Vi ser på, hvilke ressourcer folk har, når de flytter dertil, og hvis de ikke har de fornødne sociale ressourcer eller de sproglige eller andre kulturelle ressourcer, der kræves for at begå sig i det danske samfund, så ser vi et problem. Men etnicitet i sig selv ser vi ikke som et problem."

Page 58: *Holes have appeared in...*:

"Der er slået huller i Danmarkskortet."

Page 58: *Where Danish values such...*:

"Og ud i samfundet, hvor danske værdier som ligeværd, frisind og tolerance taber terræn."

Page 59: *Throughout the country there...*:

"Rundt om i landet er der parallelsamfund. Mange mennesker med de samme problemer er klumpet sammen. Det skaber en negativ spiral. En modkultur."

Page 59: *I am convinced that decades...*:

> "Jeg er overbevist om, at årtiers slappe udlændingepolitik har gjort sit. Der blev lukket flere ind i Danmark, end vi magtede at integrere."

Page 59: *Danish rules, laws and...*:

> "Jeg oplever, at danske regler, love og normer kommer til kort i områder, der ikke er danske i deres værdier."

Page 61: *Isolated enclaves...*:

> "Mange lever i større eller mindre isolerede enklaver."

Page 61: *The citizens do not take...*:

> "Her tager en alt for stor del af borgerne ikke tilstrækkeligt ansvar."

Page 61: *Do not actively participate...*:

> "De deltager ikke aktivt i det danske samfund og på arbejdsmarkedet."

Page 61: *We cannot afford to lose...*:

> "Vi har ikke råd til at tabe flere generationer af børn og unge på gulvet."

Page 62: *Social control and inequality...*:

> "Hvor social kontrol og manglende ligestilling sætter snævre grænser for den enkeltes frie udfoldelse."

Page 63: *Denmark must continue to be...*:

> "Danmark skal blive ved med at være Danmark. De steder, hvor vi har fået parallelsamfund, skal Danmark blive Danmark igen."

Page 67: *If there were 'ghetto' formations...*:

> "Omkring ejendomsretten vil jeg sige, at jeg faktisk tror, at jeg ville have det på præcis samme måde, hvis der var parcelhusområder i Danmark, hvor der var ghettodannelser, hvor det ikke var normen, at man gik på arbejde, og hvor børn voksede op uden at lære dansk. Så er man selvfølgelig nødt til som samfund at gribe ind."

Page 67: *A division of the way*...:

> "I Danmark har vi i de forgangne år set en bekymrende udvikling, som i virkeligheden burde gøre enhver socialist bekymret, nemlig en opdeling af den måde, vi bor på, den måde, vi går i skole på, den måde, vi lever på."

Page 67: *As I see it*...:

> "Som jeg ser det, er det jo stadig væk en kæmpestor udfordring, man står over for, at rigtig mange – også børnefamilier – står til at miste deres bolig med den her ghettopakke. Derfor er jeg meget interesseret i, hvad ordføreren har tænkt sig at gøre for, at de her børn så kan få et godt sted at vokse op."