



UNDERVISNINGS
MINISTERIET
STYRELSEN FOR
UNDERVISNING OG KVALITET

Samfundsfag A

Social Science A

Studentereksamen

General Upper Secondary School Leaving
Examination

Gammel ordning

Old guidelines

Digital

Part 2

10.00 a.m. - 3.00 p.m.

Monday May 27, 2019
9.00 a.m. - 3.00 p.m.

Integration

Assignments *with* enclosures.

This set of assignments is composed of a general section and three subsidiary assignments.

You must answer **both** questions (1a and 1b) in the general section.

You must also answer **one** of the three (A, B and C) subsidiary assignments.

For marking purposes, all three questions (questions 1, 2 and 3) have equal weight.

This means that the general section (in total) weighs about one third and the subsidiary assignment weighs about two thirds.

INTEGRATION

General section

Answers to 1a and 1b must be no more than 700 words in total.

- 1a. Based on the quote below, you must make a model containing four factors that can explain why the turnout rate at elections is lower among descendants. The model must be supported by academic arguments.

The key question is what discourages descendants from turning out on election day. In his research, Jeppe Fuglsang Larsen has focused on speaking to people in the group of descendants, who do well with respect to income and education. "In short, they have followed the path laid out for them by the Danish system. In spite of this, they have repeated experiences of not being considered Danes by society at large. They constantly feel behind and that they are not included", says Jeppe Fuglsang Larsen. "When even successful descendants feel that they are not considered Danish, those who are less successful will feel part of the community to an even lesser extent. This means that not voting may be a form of protest", says Jeppe Fuglsang Larsen. However, in explaining the low turnout rate, society is not solely at fault. In certain immigrant communities, a camp mentality is prevalent in which voting is not appreciated or is actively obstructed. "In some minority communities, you will feel that you are betraying your own if you become too Danish, and young people consider the word integration a term of abuse. For instance, some of the young people, I have spoken to, have been told by their peers that completing an education means selling out. In my opinion, the low turnout rate is caused by many finding it hard to be recognized by society, but also by the fact that voting may be considered a traitorous act, says Jeppe Fuglsang Larsen. Yosef Bhatti agrees that part of the explanation for the falling turnout rate is to be found in immigrant communities in which democratic traditions are not as widespread as in the Danish majority culture. However, an equally important factor may be found in the development in recent decades where the national policies and the political debate have become increasingly hostile towards immigrants.

Jeppe Fuglsang Larsen is a PhD fellow at Aalborg University. Yosef Bhatti is an external lecturer at Copenhagen University.

Source: Sven Johannesen. "Immigrants' and descendants' turnout at elections is falling and falling." Information, July 4, 2016. Extracts.

- 1b. Develop three hypotheses that can explain the connections between attitude to globalisation, party choice and attitude to the EU as manifested in Table 1. Each hypothesis must be supported by academic argument.

Table 1. Attitude to globalisation, party choice and attitude to the EU. 2015. Percent.

The impact of globalisation on Denmark	Positive towards the EU	Neither positive nor negative towards the EU	Negative towards the EU	Total
Positive	66	21	13	100
Neutral/neither positive nor negative	40	34	26	100
Negative	29	23	48	100
Total	52	25	23	100
Party choice				
The Social Democratic Party	55	31	14	100
The Social Liberal Party	86	12	2	100
The Conservative Party	73	11	16	100
The Socialist People's Party	49	32	19	100
Liberal Alliance	56	19	25	100
The Danish People's Party	16	29	55	100
The Liberal Party	66	24	10	100
The Red-Green Alliance	40	24	36	100
The Alternative	57	27	16	100
Total	49	27	24	100

Note: Respondents were asked the following question: "Do you believe that globalisation will have a positive or a negative impact on Denmark?" and "What is your general attitude to the EU?"

The removal of answer categories in the party choice category such as "Does not vote" causes a difference in the total sums for the categories "The impact of globalisation on Denmark" and "Party choice", respectively.

Source: Surveybanken.dk. YouGov. "Valgundersøgelsen". 2015.

Subsidiary assignment A: Danish immigration and integration policies

2. Compare the views on the Danish immigration and integration policies expressed in enclosures A1, A2 and A3.
In the comparison you must use knowledge about value-based policy and redistribution policy.
3. Discuss the possibilities and limitations of potential cooperation in Parliament on immigration and integration policies.
Your discussion must take its point of departure in the video clip in enclosure A4, and you must use knowledge about the behaviour of political parties.

ENCLOSURE A1

The immigration policy of the Social Democratic Party

www.socialdemokratiet.dk. Excerpts.

Immigration policy has divided the Danes for many years. In the Social Democratic Party, we do not believe that we are in total disagreement after all. We want to help people fleeing war or persecution. This is a duty to our fellow human beings. That said, we also agree that there is a limit to how many refugees and foreigners we can successfully integrate in our society. The challenge facing us is not temporary. It is here to stay. It exerts pressure on our welfare model, our low rate of inequality and our way of life.

Our immigration policy consists of three elements:

Numbers matter

Denmark must take back control. We want to introduce a limit on how many non-western foreigners may be admitted into Denmark each year. Our housing sector, our schools and our workplaces must be able to keep up. This will give us a real chance of integrating those who arrive here and ensure that they learn the language, get a job and pick up our fundamental values. We have suggestions as to how we may enforce such a limit while also observing international conventions. We want to change our asylum system, for instance by establishing a reception centre outside of Europe. In the future, the only refugees who will be granted asylum in Denmark will be UN quota refugees.

We must help more people

At the moment, we are failing those who are the weakest: those who are unable to flee or who cannot afford to do so. Those who need help the most. That is unfair. We will not accept that people are left to drown in the Mediterranean or that people are subjected to violence and abuse while fleeing. The end goal must be that fewer people need to flee, and that more people may create a future for themselves in their own countries rather than seeking out an existence in Europe. In Denmark, we are unable to solve this challenge on our own, but we may lead the way by doubling Danish aid in the neighbouring regions*. And in the EU, we must take the lead and advocate a historic lift of Africa in particular.

The new fight for freedom

The Social Democratic Party is and always has been a project for freedom. It has been about giving an increasing amount of people the opportunity to shape their own lives. We have succeeded in this through the means of education, free and equal access to health services and a high level of employment. Now we are facing a new chapter in this fight for freedom: the new Danes. Equality of the sexes must also apply among them. Rights and duties. That

ENCLOSURE A1 (*continued*)

religion always comes second to democracy. This requires us to have a reckoning with the norms found in parts of Denmark. First and foremost, it requires more people to become part of the Danish community in which we share the same fundamental values and where we encounter one another in housing estates and in schools. Our ten-year-plan assures that in the future no housing estate, no school and no educational institutions will have more than 30 percent non-western immigrants and descendants. And more immigrants must actively contribute to Danish society. We will therefore introduce a duty to work 37 hours a week for all immigrants receiving integration benefits and cash benefits.**

*(neighbouring regions = nærområderne)

** (cash benefits = kontanthjælp)

ENCLOSURE A2

The immigration policy of the Social Liberal Party

www.radikale.dk.

Danish immigration policy has become a theatre of scaremongering in which fear is evoked, and in which no one bothers with constructive solutions. We are driven by ambitions. Not fear. We want to abandon the policies that are harmful to integration, create poverty and set up divisions and mistrust among people. We seek solutions, not scaremongering. Denmark has room for diversity. Foreigners can contribute a lot and must – just as everyone else – be met with both demands and expectations.

Responsibility in the refugee crisis

Throwing suspicion on people, setting up border checkpoints and introducing demeaning cutbacks make matters worse – with respect to integration and people fleeing. We want to change the conversation relating to the refugee crisis. The conversation must be about people, and the aim is successful integration which enables refugees to take care of themselves. We want to abandon the jewellery law and the three year wait for family reunification for refugees of war. We want to replace border checkpoints with cooperation in Europe. Border control has caused several hundred police officers to be missing from their local precincts. This reduces the chances that the police have of solving crime and gives the trades and industries a hard time. It reduces the sense of security Danes feel, and it reduces our wealth. Instead, we need to control the outer borders of Europe and concentrate our efforts on developing a joint refugee distribution system in Europe. And we want to resume the admission of quota refugees in Denmark

Integration from day 1

We must succeed in integrating people better than we have so far – and the effort cannot wait. Good integration is created when civil society, the municipalities and businesses work together in handling this important task. It is at the local level that successful integration occurs - when the specific task is addressed and the watchwords and ideologies that dominate the national debate are forgotten. We want to rethink the integration efforts so that asylum seekers are not kept inactive in asylum centres. They must be activated immediately, and the starting point must be the resources they already have. This is why we want to allow asylum seekers to work from day 1, and we want to assure that the mapping of their skills happen at the asylum centre, so that a plan for the upgrading of their skills can be laid and trainee positions in a corporate environment can be made available. Refugees are extremely motivated to build a new future. They are used to supporting themselves. They must not be made into clients but given a stepping stone into the work force.

ENCLOSURE A2 (*continued*)

Abandonment of integration benefits

Integration benefits send people into poverty. It creates a deficit where a surplus is needed, and it prevents refugees from taking an active part in Danish society. At the same time, it is costly to the municipalities that must ensure that refugees are able to pay their rent and have a minimum subsistence level. This is why we want to abandon the integration benefits – alongside the cash benefits and the 225-hour rule.

ENCLOSURE A3

The immigration policy of the Danish People's Party

www.danskfolkeparti.dk.

Denmark is a good, warm-hearted and affluent country. This is why we do not hesitate to help people who flee from life-threatening situations. It is important to the Danish People's Party (DPP) that we primarily assist in the neighbouring regions, not by granting asylum in Denmark. We must help by sending aid and rebuilding assistance to the hotspots and disaster areas of the world, ensuring that the refugees, who have already arrived in Denmark, can return to their home countries as soon as possible.

However, we must help responsibly. It serves no one's interest for Denmark to admit more foreigners than society is able to absorb. It serves no one's interest that unemployed immigrants are not put to work – and it serves no one's interest that we have allowed values such as freedom, equality and democracy to be undermined in misguided kindness. Denmark has admitted plenty of foreigners throughout the years. Now we need fewer to enter and more to leave!

Refugees need security and safety while they are here, but they must go home eventually. For the immigrants who are here, and who must stay, firm demands are a key element in the necessary integration process. Personal safety, welfare, education and work – these are not generous offers, but unwavering demands. We must demand that immigrants educate themselves and participate in the work force so that they may contribute to the welfare that they benefit from. We must also demand that immigrants adhere to Danish laws, rules and fundamental values such as equality, democracy and freedom of speech. This is the only way we may ensure that we will continue to have a good Danish society in the future.

Immigration

Denmark is not an immigrant country and it never has been. This is why we refuse to accept a multi-ethnic transformation of our country. Denmark is the land of the Danes, and citizens must be given the opportunity of living in a safe society ruled by law, and which develops in adherence with Danish culture. Foreigners may be admitted in Danish society, but on the condition that this does not endanger safety and democracy. To a limited degree, foreign nationals may be granted Danish citizenship in accordance with special rules and in adherence with the statutes set out in our constitution.

ENCLOSURE A4

Toke G. C. Kristiansen and Freja Søgaard: "Mette Frederiksen: Supporting parties will have an influence, but our immigration policy is firmly fixed".

Altinget. August 22, 2018.

Subsidiary assignment B: EU migration policy

2. Examine what can be deduced from the materials in enclosure B1 (Table 1, Figure 1, Figure 2, Table 2, Figure 3 and Table 3) about the development in the number of asylum seekers in selected EU-countries and about the attitudes to migration among the populations of selected EU-countries.
Your examination must be supported by relevant calculations, and you must use knowledge about cooperation in the EU.
3. Discuss the respective strengths and weaknesses of the EU in relation to finding a joint solution to the migration challenges facing the EU.
The discussion must take its point of departure in the video clip in enclosure B2, and you must use knowledge about cooperation and integration among the EU member states.

ENCLOSURE B1

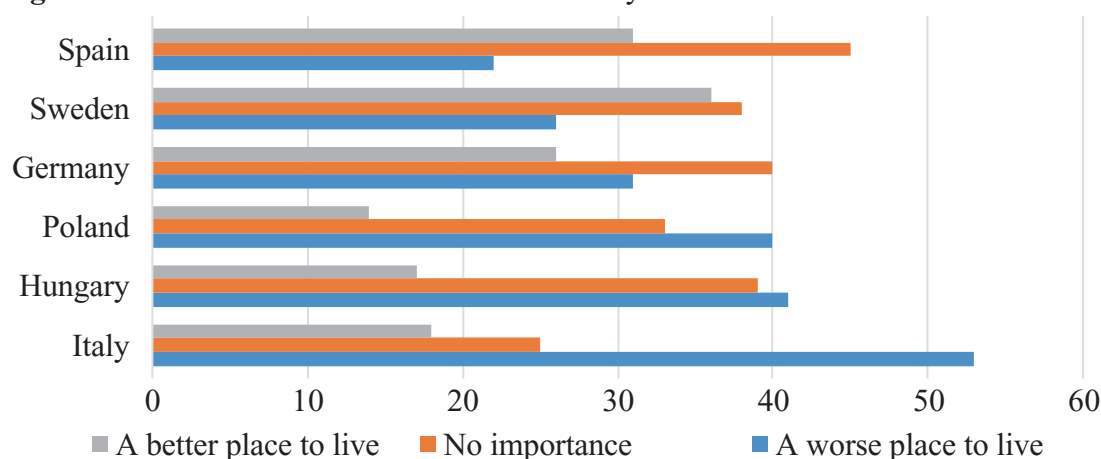
Table 1. Prioritization of issues the EU must concern itself with. Selected EU-countries. 2018. Percent.

	Immigration	Terrorism	The financial situation	The public budget of the member states
Italy	41	22	24	15
Hungary	56	38	16	15
Poland	45	42	11	13
Germany	42	24	13	24
Sweden	42	24	18	16
Spain	27	30	25	17

Note: Respondents have been asked the following question: "Which two issues are the most important for the EU to concern itself with at the moment?" Each respondent could state no more than two issues.

Source: Eurobarometer. "Standard Eurobarometer 89". 2018.

Figure 1. Attitude to national and ethnic diversity. Selected EU-countries. 2016. Percent.

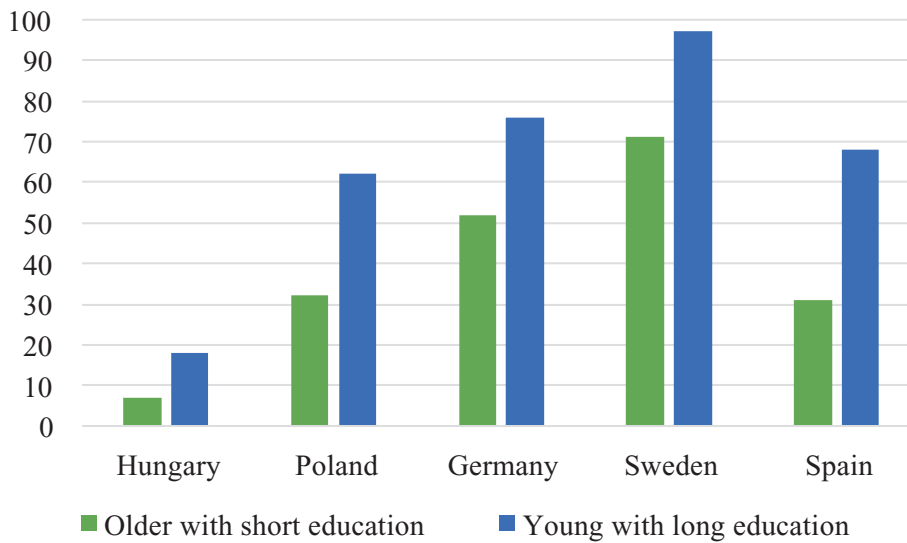


Note: Respondents have been asked the following question: "Do you think that an increasing number of people from different races, ethnicities and nationalities on average makes your country a better place to live, is of no importance or makes it a worse place to live?" The answer category "Do not know" is not included, which is why not all columns add up to 100 percent.

Source: Pew Research Center. "Global Attitudes Survey". 2016.

ENCLOSURE B1 (continued)

Figure 2. Age, education level and proportion of the population positive to migration from poorer countries. Selected EU-countries. Percent.



Note 1: Respondents have been asked the following question: “Do you think your country should allow a high degree of/some migration from poorer countries outside of the EU?”

Note 2: Data from Italy have not been located.

Source: “Attitudes towards immigration in Europe: myths and realities.” European Parliament. 2017.

Table 2. Number of asylum seekers, 2013-2017, and total population, 2017. Selected EU-countries and EU-28. Absolute numbers.

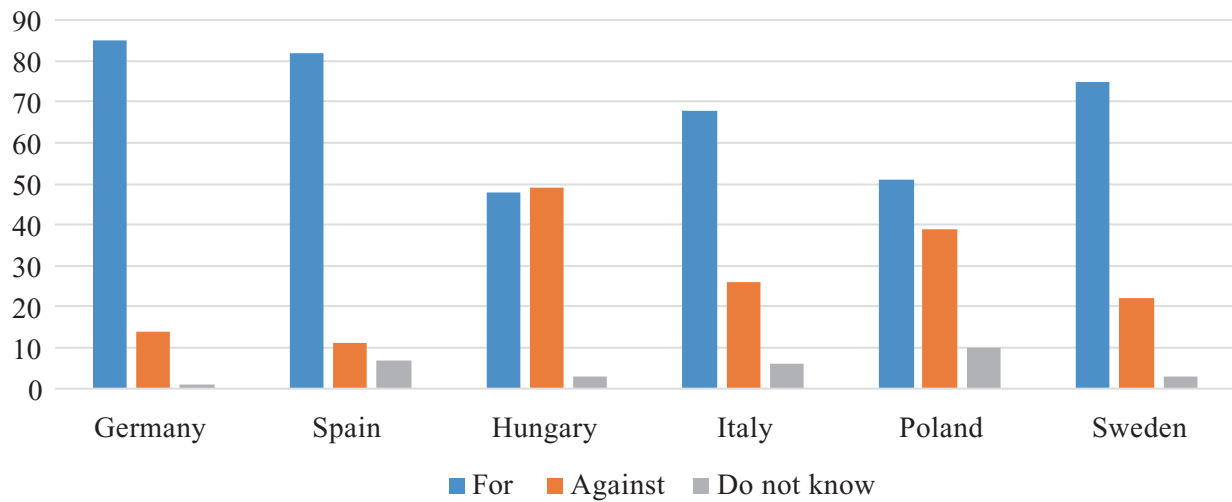
	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	Total population
Italy	26,620	64,625	84,085	122,960	128,850	60,589,445
Hungary	18,895	42,775	177,135	29,430	3,390	9,797,561
Poland	15,240	8,020	12,190	12,305	5,045	37,972,964
Germany	126,705	202,645	476,510	745,155	222,560	82,521,653
Sweden	54,720	81,180	162,450	28,790	25,235	9,995,153
Spain	4,485	5,615	14,780	15,755	31,120	46,528,024
EU-28	431,090	626,960	1,321,600	1,259,955	705,705	511,805,088

Source: Europarl.europa.eu. 2017 and EU-oplysningen 2017.

Note: It is an assumption that the total population size of the selected EU-countries has not changed significantly in the period 2013-2017.

ENCLOSURE B1 (continued)

Figure 3. Attitude to joint immigration policies in the EU. Selected EU-countries. 2018.
Percent.



Note: Respondents have been asked the following question: "What is your attitude to joint immigration policies in the EU?"

Source: European Commission. "Public Opinion." 2018.

Table 3. Attitude to the importance of refugees to the country. Selected EU-countries. 2016.
Percent of people who agree.

	Refugees increase the risk of terrorism in my country.	Refugees present a burden to our country because they take our jobs and receive social benefits.	Refugees in our country are more criminal than the rest of the population.
Hungary	76	82	43
Poland	71	75	26
Germany	61	31	35
Italy	60	65	47
Sweden	57	32	46
Spain	40	40	13

Source: Pew Research Center. "Global Attitudes Survey." 2016.

ENCLOSURE B2

DR2. Deadline.

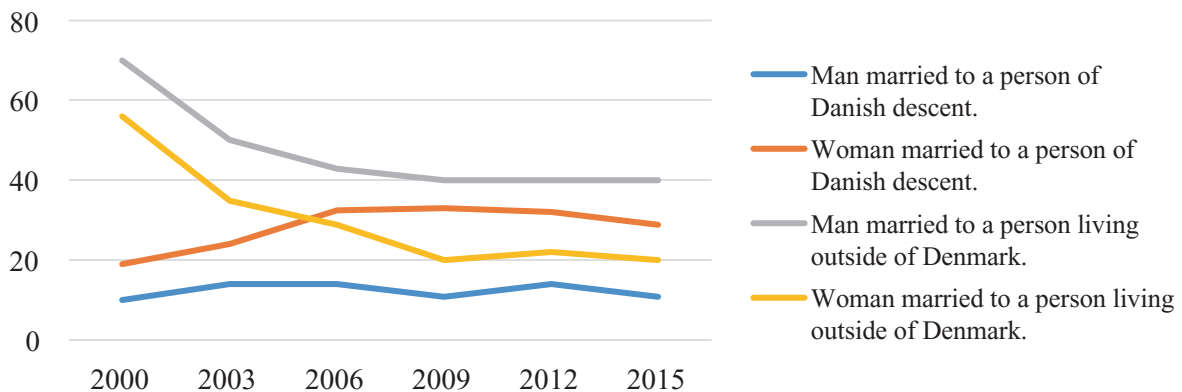
June 28, 2018.

Subsidiary assignment C: Integration and welfare

2. Examine what can be deduced from the materials in enclosure C1 (Figure 1, Table 1, Figure 2, Table 2, Figure 3 and Figure 4) about the development in the integration of non-western immigrants and descendants in Denmark. Your examination must be supported by relevant calculations, and you must use knowledge about social differentiation and cultural patterns.
3. You are the political advisor to the political spokesperson of The Red-Green Alliance Pernille Skipper. Write a memo to Pernille Skipper that enables her to argue against the suggested solutions to the integration of non-western immigrants and descendants in the work force expressed in enclosure C2. The memo must also include one or more alternative suggestions to Pernille Skipper about how to promote integration in the work force. The memo must take its point of departure in enclosure C2, and you must use knowledge about welfare models and political ideologies.

ENCLOSURE C1

Figure 1. Proportion of immigrants and descendants married to a person of Danish descent or with a person living outside of Denmark. 2000-2015. Percent.



Source: Samfundsstatistik 2017.

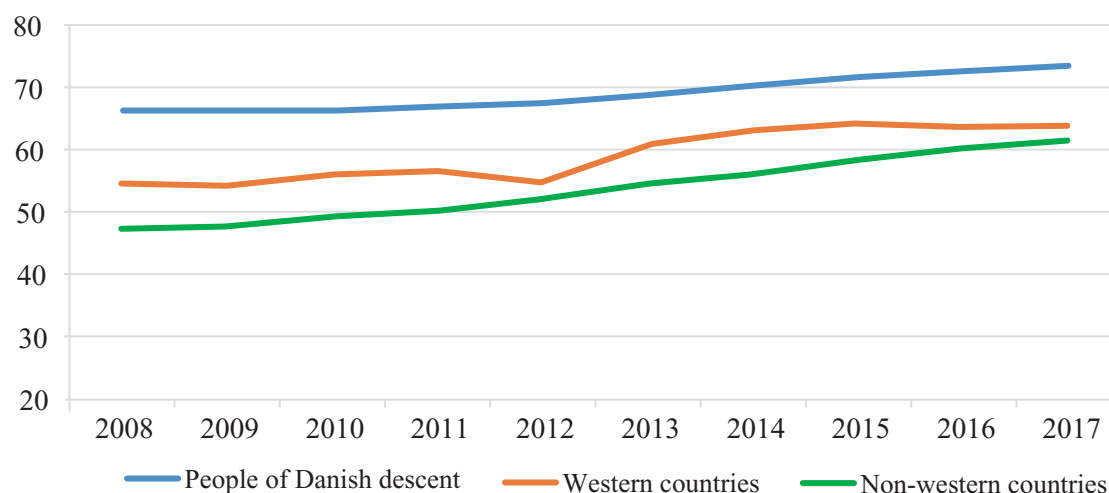
ENCLOSURE C1 (*continued*)

Table 1. Employment status for the 16-64-year-olds. 2006 and 2016. Absolute figures.

	Employed		Unemployed		Outside of the work force		Total	
	2006	2016	2006	2016	2006	2016	2006	2016
Immigrants from western countries	59,942	126,485	2,886	7,414	33,051	60,619	95,879	194,518
Immigrants from non-western countries	98,211	142,524	14,246	17,959	86,815	122,307	199,272	282,790
Descendants from western countries	6,448	6,655	287	307	2,199	2,944	8,934	9,906
Descendants from non-western countries	13,225	36,888	840	2,518	7,745	26,893	21,810	66,299
People of Danish descent	2,470,769	2,323,403	89,352	69,814	635,603	672,273	3,195,724	3,065,490
Total	2,648,595	2,635,955	107,611	98,012	765,413	885,036	3,521,619	3,619,003

Source: Statistics Denmark. "Indvandrere i tal 2007" and The Ministry of Immigration and Integration. "Integration: Status og udvikling". 2018.

Figure 2. Proportion of 20-24-year-old immigrants and descendants and people of Danish descent having completed at least an upper secondary education. By origin. 2008-2017. Percent.



Note: At least an upper secondary education encompasses STX/HF, HHX/HTX, technical college, short-, medium-length and long higher education, and bachelor-degrees. Only immigrants who arrived while they were 0-12 years old have been included.

Source: The Ministry of Immigration and Integration. 2017.

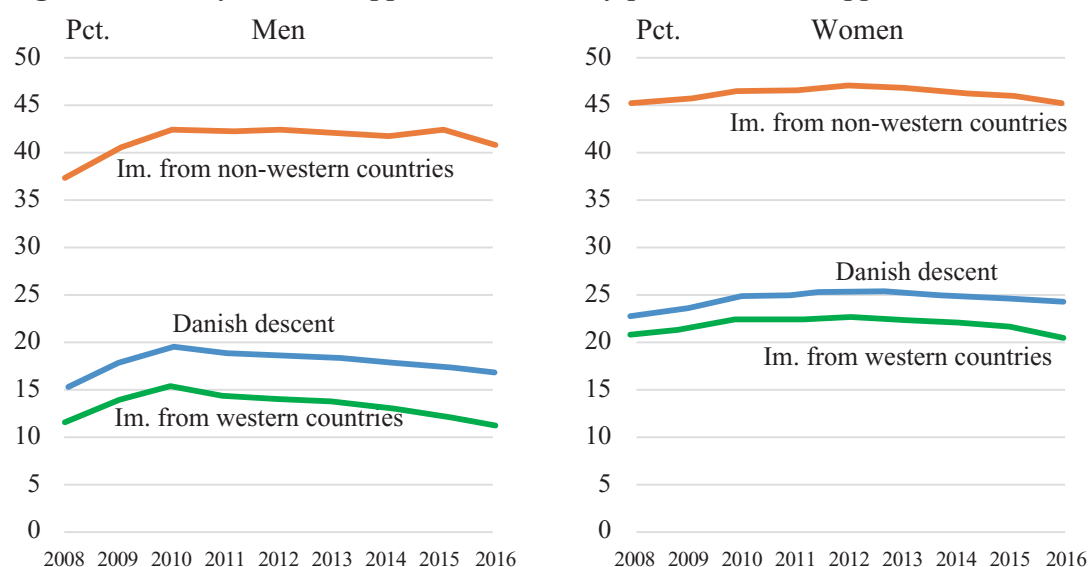
ENCLOSURE C1 (*continued*)

Table 2. Annual average income by descent. 2005 and 2016. Absolute figures (1000 kr.).

	2005	2016
Immigrants from western countries	236	282
Immigrants from non-western countries	169	224
People of Danish descent	255	323

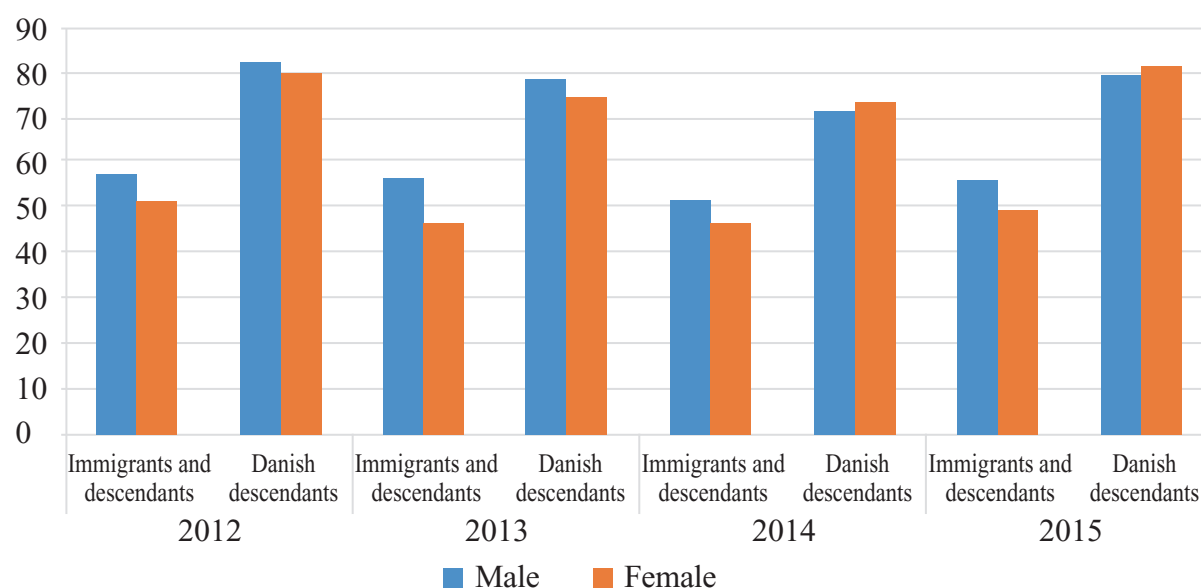
Source: Statistics Denmark. "Indvandrere i tal 2007 og 2017".

Figure 3. 30-59-year-olds supported fulltime by public income support. 2008-2016. Percent.



Source: Statistics Denmark. "Indvandrere i tal 2017".

Figure 4. Immigrants and descendants of non-western descent and people of Danish descent who are members of an association*, by gender. 2012-2015. Percent.



Source: The Ministry of Immigration, Integration and Housing. "Medborgerskab, ligebehandling og selvbestemmelse i Danmark." 2016.

*Association = forening.

ENCLOSURE C2

Karen M. Jeppesen and Morten Rasmussen: "The welfare state impedes integration".
Kristeligt Dagblad, June 23, 2001. Excerpts.

Bad integration is caused by our well-developed welfare state, according to Professor of economics Nina Smith. If we want better integration in the work force, a fundamental adjustment of our welfare society is required, a welfare society which has been decades in the making. According to Nina Smith, it is necessary to abandon the many tax-based schemes found in the welfare society and replace these with special savings schemes, for instance in the insurance and retirement areas. She also suggests that the minimum wage be lowered so that entry into the work force is made more accessible.

Mehmet Necef, a cultural sociologist at the University of Southern Denmark in Odense, agrees that the Danish welfare state plays a part in slowing the integration process in Denmark. Danes feel that foreigners are an economic liability to them personally, because society's expenses on foreigners are paid directly by the tax payers themselves, says Mehmet Necef. He believes that the solution is to lower the minimum wage, while recognizing that doing so will be hard in the Danish system in which labour unions are so strong. According to Mehmet Necef, the labour unions are one of the greatest impediments to the integration process.

Nina Smith also points out that it is a very delicate subject to talk about fundamental changes in the welfare state: "We want to uphold a certain social level of justice, but in my opinion this is doable while also having a savings-based welfare system. This would also make the Danish society less sensitive to immigration, says Nina Smith. She also points to Sweden which has savings-based schemes in place in a long range of areas while upholding a high degree of social justice. "More savings-based schemes in the form of insurance schemes that require citizens to pay for benefits themselves, will make Danish society much less sensitive to immigration, says Nina Smith.