



**The Making of Educationally Manageable Immigrant Schoolchildren in Denmark,
1970–2013**

A Critical Prism for Studying the Fabrication of a Danish Welfare Nation State

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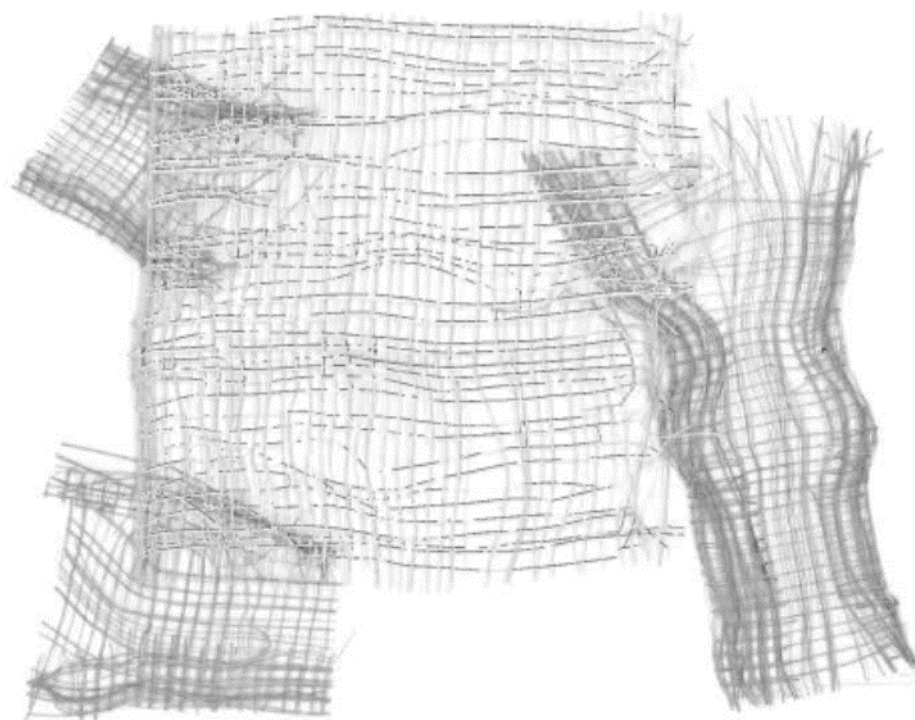
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Ph.D. Thesis



The Making of Educationally Manageable Immigrant Schoolchildren in Denmark, 1970–2013:

A Critical Prism for Studying the Fabrication of a Danish Welfare Nation State

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2016

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CONTENT

FOREWORD	4
1. INTRODUCTION	6
1.1. EPISTEMOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS FOR DOING POSITIVE CRITIQUE	11
1.2. READING GUIDELINES.....	15
2. RESEARCH CONTEXT	20
2.1. FORMING A MODERN (DANISH) WELFARE STATE	21
2.2. THE (DANISH) WELFARE STATE AND IMMIGRATION	33
2.3. EDUCATING IMMIGRANT SCHOOLCHILDREN	46
2.3.1. <i>Lacunae in educational research on immigrant schoolchildren</i>	57
2.4. EDUCATING IMMIGRANT CHILDREN AS STATE GOVERNING PRACTICES.....	64
2.5. POSITIVE CRITIQUE, SCHOLARLY CROSS-FERTILISATION, AND NEW PERSPECTIVES	68
3. INTERMEZZO: CONCEPTS LOST AND FOUND IN TRANSLATION	73
4. OBJECT UNDER CONSTRUCTION	78
4.1. USING FOUCAULT'S WORK IN EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH.....	78
4.2. LET US SUPPOSE.....	84
4.2.1. <i>Productive practices</i>	89
4.3. COLLECTING AND SELECTING THE PRACTICAL TEXTS	92
4.4. VARIATIONS ON THE THEME OF AN ANALYTICS OF GOVERNING	98
4.4.1. <i>Questioning problem-solving practices</i>	100
4.4.2. <i>Adding a professionalisation perspective</i>	103
4.4.3. <i>Approaching a horizon of governmentalities through a didactic landscape</i>	107
4.5. WRITING HISTORIES AS POSITIVE CRITIQUE	110
4.5.1. <i>Marshalling a historical mass of practical texts</i>	117
5. THREE EFFECTIVE HISTORIES	128
5.1. ARTICLE 1: 'MAKING PRECARIOUS IMMIGRANT FAMILIES AND WEAVING THE DANISH WELFARE NATION-STATE FABRIC, 1970–2010'	131
5.2. ARTICLE 2: 'RACIALISED ENTANGLEMENTS OF TEACHER PROFESSIONALIZATION AND PROBLEMATISED IMMIGRANT SCHOOLCHILDREN: CRAFTING A DANISH WELFARE NATION-STATE, 1970–2013'	146
5.3. ARTICLE 3: 'FABRICATING A WELFARE CIVILISATION: A GOVERNMENTAL ANALYSIS OF PEDAGOGICAL REPERTOIRES AVAILABLE TO TEACHERS OF IMMIGRANT PUPILS IN DANISH PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1970–2013'	169
6. MAKING SOME NOISE BY UNRAVELLING THE FABRIC OF DOING GOOD	237
6.1. A CATALOGUE OF NEW VIEWPOINTS.....	238
6.2. THE HISTORICAL MATTER OF MY POSITIVE CRITIQUE.....	244

7. REFERENCES	248
8. ENGLISH SUMMARY	265
9. DANSK RESUMÉ	266
10. APPENDICES	267
10.1. COMPLETE LIST OF MATERIAL USED IN THE ARTICLE, ‘MAKING PRECARIOUS IMMIGRANT FAMILIES AND WEAVING THE DANISH WELFARE NATION-STATE FABRIC 1970-2010’	267
10.2. COMPLETE LIST OF MATERIAL USED IN THE ARTICLE, ‘RACIALISED ENTANGLEMENTS OF TEACHER PROFESSIONALISATION AND PROBLEMATIZED IMMIGRANT SCHOOLCHILDREN: CRAFTING A DANISH WELFARE NATION-STATE, 1970-2013’	276
10.3. COMPLETE LIST OF MATERIAL USED IN THE ARTICLE, ‘FABRICATING A WELFARE CIVILISATION: A GOVERNMENTAL ANALYSIS OF PEDAGOGICAL REPERTOIRES AVAILABLE TO TEACHERS OF IMMIGRANT PUPILS IN DANISH PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1970-2013’	281
10.4. A SPIRAL-SHAPED FORMATION.....	289
10.5. DECLARATION OF CO-AUTHORSHIP	290

TABLES AND FIGURES

TABLE 1.: MODEL FOR THICK DESCRIPTION	118
TABLE 2: GENERIC OUTCOME OF THICK DESCRIPTIONS.....	120
TABLE 3.: CLUSTER OF REPETITIONS 1	121
TABLE 4.: CLUSTER OF REPETITIONS 2	121
TABLE 5.: CLUSTER OF REPETITIONS 3	121
TABLE 6.: PATTERNS 1.....	123
TABLE 7.: PATTERNS 2.....	123
TABLE 8.: PATTERNS 3.....	123
FIGURE 1: AN OVER-ALL STRATEGY.....	125

Foreword

New ideas stand on boundary lines, because that is the place for dialogue and encounters. Perhaps this is the right time to remind you that many great discoveries happened by chance, but that chance is never chance, it always favours the eyes of those who are prepared to see. Nothing is more useful than useless knowledge. It prepares us to see and to think outside the rigid frameworks in which we so often let ourselves be trapped.

(Nóvoa 2015, 53)

Indeed, this thesis stands on boundary lines of disciplines, of languages, and of history. Thus, it is a product of carefully prepared serendipity in dialogues and encounters with scholarship in history, education, political science, migration studies, and the grey areas that fall between. It presents a text written in English about texts written in Danish with all the possibilities and pitfalls of those elements that may be lost or found in translation. It demonstrates research triggered in the present by a discomfort with the trappings of unquestioned problem-solving practices emerging in response to immigrant schoolchildren's presence in Denmark since the 1970s. To avoid these trappings, this thesis demonstrates an effort to make itself usefully useless.

None of these efforts would have been possible without continuous dialogues and encounters with colleagues, scholars, friends, and family to whom I owe much gratitude. I am deeply indebted to Bolette Moldenhawer and Trine Øland for inviting me to join the collective research project, Professional Interventions as a State-Crafting Grammar vis-à-vis 'the Immigrant' funded by the Danish Council for Independent Research. This thesis is partly an outcome of, partly a contribution to this collective research project. Being a member of this group offered me the opportunity of collaborating with Christian Ydesen and entering into stimulating dialogues with Ove Kaj Pedersen, Claire Schiff, Farzana Shain, and Agnes van-Zanten.

The list of scholars I have met and engaged in dialogues has grown over time, and so I extend my gratitude to the late Jørgen Gimbel for sharing his life experiences as a scholar in the field of immigrant schoolchildren's education; Löic Wacquant for pushing me to think about the ontological status of the immigrant in Denmark and in my study; Klaus Petersen for hosting me at the Centre for Welfare State Research, University of Southern Denmark and for challenging my understanding of history; Heidi Vad Jønsson for introducing me to the work of Carol Bacchi; Angela Bauer for exchanging stimulating thoughts on the immigrant/state nexus; Kathrine Scott for

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While writing a PhD thesis, one enters into deep water and the risk of getting lost at sea constantly looms. My friends Mikal Ahmed, Jelena Duić, Lajla Monika Friis, Bodil Klausen, Line Klyvø, Anne Vedel Lauridsen, Nina Schjerning, Kathrine Overgaard Rasmussen, Jeanette Ringgaard Svendsen, my father Boris Padovan, my mother Mary-Ann Gordon Padovan, and my sister Mette-Ida Padovan have kept a caring eye on me during my voyage and sent out lifeboats when needed. What kept me from losing sight of land and life were my loving husband Hüseyin Padovan-Özdemir and our three wonderful children, Antun, Müzeyyen, and Zoran, who lit up the lighthouse with their love and joy, and patiently waited for me to come home. To you, I owe everything.

1. Introduction

In August 2014, a journalist from the Danish newspaper *Information* contacted me to conduct a short interview concerning the situation of failed attempts at ethnic desegregation in public daycare settings (Elmhøj and Piil 2014). In 2008, the local education authorities in Copenhagen had initiated what was termed a *language place scheme* (In Danish: *Sprogpladsordningen*) ‘to create better integration among new Danes’ (Elmhøj and Piil 2014)¹ and to enhance the equality of opportunities for all children. In short, the scheme reserved places in daycare institutions for children of non-western descent whose mother tongue was not Danish, in which the majority of children were native Danish. Non-Western immigrant parents could choose to reserve a spot in these daycare settings for their children. By 2014, however, non-Western immigrant families’ children occupied only half of the reserved places, leading the local education authorities in Copenhagen to label the scheme a failure. In response, authorities implemented a new scheme, the *plus place scheme* (in Danish: *Pluspladsordningen*), which was charged with the same ambitions. News about this scheme was that professional groups ranging from home visitors to language counsellors were engaged in promoting it to target families, and on acquiring parental consent, would send in an application for one of the reserved places.

In reading the article for which I had been interviewed, I was struck by the difficulties researchers (including myself), authorities, and educators experienced in framing the situation accurately. On the one hand, the scheme was problematised for it risked stigmatising certain population groups as well as for neglecting the viewpoints, needs, and everyday lives of the targeted immigrant families. On the other hand, targeted immigrant parents were reluctant to take advantage of this offer/option, which also was problematised as stalling integration and depriving the children of better life chances.

Attached to these problem constructions were various categorisations of the particular group of children and their parents – the target groups of the language place scheme. One way to describe the categorisations that appeared in the article is to use the metaphor of a bundle of designations. Each time one would think to know which group of people the article referred to, that designation was bundled with a new one. This resulted in continuously shifting lines of distinction. In this four-page newspaper article, nine designations were attached to the target group of the language place scheme: bilingual children, children of immigrant parents, children with a Muslim background,

¹ My translation. If nothing else stated, all non-English quotations have been translated by the author of this thesis.

children whose parents have a different mother tongue from Danish, children from non-Western countries, minority families, immigrant children, immigrant parents, and new Danes.

One line of distinction placed bilingual children in opposition to ethnic Danish children or Danish-speaking children, implying that bilingual children do not speak Danish (or at least not the right version or at the right level of the Danish language). Another line presented immigrant parents as opposed to parents who are lawyers or who have a university degree from the USA, Australia, and Iceland. This line could be construed as only non-Western (less formally educated) parents inhabit the category of problematic immigrants. Finally, yet importantly, immigrant children were placed in opposition to ethnic Danish children populating the attractive, resourceful daycare institutions, which had reserved special places for immigrant children.

Such lines of distinction served to justify the language place scheme. They seem to follow a logic that posits thinning the concentration of non-Western immigrant children throughout society – in this case, relocating them to daycare institutions populated by a majority of ethnic Danish children. According to this logic, the relocation will result in improved life opportunities, along with social integration.

The article generated a profound sense of discomfort in me. I was discomfited by the subtly racialised lines of distinction drawn through the social body of parents and children. It discomfited me that these racialised lines of distinction seemingly penetrated visions of equal life opportunities, and the educationalisation of life and society. Moreover, my discomfort pertained to ethnic desegregation promoted as the educational tool to achieve societal integration.

Pondering how to process these profound feelings of discomfort, I realised my feelings when reading the article were related to the unquestioned obviousness attributed to the educational problem-solving complex appearing in the article. In turn, my discomfort elicited questions concerning how it was that immigrant children had come to be an educational problem, how certain educational means and interventions were entangled within this problem construction, and what, exactly, was at stake in educational responses to immigrant children's presence in educational institutions. Not the least of my questions: How is it possible to unravel this bundle of educational problem-solving practices responsive to the presence of immigrant children?

My discomfort with the newspaper article illustrates my thesis's research agenda. This agenda cultivates a profound questioning of the educational problem-solving complexes that have emerged in response to non-Western immigrant children's presence in Danish public schools since the 1970s. From then on, particular educational attention was paid to the welfare of non-Western

immigrant and refugee families settling in Denmark. Accordingly, this thesis questions the educational attention paid to immigrant schoolchildren and their families in terms of administrative knowledge practices, teacher professionalisation, and didactical practices as matters of governing. In other words, the thesis asks *how were immigrant schoolchildren made educationally manageable in Danish public schools between 1970 and 2013?* As illustrated by my reading of the newspaper article, much is at stake in educational management of immigrant schoolchildren and their families. To offer a critical exploration of these high-stakes educational practices addressing immigrant schoolchildren and their families, the thesis also inquires *how these practices of educationalised governing have fed into the fabrication of a post-1970 Danish welfare nation state.* Accordingly, I construct my research object by means of a *processual* language; that is, my research object *becomes* the making of educationally manageable immigrant schoolchildren inherent in practices of fabricating a post-1970 Danish welfare nation state.

For now, suffice it to note that my reasons for accentuating this kind of processual object construction are twofold. First, I choose this process as it offers a strategic decentring and displacement of my research object across scale and time. I attend to the peripheral and dispersed local educational practices addressing immigrant schoolchildren and their families by unravelling educational relations between nominal problematisations, singular techniques, and imagined ends that made (im)possible subjectivities, truths, and power relations appear between 1970 and 2013 in Danish educational practices. Moreover, I attend to these educational practices as governing modes fabricating *a (new) social question*² and a post-1970 modern Danish welfare nation state. As such, I study educational problem-solving complexes addressing immigrant schoolchildren and their families not only in terms of these problem-solving complexes' own particularities, but also as educational practices through which a (new) social question can be revisited as the micropolitics of modern state fabrication. In this way, I interrogate educational practices addressing immigrant

² My use of the notion of a (new) social question is inspired by social researcher Jacques Donzelot's (1995; 1997; Hansen 1995) genealogical work on the emergence of the social (in terms of a wide range of social problems arising from capitalism, industrialisation, and urbanisation) as a field of public intervention in late 19th century France breaking up old boundaries between the private and the public sphere, the civil and the political sphere. In this historical context, the modern welfare state appeared as the answer to the social question of securing order and progress in society, while maintaining individual freedom. Although similar historical processes can be observed across Western nation-states, historian of education Daniel Tröhler (2015) shows that the social question has taken on different forms according to local socio-economic structures and political and cultural frameworks. Arguing that the social question has been a key historical feature of modern welfare state formation, I revisit the social question in a post-1970 Danish context; not as a universal concept, but through its historical matter pertaining to the question of integration of non-Western immigrants by means of education. My inquiry of the *new* social question in a post-1970 Danish welfare state context is supported by sociologists Grete Brochmann and Anniken Hagelund's (2011) comparative study on Scandinavian welfare state's responses to non-Western immigrants as a *new* social problem.

schoolchildren, ‘not as a consequence of some imagined “race” and “ethnic” presence, but as a feature of historically specific’ power relations, as suggested by historians of education Marci Green and Ian Grosvenor (1997, 908).

The second reason is embedded in a critical engagement with my research object in its making across scale and time. Paraphrasing Michel Foucault (1997, 140), I can gradually address the problems and questions I struggle with by immersing myself in the educational practices without their confining me. This means I engage with the type of discomfort experienced while reading the newspaper article by exploring my research object from different perspectives of its making and effects. Consequently, I hold myself attentive to the ways my research object is made in and across historical instances of educational practice, while remaining alert to the ways my study contributes to the remaking of its research object – or to the possible transgression of it.

In this fashion, I submit my research to an ‘ethics of discomfort’ as promoted by Foucault (1997, 135–45; cf. Harwood and Rasmussen 2004; Lather 2004). Doing so to address my discomfort by exploring my own certainties as illustrated by the three articles included in this thesis. Each one struggles with a slightly new version of, a fairly new perspective on, and a somewhat new approach to the two overarching research questions presented above. Discussed and woven together in Chapter 4, and put to work analytically in the three articles presented in Chapter 5, these critical, strategic mutations are animated in order to capture the research object in its making, unmaking, and remaking through a multiplicity of educational practices. As Foucault observes,

an obvious fact gets lost, not when it is replaced by another which is fresher or cleaner, but when one begins to detect the very conditions which made it obvious: the familiarities which served as its support, the obscurities upon which its clarity was based, and all these things that, coming from far away, carried it secretly and made it such that ‘it was obvious’. (1997, 143)

By submitting my research to an *ethics of discomfort*, I can establish a framework in terms of a processual object construction and analytical procedures in terms of critical, strategic methodological mutations. This framework enables a practical, unromantic relation to educational practices addressing immigrant schoolchildren to unfold ‘by questioning which orderings of the social contain the greatest danger’ (Villadsen and Karlsen 2012, 141). By viewing every practice with its problematisations, solutions, and ends as *dangerous*, we may eschew the romanticism of the binary of good and bad (Harwood and Rasmussen 2004, 308). Viewing everything as dangerous offers a critically strategic perspective on my research object, which is historically so deeply involved in doing good. In this way, I do not use dangerous and danger in an evaluative manner.

Rather, I use it as an analytical tool for capturing ambiguities as reality and turning practices of doing good upon themselves. Turning one's research object upon itself means to study processes of its making both in terms of the grid of intelligibility available to me as a researcher and in terms of what history makes of it.

Sociologist Kaspar Villadsen and philosopher of religion Mads Peter Karlsen argue that one key challenge of poststructural research on welfare work and the welfare state is acknowledging and re-examining the ways the welfare state has successfully embraced and domesticated the very concepts of criticisms such as 'diversity' and 'empowerment' (2012, 143). Villadsen and Karlsen suggest we examine the functions of 'universals' as state, society, and citizens – a list to which I would append the additional immigrants, integration, welfare, and education – at 'play in concrete practices' (2012, 144). Villadsen and Karlsen add this type of critique turns the universalised concepts upon themselves³. Similarly, professor of cultural studies in education Patti Lather suggests we 'historicize the very terms our analysis is organized around' (2004, 281). In my analytical work, this means subjecting the core concepts in my research questions, such as *immigrant, welfare, nation, integration, and education*, to rigorous examinations of their making in specific historical practices, in which by definition educational research itself is embedded. Therefore, an ethics of discomfort helps me think against myself in practices across research, administration, professionalisation, and didactics addressing immigrant schoolchildren's education, to paraphrase Lather (2004, 281).

In sum, this thesis contributes effective histories of the making of educationally manageable immigrant schoolchildren as a matter of governing public welfare through individual welfare. As such, this thesis offers reproblematisations of the education of immigrant schoolchildren and their families, showing how educational welfare work addressing non-Western immigrants functioned not only as a deeply rooted national(ist) project, but also equally as a civilising, racialising, modernising project of governing the social. Accordingly, the thesis shows how revisiting the social question in a post-1970 context of educating immigrant schoolchildren disturbs the optimistic salvation project of publicly educating and integrating immigrants, while also attending to the educational minutiae of governing the social. Hence, the thesis provides an analytical decentring of

³ Villadsen and Karlsen also argue that critical studies on the welfare state should deploy a 'capability approach' – 'that is, bring into view the discursive, material, and institutional conditions necessary for individuals to critically question the truth through which they are being governed' (2012, 143). Although this approach seems essential to educational studies of agency, it is beyond this thesis's scope. Instead, I translate Villadsen and Karlsen's suggestion into a critical examination of the research context (see Chap. 2) that has provided the necessary conditions for me to critically question the truths through which my research object has been objectified and governed.

the welfare nation state that locates governing of the social in dispersed educational practices, wherein problems are constructed, solutions suggested, and visions of a better society imagined. Thus does the thesis succeed in capturing the ways a post-1970 Danish welfare nation state has been practiced, fashioned, and crafted, but not named.

In the following section, I offer an examination of three historico-analytical components to use in performing critical research based on an ethics of discomfort to clarify the epistemological foundations of the critique this thesis extends.

1.1. Epistemological foundations for doing positive critique

In a discussion of what critique is, Foucault sets out to answer this question by historicising the very concept of critique. He observes that modern critique – or critical attitude – is conditioned upon three interrelated practices that have unfolded since the 19th century:

[F]irst, positivist science, that is to say, it basically had confidence in itself, even when it remained carefully critical of each one of its results; second, the development of a State or a state system which justified itself as the reason and deep rationality of history and which, moreover, selected as its instruments procedures to rationalize the economy and society, and hence, third, this stitching together of scientific positivism and the development of States (...). A fabric of tight relationships is woven between them such that science is going to play an increasingly determinant part in the development of productive forces and, such that, in addition, state-type powers are going to be increasingly exercised through refined techniques. (1997, 50)

From these observations, Foucault argues we must attend to how modern critique is fashioned in the practices and processes of the governmentalisation of state, society, and individuals (1997, 44–48). In other words, we must understand modern critique's emergence and development as an answer to the question of how to govern. Even more importantly, it represents 'how not to be governed *like that*, by that, in the name of those principles, with such and such an objective in mind and by means of such procedures, not like that, not for that, not by them' (Foucault 1997, 44; italics in original). Along this line of reasoning, modern critique is about replacing falsity with fact, questioning governing's legitimacy, and calling authorities into question. In a broader reading of Foucault's work, sociologist Thomas Lemke (2011, 29) describes this modern critical reasoning as a negative 'juridico-discursive' practice based on rational, normative standards by which governing practices should be evaluated. Critique as a negative juridico-discursive practice is about

eradicating errors and false consciousness, by means of instrumentalising rational, normative standards to achieve a better future, while maintaining an ‘asymmetrical opposition between those who know and those who do not, the world of science and everyday life, the governors, and the governed’ (Lemke 2011, 30).

Similar to Foucault’s scepticism directed at faith in reason as a core feature of modern critique (Fogh Jensen 2013, 283), I frame this thesis’ overarching research questions that enables me to perform a critique that does not easily lend itself to instrumental educationalisation of integration⁴. This framing again relates to the discomfort I felt reading the above-mentioned newspaper article. As such, my discomfort elicits a scepticism towards the generally held optimistic belief that education in various forms saves immigrant children from sociocultural deprivation and exclusion, socialises them as proper citizens, and maintains an integrated society. In her discussion of Foucault’s concept of critique, gender theorist Judith Butler writes that ‘[t]he categories by which social life are ordered produce a certain incoherence or entire realms of unspeakability. And it is from this condition, the tear in the fabric of our epistemological web, that the practice of critique emerges’ (2001, 3). In this light, and to be more precise, my discomfort generates my questioning of the power/knowledge nexus that governs this expression of educational optimism engendering practices of educationalised integration of problematised immigrant schoolchildren and their families.

My specification of the thesis’s form of critique is informed by Foucault’s suggestion of a positive critique as an alternative to the modern negative juridico-discursive form of critique described above. Fundamental to a positive critique is forming an understanding of the productive forces of modern entanglements of power and knowledge. Knowledge cannot exist without the coercive power of rules and constraints sorting the unacceptable from the acceptable, whereas power cannot exist without knowledge systems granting it validation and legitimacy (Foucault 1997, 61). The power/knowledge nexus can be used as an analytical grid that requires a precise historical content in every critical analysis (Foucault 1997, 60). In this respect, there is no doubt that my histories on the making of educationally manageable immigrant schoolchildren and their families as modes of governing that fabricate a Danish welfare nation state operate as ‘true histories’, which can be compared with other historical accounts (Lemke 2011, 31). However, they are not empiricist histories, but instead critical and effective histories (Dean 1994). They are critical

⁴ What I mean by the *educationalisation of integration* is covered extensively in my article on racialised entanglements of teacher professionalisation and problematised immigrant schoolchildren crafting a Danish welfare nation-state, 1970–2013, in section 5.2.

inasmuch as I engage in patient examinations of ‘what is held to be given, necessary, natural, or neutral’ (Dean 1994, 20); and effective in terms of constituting a practice ‘undertaken in a particular present and for particular reasons linked to that present’ (Dean 1994, 14). This way of writing histories will be elaborated and methodologically underpinned in section 4.5.

To write critical and effective histories, three components should be derived from Foucault’s positive form of critique: 1) a practice of problematisation, 2) an art of (in)subordination, and 3) a practice of transgression. These three components are all epistemologically fundamental to this thesis, which I will discuss in the following paragraphs.

To practice *problematisation* means I question universals⁵ such as immigrants, integration, welfare, nation, and education in order to show these concepts’ contingency. Consequently, a practice of problematisation examines the processes and practices by which these concepts become universalised and accepted. ‘From this perspective, universals are no longer the starting point of analysis but rather the effects of historical practices’ (Lemke 2011, 31). In spite of their historical contingency, their coming into being as universals is effective. This suggests that concepts such as immigrants, integration, welfare, nation and education make a difference to the subjectification of individuals in social practices and to the formation of social order. As such, Foucault argues, we must attend to the social ordering of the acceptable as well as the unacceptable in concrete historical practices (1997, 61–62). In other words, this thesis’s critical and effective histories are premised on problematisations of problematisations ‘with the maximum complexity and difficulty so that a solution does not arise all at once’ (Foucault 1991 cited in Lather 2004, 282). Thus, a practice of problematisation that problematises the obvious problem has as its imperative to view everything as ‘dangerous’ (Lather 2004, 291) – that is, to look for *dangers* in educational practices of integrating and securing the welfare of immigrant schoolchildren and their families. Lather polemically observes that ‘if everything is dangerous, then we always have something to do’ (2004, 291; citing Foucault 1983). Consequently, a practice of problematisation also questions *how* we see certain dangers in particular historical practices.

I find one possible answer in the second component of a positive critique in terms of practicing an art of (in)subordination. To view dangers in educational practices is to see them from *within*, not through an external evaluative prism. This is what is meant by turning concepts upon

⁵ I understand and work with *universals* as concepts, problems, and practices that have become accepted and stand unquestioned and, therefore, are difficult to render *dangerous*. Accordingly, I examine *universals* as nominal and historical concepts, problems, and practices that exist effectively, but not by necessity. I elaborate on this approach in Chap. 4.

themselves and providing precise historical content to a critical enterprise (Raffnsøe 1999, 18). Performing an art of (in)subordination entails *describing* educational practices – in my case, how they cast immigrant schoolchildren and their families as objects of educational concern, how these problematisations are managed, and with which objectives. As such, I subordinate myself to the power/knowledge nexus of educational practices. However, I remain insubordinate in terms of attending to the ambiguities inherent in these educational practices by exposing, for example, how welfarist care is brutal, how cultural diversity is educationalised in a subtly racialised manner, or how integration is viewed as a civilising project. According to Lemke, critique implies negotiating what is deemed true ‘with the means of truth [available in the historical practices of one’s study] by finally changing the regime of truth’ (2011, 35).

By alluding to change, Lemke’s assertion leads us to the third component of a positive critique. In this perspective, change is understood as a transgressional practice by which I put my practice of problematisation at risk; that is, I expose my own research questions to objectification – or at least scholarly contextualisation. Using the example of comparatively different cultural reactions to capitalism in various Western locations, historian of education Daniel Tröhler notes that ‘[s]ome of these reactions were educational and some were not’. He concludes, ‘educational questions that trigger research are obviously culturally biased’ (2013, 81). It might seem banal, but the way that I problematise my research questions in this thesis is via the inescapable academic drill of sketching out the scholarly research context with which I side or hope to extend, or alternatively, from which I distance myself. Crossing several disciplinary boundaries, research topics, and national as well as international research literature (see Chapter 2), I expose the ways my own research questions are historically and scholarly biased (Fendler 2014, 174). In terms of exercising a positive critique, this thesis’s research questions are strategically loaded with historically and scholarly biased concepts (immigrant, welfare, nation, integration, education) whereby I can turn their inherent truths upon themselves. The transgressional practice is found in strategically combining these concepts to question and problematise their given problematics anew, resulting in a catalogue of new viewpoints.

In sum, the kind of critique this thesis performs is not about substituting errors with facts, but instead about problematising historical practices concerned with problematising immigrant schoolchildren and their families. It is not about evaluating past practices of making immigrant schoolchildren educationally manageable, but rather of turning these practices of truth upon themselves. It is not about romanticising an opposition between the governing and the governed or

rationalising a historico-analytical distance between my analytical work and the research object, but as an alternative, interrogating how my research is always already immersed in the practices that make up my research object (Raffnsøe 1999, 9). As such, I perform a form of critique that is inherently suspicious about its own history and the history of the object and questions it addresses.

Before moving on to sketch out the scholarly context of this thesis, in the next section, I provide some general reading guidelines as to how this thesis is structured to address the research questions, pursue a positive critique, and offer new viewpoints.

1.2. Reading guidelines

[d]o you think that I would keep so persistently to my task, if I were not preparing – with a rather shaky hand – a labyrinth into which I can venture, in which I can move my discourse, opening up underground passages, forcing it to go far from itself, finding overhangs that reduce and deform its itinerary, in which I can lose myself. (Foucault 1972, 17)

The above quotation is taken from the conclusion in Foucault's introduction to *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. I find the words particularly apt as the opening act in outlining this thesis's structure and providing the reader with some guidelines on approaching my work. The image of a labyrinth is particularly suitable for describing my research process of writing a cumulative article-based thesis, since this thesis genre has encouraged me to explore my research questions and research object from different starting points, using different maps, paying attention to different clues, following different paths, and finding different exits. As such, the image of a labyrinth describes a 'perpetual state of always beginning again' (Lather 2004, 291)⁶, whereby it also designates how my collection of articles is the result of strategically using an ethics of discomfort in terms of remaining continuously suspicious about my own certainties.

Even so, among this variation, it should be recognised as the same labyrinth, fashioned according to my research questions and research object. Accordingly, I prepared a labyrinth that could lead me to the historical minutiae of educational practices illuminating and addressing immigrant schoolchildren's presence in Danish public schools as modes of governing in fabricating a Danish welfare nation state, 1970–2013. Chapters 1 through 4 address the preparation of the labyrinth. However, they also exhibit a reconstruction of how the thesis's three articles have crossed

⁶ Lather does not refer to the image of a labyrinth, but to the methodological implications of Foucault's suggestion regarding an ethics of discomfort.

and stimulated each other during the research process, ultimately, giving shape to the labyrinth that they shared. Due to genre constraints, the articles do not present the entire scope of research literature that has informed this thesis. Accordingly, Chapters 1 through 4 engage with a wider range of research literature that goes beyond the literature to which the articles refer.

In the introduction, I painted a picture of the discomfort that guides this thesis and how it translates into two complicit research questions and a preliminary construct of my research object. I also explicated a critical agenda concerning writing effective histories on the making of educationally manageable immigrant schoolchildren and their families as modes of governing feeding into the fabrication of a Danish welfare nation state, 1970–2013.

In Chapter 2, I describe the research context that has informed this thesis. In this fashion, the chapter addresses a broader spectrum of the literature that has guided my research. It is broader in terms of elaborating on and adding to the literature discussed in the three articles, as well as in terms of elucidating this thesis's cross-disciplinary orientation. In constructing my research context, I identify and thematise four research areas relevant to my research questions: 1) the forming of a modern (Danish) welfare state, 2) the (Danish) welfare state and immigration since the 1970s, 3) immigrant schoolchildren's education, and 4) educational practices studied and understood as modes of state governing. These research areas constitute a thematic, historiographic contextualisation of my research questions and the research object. The chapter serves as a reflexive reconstruction of the historical and scholarly biases implied in my research questions, while marking out the thesis's position and contribution in this research context.

Chapter 3 serves as an intermezzo of reflection between the research context and my methodological discussion in Chapter 4. In this intermezzo of reflection, I discuss my use of concepts and language(s) as vital methodological aspects of conducting a positive critique in my particular case of doing research across disciplines (cf. the research context), across time (i.e. between 1970 and 2013), and across languages (i.e. processing historical material in Danish and writing up my results in English). These reflections revolve around a handful of contested concepts: *welfare*, *nation*, *immigrant*, *integration*, and *education*. Characteristic of these concepts is their dominance over the research context as well as the historical material and how, as such, they are historically and scholarly biased and embroiled. To this extent, Chapter 3 addresses my experiences of working with and against concepts and my experiences of writing my thesis in English while examining historical material produced in Danish.

Chapter 4 presents a research object under construction. This chapter serves to elaborate on the analytical approaches at work in each article. First, I locate my object construction within an educational research strand, which uses Foucault's work as a way of posing new questions to the context of education. Second, I elaborate on how I construct and study my research object by strategically decentring and displacing it in historical practices of its making. This leads me to expand on my notion of productive practices, which is closely affiliated with my collecting and selecting historical material in terms of texts that regulate, guide, and reflect upon educational practices addressing immigrant schoolchildren's presence in Danish public schools between 1970 and 2013. Third, constructing this thesis' historical material and dividing it into three corpora of practical texts, I discuss the qualities of this kind of historical material and argue for the selection criteria deployed. Hereafter, I account for the process of collecting the textual material and discuss how the three corpora of texts relate to and substantiate each other. Fourth, I revisit each article's analytical approach to determine and discuss the strategic mutations making them distinct explorations of an overarching analytics of governing by questioning problem-solving practices, applying a professionalisation perspective, and rendering didactical practices as governmental. Fifth, I discuss the historical implications of an analytics of governing in terms of writing histories as positive critique. Finally, I describe my marshalling of the historical mass of practical texts collected and selected for this study.

Whereas Chapter 4 discusses the methodological and analytical mutations and shared underpinnings between the three articles, Chapter 5 begins with an outline on how each of the three articles represents a particular focus on the thesis's overarching research questions and contributes to its general project objective. The three articles follow these introductory considerations.

The first article identifies which problem-solving complexes emerged from administrative knowledge practices responding to the welfare of non-Western immigrant families and their school-aged children. It examines how these complexes resonated with fashioning a Danish welfare nation state between 1970 and 2010. As such, the article deploys an analysis of nested problematisations as they appear in commission reports requested by seven different ministries along with a broad range of local government documents pertaining to immigrant schoolchildren's education. Along these lines, the article creates a polyhedron of intelligibility that sheds light on how various domains concerned with administering immigrant families' welfare were nested within one another. Finally, it points to an ambiguous wedding of universal welfare and nation(alism). This ambiguity is

identified in terms of the *brutal care* seen in administering to the welfare of immigrant families and their school-aged children.

The second article revisits the (new) social question pertaining to non-Western immigrant schoolchildren's presence in Danish public schools after 1970 and examines how this (new) social question has been educationalised. In particular, the article interrogates the effects of this educationalisation in terms of the co-constitutive entanglements of problematised immigrant schoolchildren and teacher professionalisation. The article examines the annual reports of the Royal Danish School of Education and three professional journals specialising in immigrant schoolchildren's education. This kind of material exhibits empirical richness; it articulates educational problematisations of immigrant schoolchildren and suggests particular teacher capacities and dispositions to manage these perceived problems, all of which are underpinned by visions for a better society. This analysis observes subtly racialised entanglements of problematised immigrant schoolchildren and the professionalisation of teachers as effects of the educationalisation of culture, language, and integration.

The third article focusses on the pedagogical repertoires made available to the teachers of immigrant schoolchildren. I locate such repertoires in a didactical landscape of 160 teacher guidelines pertaining to immigrant schoolchildren's instruction and socialisation. The article dissolves the didactic logic in a governmental perspective and asks which societal utopia traverses the truths and techniques that should guide how teachers manage immigrant schoolchildren. Accordingly, the article inquires into the pedagogical minutiae of immigrant schoolchildren's education aiming at identifying a horizon of governmentalities spanning the period from 1970 to 2013. This inquiry sees an educational vision of a modern heterogeneity crystallise in pedagogical repertoires for managing immigrant schoolchildren, whereby *difference* is cultivated and normalised in the image of a welfare civilisation.

Chapter 6 sums up how my three articles contribute to this thesis' research context. It offers a catalogue of new viewpoints on the history of immigrant schoolchildren's education, on the educational minutiae of the fabrication of a Danish welfare nation state, and on the dangerousness of governing practices of doing good for the sake of immigrant schoolchildren's welfare by means of education. Thus, it sums up this thesis' positive critique in terms of unravelling the fabric of making immigrant schoolchildren educationally manageable as an answer to a new social question, which, ultimately, can be understood as an inherently modernistic project of securing welfare,

building a (nationally) integrated whole, and demanding civilising progress. All of which reveals the fabrication of a post-1970 Danish welfare nation state as a dangerous imposition of doing good.

2. Research context

This chapter serves two functions. One, it presents and discusses the research literature that has framed and informed the research questions and the object for this thesis. Accordingly, the chapter functions as a thematic, historiographic reconstruction of the research context out of which my three articles arise. Foucault writes: ‘[T]he new fact is always a bit of an idea from the back of one’s mind anyway’ (1997, 143). Thus, two, I use this contextualisation to submit my research questions and object to a critical examination of their historical and scholarly biases. In this manner, by subscribing to an ethics of discomfort, I put my own research at risk in discussing which historical and scholarly biases have worked from the back of my mind.

As this research context results from a cumulative process, on the one hand, it represents the research literature and research fields to which I have turned in framing explorations of my own research questions. On the other, it represents the research literature that has fashioned my research questions and research object. These two processes are not easy to disentangle. Therefore, I organise this research context as a themed historiography of research informing my research questions as well as my research object. Consequently, I emphasise *my* reading of carefully selected research literature, offering content that is less descriptive and more analytical.

The research context established for this thesis is based on a thematisation of research that 1) examines the forming of a modern (Danish) welfare state, 2) interrogates a (Danish) welfare state faced with non-Western immigration since the 1970s, 3) studies the education of immigrant schoolchildren, and 4) investigates how educational practices addressing immigrant schoolchildren can be studied and understood as state governing modalities.

A certain progression of delimitation can be observed in this organisation of a themed historiography. I begin with a broad reading concerning the formation of a modern (Danish) welfare state and continue with a more narrow focus on the post-1970s (Danish) welfare state faced with non-Western immigration. I further delimit this focus to studies of immigrant schoolchildren’s education. From the historiography of research on education of immigrant schoolchildren, a research lacuna appears in terms of studies addressing the history of immigrant schoolchildren’s education and studies engaging with the professionalisation of educational work addressing immigrant schoolchildren. Finally, I recast the narrow focus on immigrant schoolchildren’s education in light of scholarship engaging with education as practices of governing and welfare nation state fabrication.

My research context spans several disciplines: education, history, sociology, anthropology, political science, political philosophy, and migration studies. Due to my approach of a themed historiography, I allow myself to cluster research and researchers in the above-outlined themes, although the researchers themselves might not identify with these specific research themes. What I try to do with this kind of themed historiography is show my particular construct of a research context and, hence, how I receive, or understand, this research. In other words, this chapter constructs and exhibits a research context that is particular to the thesis, but not necessarily identical with the research positions referred to in the literature.

Given my research questions and research object, I refer to predominantly Danish and Scandinavian research literature. International literature is included to shed new light on the Danish context and avoid methodological nationalism. Most importantly, it is included to allow for engaging in an international discussion concerning how non-Western immigrant schoolchildren and their families have come to constitute a precarious object of educational concern in Western welfare nation states since the 1970s.

The chapter ends by addressing how examining immigrant schoolchildren' education, in conjunction with the welfare governing of immigrant families, may function as a critical prism through which to study the fabrication of a post-1970 Danish welfare nation state. Accordingly, I clarify three distinct contributions this thesis makes to this research context: 1) an historical perspective on the making of educationally manageable immigrant schoolchildren in Danish public schools between 1970 and 2013, 2) an educational perspective on the welfare state/immigrant nexus, and 3) a governmental perspective on the dangerousness of educational welfare work addressing immigrant schoolchildren and their families.

2.1. Forming a modern (Danish) welfare state

From an international comparative perspective, starting in 1990 and proceeding onwards, the Danish or Nordic welfare state serves as an intriguing reference case (Larsson, Letell, and Thörn 2012, 6). Professor of sociology and political science Gøsta Esping-Andersen (1990) identifies three types of welfare state regimes and promotes a comparative approach to studying welfare states that is sensitive to the contextual diversity in which various such states have emerged. For a comparative approach to work, he suggests thinking about the welfare state in terms of its level or capacity for decommodification, its social stratification, and its relations with the market. In other words, to

what degree is the individual independent from the market in terms of securing an acceptable living standard? What is the degree of social mobility available to an individual in the society? How is welfare service delivery shared among state institutions, the market, and nongovernmental organisations?

Taking as a point of departure the notion of social citizenship, Esping-Andersen argues that ‘[t]he welfare state cannot be understood just in terms of the rights it grants. We must also take into account how state activities are interlocked with the market’s and the family’s role in social provision’ (1990, 21). Esping-Andersen identifies three welfare state regimes. The first is the *liberal* welfare state regime with a low degree of decommodification, means-tested assistance, and, hence, a strong reliance on individual responsibility and a work ethic (e.g. Canada, Australia, and the UK) (1990, 26). The second is the *corporatist* welfare state regime with a modest degree of decommodification inasmuch as it displaces the market as a welfare services provider, but preserves traditional family structures in excluding, for example, non-working wives from social insurance (e.g. France, Germany, and Italy) (1990, 27). The third is the *social democratic* welfare state regime promoting a high degree of decommodification with all social strata incorporated under one universal welfare system (i.e. the Scandinavian countries). This last welfare state regime is, Esping-Andersen argues, an inherently emancipatory project that minimises the individual’s dependence on both the market and the family:

On the one side, the right to work has equal status to the right of income protection. On the other side, the enormous costs of maintaining a solidaristic, universalistic, and decommodifying welfare system means that it must minimize social problems and maximize revenue income. This is obviously best done with most people working, and the fewest possible living off social transfers. (1990, 28)

This quotation points to the ambivalence observed in the forming of a Danish welfare state. Historian Klaus Petersen observes that welfare state studies since the 1970s have ‘emphasised the growing internal tensions in the welfare state project’ (1997, 370). I identify three clusters of welfare state research that helps me illuminate ambiguities in the (Danish) welfare state project. The first cluster pertains to the political and institutional history of the welfare state. The second revolves around social policy analysis. The third refers to welfare state studies inspired by Foucault’s work on the modern state.

The recent six-volume work on Danish welfare history covering the period from 1799 to 2014, edited by historians Jørn Henrik Petersen, Klaus Petersen, and Niels Finn Christiansen (2010), epitomises the first cluster of the political and institutional history of a Danish welfare state

by identifying the influences of political actors, movements, and shifting parties in government that have been responsible for fashioning the Danish welfare system (see also Kolstrup 2014). As such, these six volumes present a political history of the institutionalisation of welfare provision in terms of, for example, poverty relief, old age provision, labour insurance, health care, family policies, and, since the 1970s, immigration and integration policies. This six-volume opus is comprehensive in descriptive historical details, but is less analytical in its identifying ambiguities in the welfare state project. In sum, the volumes feed into a mainstream historical narrative concerned with the forming of a Danish welfare state following the institutionalisation and expansion of welfare provision under state responsibility⁷.

Within the cluster of political and institutional history of the welfare state, it is commonly held to begin the historical narrative with 19th century popular nation-building. Historian Ove Korsgaard argues that to understand the forming of a Danish welfare state, we must observe how popular democratisation was conflated with the notion of a national people after the war with Germany in 1864⁸. Generally speaking, '[n]ationalism was an integral part in the implementation of democracy, the establishment of nation states, and the development of modern industrialised states' (Korsgaard 2008, 55). However, Danish popular nationalism grew out of such civil society institutions as folk high schools and small farmers' cooperatives, Korsgaard argues. Therefore, Danish nationalism was not only conflated with democratisation, but also with social solidarity (Korsgaard 2008, 63). Later, during the interwar period of the 1920s and 1930s, the Social Democratic Party gained strength by promoting itself as the people's party based on an understanding of the Danish people as democratically minded and solidaristic (Korsgaard 2008, 77), whereby the democratisation should be realised through providing social services⁹. Comparative political and economic historians Herbert Obinger et al. (2011) have similarly identified the period between the mid-18th- and mid-19th centuries as the Danish welfare state's formative phase, based on a political compromise effected across social classes, the strengthening of the trade union movement and, the institutionalisation of industrial relations. Bearing in mind these historical

⁷ In section 2.2., I deal with volumes V–VI in detail as they dwell substantially with the political and administrative responses to immigration in Denmark since the 1970s.

⁸ After 1864, 'foreign territories such as Norway, Holstein, and Schleswig were detached', with Denmark having lost its status as a multinational kingdom (Korsgaard 2008, 53).

⁹ Neoinstitutionalists John Campbell and John A. Hall (2009) suggest that social solidarity correlates with ethnic and social homogeneity, as it should be easier to foster social partnership and tax-financed income redistribution among people who identify with each other. It is not this thesis's ambition to engage in a discussion of this hypothesis. However, it must be reckoned that this kind of scholarly and political-administrative reasoning emerges in professional educational practices responding to immigrant children's presence in Danish public schools.

observations, along with observations of the process of a gradual public institutionalisation and universalisation of social rights and welfare provision that was occurring (Kolstrup 2014; Petersen, Petersen, and Christiansen 2010), I now move on to research on the post-World War II (WWII) welfare state, which is of particular interest to this thesis.

Historians Ivan Lind Christensen and Christian Ydesen (2009) write that a post-WWII expansive (Social Democratic) Danish welfare state was made possible due to the recent events experienced in the interwar years of economic depression and the cruelties inflicted during WWII. This frame of reference fuelled a belief in the state as a strong regulator of social forces (Christensen and Ydesen 2009, 135), which acted as an ideological cornerstone of Social Democratic politics aimed at protecting the individual from free market forces. It is widely accepted by historians of the Danish welfare state that the period between 1945 and 1973 is characterised by a rather uncontested Social Democratic hegemony (Christensen and Ydesen 2009; Juul 2006; Korsgaard 2008; Obinger et al. 2011; Kolstrup 2014; Petersen, Petersen, and Christiansen 2010)¹⁰. Obinger et al. argue that even today, ‘the main elements of the social democratic welfare state have been preserved despite some retrenchment and restructuring’ (2011, 7). Scholars largely agree the main elements of a social democratic welfare state resonate with Esping-Andersen’s third type of welfare state regime¹¹; that is, democratic and social citizenship can only be realised when the state provides tax-financed universal tutelage, based on a community of democratically minded, working, and contributing citizens (Juul 2006; Korsgaard 2008, 86–87). Not only was the Social Democratic hegemony made possible due to post-WWII economic restoration (Christensen and Ydesen 2009). It was largely made possible due to the Cold War context because ‘welfare should not be regarded as a luxury, but as an essential element in the defence strategy against Communism’ in terms of ‘giving capitalism a social face’ as noted by Korsgaard (2008, 88).

Returning to my description of the mainstream historical narrative concerning the forming of a Danish welfare state, scholars point to 1973 as a watershed year in Danish welfare state development due to the global oil crisis in 1973 followed by economic recession and, hence, a

¹⁰ The same kind of Social Democratic hegemony is observed in the history of the Swedish welfare state (Larsson, Letell, and Thörn 2012, 6).

¹¹ However, important to bear in mind is historian Søren Kolstrup’s observation that in the early phase of the Danish welfare state’s formation, the institutionalisation of welfare provision (i.e. poverty relief, old age provision, and labour insurance) was much a result of conflating political interests across the political spectrum of urban labour and liberal farmers’ movements (2014, 26–39). A similar understanding concerning the development of a ‘social democratic welfare regime’ is found in Esping-Andersen’s study. Consequently, on the one hand, *social democratic* refers to institutional welfare arrangements of decommodification and defamiliarisation across party ideological boundaries. On the other, *Social Democratic* (with capital letters) refers to the political ideology of the Danish Social Democratic party.

decline of Social Democratic dominance in Danish politics. From a historiographical perspective, what follows from this point is a political and institutional history divided into four decades of the Danish welfare state descending into a state of crisis. The period between 1973 and 1982 was characterised by a growing liberal critique of the Social Democratic welfare state that it was paternalistic, bureaucratic, and cost-inefficient. Between 1982 and 1993, a liberal-conservative minority government ruled, setting in motion a comprehensive process to modernise the public sector. Christensen and Ydesen (2009, 145) argue this modernisation process was fundamentally framed by the TINA principle (an acronym made of the catchphrase ‘There Is No Alternative’) espoused by then British prime minister Margaret Thatcher, in reference to capitalism’s ascendance, marked by the Cold War ending in 1989. This project was characterised by marketisation, decentralisation, and performance- and framework-based management, ultimately, restructuring the institutional organisation of welfare services.

During the period from 1993 to 2001, a Social Democratic-led government replaced the liberal-conservative one in power. Yet, overall, this new government did not subvert the initiated modernisation project. Rather, it relaunched the Social Democratic party’s political vision of a welfare state based on a working populace being couched in an *activation policy*. According to Obinger et al., the period ‘marks a paradigm change in terms of the goals of unemployment policy from compensating income loss to a more demanding policy of getting people back into the labour force’ (2011, 16). Based on this period of welfare-turned-workfare, professor of political science Ove K. Pedersen sees the 2000s crystallising into a time whereby the welfare state was replaced with a ‘competitive state’, in which social cohesion and national competitiveness was sustained by a productive citizenry (2011). ‘Earlier, reforms were carried out to foster democracy, equality, and the “good society”. Now, they are carried out in order to create efficient and competitive economies’ (Pedersen 2011, 32).

From this brief historiographical review of the political and institutional history cluster concerning the Danish welfare state, I argue that this research cluster illuminates the ambiguities of a Danish welfare state formation against a backdrop of conflating political party agendas. Particularly in the post-WWII era, the liberal party (*Venstre*) and the Social Democratic party (*Socialdemokratiet*) appeared to colonise or domesticate each other’s political rhetoric as none of them seemed to be (or could express being) against a welfare state system that enjoyed wide public support (Christensen and Ydesen 2009). In sum, the political and institutional history of the Danish

welfare state captures ‘a dialectic of continuity and change’ in terms of de commodification and recommodification, defamilialisation and refamilialisation (Obinger et al. 2011, 24).

The second scholarship cluster on the Danish welfare state I identify takes its point of departure in the post-1970s historical narrative of a welfare state in crisis. However, rather than pursuing a political party analysis of this crisis, this cluster investigates the practical logic and effects of social policy reforms as they capture the welfare state’s ambiguous modernisation, argues sociologist Lars Hulgård (1997, 9). Aiming to challenge traditional reform implementation theory, Hulgård deploys a cultural analysis of the grand social development programme (SUM)¹², which ran from 1989 to 1991. He argues this reform programme crystallised the modernisation project initiated in the early 1980s. Hulgård identifies two forms of modernisation that sought to meet the above-mentioned critique of the welfare state’s paternalism, bureaucracy, and cost-inefficiency. One pertains to productivity and efficiency via decentralisation and marketisation, and the other to democratisation via citizen involvement and marketisation. Hulgård succeeds in characterising a post-1970s Danish welfare state as being neither a clear-cut social democratic welfare regime nor a clear-cut neoliberal workfare regime, but something in-between. Accordingly, he does not see marketisation and decentralisation as signs indicating a dissolving welfare state based on equality, solidarity, and public responsibility. Instead, they reflect questions arising regarding reallocation and differentiation of welfare provision with a great democratising potential by involving and making civil society actors responsible in developing and providing social services. In a later article, Hegland and Hulgård (1998) observe that SUM expressed the welfare state’s domestication of bottom-up reformatory work.

In line with Hulgård’s cultural perspective on the practical logic and effects of social policy reform, in an edited volume on post-1970s Danish social policy, sociologists Jørgen Elm Larsen and Iver Hornemann Møller (1998) argue for a broader definition of the welfare state. The welfare state is not only the materialisation of a Social Democratic vision. More importantly, it is an administrative and political relay for the nation state’s organisation of welfare that has crossed political divides for the past 150 years. What emerges from this research cluster on the post-1970s Danish welfare state are attempts to challenge the political and institutional history of welfare state formation by investigating ambiguities in social policy reform development.

Along this line of thinking, political scientist Jakob Torfing (2004, 274–76) suggests focussing on the discursive crafting of policy problems, solutions, and terms for decision-making.

¹² The original program title in Danish: *Det Sociale Udviklingsprogram*.

In doing so, it can be addressed how polyvalent concepts such as ‘activation’ and ‘empowerment’ serve various actors, uniting them in common agreement on the policy problem and solution, while disguising the different content they assign to the same concepts. Accordingly, in his contribution to a comprehensive study of democracy and power in Denmark commissioned by the Danish parliament in 1997, Torfing provides a discursive policy analysis of transformations in Danish welfare state practices throughout the 1980s and 1990s. His analysis shows welfare practices addressing unemployment changed from being matters of income support to those of activation, that is, a turn from welfare to workfare (Torfing 2004, 9). However, he also argues we should consider Danish activation policies in light of their prioritising training and empowerment and, thus, their exhibiting a broader understanding of what it means for workers to be reintegrated into the labour market.

In this way, scholarship on the welfare state regarding social policy analysis seems to move closer to the ambiguities and paradoxes inherent in modern welfare states; that is, an ambiguous complex of coercion and liberation (Larsen and Møller 1998, 38). Larsen and Møller write that Foucault’s work is highly illuminating concerning the welfare paradox. On the one hand, welfare services offer a social security, enabling individuals to pursue life styles liberated from family and labour market constraints. On the other, this extensive system of social rights makes individuals dependent on the system itself, as only a member of this solidaristic community can enjoy these rights and benefits. The community offers one certain rights, and in return, it asks one to relinquish some amount of individual freedom (1998, 27–28).

This brings me to the third research cluster on the welfare state that picks up on Foucault’s studies of the modern state. Numerous researchers (Bröckling, Krasmann, and Lemke 2012b; Cruikshank 1999; Dean 1994, 182–87; Greve 1995; Hansen 1995; Larsson, Letell, and Thörn 2012; Nielsen 2009; Villadsen 2007; Villadsen 2013) argue Foucault’s work provides intriguing perspectives on the ambiguities inherent in modern welfare governing and modern welfare state fabrication. Sociologist Mitchell Dean writes that ‘Foucault points out this perilous paradox that the state thrives through demands both for liberties and rights. and for order, provision, and welfare’ (1994, 186). Dean offers a closer examination of Foucault’s studies concerning this paradox, distilling the ‘welfare state problem’ to a tension between individualisation and totalisation. Thus, in one motion, social integration provides citizens with rights, individual freedom, and welfare, all the while their welfare becomes an object of exploitation ‘essential to the might of the state and the quality of life within it’ (1994, 185).

This perspective on the welfare state is also found in philosopher Sverre Raffnsøe's contribution to an edited volume on 'welfare management' (Sløk and Villadsen 2008). Raffnsøe writes about the tension between individualisation and totalisation, labelling it the 'welfare ghost'.

It is a kind of welfare constituting an integrative, civilising progress and resembling an offer one cannot refuse, as it relates to one's worldly salvation. At the same time, it is an exceptionally obliging welfare involving the possibility of one's own absorption. (Raffnsøe 2008, 250)

With reference to the Danish welfare state's reactions in the aftermath of the 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States, and the 2005 Danish cartoon crisis, Raffnsøe notes that the welfare state seems to dispense with its constitutional rights as the terrorist threat is perceived as potentially undermining the public welfare. Accordingly, Raffnsøe captures the tension of individualisation and totalisation in terms of welfare states' insensitivity towards anything that seems to cut across their regimes of care (2008, 267). On a similar note, but from a (non-Foucauldian) state- and lifeform perspective, ethnologist Thomas Højrup points to the fundamentalism inherent in universalistic welfare states (2007, 24). Højrup observes how social universalism entwines with a cultural universalism. As much as social universalism provides *culture blind welfare*, it is always also embedded in specific cultural versions of *the good life*. In other words, individual social rights are awarded, but against the need to subject oneself to universalised, standardised ways of living.

Another Foucauldian perspective on the ambiguities inherent in welfare state governing has been pointed out by sociologist Anni Greve (1995; cf. Rose and Miller 1992). She notes the welfare state seems to have become the answer to the problems of liberalism inasmuch as liberalism is understood as a governing practice producing 'the forms of self-perception, self-determination, and self-control needed for the governing of a nation that consists of free citizens' (1995, 55). Accordingly, Greve observes two positions in welfare state research: one pertains to a Social Democratic understanding of the welfare state of which liberalism is articulated as its opposite; and another suggests a continuity is found among liberalism, the welfare state, and neoliberalism (1995, 62; Nielsen 2009). The latter suggests we must study the problems, paradoxes, and ambiguities of the welfare state as real and practical manifestations, not only in terms of ideological and theoretical inconsistencies.

In an article on Foucault's relevance to current welfare state research, sociologist Kaspar Villadsen argues that 'the classic dilemma of government versus freedom, of collectivity versus individuality has been intensified in "advanced" liberal welfare states' (2007, 156). As such, we may capture the welfare state governing's ambiguities by examining the interventionist practices in

liberal governing in which the welfare state might or might not be the locus of action (Villadsen 2007, 159; cf. Cruikshank 1999, 4–5)¹³. This approach offers different perspectives on, for example, the processes of decentralisation, marketisation, and democratisation in the 1980s and 1990s observed by scholars in the first two clusters. As an example, historian Peter Nielsen notes the paradox and ambiguity of this kind of welfare state governing emerging in the form of a state-sanctioned orchestration of freedom: ‘Free choice among public services is positively encouraged, thus, it is the state training its citizens to behave according to market [logics]’ (Nielsen 2009, 118). Consequently, we observe marketisation and democratisation (empowerment) enfolded within each other.

This third scholarship cluster on the welfare state does not necessarily refute the historical chronology of phases in the development of the (Danish) welfare state (Larsson, Letell, and Thörn 2012, 5). It does pay more attention, however, to continuities than to breaks and phases. Accordingly, it focusses on strategically selected historical events that combined analytically, illuminate ambiguities in welfare state governing (Villadsen 2004; Villadsen 2013). In this fashion, for example, it becomes possible for Villadsen (2004) to demonstrate how empowerment strategies in Danish social work from the 1970s onwards reflect a reconfiguring of philanthropic social work prevalent in the 19th century. The new empowerment strategies rearticulate the philanthropic approach of speaking to the inner will of the poor whereby they might remake themselves into free, self-governing citizens instead of being enslaved to his/her poverty. Accordingly, Villadsen argues in a later article, examining welfare state governing in this manner ‘demonstrate[s] “inconvenient” continuities that disturb evolutionary and humanistic narratives, and their claim that modern humanism entails a break with the irrationality and inhumanity of premodern times’ (2013, 14).

The reader no doubt observes that research on the welfare state in this third cluster has emerged from various readings of Foucault’s works. As this thesis positions itself within this welfare state research cluster, it seems prudent to include my own reading of Foucault’s lectures at the Collège de France presented between 1975 and 1979 (Foucault 2004; 2008; 2009). These

¹³ This thesis’s concept of state is discussed and clarified in Chapter 4. For now, it should suffice to sketch out my understanding of the state against political scientist Barbara Cruikshank’s definition of the modern state as ‘the liberal, representative, electoral, administrative, legislative, and judicial institutions and practices articulated within the confines of a liberal constitutional framework’. To this definition, inspired by Foucault, she adds the concept of governance as forms of action ‘that aim to guide and shape (rather than force, control, or dominate) the actions of others (...). It includes but is not limited to involve internal and voluntary relations of rule, the ways we act upon ourselves’ (1999, 4). I do not subscribe to this dual conceptualisation of the modern welfare state and welfare governing. Instead, I propose a more radical reading of Foucault’s work on the modern state (Foucault 2004; 2009; 2008) in terms of supposing that the state does not exist a priori and independently of practices of welfare governing, but emerges precisely from practices of governing welfare.

writings have been particularly inspiring to me as they summarise Foucault's preceding studies of power and knowledge, rearticulating them as analytical perspectives on the emergence of the modern state. Of course, my reading is delimited by my research questions and research object. Hence, I do not claim to offer a detailed reproduction of Foucault's findings and discussions. My primary interest has been in the methodological implications in Foucault's work as his genealogical and archaeological studies of the modern state take a point of departure in a different *present* than my study does. Dean argues one may derive 'a language of critique of the postwar welfare state' (2015, 389) from Foucault's work, yet also go beyond his ideas. Hence, I identify Foucault's overall analytical aspirations in each of the three lecture series and then clarify how these analytical endeavours inform my study of a post-1970 Danish welfare state faced with non-Western immigration.

In the first lecture series, *Society Must Be Defended*, Foucault asks if power is not held, but exercised in relations between forces, 'shouldn't we be analysing it first and foremost in terms of conflict, confrontation, and war?' (2004, 15). Bearing this question in mind, Foucault examines how the notion of war can serve (and has served) as a 'social analyser' (2004, 159). As such, he observes that not only has war functioned as a prism through which we have come to understand the rise and fall of sovereignties, but also as a prism through which societal conflicts have been understood and tackled. Foucault pursues an examination of '[t]he war that is going on beneath order and peace, the war that undermines our society and divides it in a binary mode' (2004, 59–60). Be the topic ethnic, linguistic, or class difference, he argues, the social body is traversed by such lines of division constituting the matrix for 'social warfare' (Foucault 2004, 60). Accordingly, in modern thought on governing society, not only are foreign invaders viewed as the enemy, but also any who deviate from the norm within society. '[I]t is a race that is permanently, ceaselessly infiltrating the social body, or which is, rather constantly being re-created in and by the social fabric' (Foucault 2004, 61). By examining war as a social analyser, Foucault observes how social warfare became an instrument for defending society against its own internal threats during the 19th century. Social warfare materialised, for example, with measures of public hygiene, organised insurance, and urban control (Foucault 2004, 244–45) – that is, practices of governing the social deemed precursors of the welfare state (Donzelot 1995). Thus, I observe Foucault's use of the notion of social warfare as paving the way for a destabilising critique of social care and social regulation of the population by displaying its inherent mechanisms of *state racism* understood as acts of social division, isolation, and normalisation of individuals perceived as dangerous.

In the second lectures series, *Security, Territory, Population*, Foucault abandons the notion of social warfare. Instead, he approaches the question of power and power relations from a governmental perspective as he examines practices of government since the 16th century with some excursions to antiquity. From these lectures, I derive a history of the modern state based on the initial observation of a problematic of governing. Since the end of feudalism in Europe leading to centralised territorial, administrative, and colonial state formation, this general problematic of governing has seen its solutions realised in the form of, first, a territorial state of justice, in which social order was sustained by obedience to the law (Foucault 2009, 98). Second, it was realised in the administrative state form, whereby social equilibrium was achieved by the right disposition of men and things to which there was a plurality of ends (Foucault 2009, 95–99). Governing was conducted in the image of the patriarch who cares for each family member’s well-being and secures the welfare and wealth of the whole family (Foucault 2009, 312–23). Third, it was found in the form of a state of government defined by its population as external to the state itself, yet bringing

to light as a domain, a field of objects, as a possible domain of analysis, knowledge, and intervention (...). Civil society is what governmental thought, the new form of governmentality born in the eighteenth century, reveals as the necessary correlate of the state. (Foucault 2009, 349–50)

With the emergence of society as an external, yet constituent part of the state, freedom was inserted as a pivotal premise to exercising good government. Accordingly, it can be noted the governmental state emerges from this combining of sovereign-juridical rule and disciplinary-regulatory intervention with the aim of enabling the population to govern itself as a form of orchestrated freedom. The governmental state would need to maintain the least amount of intervention over the society’s ‘natural’ and ‘free’ processes, yet shelter the populace from risks thought to be inherent to society itself (i.e. epidemics, anarchy, exploitation, degeneration, etc.) (Foucault 2009, 354). As such, Foucault’s second lecture series does not point to a modern state takeover of society, but instead to a governmentalisation of the state. In this context, Foucault describes the concept of governmentality as an ensemble of institutions, procedures, analyses, reflections, calculations, and tactics having as its target – and instrument – the population, political economy as its dominant form of knowledge, and apparatuses of security as its dominant instrumental forms. Again, these can be found in the rational, knowledge-based planning and securing of the population’s welfare to secure productivity in the post-WWII welfare state.

In the third lecture series, *The Birth of Biopolitics*, Foucault examines the complex entanglements of continuities of power – sovereign-juridical, disciplinary, and biopolitical – found

in problematics attributed to modern state governing. He analyses “liberalism”, not as a theory or an ideology, and even less, obviously, as a way in which “society” “represents itself,” but as a practice, that is to say, a “way of doing things” (Foucault 2008, 318). Foucault argues liberalism can be understood as an instance of critique – or a questioning of government – that breaks with the type of governing having as its ultimate objective the strengthening of the state. With the gradual understanding of society and population as not only the object, but also the objective of state governing, liberalism becomes a prism through which the question can be posed: ‘What makes government necessary, and what ends must it pursue with regard to society in order to justify its own existence?’ (Foucault 2008, 319). I argue that the effects of liberal critique can be found materialising in the reflexive practices inherent in welfare state governing in the form of, for example, commission reports and social development programmes based on which future governing can be justified. Furthermore, this prism of liberal critique sharpens my view of the question concerning how to govern citizens granted freedom in juridical terms, while protecting them and the whole of society from its inherent dangers. As such, Foucault argues,

[t]he state is not a cold monster; it is the correlative of a particular way of governing. The problem is how this way of governing develops, what its history is, how it expands, how it contracts, how it is extended to a particular domain, and how it invents, forms, and develops new practices. (2008, 6)

In sum, Foucault’s third lecture series offers yet another perspective on the governmentalisation of the modern state by examining types of rationalities in state-orchestrated liberties.

Dean argues that ‘the rejection of the identification of power with domination coincides quite precisely with the problematization of the postwar welfare-state compact in Europe by a renewed and recharged liberalism’ (2010a, 60). On this note, it seems fair to summarise that the above-outlined context of welfare state research has provided a historical reference frame for understanding the Danish welfare state’s emergence, in particular, as well as of Western welfare states, in general. I have demonstrated the welfare state can be understood and studied as both an organiser of welfare as well as the effect of governing welfare. Finally, but most importantly, this context of welfare state research points to the relevance of attending to the ambiguities inherent in a post-1970 (Danish) welfare state. However, this context of welfare state research emphatically silenced immigration’s effects after the economic boom in late-1960s Western countries and especially in Denmark. In the following section, I discuss research that effectively breaks this silence.

2.2. The (Danish) welfare state and immigration

Most research on welfare state responses to immigration pertains to questions of integrating immigrants into society after they enter their new country of residence. As such, integration appears as a rather contested concept, both in its being an (highly politicised) object of research and an analytical tool. Consequently, my presenting this themed historiography of research dealing with the (Danish) welfare state and immigration pays particular attention to the various renderings of the concept of integration as I hold it to epitomise and radicalise the ambiguities inherent in welfare state governing identified in the previous section. For now, it should suffice to put forward anthropologist Steffen Jöhncke's (2011, 32–36; cf. Jöhncke 2007) suggestion for treating integration as a classical theoretical concept as well as a popular political concept. Beginning with the latter conception, integration refers to absorbing newcomers (i.e. non-Western immigrants) into Danish society understood as a pre-given entity. In the former theoretical conception (with reference to Durkheimian sociology), integration 'refers to the fundamental theoretical question of how a society is held together' (Jöhncke 2011, 33). Although I do not subscribe to a Durkheimian sociology, as it is deeply involved in the modern state project (Dean 2010a, 148, 216), I do find Jöhncke's suggestion highly relevant for this thesis's critical endeavour because it invites us to examine the mundane practices that are imagined to hold together citizens, society, and the state. Important to this section, I use Jöhncke's distinction to discuss how research on the welfare state/immigrant nexus makes use of normative-political as well as theoretical understandings of integration.

Keeping Jöhncke's observation in mind, my analytical reading of research addressing a post-1970 (Danish) welfare state faced with immigration provides a fourfold-themed historiography. The first theme addresses research favouring the immigrants' perspectives on integration. The second pertains to evaluative analyses of policies targeting immigrants. The third treats research that in various ways identifies problem constructions emerging from welfare state responses to integrating immigrants. The fourth presents research that explores entanglements between nation-building and universal welfare provision.

Although much anthropological migration research has studied migrants' life trajectories and experiences (Brettell 2008), it has been argued only a few studies on the welfare state/immigration nexus have investigated immigrants' experiences of settling and integrating into a

new (welfare) state by applying a bottom-up perspective (Favell 2005, 52–61). A few exceptions can be identified and are worthy of mentioning in this research context as they illuminate a deliberate shortcoming of this thesis. I have deliberately chosen not to explore the life experiences of immigrant children and their parents encountering educational services since substantial educational studies concerning immigrant children’s education have already accounted for this perspective¹⁴. However, I do agree that such research on immigrant children’s education still displays a research lacuna in examining how immigrants not only encounter the receiving country’s educational system, but also engage with transnational networks for the provision of migrant-based education¹⁵.

Similar to writer John Berger and photographer Jean Mohr’s well-known work depicting labour migrants’ lives and experiences in 1970s Europe (2010), cultural sociologist Jonathan M. Schwartz (1985) conducted participatory ethnographic fieldwork among migrant labour communities in the early 1980s in Denmark and the former Yugoslavia. Schwartz explores these groups’ transitional life practices. Based on these findings, he advocates for ‘immigrant research’ focussing on the resources at work in migrant communities and to not treat these resources as ‘simply a sack of old traditions’ (Schwartz 1985, 140). Schwartz also criticises then-current migration research, noting it reproduces ‘the “receiving society’s definition of reality”’ (1985, 140) and, hence, investigates the immigrant life as a question of integration in terms of cultural collisions between a traditional immigrant way of life versus a modern Danish way of life. ‘One of the drawbacks with integration as an object and goal of research is that the immigrants themselves are placed on a scale or hierarchy, which measures their aptitude for being integrated’, Schwartz argues (1985, 34).

According to migration researcher Adrian Favell (2005), it appears that ‘integration as an object and goal of research’ proves to be highly influential in scholarship on the welfare state/immigration nexus. In his review of policy-oriented migration research, Favell observes that integration has constituted a dominant framework for dealing with post-WWII immigration to Western societies, in scholarly work as well as in policy development. In line with Jöhncke’s critical remarks about the concept of integration, Favell notes the intellectual framework of integration is rooted in a modern Western perception of society ‘as a bounded, functional whole,

¹⁴ These studies will be accounted for in section 2.3., in which I also argue why I have chosen not to deploy an immigrants’ perspective in my thesis.

¹⁵ In an earlier study, I show how Pakistani migrant parents and their children engage with educational systems and traditions of the receiving as well as the sending countries of their migration. These transnational activities materialise in the establishment of migrant-based independent schools (Padovan-Özdemir 2012).

structured by a state which is able to create policies and institutions to achieve this goal' (2005, 41). Consequently, when researchers endeavour to track integration processes through policy analyses or census-based data, they inevitably 'invoke the nation-state in the production of a different, caged, and bounded vision of multicultural social relations' (Favell 2005, 43). Alternatively, Favell suggests that while recognising the resilience of the nation state's organisation of the social, we must investigate new forms of local and transnational social organisation that are not state-orchestrated and, hence, not necessarily oriented towards egalitarian, rights-based integration.

To some extent, this alternative research agenda is taken up in an edited volume on migration and belonging in a Nordic context (Alsmark, Moldenhawer, and Kallehave 2007a). Ethnologists Gunnar Alsmark, Tina Kallehave, and cultural sociologist Bolette Moldenhawer explore migration's human dimension as witnessed by migrants' negotiating and managing processes of in- and exclusion in various domains of welfare work and welfare provision. Via this exploration, the authors argue we come closer to understanding the implications immigrants' encounters with the welfare system hold for their sense of belonging (Alsmark, Moldenhawer, and Kallehave 2007b, 8). Moreover, these encounters crystallise how the administration of integration is part of a broader (welfare) state problematic of governing (Alsmark, Moldenhawer, and Kallehave 2007b, 13). However, the volume's focus remains on how immigrants' perceive the welfarist integration measures they encounter. As such, the volume seeks to challenge Scandinavian migration and immigration research that has favoured a focus on immigrants' cultural differences compared with the cultural majority of the receiving countries (Alsmark, Moldenhawer, and Kallehave 2007b, 9–10). The authors argue that highlighting immigrants' coping with in- and exclusionary processes challenges assumptions about connections between state, territory, and belonging.

For example, education researcher Jette Kofoed (2007) shows how student-based conflict resolution displays negotiation processes about appropriate student conflict mediators. In these processes, the 'white' teachers single out one of 'the ethnically racialised others' (in this case, a non-Western, Muslim immigrant student) as someone who can resolve conflicts involving 'the ethnically racialised others'. Accordingly, the student sees himself as a successful conflict mediator. Acknowledging schooling's nation-building aspects, Kofoed suggests that the social ordering, which the chosen, ethnically racialised, conflict mediator is called upon to perform, 'might not be nationally innocent' (2007, 299), but embedded in a global landscape, in which Danish community building appears against a backdrop of post-9/11 Islamic terrorism (2007, 301–2). Along these

lines, Kofoed demonstrates how non-Western immigration and globalisation affect welfare work's everyday practices, in this case, in terms of education. Applying an immigrant's perspective, Kofoed also shows how these educational practices make certain subject positions available to the ethnically racialised other.

Similarly, dealing with in- and exclusion in Danish welfare society, four ethnographic contributions to an edited volume on the question of integration in Denmark (Bundgaard 2011; Danneskiold-Samsøe 2011; Johansen 2011; Mogensen 2011) point to a vehement culturalisation of immigrants encountering welfare services. However, in contrast to the success experienced by Kofoed's racialised conflict mediator, these ethnographies demonstrate a victimisation of immigrants and refugees due to their cultural differences (read – a lack of the dominant cultural features) compared with a Danish cultural normativity. As an example, anthropologist Helle Bundgaard (2011), in her ethnography depicting a three-year-old immigrant child's reception into a Danish kindergarten, shows how this child is rendered dependent and incompetent in following everyday activities in the class setting and, thus, becomes a victim of his parents' inadequate upbringing. A competent child in the eyes of Danish preschool teachers is an independent, self-determinant child. According to Bundgaard, this perception of children must be understood as the 'product of the Danish welfare state and its emancipatory project of individualization' (2011, 165).

Although the transnational turn in migration research (Faist 2000) has increased the volume of studies focussing on immigrants' experiences with the welfare state, the dominant research strand examining the welfare state/immigrant nexus is still found in policy studies. This strand is characterised by institutional analyses of incorporation regimes, integration model typologies, and integration policy evaluations. Such efforts examine the institutional framing of immigrants' life conditions and integrative possibilities. As such, they represent precisely the kind of immigration research challenged by the above-described research, which favours an immigrant perspective. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to direct some attention to policy-oriented research as it illuminates the integrationist reasoning traversing most welfare work and much welfare state research focussing on immigrants. Moreover, I find it echoes the welfare governing ambiguities found in my reading of general welfare state research described in section 2.1.

In a Danish research context, a highly referenced policy evaluation is social scientist Charlotte Hamburger's article (1989) on Danish immigrant policies from 1983 to 1989. Hamburger argues for a conceptual differentiation between assimilation, integration, and segregation, based on her evaluation of Danish immigrant policies. In accord with Hulgård and Torfing's observations of

decentralisation trends in welfare provision that emerged in the 1980s, Hamburger views this trend as a sign of a *de facto* assimilationist immigrant policy, whereby immigrants are to be treated the same way as native Danes according to the established welfare system, ‘regardless of which cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds these immigrants may exhibit’ (1989, 308). Other signs of a *de facto* assimilationist immigrant policy trend are blurry definitions of integration, an absence of clear integration objectives, dispersal initiatives, and legislation targeting only non-Western immigrants (Hamburger 1989, 314). However, Hamburger does recognise the dialogical approach of the decentralising trend in public administration as a sign of a ‘real’ integration policy measure, noting immigrants are granted only a limited degree of influence in the democratic dialogue. Hamburger’s study provides an example showing how the modern understanding of society as a liberal, integrated, bounded, harmonious whole traverses research on the welfare state/immigration nexus inasmuch as she understands integration as a matter of legitimising immigrants’ cultural differences while preserving common cultural grounds through a mutual adjustment process (1989, 309).

Similarly, migration researcher Stephen Castles (1995) suggests a policy model typology for national responses to immigration. The model of differential exclusion promotes including immigrants in the labour market, but excluding them from receiving welfare services, as ‘[p]ermanent settlement is seen as threatening to the receiving country’ (Castles 1995, 294). The assimilationist model favours a one-sided adaptation process on the immigrants’ part. Castles argues integration policies are often weak versions of the assimilationist model because ‘the final goal is complete absorption into the dominant culture’ (1995, 298). The pluralist model, on the other hand, endorses change by welfare institutions, which should adapt to immigrants’ cultural differences. Yet, an integrationist vision is maintained with immigrants expected to conform to certain key values promulgated by the receiving society (Castles 1995, 301). As the analyses of both Hamburger and Castles demonstrate, most welfare states’ incorporation regimes fall at points between these ideal typologies. Consequently, one may ask what epistemological use can be derived from evaluating immigration and integration policies based on ideal models of immigrant incorporation (van Reekum, Duyvendak, and Bertossi 2012)?

Sociologist Yasmin N. Soysal (1994) offers another version of model-oriented policy analyses concerning the welfare state/immigration nexus in her comparative analysis of an institutional organisation of membership and, hence, citizen rights. Soysal endeavours to reverse the generalised assumption that immigrants’ cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds predict their incorporation into the receiving society. Instead, she suggests the receiving countries’ institutional

repertoire frames immigrants' incorporation trajectories (1994, 5). Historically, Soysal argues, the migrant is a product of the nation state system and its ideologies of national membership (1994, 14). However, her analyses show the national anchorage of citizens' rights and obligations has been challenged by an international human rights discourse that obliges nation states to adhere to this transnational rights framework in response to immigrants and refugees. Accordingly, Soysal comes to a conclusion similar to Favell's that researchers on the welfare state/immigration nexus must 'recognize that national citizenship is no longer an adequate concept upon which to base a perceptive narrative of membership in the postwar era' (1994, 167).

Although to a great extent political scientist Riva Kastoryano (2002) pursues the same errand as Soysal in examining the state's role in constructing immigrant communities and their collective identities, his findings suggest today's nation states are highly viable as 'legitimate frameworks of recognition and citizenship' (2002, 2). Focussing on the modes of organisation, mobilisation, and identity demands pertaining to the descendants of immigrants in Germany and France since the 1980s, Kastoryano observes how 'so-called policies of identity' (2002, 5) have caused immigrants' descendants to use identity as an action strategy (2002, 5). Kastoryano notes identity demands exhibit contradictions inherent in Western states inasmuch as 'compensatory policies that aim at reducing social inequalities [due to perceived cultural differences] paradoxically promote the expression of cultural differences and identification' (2002, 184). Consequently, the emancipatory project of Western welfare states identified in the above-discussed research literature not only refers to principles of equality, justice, and modernity, but now also to the recognition of cultural differences, Kastoryano argues (2002, 182).

Whereas Soysal and Kastoryano are preoccupied with membership and identity politics in their studies on the welfare state/immigrant nexus, political scientist Diane Sainsbury emphasises maintaining an immigrants' social rights perspective in welfare state research to uncover 'how welfare states meet the basic needs of immigrants' (2012, Chap. 1). Deploying Esping-Andersen's welfare regime typology in a comparative policy analysis, Sainsbury concludes that welfare state regimes do matter. Sainsbury finds the social democratic welfare regime countries 'have been more effective in reducing poverty and assuring that immigrants enjoy a socially acceptable standard of living than those of the conservative corporatist regime countries, and especially those of the liberal regime countries' (2012, Chap. 12). Sainsbury's findings also point to the racialised stratification of social rights in the welfare state's dealings with non-Western immigrants, but only vaguely does she touch upon the illiberal practices pertaining to promoting immigrants' civic integration.

Social scientists Birte Siim and Anette Borchorst (2008) anticipated some of Sainsbury's findings by examining welfare, gender, and immigration policies in relation to each other. However, their analysis reveals the 'social democratic welfare state regime', to which Denmark supposedly belongs, has not been able to prevent rising social and political inequalities, in particular among women. Instead, Siim and Borchorst's work demonstrates that supposedly 'women-friendly' liberal welfare policies are rooted in a normativity pertaining to a dual breadwinner model, gender equality, and a nuclear family structure. Hence, 'the women-friendly social policies do not include all women' (Siim and Borchorst 2008, 22), causing marginalisation and stigmatisation of immigrant women perceived to be 'potential victims of their own culture' (Siim and Borchorst 2008, 20). As such, Siim and Borchorst raise the question as to whether feminism and multiculturalism belong to two conflicting equality projects, managing to touch upon delicate conflicts in welfare state governing pertaining to individualisation and totalisation. Their research question and analysis nevertheless remain within integrationist reasoning, assuming integration is the object as well as the goal at which the Danish welfare state has failed.

I argue the research on the welfare state/immigrant nexus discussed to this point has addressed the immigrant as a precarious subject and target for welfare state governing; that is, precarious in both the sense of occupying a marginalised position in the receiving society, and disturbing the established norms and practices of post-WWII welfare provisions and services. Highly important to this thesis is a research strand concerned with the welfare state/immigrant nexus that has dealt precisely with processes constructing the immigrant as a precarious subject and target of welfare work. Accordingly, I read this research strand in terms of its problem study approach.

For this, I turn to a work from 1993, when migration researcher Carl-Ulrich Schierup published a volume bearing the title *On the Battlefield of Culture* (På kulturens slagmark). By means of a discourse analysis of media debates, administrative reports, and integration policies since the 1970s in Denmark, Schierup identifies how the problematisation of non-Western immigrants had been constructed as a matter of labour market exploitation constituting this group as a subproletariat in the 1970s. During the 1980s, the problem construction of immigrants centred on the notion of culture (Schierup 1993, 14), out of which grew an institutional complex of professionals and experts involved in welfare services targeting immigrants in Denmark (Schierup 1993, 166). According to Schierup, this complex of professionals and experts viewed culture as the problem as well as the solution to the integration question neglecting the socioeconomic and

political inequality experienced by non-Western immigrants (1993, 152). From an international perspective on the Danish case, it seems interesting to note that Schierup finds this complex of professionals and experts involved in integrating immigrants largely mirroring the emergence of the ‘race relations industry’ in the UK almost two decades earlier. With reference to race scholars such as Franz Fanon, Etienne Balibar, and Martin Barker, Schierup argues the Danish version of a ‘race relations industry’ produced a ‘racism without race’ (Schierup 1993, 160), legitimised by reference to cultural differences. In a similar manner, when the notion of integration gained popular momentum in the 1990s, a racism without race was conceived in a ‘dubious interplay between “integration” perceived in terms of equality and “integration” perceived in terms of “cultural assimilation”’ (Schierup 1993, 35). Thus, perceived opposite to Western culture, developing country nationals’ various cultures were deemed a hindrance to their successfully integrating into Danish society (Schierup 1993, 35). According to Schierup, this practice of constructing the immigrant as an integration problem should be understood as both the result of a perceived welfare state crisis (constructing the immigrant as scapegoat) and of the deficit-compensating measures institutionalised by the growing complex of integration professionals and experts (constructing the immigrant as a victim of its own culture).

Historian Leo Lucassen’s (2005) comparison of old and new migrants in Western Europe largely confirms such problem constructions. Lucassen identifies three core themes upon which problem constructions pertaining to immigrants have centred across the past two-to-three centuries: nationality, religion, or socioeconomic status. However, Lucassen does show a shift in problem focus on the immigrant with the emergence of the expansive post-WWII welfare state, not least because the welfare state came to ‘partly monopolize this domain, which meant that integration became an increasingly public and political issue’ (2005, 108)¹⁶. However, more important than the observation of welfare state monopolisation is Lucassen’s observation that within the welfare state framework, those who ‘did not want to become equal (gypsies are a good example here) were accused of sabotaging the policy of equality and rejecting the ideals of the welfare state’ (2005, 108–9). Consequently, ‘equal’ must be understood as the ‘same’, just as Schierup pointed to the cultural assimilationist side of Danish integration work in the 1980s and early 1990s. In sum,

¹⁶ If we compare this finding with, e.g., Villadsen’s (2004) findings on the reappearance of philanthropic reasoning in social work of the Danish post-1970s welfare state, one might question whether welfare state monopolisation on the integration of immigrants is the major cause of the shift in problem focus on immigrants. As this thesis is not a causality analysis, I will leave this question open.

Lucassen's study alludes to how universal welfare provision constitutes a framework for problematising immigrants according to their nationality, religion, or socioeconomic status.

Political scientist Per Mouritsen (2005) takes up this problem-construction framework pertaining to immigrants as the object of examination when he investigates the particularities of welfare state responses to non-Western Muslim immigration in Denmark. Echoing Korsgaard's (2008) findings on the constituents of a modern Danish welfare state, Mouritsen argues the Danish case exhibits a particular form of civic nationalism, which radicalises when faced with Muslim immigration (2005, 76–81). Consequently, compared with 'civilized native Danes' performing civic virtues such as 'personal autonomy, egalitarianism, and democratic participation' (Mouritsen 2005, 85), Muslim immigrants are constructed as problems because they are 'not natural carriers of a truly liberal political culture' (Mouritsen 2005, 80) due to their perceived antiquated religious affiliation. When the Danish welfare state responds to Muslim immigration, Mouritsen observes, universal liberal values are articulated as specific Danish national values. Hence, politics are culturalised and culture is politicised, resulting in integration – under the yoke of Danish civism – becoming culturalised racism (Mouritsen 2005, 82).

In a British contemporary context, professor Arun Kundnani (2007) observes similar trends in welfare state responses to Muslim immigrants. He argues the politics of universalism have been overtaken by a politics of Britishness with the effect of constructing Muslim immigrants as a cultural threat (2007, 125) – 'not only sealed off from modernity but [with] nothing to contribute of their own' (2007, 137). Based on such findings, Kundnani introduces the concept of 'integrationism' to capture how integration has been redefined as racist assimilation disguised as a civilising, emancipatory project. In doing so, Kundnani offers a slightly different perspective on the emergence of an expansive post-WWII welfare state that witnessed a comprehensive welfare system as a bolster against 'the communist threat' (as also observed by some of the above-mentioned welfare state researchers). Kundnani argues that while the nation state provided universal welfare to all, it also drew a boundary between those with and without membership in the nation granting access to the universal welfare services. It is against this historical backdrop accentuated by the 9/11 terror attack, Kundnani observes, that (Muslim) immigrants have come to be seen as bringing 'division and unrest' and causing 'the erosion of the welfare state' (2007, 5–6).

Reading through historian Heidi Vad Jønsson's contributions to the six-volume work on Danish welfare history (Petersen, Petersen, and Christiansen 2010, vols. V and VI; cf. Jønsson 2013), it appears that since the 1970s, the presence of non-Western immigrants and refugees on

Danish territory has caused political struggles over ways to define the ‘immigrant problem’. Collaborating in part with historian Klaus Petersen, Jønsson investigates how the politicisation of immigrants was shaped during what has come to be regarded as the era of welfare state crisis. In particular, she identifies which problems were suggested by which political party actors (Jønsson 2014; Jønsson and Petersen 2013, 765). Political problem constructions pertaining to immigrants, immigration, and integration, Jønsson argues, fundamentally result from how the welfare state reacts to a globalised world (2014, 863) and how solutions to the constructed ‘immigrant problem’ have crystallised in transformative welfare policies (2014, 993).

Jønsson and Petersen identify the period between 1973 and 1993 as formative when welfare states developed new responses to immigration and integration. During this period, problem construction centred upon immigrants’ social problems as well as constructing immigrants themselves as a social problem (Jønsson and Petersen 2013, 765). Realising that male labour immigrants who came in the late 1960s would actually stay in the country and, later, bring their families to Denmark altered the political problem construction from being one of a labour market issue to one of general welfare. Thus, in the 1970s the problem construction pertaining to immigrant families included the entire palette of the Danish welfare system, such as housing, language training, taxing, labour market integration, education, and organised leisure time activities (Jønsson and Petersen 2013, 782). The general perception was that immigrant families experienced difficulties in accommodating to their new society, and public welfare services needed to accept responsibility in ameliorating these troubles so that ethnicity would not become an inequality factor (Jønsson and Petersen 2013, 786–88).

Due to growing global geopolitical instability, Denmark received historically large numbers of non-Western refugees in the 1980s; thus, refugees were then included in the problem complex – not least, due to the sheer number of immigrants and refugees on Danish soil (Jønsson and Petersen 2013, 801–19). Together with the increase in numbers, cultural issues arose during the 1980s, particularly those pertaining to immigrant children’s education and welfare. In this formative period of developing integration policies, political parties struggled over three models: 1) assimilation promoted by the Conservatives, 2) labour market integration and language training promoted by the Social Democrats, and 3) systemic accommodation of immigrants’ cultural differences advocated by leftist parties (Jønsson and Petersen 2013, 781–82). The second model promoted by Social Democrats prevailed in the 1990s. With the 1998 Integration Act, the immigrant problem solidified as an independent political welfare domain with its own distinct logics (Jønsson 2014, 863).

Securing social welfare and eradicating barriers to equal participation and opportunities thus constituted only a minor part of the ‘immigrant welfare domain’.

A much more significant component of the measures adopted in this particular domain of welfare provision and politics revolved around ‘educating and transforming new, non-integrated citizens into well-integrated ones’ (Jønsson 2014, 907). Accordingly, non-Western immigrants and refugees were suspected of exploiting the universal welfare system. Hence, they were expected to meet duties and sanctions to receive welfare provisions (Jønsson 2014, 906–27). On top of this paradigm of ‘rights and duties’ in welfare policies addressing non-Western immigrants and refugees, ever more restrictive and dualised immigration policies were enacted during the 2000s denoting the non-Western low-skilled immigrant as the ‘least deserving’ of welfare benefits (Jønsson 2014, 995). In a later contribution to an edited volume on immigration policy and the Scandinavian welfare state, Jønsson and Petersen polemically note that restrictive immigration policies were enforced to uphold a humanistic ethos in universal welfare provision (Jønsson and Petersen 2012, 125).

Speaking from a comparative policy perspective on the Scandinavian welfare states’ responses to post-1970 non-Western immigration, sociologists Grete Brochmann and Anniken Hagelund (2011) largely confirm Jønsson and Petersen’s recital of problem constructions’ development pertaining to non-Western immigrants and refugees¹⁷. Brochmann and Hagelund argue the immigrants’ presence constituted a *new* social problem (2011, 16) with social inequality acquiring an ethnic dimension (2012, 1). Accordingly, they identify three problem construction phases pertaining to immigrants: 1) poor living conditions and precarious labour market status, 2) cultural differences, and 3) labour market participation and self-sufficiency (2012, 10). Together, these three constructions act as a dystopian version of the Scandinavian welfare states’ integration project based on emancipation from old community ties, collective social responsibility, and democratic participation. As such, Brochmann and Hagelund argue, integrating immigrants fueled the nation-building project inherent in the Scandinavian welfare state (2012, 16–17).

This entwining of economic, social, and cultural logics in welfare states’ responses to immigration has been investigated by scholars such as migration researchers Martin Bak Jørgensen and Trine Lund Thomsen (2012), and social scientist Rachel Simon-Kumar (2014). Comparing problem constructions of immigrants in the 1970s and 2000s in Denmark against the backdrop of

¹⁷ However, Brochmann and Hagelund do consider the Danish case to represent ‘a particularly draconian version of immigration and integration policies, which some will claim borders on the illiberal’ (2011, 13).

the global economic crises experienced in 1973 and 2008, Jørgensen and Thomsen add to the above-described history of the ‘immigrant problem’ that problematisations pertaining ‘to integration are given less attention in times of economic upturn’ (Jørgensen and Thomsen 2012, 261). They also note economic arguments prevail when policies are designed to attract labour migrants, while cultural arguments dominate, when immigrant integration is a stake.

Examining the case of immigration and integration in New Zealand, Simon-Kumar maps constructions of the ‘desirable migrant’, who ‘was marked by race’ (here, language worked as a proxy for race) in the mid-1990s, but ‘constructed as someone who shares similarities in global, consumptive ‘culture’ regardless of race’ (2014, 1) and cultural belonging in the 2000s. Deploying the notion of ‘racial neoliberalism’, Simon-Kumar observes race does not work as an explicit criterion in neoliberal policy-making, but it affects significantly the racialised social ordering in terms of class. The welcoming of high-income migrants leaves issues of integration, such as democratic participation and cultural adaptation, at the doorstep of the welfare state as the primary expectation of ‘desirable migrants’ is that they will contribute, ‘through investment and certain types of work, even if their presence is intermittent’ (Simon-Kumar 2014, 16)

From the above-discussed research literature, I observe that the notion of integration as both an object and a goal traverses research on immigrants residing in Western welfare states. It also evinces how *integration* epitomises the nation-building project implied in welfare state governing. In recent years, an emerging scholarship strand has pointed to the presence of a *welfare nationalism* emerging from universalist welfare states’ encounters with non-Western immigration. In an edited volume on immigration, exclusion, and the Danish welfare state, editors Karen Fog Olwig and Karsten Paerregaard argue the historical entwining of canonised, national cultural values and the modern universal welfare system’s development causes integration efforts to draw ‘attention to a category of people who can then be perceived as not belonging to this society’ (2011, 16). In this way, as Jöhncke notes, universal welfare has become part of Danish/Nordic national identity, by which welfare services are ‘inclusive of all (the right ones) and exclusive of all others’ (2011, 42).

Since 2007, under the auspices of the Nordic Centre of Excellence: The Nordic Welfare State – Historical Foundations and Future Challenges (NordWel), scholars from various disciplines have been investigating the development of Nordic welfare states facing non-Western immigration after WWII with special attention paid to universal welfare rights and national sovereignty. Political and social scientist Andrzej Marcin Suszycki recognises scholarship pointing to the relationships between national identity and the welfare system (2011a, 10). However, he argues a lack of research

exists on investigating relationships between discursive formations of nationalism and the system of welfare provision. Accordingly, Suszycki's work shows the discourse on welfare nationalism has become 'a legitimate method of maintaining the citizens' willingness to bear the financial and social burdens needed for the welfare system to function' (2011b, 15). In the same edited volume, Jønsson argues that Danish welfare nationalism crystallises as the Janus-face of the welfare state; on the one hand, offering universal social security, on the other, deploying paternalistic expectations of its ('other') citizens (2011, 241). Finish researchers Anneli Anttonen, Liisa Häikiè, Kolbeinn Stefánsson, and Jorma Sipilä (2012) pursue a similar research vein concerning the universal welfare state dealing with diversity matters. They note that universal welfare functioned as a legitimate means for restoring the cultures and economies of Western European nation states after WWII by 'promoting the good of society as a whole' (2012, 4) – that is, a nationally bounded whole. What emerged from the ashes of WWII were not only *welfare* states but also *national* welfare states, which in turn anchored welfare provision to national membership. In another chapter of the same edited volume, researchers Liisa Häikiè and Bjørn Hvinden contrast this homogeneity perspective on the national welfare state with discourses on diversity (2012). They confirm that, historically, equality has been conceived as 'sameness' in the Nordic countries (2012, 70), but compared with, for example, disability or gender, ethnicity stands out as a far more contested form of difference in relation to universal welfare policies (2012, 84).

This emerging research strand on *welfare nationalism* tends to focus predominantly on labour market policy and family policy development, in which immigrants are predominantly constructed as problematic workers or family members. In view of neoliberal *activation* policies promoted since the 1990s throughout European welfare states, sociologist Stephan Lessenich observes how people who are seen as active, mobile labourers are treasured for their productivity, but, at the same time, are constructed as potentially dangerous to the national welfare state (2012, 308). Therefore, Lessenich argues, national welfare management seems to be fundamentally anchored to boundary management practices between those who are selectively constructed as treasured, risk-taking entrepreneurs against those who are situationally constructed as threatening, risk-posing foreigners. The immigrant is most often characterised with both sets of attributes (2012, 315–16). The work of Jørgensen and Thomsen (2013) complements that of Lessenich, pointing out how labour migrants in Denmark have been constructed as 'needed but underserving'. Such a problem construction, Jørgensen and Thomsen argue, leads to civic stratification and welfare chauvinism (2013, 1), by which immigrants are made into the usual suspects who are scrounging

for welfare. Political scientists Emily Cochran Bech and Per Mouritsen identify similar logic and problem constructs in their study of Danish family migration policies since the 1970s, which posits a logic that views family migration as destabilising the ‘welfare contributor-to-recipient ratio’ (2013, 159). As such, migrant family members are constructed as potential threats to the welfare society as they have not yet proven themselves ‘integrated and willing “contributor-citizens”’ (2013, 160), understood as the people who constitute the social fabric of modern Danish nationhood, Cochran Bech and Mouritsen argue (2013, 172).

From the above-discussed research on the welfare state/immigrant nexus, I derive three observational points I think are particularly important to this thesis. First, the notion of integration seems to traverse research on the welfare state/immigrant nexus, often fuelling researchers’ social indignation about the universal welfare state’s inclusionary paternalism and exclusionary practices pertaining to its non-national population. This observation works as a warning to this thesis’s engagement with historical practices of educating immigrant schoolchildren in terms of avoiding measuring historical education practices against ideal notions of a universal Danish welfare state. Second, this cluster of scholarly work provides substantial support for this thesis’s endeavour to study nation-building and welfare governing as a modern state’s integral processes. Third, scholarship pertaining to the welfare state/immigrant nexus clearly presents a void in terms of addressing welfare governing in relation to immigrants’ children. Thus, in the following section, I identify educational research focussing on immigrant children’s education.

2.3. Educating immigrant schoolchildren

In my reading of research on immigrant schoolchildren’s education, immigrant schoolchildren in education, or both, I found it remarkable how inescapable is the notion of integration. According to education sociologists Vibe Larsen and Trine Øland (2011, 5), the epistemological figure of integrationism has been and continues to be fundamental to education and pedagogy in the form of scientific as well as professional practice. This epistemological figure produces an understanding of society as an integrated whole corresponding to the idea of a bounded nation and territory that schools function as a key institutions in sustaining. Larsen and Øland raise concerns over to which extent and how educational research ‘contributes to the dissemination and perpetuating of the idea of the state as an ideology of integrative unity’ (2011, 5) when traversed by the epistemological figure of integrationism. Integrationism, according to Larsen and Øland (2011, 8), is defined by a

culture of homogeneity and equality. It is an unremitting effort to organise and govern the messiness of the social world through practices of normalisation that allow the social body to remain 'pure' and integrated.

Methodological integrationism in (sociological) educational research appears in the way of studying social phenomena and societies as integrated wholes with an interest as to what holds them together (Larsen and Øland 2011, 11). Based on strategic readings of Emile Durkheim's, and Alva and Gunnar Myrdal's socioscientific contributions to the development of modern welfare nation states, Larsen and Øland show how sociological educational research presents itself as offering objective analyses of social phenomena, but also as a politics of social ordering and integration (2011, 10). Larsen and Øland (2011, 13–14) make the case that the epistemological figure of integrationism epitomises a welfare nation state *raison* of science-based organisation and optimisation of the good life, along with a simultaneous elimination of life forms supposedly threatening *the* good life and the integrated whole. Accordingly, Larsen and Øland's analysis confirms Kundnani's observation of an 'integrationism' in terms of a redefined integration, in which racist assimilation is disguised by a civilising, emancipating, and equalising project.

Compared with Jöhncke (2011), Larsen and Øland appear to go further in their critique on the notion of integration. Whereas Jöhncke distinguishes between a theoretical and popular understanding of integration, Larsen and Øland show the collapse of this distinction: '[R]esearch produces ideological categories, and the professions disseminate and transform them into welfare categories and practices' (2011, 7), which are then taken as research objects, I would add. Consequently, social and educational researchers are always at risk of becoming trapped in methodological integrationism (Larsen and Øland 2011, 6–7) regarding the imperative of producing relevant research, being 'tainted and seduced' by their research object, and owing to the integrationistic inclination to establish unambiguous results.

These observations have been highly instructive to this thesis's engagement with an ethics of discomfort as I work to critically examine the hopes and fears so present in modern educational practices (Larsen and Øland 2011, 12; Popkewitz 1998, 59; Smeyers and Depaepe 2008b, 2; Tröhler 2008, 34; Madsen 2011) addressing immigrant schoolchildren. Integration as a contested object and goal of educational research concerning immigrant schoolchildren epitomises the social indignation (as related to hopes and fears) that traverses this research field. Thus, one could argue that this social indignation resembles the discomfort I experienced when reading the article in which I was interviewed, presented above in the introduction.

However, it is *an ethics* of discomfort that distinguishes it from social indignation. In other words, I am not only indignant over or discomfited by the disadvantaged, racialised positioning of immigrant schoolchildren. I submit my own research and the research context informing my work to an ethics of discomfort that questions its integrationistic ‘trappings’. By doing so, Larsen and Øland’s examination of the epistemological figure of integrationism provides a critical framework for the following historiographical thematisation of educational research on immigrant schoolchildren. Due to my interest in performing a positive critique – which places my own research at risk – I use the following discussion of the integrationist trappings found in educational research on immigrant schoolchildren as a way of testing to which extent I myself escape the ghost of integrationism.

The remainder of this section is organised into two parts. In the first, I discuss how the selected research literature relates to questions of integration based on identifying how integrationism is challenged or from which escape is sought. However, I am fully aware the research literature discussed might not itself articulate an intentional, explicit struggle with integrationism. Thus, the historical thematisation of the epistemological figure of integrationism in educational research on immigrant schoolchildren is the product of my analytical reading of it. In the second part, I identify two research lacunae in terms of 1) historical research on immigrant schoolchildren’s education, and 2) an interest in the professionalisation of immigrant schoolchildren’s education. The few scholarly exemptions confirming this research void are discussed.

The research literature presented and discussed in this section is characterised by a shared interest in the social, cultural, political, and pedagogical dynamics (supposedly) caused by non-Western immigrant schoolchildren’s presence in (Danish) public schools since the 1970s. These dynamics can be distilled to questions of integration in terms of 1) freedom, rights, and recognition, 2) solidarity and civilisation, and 3) emancipation and agency. The scholarship addressing immigrant schoolchildren’s education presented below is thematised according to these question forms pertaining to integration and the researchers’ adhering struggles with integrationism.

One of the first Danish scholarly works investigating immigrant schoolchildren’s needs was cultural sociologist Birgitte Rahbek Pedersen’s study examining the educational situation concerning ‘foreign worker’s children’ published in 1980. It is clearly Pedersen’s ambition to provide relevant knowledge for the development of the organisation and provision of education to immigrant schoolchildren. According to Pedersen, relevant knowledge pertains to statistics,

legislative frameworks, teachers' professional guidance, immigrant schoolchildren's cultural backgrounds, and pedagogical models. Pedersen observes that immigrant schoolchildren only appear in school statistics as long as they attend reception classes. Once they are admitted to mainstream classes, they are no longer counted as immigrant schoolchildren (1980, 33). Pedersen notes more detailed statistical material on immigrant schoolchildren's nationalities and first languages should be made available bas on which type of educational provision can be organised and planned (1980, 39). Similarly, she suggests information on immigrant families' rural and traditional (Muslim) ways of life be disseminated to professional educators as immigrant schoolchildren are at risk of suffering a split identity and will feel torn between modern school life and traditional family life (1980, 73–96). Although she advocates pluralism, it is clear Pedersen perpetuates an understanding of society as an integrated whole challenged by immigration. Pedersen advocates resolving this challenge by applying an immigrant pedagogy, 'which bridges the two cultures' (1980, 162) and makes immigrant schoolchildren part of the integrated whole – yet recognises their cultural differences. As evidenced by my analyses that will be presented in Chapter 5, this sociocultural psychological framing of the pedagogical problem of immigrant schoolchildren has been widely popularised throughout educational practices.

Of particular interest to the historiography of this research context is the emergence of a cultural recognition paradigm epitomising integration questions in terms of freedom, rights, and recognition¹⁸. Educational scholarship published in the Danish publication series *Copenhagen Studies in Bilingualism* (1985–2016) exemplifies this cultural recognition paradigm¹⁹. In my reading, the cultural recognition paradigm represents one way to escape integrationist trappings by challenging the nationally bounded, integrated whole with recognising plural identities in the name of liberal democratic rights. One version of this attempt is found in education researcher Tytte Hetmar's (1991) scholarly evaluation of a large-scale state-funded Danish development project, *The School as a Local Cultural Community Centre*²⁰ (1988–1992), in which particular attention is paid to development projects addressing immigrant schoolchildren. Hetmar observes there seems to be a cultural-political movement away from identifying minority immigrant languages and cultures as a

¹⁸ Arguably, the cultural recognition paradigm is rooted in the post-WWII UNESCO framework of peace promoted through international understanding, cultural rights, and recognition (Lentin 2005; Grosvenor 2012; Øland 2012).

¹⁹ The scholarship disseminated in this publication series has been dominated by sociolinguistic studies of bilingualism and Danish as a Second Language. This rather large research strand in the field of immigrant schoolchildren's education is not discussed in this thesis, as I have only been interested in language instruction to the extent it appeared historically as a technique used to make immigrant schoolchildren educationally manageable.

²⁰ In Danish: *Skolen som lokalt kulturcenter*.

problem to a perception of non-Danish languages and cultures as a resource and, finally, as a democratic right of recognition to which immigrant schoolchildren are entitled (1991, 24–25). However, Hetmar's study also evidences an inherent ambiguity in the cultural recognition approach as the educational focus remains on the cultural encounter's problematics. On the one hand, immigrant schoolchildren's cultures and first languages should be recognised; whereas, on the other, enhancing immigrant schoolchildren's understanding of Danish culture and societal organisation is maintained to be of utmost importance (Hetmar 1991, 181). This ambiguity is resolved in an integrationist vision a 'functional multilingualism with Danish as the common language in a pluralistic integrated culture' (Hetmar 1991, 184).

A more radical version of the recognition paradigm can be found in the contribution by linguist Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and ethnologists Dorthe Vejen Hansen and Tina Kallehave (1993) to an edited volume on minorities and education. Based on a theoretical analysis of nation state ideology, they note that '[t]his type of ideology seeks to eliminate cultural and linguistic differences by constructing them as a threat to the survival of the state' (1993, 137). Accordingly, they argue, recognising minority languages and cultures, and developing strong, critical ethnic communities will result in 'real integration' inasmuch as doing so prevents ethnic conflicts (1993, 155–58).

Ten years later, a similar argument is found in an edited volume on intercultural pedagogy extended as the pedagogical solution to globalisation's challenges. Here, cultural sociologist Christian Horst argues we must regard national assimilation as a historical stepping-stone in modern democracies' development. Accordingly, and explicitly embedded in an integrationist understanding that education serves to ensure societal cohesion, Horst promotes intercultural pedagogy as a means to recognising cultural differences, while inculcating in (immigrant) citizens loyalty to a democratic form of life and with equally high levels of proficiency in the majority language and an understanding of the majority culture (2003, 9–10).

This same faith in a transition from national cohesion to democratic integration is found in an edited volume on Danish education and cultural politics responding to globalisation and ethnic diversification (Haas et al. 2011). The authors identify assimilationist tendencies in the Danish curriculum (Holmen 2011), in the discursive construction of the politically correct term *bilingual* as a proxy for problems and race (Kristjánsdóttir 2011), in the promotion of a national democracy canon (Haas 2011), and in the withdrawal of state-funded mother tongue instruction offered to

third-country nationals (Horst 2011). Based on these findings, the authors demarcate a fundamental difference between an integrated nation state and an integrated liberal democracy.

A similar distinction is also found in sociologists Halleli Pinson, Madeleine Arnot, and Mano Candappa's study of asylum seeking refugee children's reception in British schools (2010), wherein they point to a discrepancy between exclusionist immigration policies and inclusive local school practices. Hence, they argue that teachers' compassionate attitudes towards refugee children is based on 'professional knowledge about how to create a harmonious culture that focussed on the development of the child's potential, recognition of their achievement, and a celebration of difference rather than the promotion of any singular political notion of citizenship and belonging' (2010, 126). In the process of creating a harmonious school culture, refugee children are redefined as 'learner citizens' rendering them appropriate objects of teachers' 'caring pedagogies' (Pinson, Arnot, and Candappa 2010, 117–23).

In sum, I argue the recognition paradigm replaces one integrationist vision with another, not least due to its educational optimism and cultural faith in liberal democracy. I do not stand alone with this argument. In an article on notions of diversity in British education, education researcher Uvanney Maylor questions whether recognising 'ethnic or cultural "heritage" is always positive' (2010, 233) as it brings along the idea of 'special needs' and locates difference exclusively on the part of ethnic minorities whose very difference is something to be compensated for (2010, 238–39). Or as sociologist Pamela Anne Quiroz puts it in an article on the new politics of desegregation in Chicago, marketing diversity to different groups produces a new racism 'that thrives on the politics of inclusion' (2013, 77) – or integration, I would add. By a process of abjection, education researcher Jamie Kowalczyk argues, immigrant schoolchildren are brought discursively into European intercultural education discourse as a 'resource' and a 'hope for the future', upon having embraced the European cultural thesis of living, while they remain positioned as 'a cultural Other so that European students may engage in and practice intercultural dialogue' (2010, 19).

Similarly, education researcher Gro Helledatter Jacobsen (2012) observes that whether immigrant schoolchildren are reckoned with for their cultural and linguistic deficiencies or resources, both conceptions legitimise differential treatment; in this Danish case, as either 'bussing' or 'day schools'. Demonstrating how such forms of legitimised differential treatment directed towards immigrant schoolchildren resonate with the transforming of the Danish welfare state into a national competition state (2012, 202–27), Jacobsen suggests we regard them as 'integrated parts of the liberal exercise of power' (2012, 208). In this manner, Jacobsen offers a critique of

integrationism as different from that of recognition, which criticises nationalism, monoculturalism, and racism (2012, 203). Instead, she suggests viewing these explicit forms of differential treatment of immigrant schoolchildren as a general tendency towards subsuming individual rights into the survival of the collective (2012, 263).

One might argue that the collective's survival is topical to the following research strand concerning immigrant schoolchildren's education as it makes the civilising practices inherent in integrationism its research object. Broadly speaking, civilising practices allude to the various forms of socialisation that appear in education, which aim at producing proper citizens for the integrated collective (Gilliam and Gulløv 2012). Characteristic of this research strand is it holds forth an ambiguous understanding that the school serves as a place for reproducing the collective (i.e. the survival of the collective) as well as a place for transgression (i.e. the transformation and resistance of the individual). The ambiguity embodies this research strand's struggle with the figure of integrationism. With few exceptions, this strand is represented by school ethnographies examining teachers as mediators of the collective and immigrant schoolchildren as both victims of education and agents of resistance.

Based on a school ethnography on the existence and power of the national idea as it relates to teachers' and students' ways of thinking about school life, education researcher Jette Kofoed (1994) shows the concept has been naturalised to such an extent that teachers do not question why, for example, the school is a *Danish* school or why the common language of instruction is *Danish*. 'The national idea works in such ways that we do not even reckon we are part of it, and even are the conveyors of it' (Kofoed 1994, 103). However, in interviewing the students, it appears they are reproducing as well as transgressing the national idea: While with their outward appearance of a darker skin and hair colour, they confirm a national boundedness, by mastering the majority Danish language, they can transgress that very same boundedness (Kofoed 1994, 147).

Offering a similar conception of school as a transmitter of national civility, anthropologists Werner Schiffauer, Gerd Baumann, Steven Vertovec, and political scientist Riva Kastoryano (2005) interrogate the dynamics of the nation state agenda, state schooling, and negotiating ethnic/cultural differences in four European countries. Although ethnic difference is treated differently in the respective countries, the researchers find that similar to all school settings is the imperative 'to develop a variety of ways to translate nation-state exclusivities into nationally specific, but productively inclusivist "styles" of participation and identification' (Baumann 2005, 8). As such, integrationism is exposed as a paradox of universalism and exclusiveness, whereby postmigration

youth seem to master and use the codes of national civility strategically in their identity management, transgressing the national boundedness with a globally marked youth culture (Mannitz 2005, 308). Accordingly, Baumann writes, '[t]he canons of civility, as well as their degrees of transmissibility and transparency, have much to tell us about the chances of civil equality for all' (2005, 8).

This is a research perspective taken up by several scholars within the field of immigrant schoolchildren's education. Characteristic to this research stream appearing in the 2000s, most often, a concern over immigrant schoolchildren's comparatively poor academic performance is its trigger, not least accentuated by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) programme for international student assessment (PISA) conducted since 2000. In 2006, childhood and youth researcher Thomas Gitz-Johansen appears with an ethnographic study on sorting mechanisms in multicultural schools. Gitz-Johansen examines schoolchildren's different opportunities and conditions for participation as caused by schools' sorting mechanisms (2006, 9). He finds that immigrant schoolchildren are fundamentally regarded as problems for which the school can provide solutions. This problematisation concerns the children's supposedly deprived family environment and their insufficient proficiency in Danish, which makes the school and the teachers sort them differently from their Danish, modern, eloquent, and higher-performing peers (Gitz-Johansen 2006, 47–91). Compensatory measures follow this problem construction, but these further deprive immigrant schoolchildren of opportunities to excel (Gitz-Johansen 2006, 178). Based on these observations, Gitz-Johansen finds schools and teachers refer to integration as inclusion on a rhetorical level, but on a practical level, they use it as a scale measuring immigrant schoolchildren's adaptation to the school (2006, 76).

The differential treatment of immigrant schoolchildren appears more radical in education researchers Pam Christie and Ravinder Sidhu's (2006) study on asylum seeking refugee children's reception in Australia. They find the universal liberal democratic rights children supposedly hold in relation to education are suspended when it comes to asylum seeking refugee children, who, while waiting for their case to be processed, are not entitled to educational provision. This differential treatment is justified by referring to the national security risk attributed to refugees and the need to protect nationals' universal rights and benefits. Similarly, education researcher Simon Warren observes how migration, ultimately, produces an 'ontological insecurity' (2007, 368) among receiving nation states. It is an insecurity that constructs immigrant schoolchildren as targets of specific interventions as they are rendered unable or unwilling to engage appropriately with the

education system (2007, 380). Accordingly, Warren identifies an education policy story about the ‘necessity of remedial policy interventions in order to address a deficit within certain minoritised population’ groups (2007, 378).

These observations are further radicalised by education researcher Charlotte Chadderton’s study on the militarisation of English schools resulting from a ‘criminalization of disadvantage’ (2014, 418) found in inner city schools populated primarily by immigrant schoolchildren. These findings also find support in social scientists Vicki Coppock and Mark McGovern’s (2014) deconstruction of a counterterrorism discourse in British education. They find the prevalent construction of Muslim children and youth as psychologically vulnerable to radicalisation renders them appropriate objects for exceptional intervention justified by a long-standing welfare state discourse of pathological childhoods. ‘This history continues to shape and inform contemporary responses to young British Muslims perceived as “outside of childhood” and thus a potential threat to the state’ (Coppock and McGovern 2014, 249). Education researcher Mette Buchardt (2010; 2014) observes the same kind of intensified educational attention paid to Muslim schoolchildren in a Danish context. However, Buchardt offers a slightly different perspective on the educational construction of Muslim identities, showing how Muslimness is negotiated and constructed via curricular classroom instruction during religious education subject instruction. The legitimate Muslim student is characterised by both predictable cultural habits and a willingness to perform modern flexibility. The illegitimate Muslim student is literal in his/her performance of Muslimness and, hence, rendered inflexible (2010, 266). “Culture” here becomes a specific, causally oriented interpretative key explaining the pupils as culturally “Muslim” and hence as culturally different from the “universal Danes” (2010, 270). In this way, Buchardt argues, the cultural sensitivity and recognition of difference in terms of pedagogising Muslimness feed into a social stratification of the student body.

Evident in the above-outlined scholarship stream is the researchers’ indignation about the ‘legitimate violation’ of universal liberal democratic rights regarding immigrant schoolchildren’s educational treatment²¹. This social indignation seems to deconstruct as well as reconstruct the figure of integrationism inasmuch as the studies expose the socially purifying logics of public

²¹ Horst and Gitz-Johansen describe this kind of research as counterpositional to the hegemony of assimilationist education policies bridging ‘the traditional right-left divide in a common rejection of the development of a multicultural society’ (2010, 139–40). I argue that this statement confirms my critical identification of a social indignation traversing much educational research concerning immigrant schoolchildren’s education.

schooling, while implicitly promoting a belief in universal education as a redeemer of social inequality.

This scholarship stream has been accompanied by school ethnographies focussing on the relational dynamics among teachers, immigrant schoolchildren, and native Danish schoolchildren, paying particular attention to identity formations and identity politics emerging from the social relations framed by the school. Characteristic to these studies is their emphasis on student agency and student performance that destabilises the integrationist vision of pure national identities being assimilated or recognised, excluded, or included.

In 2001, cultural sociologist Bolette Moldenhawer presented a study on immigrant schoolchildren's education strategies. It largely confirms the above-outlined observations concerning schools' sorting mechanisms. However, Moldenhawer destabilises this research narrative by observing how immigrant schoolchildren and their families draw on their transnational migration networks and histories when approaching education as a means to attain social mobility. Education and gender researcher Dorthe Staunæs (2004) offers a more radical approach to studying immigrant schoolchildren's education strategies with her exclusive focus on how schoolchildren assign meaning to categories pertaining to ethnicity and gender, and behave accordingly. This allows her to show, for example, how a Muslim girl's use of the hijab may be rendered contraproductive to educational participation by teachers, but that its use can actually pave the path into a larger school community because doing so it allows the girl freedom to participate in public space.

Education anthropologist Laura Gilliam (2007; 2009) offers a similar perspective on student agency found in immigrant schoolchildren's strategic identity work. Gilliam shows that, despite the welfare integrationist logic of neutralising social and racial categories promoted in Danish public schooling, ethnic minority and majority schoolchildren are busy making strategic use of these very same categories pertaining to social status, ethnicity or race, and academic performance (2007, 62). Based on her school ethnography, Gilliam displays how schoolchildren's experiences with school logics of isolation, neutralisation, standardisation, differentiation, disciplining, and problematisation, when combined with individuals' sociocultural backgrounds and gender, trigger self-conscious school strategies and identity formations. Accordingly, based on everyday experiences, immigrant schoolchildren 'conclude that part of their identity as *foreigners* or *Muslims* equals being perceived as bad or impossible students who make trouble in class. Whereas the *Danes* are perceived as good and quiet students, whom the teachers favour' (2007, 66). Consequently,

Gilliam argues, immigrant schoolchildren chose identity positions as either immigrant/boisterous/male/Muslims who make trouble as an oppositional school strategy or as immigrant/quiet/female/Muslims who behave well as an adaptive school strategy. These strategies also function as alternative community building efforts crossing religious, national, and social boundaries that destabilise the integrationist logics witnessed at the school.

Focussing on immigrant schoolchildren's agency in terms of their complex identity formations may destabilise the epistemological figure of integrationism. In a school ethnography about a Muslim Pakistani independent school in Copenhagen, I show how a strong Muslim Pakistani identity position does not necessarily stand in opposition to the Danish national ethos of modernity (Padovan-Özdemir 2012). Rather, it epitomises a complex combination of religiosity, national schooling, and transnational identity strategies contesting the idea of national boundedness and constructing an alternative in the shape of a transnational, universal, modern Muslim community.

There seems to be much potential for subverting the epistemological figure of integrationism in focussing on immigrant schoolchildren's transnational strategies and agency in education. However, as argued by Larsen and Øland (2011, 6), the ghost of integrationism does not disappear by multiplying the gestalt of a nationally bounded whole. Moreover, an enthusiastic focus on the *immigrant perspective* runs the risk of romanticising the immigrant experience as remaining untouched by the epistemological figure of integrationism, thereby invoking the very same essentialisation and othering the focus seeks to deconstruct and challenge.

These are the reasons why I have chosen not to include the immigrant perspective in my thesis. Instead, I take the risk of holding hands with the ghost of integrationism by exploring how this epistemological figure has materialised in teachers' professional practices responsive to immigrant schoolchildren's presence. Consequently, I challenge the ghost of integrationism from within the practices of its own making by focussing on the epistemologies that have informed and governed professional educational responses to immigrant schoolchildren's presence. I do not suppose the bounded whole of a welfare nation state exists a priori, but stubbornly decentre and displace it to micropolitical practices of professional investing in the making of educationally manageable immigrant schoolchildren.

2.3.1. Lacunae in educational research on immigrant schoolchildren

My reading of educational research on immigrant schoolchildren's education points to two research lacunae in terms of 1) historical perspectives and 2) the perspective of professionalisation in response to immigrant schoolchildren's presence. These appear as the result of the above-discussed research literature's dominant approach in ethnographic fieldwork that focusses on school sorting mechanisms and the sociocultural dynamics of in- and exclusion.

Ian Grosvenor substantiates this observation, noting that since the 1960s, research on race and immigrant education has been dominated by the social sciences (2012, 30) with an emphasis on identity formation and identity politics since the 1990s, which coincided with a renewed political project of national belonging in the aftermath of multiculturalist policies (Grosvenor 1999). This dominant research approach is, Grosvenor argues, characterised by a preoccupation with identity, theorisation of difference, inequality, and discrimination, and is present and future oriented. All of which, I would add, are haunted by the ghost of integrationism. Although Grosvenor speaks from within a British research context, I argue the same development and characteristics are found in this Danish research context concerning immigrant schoolchildren's education, with a time lag of perhaps a decade. For example, in 2010, cultural sociologist Christian Horst and education researcher Joron Pihl argued that Scandinavian research on the education of immigrant schoolchildren and ethnic minorities would benefit from historical studies (2010, 104).

Grosvenor suggests the focus on identity formation and politics 'should be broader than the territorial boundary of the nation state' (1999, 245) and broader than the policy perspectives trickling down to the education system (2012, 36). Alternatively, deploying a historical perspective on immigrant schoolchildren's education requires attending to categorisation practices pertaining to immigrant management as a feature of modernity (2012, 34); and providing in-depth studies of formal as well as informal local education practices (2012, 36), wherein immigrants' school experiences can be examined (2012, 39) and sites of resistance can be identified (2012, 43). Lecturer in social history and education Kevin Myers' review concerning the presence of immigrants and ethnic minorities in the history of education has revealed their absence and, therefore, silence (2009). Similar to Grosvenor, Myers argues that to escape the accepted nation state narrative's trappings, we must focus on the identity, agency, and experience of immigrant and ethnic minority communities in postwar Europe (2009, 806–9) – 'not as essentialised cultures or privileged diasporas – but as actors conditioned in different ways by historical processes' (2009, 816). This warning is essential in challenging the nation state narrative and the epistemological

figure of integrationism without reconstructing it in new unilateral forms. However, as I choose not to take the immigrant's perspective in this thesis, this thesis suggests a different way of making immigrant schoolchildren present in the history of education.

A few scholarly exceptions to the above-described research void are worthy of mention. In 1997, Grosvenor published a historical study on how, since 1945, 'a "reality" which identifies black people as both "alien" and a "problem" has been advanced, reproduced, and sustained in Britain' (1997, 6). This study traced racialised political discourses and their effect on the state's educational responses to the presence of black pupils and on forms of 'black resistance'. In 1999, Myers contributed with a study on the educational experiences of refugee children who had arrived in Britain during WWII. Myers shows how these refugee children coped with educational assimilation programmes by developing 'flexible identities that generally enabled them to cope with life in exile in a sophisticated manner' (1999, 277). Similarly, based on a comparative study of Sicilian women's life stories who either migrated or stayed behind, historian of education Tina Caruso (2001) finds that ethnic identity is negotiated between old and new ideals, and 'the actual impact of peer relations and familial expectations is more critical than that of official policy' (2001, 121).

Nevertheless, several historical policy studies on immigrant schoolchildren's education have demonstrated how policies can influence immigrant schoolchildren's racialised identities (Grosvenor 1997; Shain 2013) and their continued disadvantaged educational position (Tomlinson 2001; 2008). Sociologists Jacques F. A. Braster and Maria del Mar del Pozo Andrés (2001) have shown how private actors and institutions assumed responsibility for educating immigrant children in the first part of the 20th century in the Netherlands, but the process was institutionalised as a state responsibility from the 1970s onwards. Historian Paul Bracey (2006) and education researcher Bergthora Kristjánsdóttir (2006) argue that focussing on the presence and articulation of immigrants and ethnic minorities in national curricula since the 1970s provides insights into broader political negotiations of, and responses to ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversity within nation states.

Kristjánsdóttir's critical discourse analysis on immigrant schoolchildren in the Danish national curriculum between 1970 and 2000 examines five levels of the national curriculum: 1) the Education Act, 2) ministerial orders, 3) organisational guidelines, 4) pedagogical guidelines, and 5) other data documents 'distinguishable from one another in terms of their regulatory power' (2006, 426). Kristjánsdóttir identifies a national position in terms of assimilation, compensatory measures, and interventions of dispersal on curriculum levels 1–3 and 5. Only on curriculum level 4 does she identify a multicultural position in terms of promoting mother tongue instruction and the provision

of Danish-as-a-Second-Language throughout the entire obligatory schooling course. As texts on curriculum level 4 are written by scholars and professionals in the field of immigrant schoolchildren's education, Kristjánsdóttir argues that despite changing governments, both research and professional knowledge have been silenced and neglected throughout the entire period under investigation²². Thus, she concludes the Danish national curriculum never has reflected the 'growing linguistic and cultural diversity among students' (2006, 427) in Danish public schools as an effect of the Ministry of Education's active maintenance of the public school as a monocultural state institution.

To a large extent, these findings are echoed in education researcher Idunn Seland's (2011) historical comparative policy analysis detailing how Norwegian, Danish, and Swedish school policies since the 1970s have been used to sustain a sense of national cohesion and belonging in the wake of increasing immigration. Seland finds that increased immigration has not resulted in any substantial changes in the ethnos-oriented perception and construction of a national community in school policies in Norway and Denmark, whereas Sweden has adopted a demos-oriented reconstruction of national cohesion and belonging. Despite such national differences, Seland concludes that 'the traditional means of welfare provision appear as rather sturdy in relation to a multicultural population' (2011, 34). She explains this observation as a matter of the welfarist social equality project inherent in post-1970s public schooling. However, Seland does observe a shift in the social equality project of schooling before and after the early 1990s. In the first period, social equality is designed to be accomplished by accommodating teaching to a variety of exposed groups of schoolchildren. In the second period, that equality is designed to be achieved by providing the same cultural and academic frames of reference to all children for their use in coping with challenges they will encounter later in life. Seland sees this shift as a revitalisation of a culturally bounded national community, which gained even more strength in the 2000s when concerns over social- and national cohesion seemed to reinforce each other in school policies that continued to strive for equality.

Clearly, the epistemological figure of integrationism is deeply ingrained in these historical policy studies of immigrant schoolchildren's education inasmuch as they do not question the school's role in promoting societal cohesion. Instead, their interrogations are limited to a question

²² However, Kristjánsdóttir notes that a certain research stream supporting the national position in the political-administrative field of immigrant schoolchildren's education was acknowledged by the Ministry of Education (2006, 176–93).

as to which kind of societal cohesion (ethnos vs. demos) secures the highest level of equality within a diverse population.

Recent years have witnessed a growing scholarly interest in the history of educational epistemologies rendering immigrant schoolchildren amenable to educational interventions. Historians of education Christian Ydesen (2011) and Thom Axelsson (2012) contribute with studies concerning the sorting and placing effects of intelligence testing of Greenlandic schoolchildren (1945–1970) and of Travellers’ (a branch of the Roma) children in early-20th-century Sweden, respectively. Moreover, Ydesen compares educational interventions of the Danish state administration of Greenlandic schoolchildren with those addressing the German minority in Southern Denmark after WWII. He finds both educational sites were regarded as cultural outposts (2011, 25) with assimilative agendas (2011, 27). In Greenland, this resulted in an educational project of civilising and modernising the Inuits (2011, 15); whereas in Southern Denmark, educational interventions ‘aimed at curbing and diluting German culture and Germanness in order to promote assimilation’ (2011, 25).

Historical epistemological grids through which to understand immigrant schoolchildren as deviant from majority national normalcy, and as such, apt for educational intervention have also been identified by education researchers Mette Buchardt (2012) and Trine Øland (2012). Buchardt shows how scholarly and professional mobilisation of second-language didactics in 1980s Denmark paved the way for the official naming of immigrant schoolchildren as ‘bilingual children’ in the mid-1990s. However, Buchardt stresses that the linguistic term *bilingual* was loaded with cultural and national distinctions of which Muslimness became an important signifier of difference and an object of educational intervention in the 2000s. Based on a school ethnography in the mid-2000s, Øland wonders why immigrant schoolchildren were deemed more in ‘need of the modern enlightenment programme embedded in progressivism’ (2012, 562) than were their native Danish peers. Applying a critical historiographical lens to non-intentional forms of racism found in progressive pedagogy, Øland shows how positivistic intelligence testing (as a form of biologisation, and a means of purifying and optimising the population) has been conflated with ‘straightforward “descent”, “bilingualism”, or “own ethnic culture”’ (2012, 581) in efforts to encircle immigrant schoolchildren’s human potential. Thus, Øland concludes that racialisation is a constituent part ‘of progressive pedagogy as well as of our social and political order per se’ (2012, 582).

As argued, I do not intend to cover immigrant schoolchildren’s experiences with education for reasons already described. Instead, I follow Grosvenor’s suggestion to pursue historical in-depth

studies on educational practices responsive to immigrant schoolchildren's presence. I focus on educational practices as *professional* practices traversed and governed by certain epistemologies for understanding and managing immigrant schoolchildren. Accordingly, I pursue a horizontal analysis that seeks to 'reverse mainstream narratives of centre and periphery' (Grosvenor 2012, 37). Not in terms of majority–minority relations, not as national–local relations, nor in terms of 'regulatory hierarchies', all of which are trapped in integrationist epistemologies. Instead, I take professional practices responsive to immigrant children's presence in public schools as a juncture of educational epistemologies that have not only made immigrant schoolchildren educationally manageable, but also embedded professional teacher subjectification in the very same educational problem constructions.

If only a limited research strand on the history of education has paid attention to immigrant schoolchildren, then an even smaller amount of scholarship has examined the professionalisation of teachers working with immigrant schoolchildren, with only the slenderest threads representing a historical perspective. A telling example is historian of education Keld Grindler-Hansen's (2013) account detailing a thousand years with the Danish teacher, in which there is not a single mention of teachers encountering immigrant schoolchildren.

The limited scholarship strand examining the professionalisation of teachers working with immigrant schoolchildren is traversed by integrationistic themes of social salvation and educational optimism positioning teachers as potential social change agents. Accordingly, Kristjánsdóttir argues that with the right attitude, teachers can make a positive difference in immigrant schoolchildren's school success (2006, 71–72; cf. Gay 2015, 443). That 'right attitude' appears in multicultural variants. In this line of reasoning, philosopher Lars Gule (2010) advocates a professional approach to cultural diversity that seeks to understand the 'cultural other' (as a theme of recognition) and accounts for cultural differences, but only insofar as doing so does not violate the professional ethos of liberal human rights.

Similarly, in an edited volume on culture and ethnicity in professional educational work, editors Barbara Day and Jette Steensen argue that 'the relation between the ethnic Danish majority and ethnic minorities is crucial to our understanding of professional work' (2010, 7) in a culturally diverse society. Thus, the contributions to this edited volume examine how professional educators organise and handle the professional cultural encounter with effects of in- or exclusion, and how educators develop professional intercultural competencies in practice and training. Education researcher Signe Hvid Thingstrup takes this research agenda a step further in an action-based

research project on developing a so-called ‘multicultural teacher professionalism’, capable of criticising a school setting’s power structures (2012, 204) with the aim of fostering ‘inclusive, democratic teaching’ (2012, 205) as opposed to its exercising a traditional monocultural, monolingualistic hegemony.

With the basic idea of the teacher as a potential agent of change and social justice traversing this scholarship strand, it is worth observing how teachers of immigrant schoolchildren are predominantly represented as socially committed heroes, fighting for their pupils’ recognition, inclusion, and equality. In cases where professional teaching practices are observed producing exclusion, immigrant schoolchildren’s teachers are most often described as ‘victims’ of monocultural school policies or lacking in appropriate intercultural training. This research narrative crystallises in education researchers Bergthora Kristjánsdóttir and Lene Timm’s (2014) book on ‘sustainable school development’ in which they combine a biographical interview with former teacher, school consultant, and school headmistress Kirsten Schalburg, and an analysis of Danish education policy concerning immigrant schoolchildren since the 1970s. Kirsten Schalburg is represented as a socially committed professional figure in the Danish field of immigrant schoolchildren’s education. Kristjánsdóttir and Timm conclude: ‘Kirsten’s school history documents that the professionals jointly strive for meeting the challenges caused by linguistic, cultural, and religious diversity in public institutions, but that they fight against politicians who have an entirely different [read monocultural] agenda than the professionals’ (2014, 136).

A different take on this heroisation/victimisation narrative is found in a few studies focussing on immigrant teachers’ position in relation to native Danish teachers. Based on interviews and classroom observations, Moldenhawer (1999, 358) observes native Danish teachers feel sceptical towards immigrant teachers due to their supposedly limited experience with the Danish educational system. Consequently, immigrant teachers ‘subordinate themselves to the majority teachers’ dominance rather than struggle for recognition of different, equally valid skills, including bilingual and bicultural skills’ (1999, 366). Kristjánsdóttir (2004) supports these findings in a historical account concerning the positioning of immigrant teachers in Danish education policy discourses since the 1970s. In the 1970s, Kristjánsdóttir observes, immigrant teachers were recruited from abroad to function as mother tongue instructors for immigrant schoolchildren and to act as cultural brokers. In the 1980s, some of these mother tongue instructors acquired a Danish teaching degree, henceforth referred to as *bilingual teachers*. Kristjánsdóttir argues that research in the 1990s documented and promoted recruiting bilingual teachers as they were seen as key players

in immigrant schoolchildren's school success, but that education policies were opposed to these research recommendations (2004, 269–70). Kristjánsdóttir concludes in 2004 that although immigrant teachers were valued in practice, their only legitimacy as professionals was their role as cultural brokers, since the national curriculum did not allow for a professional application of their intercultural competencies (2004, 272). Adding complexity, Tireli (2006) finds immigrant preschool teachers' strategic attempts to gain greater professional legitimacy are preconditioned by defining immigrant preschool children as particularly culturally different and needing special (immigrant) care. Paradoxically, recognising immigrant preschool children's supposedly special needs delimits immigrant preschool teachers' professional legitimacy, as their competencies are then only valued in relation to immigrant preschool children's needs.

In sum, I argue this scholarship strand, which treats the professionalisation of immigrant schoolchildren's education, is ambiguously haunted by the epistemological figure of integrationism. It is ambiguous because it positions immigrant schoolchildren and their teachers as figures needing to be rescued (to paraphrase curriculum researcher Thomas S. Popkewitz (1997, 398; cf. 1998)) from hegemonic, repressive monocultural education policies deemed to hinder an unleashing of students' and teachers' potential to benefit from and contribute to schooling as a means of securing progress, equality, and integration. In other words, this scholarship strand challenges the 'monocultural' homogeneity project of integrationism by replacing it with a 'multicultural' homogeneity project of progress, equality, and integration – both of which perpetuate an understanding of society as a bounded, integrated whole redeemed by public schooling. Inherent in this integrationistic theme is also an ambiguous binary construct placing teacher-immigrant schoolchildren relations on the one hand, and the state, politics, and policies on the other. This binary construction is ambiguously integrationistic, insofar as it positions the state as a repressive, cold monster, while expecting the very same state to behave benevolently, dispensing to teachers and immigrant schoolchildren possibilities for realising their supposed potentials.

My discussion of educational research addressing the professionalisation of immigrant schoolchildren's education serves two functions important for this thesis. First, it illuminates certain educational epistemologies and discourses available to immigrant schoolchildren's teachers that were productive in forming their professional identities. Second, it reminds me of how this research context serves to put my own research at risk as I lay bare the research narratives and epistemologies that might haunt me in my historical analysis concerning the professional subjectification of immigrant schoolchildren's teachers I will present in section 5.2. Accordingly, it

serves as an illustration of why I stubbornly insist on challenging the epistemological figure of integrationism by constructing teacher professionalisation in response to immigrant schoolchildren's presence as a practice, which is understood as always participating in fabricating a post-1970 Danish welfare nation state, and not as a practice necessarily oppositional to the state.

For this purpose, I have found much inspiration in the work prepared by education researchers Dave Jones (1990), Thomas S. Popkewitz (1998), and Lisa Weems (2004). Because their studies do not directly deal with immigrant schoolchildren's education, post-1970s, but rather, with teacher professionalisation around the turn of the 19th century, and in 1990s American rural and urban education, their work is not covered in detail in this thesis. Instead, I reference their work from a theoretical and methodological point of view in Subsection 4.4.2. For now, it should suffice to note that in a non-integrationistic manner, Jones, Popkewitz, and Weems offer analytical examples concerning ways to disrupt the heroisation/victimisation narrative in educational research by historicising and interrogating the modern salvation theme so deeply engraved in the modern teaching profession. Rather than presupposing that teachers are the key to (immigrant) schoolchildren's school success (or failure), I suggest to disrupt this salvation theme by turning the professionalised educational work upon the professionals themselves as a form of positive critique. In other words, I interrogate how 'professionally rescuing' immigrant schoolchildren works its way back into professional teachers' own dispositions and subjectivities.

In the following section, I identify and discuss an emerging field of scholarship concerning immigrant schoolchildren's education that offers both challenge and circumvention of the ambiguously dichotomous construction of immigrant schoolchildren's teachers versus the state inasmuch as it explores the professionalised education of immigrant schoolchildren as one practice of modern state formation.

2.4. Educating immigrant children as state governing practices

This section serves two functions in my writing of this thesis's research context. First, it identifies and discusses an emerging research field concerning immigrant schoolchildren's education with an interest in modern state formation. As such and second, it places my work within this emerging research field as I weave together threads from welfare state research, immigration research, and educational research on immigrant (and minority) schoolchildren. In the following paragraphs, three studies are discussed (Larsen 2010; Moldenhawer and Øland 2013; Nordblad 2013). They all share

an epistemological interest in teasing out how the modern state is shaped and given practical substance in professionalised educational practices, vis-à-vis immigrant or national/ethnic/linguistic minority children.

Vibe Larsen (2010) argues by examining nation state formation through educational practices, the hierarchical conception of the state can be challenged. Accordingly, such an examination does not take its point of departure in policy texts nor trace their framing of educational practices. Rather, Larsen produces an ethnography concerning two Danish preschool institutions as places where we normally do not expect to find the state. Inspired by Pierre Bourdieu's conceptualisation of the modern state, Larsen argues that state power lies precisely in the successful, unnoticeable interpellation of people's epistemological grids, in this case, professional preschool teachers' educational categorisation and differentiation practices in multicultural preschool institutions. Based on this sociological approach, Larsen finds preschool children are differentiated according to such cultural categories as 'the social verbal child', 'the social emotional child', 'the natural child', 'the linear child', and 'the bodily contained child'. None of these categories alludes to differentiations along the lines of ethnicity, nationality, or culture, but, Larsen observes, they clearly produce differential structures in everyday preschool practices, vis-à-vis multicultural children's groupings (2010, 322).

Thus, nation state structures are not made into an explicit question of ethnicity or the nation state, and maybe that is why they are particularly effective. As such, everyday nationalism operates unaffected as a question of age, becoming good friends, having someone to play with, making anger disappear, and replacing it with joy. (Larsen 2010, 325)

Larsen supports this observation with a genealogical analysis examining the above-mentioned cultural categories at work in professional preschool teachers' educational practices. She finds the educational reasoning masking everyday nationalism is historically rooted in the welfare state's social engineering work that conflated national awakening and solidarity with a different form of rational collectivism pertaining to 'equality of welfare, democracy, and body, enacted through education, restoration, and dialogue' (2010, 274). In this way, the cultural categories appear as both rationally neutral and nationally loaded by which, Larsen concludes, immigrant children are made different, but not excluded (2010, 311).

Bolette Moldenhawer and Trine Øland (2013)²³ examine how the differentiation and differential treatment of the immigrant ‘stranger’ have been legitimised as professional educational practices within the Danish universal welfare state’s framework since the 1980s. Where Larsen sees the Danish nation state enacted through everyday nationalism masked by educational reasoning, Moldenhawer and Øland find the Danish welfare state is crafted through a bureaucratic field of policy makers and professionals who work for the ‘collective good’, which legitimises differential treatment of the immigrant ‘stranger’. Based on a political, sociological analysis of government documents, Moldenhawer and Øland identify how the immigrant ‘stranger’ has been constructed as a disturbance to the maintenance of the ‘collective’ – initially as a labour market issue in the 1970s, followed by a social problem in the 1980s, a cultural problem in the 1990s, and a security problem in the 2000s. These observations are paralleled by observations concerning reshaping the Danish state ‘from a “small, national, and universalistic welfare state” to an “individualising, neoliberal state” in the context of globalisation’ (Moldenhawer and Øland 2013, 414). Combined with a multicultural school ethnography, they are able to observe how the national idiosyncrasy observed in the Danish welfare state’s policy of targeting immigrant ‘strangers’ is concentrated and replayed ‘through schooling in urban, poor, ethnoracially, and ethnonationally mixed areas’ (2013, 415). In this fashion, Moldenhawer and Øland find school and education professionals function as ‘vital vehicles’ in both sustaining the collective and crafting the Danish welfare state, vis-à-vis the immigrant ‘stranger’ as the professionals are positioned as ‘actors “doing good”’ and the immigrant permanently ‘made and remade as “the stranger within”’ (2013, 415–16).

Historian of ideas Julia Nordblad (2013) examines the question of differential educational treatment of ethnic and linguistic minority schoolchildren in Sweden (Finns in the Torne Valley and Sami nomads in Lapland) and France (Breton-speakers in Brittany and Arab-speakers in the French protectorate of Tunisia) in the late-19th and early-20th centuries. Doing a comparative and entangled historical analysis on the appearance and popularisation of the monolingual direct method of teaching the national language to linguistic minorities, she asks why this pedagogical method was deemed appropriate for some linguistic minorities, but inappropriate for others (2013, 3). Finns in the Torne Valley and Breton-speakers in Brittany were targeted with the direct method

²³ This article has functioned as a preliminary investigation of the analytical potentials of examining welfare work addressing the ‘stranger’ as a critical prism for the study of welfare state shaping and re-shaping after WWII. It has been preliminary inasmuch as it has served as the scholarly foundation of the collective research project, *Professional Interventions as a State-Crafting Grammar Addressing the ‘Immigrant’*, of which this thesis has been part of and contributed to. Accordingly, this article has been highly influential to this thesis’ research questions. The collective research project was funded by The Danish Council for Independent Research, ran between 2013 and 2016, and was managed by Bolette Moldenhawer. Members of the project team were Christian Ydesen, Trine Øland and I.

for learning Swedish and French, respectively. In contrast, Sami nomads in Lapland and Arab-speakers in Tunisia were thought better off with a language pedagogy that fostered a ‘qualified difference’. The reasoning behind this differentiation, Nordblad argues, is found in the political aspects of this educational-didactical question. At the time, both states were shaped by two entwined logics of state cohesion. One was an imperial logic that sought cohesion in tolerating linguistic and cultural difference, while using this difference to legitimise political inequality (2013, 334) and, hence, supported a pedagogy of difference. The other was a democratic logic viewing cultural and linguistic homogeneity as a precondition for developing a community of equals, hence, promoting a pedagogy of assimilation (2013, 326). Nordblad observes the educational question asking which pedagogical-didactical approach in language teaching is best suited for which minority groups also becomes a ‘question of who should be included in the community of equals’ (2013, 336). This study underscores how education professionals and intellectuals were deeply involved in shaping the modern welfare nation state through their didactical considerations regarding linguistic and cultural minorities. Thus, educational practices become a magnifying glass for the practical content of politics, state formation, and state organisation of society (Nordblad 2013, 4–5).

In sum, these three studies constitute an emerging research field that thoroughly challenges the epistemological integrationist model by questioning the practical, concrete, educational elements set in motion that work to create an integrated whole to which, in general, we refer to as a society organised and orchestrated by the state. Accordingly, the authors deromanticise the notion of professionals as autonomous players in opposition to the state, while also rejecting the idea of state-authorised professionals serving as empty vessels through which state politics and policies trickle, to ultimately wash over citizens as a benign effect in governing. Instead, the authors highlight, in various ways, professional, educational activities that contribute to the integration project and, therefore, to modern state formation. Finally, yet importantly, they provide analytical examples regarding how studies of immigrant (or ethnic minority) children’s education work as a critical prism through which we can observe the organisation of an integrated society and modern state formation practices crystallising in form.

I locate this thesis within this emerging research field because I subscribe to a research agenda that challenges the epistemological figure of integrationism. However, I do not pursue this agenda by questioning professionalised educational practices addressing immigrant schoolchildren in terms of boundary making activities, which run as a common thread throughout the above-listed

trio of publications. Instead, I pursue a historical examination concerning the positivities of integrationism that have emerged and developed in professionalised educational practices responsive to immigrant schoolchildren's presence in Danish public schools since the 1970s. In other words, I examine problematisations, not categorisations, because problematisations epitomise reasoned answers to a concrete situation producing analysis and action (Foucault 2001, 170–71); in this case, educational problematisations of immigrant schoolchildren's presence, making them susceptible to professional attention and intervention. Moreover, I shift the focus on professionals partaking in integration projects to one on the professional subjectification of teachers imagined to be appropriate for solving immigrant schoolchildren's problematics. Finally, I shift the focus on immigrant schoolchildren's education to one examining the pedagogical repertoires available to their teachers with the aim of identifying a horizon of governmentalities answering the social question and fabricating a Danish welfare nation state in its pedagogical minutiae.

These analytical decentrings of focus and displacements of research object are stimulated by a particular educational research strand that theorises about educational practices as a critical prism to study modern welfare nation state formation with the aim of contributing with disruptive, effective histories concerned with producing citizens, societies, and, ultimately, welfare nation states. In the introduction of Chapter 4, I discuss this educational research strand, and extrapolate theoretical and methodological points I will pursue and on which I will elaborate, in developing analytical strategies for my study on the making of educationally manageable immigrant schoolchildren as practices in fabricating a Danish welfare nation state.

2.5. Positive critique, scholarly cross-fertilisation, and new perspectives

In this section, I summarise my analytical reading of the research literature that constitutes the historical and scholarly reference frame for this thesis and explain how this exercise has served as a form of positive critique whereby I place my own research at risk. In conclusion, I present three research perspectives as the outcome of a scholarly cross-fertilisation.

Besides discussing existing research on the welfare state/immigrant nexus, immigrant schoolchildren's education, and educational practices as modes of modern state governing, I have read the research literature and applied it upon itself as a form of positive critique of the research fields that have both tainted and informed my analytical gaze. As such, I have magnified some perhaps minor details as being the accepted universals in the research literature to better offer a

ruptured, frayed reading of my scholarly baggage. I have done so by turning the research literature and concepts upon themselves, paying attention to the *ambiguities* of welfare state formation and governing, to *integration* as an object as well as a goal of research pertaining to the welfare state/immigrant nexus, and by radicalising the notion of integration in *the epistemological figure of integrationism*.

Performing a positive critique as it concerns the historical decentred process of fabricating a Danish welfare nation state, ambiguities should be addressed as realities, and not as mere ideological or theoretical inconsistencies – not least, because ‘the welfare ghost’ seems to show its strength in domesticating its adversaries and by neutralising seemingly opposite reasoning and actions. With this examination, I have turned the universalised concept of welfare upon itself, rendering it dangerous, thus paving the way for a deromanticised examination of the Danish welfare nation state’s fabrication between 1970 and 2013. Accordingly, I have laid bare the risks of performing a negative critique in the shape of evaluative welfare state research that expects the welfare state to be something other than what it is. Consequently, I do not expect a post-1970 Danish welfare nation state to be anything other than what it *appears to be* in all its historical, ambiguous positivities.

I have also shown how *real* ambiguities in welfare state formation and governing seem to radicalise in research on the welfare state/immigrant nexus. I have captured the radicalisation of ambiguities by paying attention to the scholarly use of the concept of integration as a research object as well as a goal. This means I have demonstrated how the research literature, due to its using integration as object and goal, places the immigrant in a precarious position embodying how the social question was made both ethnic and racial in the wake of non-Western immigration after 1970. This process in turn has fuelled researchers’ social indignation over inclusionary paternalism and illiberal exceptionalism, by which research pertaining to the welfare state/immigrant nexus has become entangled in a web of identity politics. Accordingly, the concrete content of the radicalised ambiguities of welfare governing and integration seems to revolve around thematisations of equality and sameness, pointing to the ambiguous nationalisation of so-called universal values producing welfare nationalism and chauvinism. Applying an ethics of discomfort to the research context to which this thesis belongs, I have sought to disrupt my own implicit social indignation, by not only questioning the concept of integration as object and goal of research, but also as the dominant epistemological figure; that is, how we imagine and then pursue integration as our object and goal.

As the ghost of welfare absorbs its adversaries, I have shown how the ghost of integrationism haunts our epistemologies, whereby researchers' social indignation spills over into constructing and representing the research object. This spillover tends to represent the state as an ideology of integrative unity with the result that research on immigrant schoolchildren's education replaces one integrationist vision with another. In other words, immigrant schoolchildren's education is examined in terms of repressive exclusion and inclusive transgression as mutually exclusive educational practices. However, applying the perspective of ambiguity as reality, I argue that the combination of these educational practices is exactly the point at which Danish welfare nation state fabrication occurs.

In sum, my analytical discussion of this thesis's research context illustrates the core struggles inherent in my research questions and present in my research process. Thus, when I question how immigrant schoolchildren have been made educationally manageable, I oblige myself to pursue an examination of the positivities of educational practices; that is, the nominal, contingent problematisations, techniques, rationalities, and goals making immigrant schoolchildren amenable to education. In addition, when I question how these practices have fed into fabricating a Danish welfare nation state, I construct my research object as a reality, but only insofar as it is historically made. Doing so, I remain aware of the presence of such universalised concepts as welfare, nation, immigrant, integration, and education when thinking about my research questions and research object. With this research context, I have sought to illuminate and discuss how these concepts are historically and scholarly biased, and at play from the 'back of my mind', and how other researchers, and I, struggle with them.

Contextualising my research questions and object in four research fields has resulted in a scholarly cross-fertilisation of disciplines and academic traditions that has enabled me to identify three underexplored research perspectives. At this point, I offer a sketch of the three research perspectives to be pursued in subsequent chapters.

First, I apply a historical perspective concerning immigrant schoolchildren's education. It is not a history detailing immigrant schoolchildren's experiences with education, nor one outlining school policy development. Rather, it is a historical perspective that seeks to tease out effective *histories* problematising how educationally manageable immigrant schoolchildren are made through emerging problem-solving complexes energised by publically administering welfare, and grounded in teacher professionalisation and pedagogical repertoires. Accordingly, this thesis offers effective histories as critique as they relate to problematising practices of educational welfare work. Hence,

this thesis contributes to the research lacuna of missing historical perspectives in educational research on immigrant schoolchildren and to immigrant schoolchildren's absence in general from the annals detailing the history of education.

Second, I pursue an educational perspective on the welfare state/immigrant nexus, previously studied as a matter of ideological party struggles and policy development pertaining to labour market issues, immigration control, and social insurance schemes. Education researchers Mette Buchardt, Pirjo Markkola, and Heli Valtonen argue an educational perspective 'can enlarge the scope of welfare state history' (2013, 24) inasmuch as schooling and education have been mobilised in projects of nation-building, citizenship development, and social change. Consequently, I suggest that educationalised welfare work addressing immigrant schoolchildren and their families functions as a historical magnifying glass allowing for posing inquiries about (new) social problems and their solutions, and discussing how such problem-solving complexes have fed into fabricating a post-1970 Danish welfare nation state. In addition, it is important to note I work with an educational perspective focussing on the *educationalisation* of the social question of integration, and not in terms of education as an institution and institutional practice. Focussing on educationalisation rather than on education itself provides a language of critique, which makes it possible to address the integrationistic educational optimism traversing professionalised educational practices responsive to immigrant schoolchildren's presence.

Third, the combination of a historical perspective on immigrant schoolchildren's education, an educational perspective on the welfare state/immigrant nexus, and a processual language of positive critique adds up to this thesis' governmental perspective. A governmental perspective casts educationalised welfare work addressing immigrant schoolchildren and their families as dangerous activities in terms of their making of citizens and society. As a result, this thesis finds its place within an emerging research field in which immigrant schoolchildren's education is rendered a critical prism through which to study welfare nation state fabrication. Accordingly, this thesis contributes with effective histories on the positivities of integrationism found in professional and educational responses to immigrant schoolchildren's presence in Danish public schools since the 1970s. The thesis contributes not by invalidating established historical narratives, but rather with its aim to offer a catalogue of new viewpoints concerning fabricating a Danish welfare nation state through dispersed practices of educationalised welfare work addressing immigrant schoolchildren and their families.

All three perspectives are at play in each of the thesis' three articles presented in chapter 5. Chapter 4 addresses the methodological implications of the combination of historical, educational and governmental perspectives. Serving as an intermezzo between the research context and my discussion of this thesis's methodological and analytical strategies, the next chapter reflects upon my use of concepts and language(s) as a particular mode of methodological reflexivity when conducting a positive form of critique.

3. Intermezzo: Concepts lost and found in translation

In the course of constructing and discussing this thesis's research context, it has become apparent how a handful of concepts (or words) haunted this project and worked their way forward from the back of my mind. These concepts/words pertain to welfare, nation, immigrant, integration, and education. I have already addressed other researchers' use of these concepts/words as objects and goals of research from the perspective of ambiguity, integration, and integrationism. At this point, the reader might expect this chapter to offer clarification and definitions for these contested concepts, but this will not be the case. Instead, I dare to linger among the uncertainties of refraining from providing clear-cut definitions. I find it methodological virtue in performing a positive critique not to *deploy* concepts, but to *unravel* their making and effects. While it is beyond the scope of this chapter (and this thesis) to offer a history of these concepts (*Begriffsgeschichte*) (Duedahl 2004; Nevers 2004), this chapter can function as an intermezzo for methodological reflexivity addressing the use of concepts and language(s) as vital aspects of a positive critique. This intermezzo connects my scepticism directed towards universal concepts mentioned in Chapter 1, historical and scholarly biases inherent in the above-listed concepts identified in Chapter 2, and analytical construction work described in Chapter 4, while adding the perspective of translation.

If universal concepts are not to be trusted, but instead to be historicised and problematised in order to unravel both what they are made of and make, in effect, it becomes equally important to raise an awareness of the historical and scholarly alliance between the concepts/words we dare to use. Thus, to be sceptical of universalised concepts such as welfare, nation, immigrant, integration, and education does not mean we must avoid them; quite the opposite. It means working both with and against them in a 'treacherous bind' (Gunaratnam 2003, 28) by continuing to think with them against their own ambiguities and heterogeneity through relations of their contestation. This means engaging with them in relation to their contiguous Other, not in an abstract form, but through concrete historical matter.

Thinking about concepts in relation to their contiguous Other accentuates the relational, ontological status by which I treat them; this is the first step of dissolving their abstract universality into historical matter. However, this relational ontology of concepts and their contiguous Other is not to be understood as 'a relationship between two self-standing entities that may or may not be compatible' (MacLure 2006, 224). Rather, the contiguous Other of concepts must be examined within concepts themselves, exposing these conceptual limits as the Other appears in the shape of

‘whatever it is that a discipline or system of thought tries to (has to) suppress in order to go on “being itself”’ (MacLure 2006, 224; citing Jones 1994). In this way, the Other or Otherness speaks from the margins, appears in the ruptures, and exposes ‘the repressed, ignored, and hidden’ (Madsen 2011, 37). Education researcher Ulla Ambrosius Madsen (2011, 37) argues that unravelling the suppressed, marginal, and seemingly irrelevant from the practice/phenomena/concept under investigation reveals the sacred and, I add, universalising construction of it, whereby the Other emerges ‘as – defect versions of – the same’ (2011, 50). Consequently, I understand and use concepts in terms of the historical knowledge practices upholding and contesting them.

The observations and discussions I raised in response to this thesis’s research context in Chapter 2 now serve to inform a preliminary sketch of the Others for the above-listed concepts, which haunt this thesis. What is particularly interesting about this handful of concepts is that they appear as each other’s Others. Welfare, understood in the historically specific form of a comprehensive public provisioning of social benefits, health care, and education as universal rights, meets its contiguous Other in the nation, recognised historically as the particularistic formation of one people, one language, and one culture, and vice versa. Thus, my deliberate combination of welfare and nation in my research object construct of a welfare nation state exposes the epistemological limits of each of the two concepts, while at the same time, experimenting with the possibility of transgressing them (Dean 2010a, 14; Stone 2014, 327); that is, as ‘concepts “under erasure” ... that are no longer “good to think with”, but which have yet to be replaced’ (Gunaratnam 2003, 31; referring to Jacques Derrida and Stuart Hall).

As suggested in my discussions in Sections 2.2. through 2.3., integration appears to be a mechanism of, and support for, the concepts of both welfare and nation, bringing to the fore its Other in the figure of the immigrant. If integration is understood in its historical form of making communities and societies cohesive wholes of different parts, then the immigrant emerges as the defective part of the whole; as the Other to be repressed and hidden, yet, invoked as ‘*confirmative of the same*’ (Madsen 2011, 50; italics in original). With reference to the particular historical setting of Denmark between 1970 and 2013, the concept of immigrant refers to all the historical figures assigned to a migratory history; that is non-Western labour immigrants, children of immigrants and their descendants, and refugees and their descendants. I deliberately make no distinctions among these categories in consistently using the concept *immigrant* for I want to remind my readership of the profound historical biologisation of the non-Western migratory history, imagined to be passed

on through blood, from generation to generation, regardless of the predominantly settled nature of those populating these categories²⁴.

Last, the concept of education, understood as the historical beacon of modernistic optimism, rationalism, and progress supporting the above-mentioned concepts, finds its contiguous Other in the failure, the chance happenstance, and the unmanageable (MacLure 2006).

This rough sketch attests to the historical, scholarly biases, the alliances, and the ambiguities inherent in the concepts haunting this thesis. It attests to ‘the value of careful specification of the limits of concepts’ (Dean 2010a, 11) from within as they become relevant to and emerge from the study’s concrete historical matter. Accordingly, it attests to my non-sacred dealings with concepts as I pursue a radical openness (Stone 2014), embracing the ambiguities and alliances of the concepts and language employed strategically in my research questions and object construction, and throughout my analytical work. This means that I do not fence in these contested concepts with inverted commas, for doing so can merely suggest that the concept/word/phenomena is constructed (Green and Grosvenor 1997, 887–88) or that it refers to something else or more than what is immediately intelligible. Instead of safeguarding my research with inverted commas, I use concepts as they appear historically with no pretence concerning their abstraction from or representation of reality (Nordblad 2013, 28)²⁵. To quote Professor of Education Maggie MacLure: ‘[T]o define is to return to the logic of representation, where words “refer” to entities as if these were separate and distinct from one another’ (2013, 661). I might risk being misunderstood and misinterpreted, but I endeavour to let my analyses of the historical matter illuminate the concepts’ ambiguities and manifold uses without pursuing closure and simplification. Using concepts as a mode of positive critique, I privilege the positivities of historical matter over universalisation and abstract clarity. Accordingly, the concepts and language of this thesis are at the same time epistemological categories, and the objects as well as the outcome of analysis.

Working across disciplines, time, and languages (Danish and English) has somehow radicalised the historical and scholarly ambiguity, and the entangling of key concepts in this thesis.

²⁴ Statistics Denmark’s (Danmarks Statistik 2014) distinction between Western descent, non-Western descent, and Danish descent in their counting of immigrants and their descendants and descendants of descendants since the 1980s is a lucid example of this biologisation of migratory history. For critical interrogations of social and historical research’s reinforcement of the racialised Other, see, for example, John Solomos and Les Back (1994), Marci Green and Ian Grosvenor (1997), Joron Pihl (2000), Yasmin Gunaratnam (2003), Ian Hacking (2005), and Tukufu Zuberi and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (2008).

²⁵ However, in my articles, for communicative reasons I have deemed it necessary to make use of inverted commas in order to distinguish between my overarching category immigrant schoolchildren and the varying historical articulations and labelling of these children (signified with inverted commas) as practical effects of problematising their presence.

To offer an example, welfare may take on a juridical, institutional form in political history, whereas it may appear in the shape of caring techniques in education. Roughly stated, welfare was about rights in the 1970s, but about duties in the 2000s. Welfare in Danish may denote a wide range of public services from social benefits to education, whereas welfare in English (UK) is more narrowly associated with social benefits and social work. Working with concepts as open-ended historical matter in this limbo of crossings involves acts of translation. Consequently, I operate with a rather broad understanding of translation; not only in terms of language, but also in terms of disciplinary cross-fertilisation and historical entanglements. I understand translation as fundamentally a production of concepts, whereby every act of translation constitutes a springboard ‘offering other possibilities for the kinds of work that can be done or arguments that can be built’ (Baker and Heyning 2004a, 35; cf. Temple and Young 2004, 164). In this sense, my above-discussion of concepts pertains to acts of translation in terms of disciplines and historical matter. In the following paragraphs, I dwell on translation’s linguistic aspects in terms of performing research in two languages.

Whereas methodological discussions of translation issues often centre upon the loss or maintenance of meaning, conceptual equivalence, and representation (Birbili 2000; van Nes et al. 2010), I discuss acts of translation from a ‘non-representational, non-interpretive, a-signifying’ (MacLure 2013, 663) stance. From this position, language is understood as less a mediator of the world and more a matter of analytical cutting (see Subsection 4.5.1.). Language – whether Danish or English – is an epistemological springboard or interference indicating ‘that the boundaries around languages are permeable’ (Temple and Young 2004, 174) – or as MacLure writes, language is wild (2013, 658). This wildness has appeared as interferences and entanglements of Danish and English in different places and stages of my research process. Reading research literature in Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, and English (written by native English speakers as well as non-native speakers) illuminates the wildness and interference of language, as concepts may appear the same, but refer to and thus convey different historical matter. Processing my historical material written in Danish with multilingual concepts working from the back of my mind has been beneficial in estranging myself from the educational practices well known to me (Fersch 2013, 91). The word *education* serves as a good example of a concept lost and found in translation. My use of this concept bears with it a struggle of conveying the history of the Danish education system in English. It implies much more than just writing the word *education* and raises an abundance of questions. For example: What is the social status associated with public education? What is a curriculum?

When is something an educational matter or a pedagogical matter? Who is a student and who is a pupil? What does it mean to be a professional teacher professional? In other words, I write *education*, admitting to its ambiguities and manifold articulations, while seeking to traverse it with the historical matter that made it into something.

In reading my notes, it is evident how language(s) have interfered with my processing and marshalling of the historical material as some observations or thematisations have been noted in Danish and others in English. The wildness and interference of language(s) became even more dramatic while writing this thesis exclusively in English. Writing in English can be thought of as an act of taming my Danish historical material in certain ways, so it can be presented in English (Bashiruddin 2013, 361). In some instances, this meant a loss in translation; in others, it meant I found an analytical springboard that had not appeared available to me in Danish. A good example is my conceptual-linguistic play with *being at risk* versus *being risky* (see article 1 in Section 5.1.). The question of risk was central in the historical material. Yet, it was only as I began to think about risk in English that I could unravel the empirical knot of risk and reassemble the material according to a historical movement from problematising immigrant schoolchildren and their families as beings *at risk* to beings believed to be *risky*. MacLure summarises this wildness and interference of language as connoting a place ‘where something not-yet-articulated seems to take off and take over, effecting a kind of quantum leap that moves the writing/writer to somewhere unpredictable’ (2013, 661).

In sum, there seems to be great epistemological potential in working consciously with acts of translation (Holmes et al. 2013, 291). However, writing my thesis in English when I could just as easily have written it in Danish places my work within the geopolitics of academic writing and publishing with the English-speaking world as its imperial epicentre (Holmes et al. 2013, 291–98). One may wonder whether English, as the lingua franca of academia, thus colonises our thoughts and diminishes the epistemological potential of acts of translation, or if it loosens the grip of national epistemologies (Tröhler 2013, 88–90).

In the next chapter, I pursue acts of translation across disciplines, time, and language in an elaborated construction of my research object.

4. Object under construction

As the above title indicates, this chapter offers reflections on the construction of this thesis's research object. Driven by an ethics of discomfort, it reconstructs my research process of analytically and methodologically strategic mutations that separate and connect the three articles presented in Chapter 5. Ultimately, it will show how this thesis's research object has been under construction, placed, and displaced in balancing acts of historical sensitivity and analytical cutting.

The chapter begins by discussing the uses of the name and work of Foucault in educational research as a way of posing new questions to the field of education, which functions as a springboard for my use of his name and work, along with my building on other researchers' uses. Subsequently, I show how the analytical strategy of supposing that the research object does not exist allows me to study something in the process of its making and construction in a historically sensitive manner while attending to how my analytical cutting and an ethics of discomfort partakes in this work of construction. This leads me to reflect upon my notion of practice as an entry point for collecting and selecting historical material. Next, I present a closer examination of my analytical approaches in terms of questioning problem-solving practices, applying a professionalisation perspective to educational problematisations, and approaching a horizon of governmentalities through a didactic landscape deployed in the three articles, respectively. The chapter concludes by revisiting the thesis's way of writing history as a form of positive critique, and translating this form of critique into a practical marshalling of the historical mass of practical texts collected and selected for this thesis.

4.1. Using Foucault's work in educational research

I consider educational research defined by its complex research object in terms of educational practices as sites for producing people, societies, and states. This means I deploy an understanding of education as a governing practice. I add this to my merging of educational perspectives on the welfare state/immigrant nexus, historical perspectives on the education of immigrant schoolchildren, and a governmental perspective on educationalised welfare work (see Section 2.5.).

This understanding of education is well-established in an educational research strand invoking the name of Michel Foucault whereby many scholars and researchers have studied and developed applications for his work since the late 1980s (Popkewitz and Brennan 1998a, 5; Baker and Heyning 2004b, 29). One of the first scholarly works to spark the development of this strand

was sociologist of education Stephen J. Ball's edited volume on Foucault and education (1990). In it, Ball argues that education, 'as the primary experience of virtually all young persons, is fundamental to a Foucauldian analysis of modern society' (1990, 5). Moreover, philosopher of education James D. Marshall adds that the school is a site for 'disciplining the population and governing its welfare' (1990, 15).

This critical questioning of modern education bears considerable resemblance to the struggle with the epistemological integrationist figure discussed in Sections 2.3. and 2.4., inasmuch as it interrogates how both educational research and professionalised educational work in and around schools are caught up in the 'normative framework of liberal democracy' and involved 'in the "modern play of coercion over bodies"' (Ball 2013, 118; citing Foucault).

The ambiguous coupling of liberal democratic reasoning and modern coercion is found for example, after 1945, materialising in the shape of egalitarian omnipotence attributed to schools driven by rationalisms of hope (Simola, Heikkinen, and Silvonen 1998, 80). More specifically, education researchers Marianne Bloch et al. show how, since the late-19th century, modern educational institutions have served to modernise, homogenise, and normalise with the aim of tying children to the national community (2003a, 17–18). According to education researchers Bernadette Baker and Katharina E. Heyning, '[t]he salvationist, redemptive, and reform rhetoric that has historically accompanied the professionalisation of the [educational] field has also generally required the scholar to be a confident expert on how to change others or "the system" in mass form' (2004a, 1). Consequently, historian of education Inés Dussel suggests we abandon the nostalgic view of the expansive post-WWII welfare state and the restorative assessment of 'neoliberalism' (2003, 93–94), replacing them with a critical examination of the 'combinatory repertoire' of democratisation, decentralisation, professionalisation, accountability, and national standards as a practical truth regime for managing people (2003, 106; cf. Petersson et al. 2007, 250; Ball 2013, 133).

Approaching educational practices in this manner enables critical examinations of modernistic and integrationistic visions and understandings of education's purpose – especially in the form of obligatory mass schooling. Seemingly, this aspect has been left undisturbed by questioning from anyone conducting mainstream educational research as it lends itself to provide education with 'practical and useful knowledge' (Popkewitz 2015a, 1) for the governing of educable and governable future citizens (Fendler 1998; Popkewitz 2003, 36; Ball 2013, 117). Baker notes that educational research, at least in the Anglophone world, has been inflicted with historical

propensities in the educational field; that is, with ‘template theoretical frameworks’ to be applied as a way of ‘normalising particular approaches as standardized methodology’ (2007, 80). It is as if schools, without question, are believed to be endpoints of scholarly work (2007, 84) and guarantors of progress, which are driven by human actors (teachers), whose good actions are universally reasoned (2007, 94). To some extent, education researcher Gerd Christensen’s (2008) genealogy of the modern pedagogical subject captures the same trend of templating and utilising psychological research in pedagogical practices in a Danish context.

Invoking the name of Foucault and using his critical examinations of modern reason and governing as aids in understanding how education and educational research are traversed by a fundamental optimism about human progress to be fostered through education aligning the individual body with the social body via teaching and socialisation to secure integration, welfare, democracy, and prosperity. As variations on this critical thematisation of modern education, Baker and Heyning (2004a, 29–33) identify three ways in which Foucault’s name and work have been invoked and used in Anglophone educational research since the 1980s.

The first way of reading Foucault’s work pays particular attention to concepts regarding discipline, surveillance, and normalisation. This educational research stream has rendered Foucault’s work useful for denaturalising categorisation practices and the discursive production of subjects emphasising diversity in educational settings (Baker and Heyning 2004a, 31–32). A Danish example would be Dorthe Staunæs’s (2004) ethnographic study of gender, ethnicity, and school life discussed in Section 2.3.

The second way of rendering Foucault’s work useful is found in critical reconstruction projects, which deploy inquiries into mainstream educational practices as a means to offer practical alternatives (Baker and Heyning 2004a, 32). A Danish example of a reconstructionist project is political scientist Stefan Hermann’s (2007) diagnostic analysis of the relation between education and politics against the backdrop of the proliferation of progressive pedagogy in Danish public schools between the 1950s and the 2000s. Hermann’s explicit aim is reconstructing the project of enlightenment in education; that is, to reconstruct academic knowledge as a means to democratic mobilisation.

A third way of welcoming Foucault’s name and work into educational research revolves around historicising projects, paying particular attention to analytics of archaeology, genealogy, and

a history of the present²⁶. This educational research stream examines how a subject becomes articulated into an educational problem and questions ‘the normativities of historical narrations’ (Baker and Heyning 2004a, 30). At this point, I would assert that Baker and Heyning’s own work (2004a) and the particular educational research strand (Ball 1990; Popkewitz and Brennan 1998a; Bloch et al. 2003b; Baker 2007; Ball 2013; Popkewitz 2015b) informing this thesis belong to the project of historicising educational practices.

In a Scandinavian research context, I have identified four examples of educational uptakes of Foucault’s name and work that feed into the project of historicisation. In 2007, education researchers Kenneth Petersson et al. contributed to a Swedish edited volume on the ‘will to govern’. Deploying a genealogical approach of contrasting post-WWII welfare governing with community building in the 2000s, they demonstrate how the hypereducationalisation of various social policy fields such as teacher training, public health, and crime prevention has changed the collective responsibility for national welfare into an individual enterprise demanding flexible, entrepreneurial life-long learners.

Exhibiting an interest in educational psychology’s productive powers, Christensen (2008) delivers a 20th-century genealogy on the emergence of the child as a pedagogical subject to understand contemporary educational trends such as ‘Gardner’s multiple intelligences’, ‘project-based learning’, and ‘classroom management’. Education researcher Claus Drejer (2012) offers a genealogical analysis of the Danish public school system’s strategic subjectification of the pupil between 1822 and 2010 through changing political rationalities and teaching techniques with the aim of problematising the regime of standardised national tests in the present. Deploying a history of the present, education researcher Bjørn Hamre (2012) problematises the school’s problem constructions by analysing pupils’ case files and professional journal articles from the 1930s and 2000s, whereby he illuminates how modern schooling constructs differences along divided lines of learning motivation, social competency, and reflexivity.

From this brief description of the uses of Foucault’s name and work in educational research in the Anglophone world and Scandinavian region, a migratory pattern appears of which this thesis forms a part. According to education researchers Thomas S. Popkewitz and Marie Brennan, Foucault’s thoughts travelled across the seas and arrived in the Anglophone world in the later part

²⁶ *A history of the present* is a commonly used notion in educational research deploying the analytical strategy of genealogy and historicisation. It signifies a constructionist approach in historical research, which uses history to problematise present practices, while recognising the inevitable presentism in historical research. In this way, it resonates with the notion of *effective history*, which I deploy in this thesis and elaborate on in Section 4.5.

of the 1980s, providing fuel for the questioning of the ‘politics of knowledge’ (1998b, 5). In Anglophone educational research, this meant challenging popular pragmatism; reassessing schools functioning as producers of equality, justice, and diversity (1998b, 8); and defying structural concepts of power, agency, and resistance (1998b, 16–17).

Translated, processed, and used in Anglophone educational research, Foucault’s thoughts then returned to continental Europe, more specifically to Scandinavia. This is illustrated by Finnish education researchers Hannu Simola, Sakari Heikkinen, and Jussi Silvonen’s (1998) and Swedish education researcher Kenneth Hultqvist’s (1998) contributions to Popkewitz and Brennan’s edited volume concerning applications of Foucault’s thoughts in educational research (1998a). What is interesting about this travel is in a Scandinavian educational setting, Foucault’s thoughts seem to come to light in examining how the school setting played a key role in reconstructing and developing a universal welfare state after WWII. Accordingly, the Anglophone research agenda centring on the politics of knowledge is combined with a focus on ‘politics of life’ in the name of welfare, through which concepts of the individual were connected with concepts of the social (Hultqvist 1998, 105).

This research focus becomes even more evident in the edited volume *Governing Children, Families, and Education – Restructuring the Welfare State* (Bloch et al. 2003b). In it, the welfare state perspective travels globally with questions about the organisation of care, the policing of the ‘welfare person ... who is legible and administrable’ (Bloch et al. 2003a, 6), and the welfare state’s provisioning of equity through education. In an edited volume on *The ‘Reason’ of Schooling* (Popkewitz 2015b) with a similar global outreach, these questions are reframed by a focus on the politics of schooling (Popkewitz 2015a, 2). Accordingly, the governing of deviancy, and social and cultural cohesion are examined through formulations of the social question; and educational responses are examined as acts of producing proper citizens and the making of societies at different times and places since the 19th century (Kowalczyk 2015; Petersson, Olsson, and Krejsler 2015; Tröhler 2015).

From my reading of a ‘travelling Foucault’ in educational research engaged with a historicising project, I have observed a pattern of *politicisation*: that is, a focus on the ‘politics of knowledge’, ‘politics of life’, and ‘politics of schooling’, depending on the research object constructed with and against practices of education in various contexts. Hence, what I mean by politicisation is that Foucault’s work causes me (and, apparently, many researchers who have preceded me) to think of educational practices as anything but neutral (Dean and Villadsen 2012,

86) – as dangerous – as politically loaded with cultural and social projects for making a better society. As such, this educational research strand substantiates my way of posing this thesis’s research questions and my method in constructing the research object. It does so because it asks new questions about educational practices.

It asks questions about the power of education to fashion people, societies, and realities, while defamiliarising, denaturalising, and historicising that very same fashioning of people, societies, and realities. Consequently, educational practices are constructed as sites of governing, an object construction that collapses dichotomies of the individual and the social, society, and state as the effect of a strategic decentring of the object under investigation. Accordingly, it problematises the educational problem construct and unravels how educational research has contributed to these very same constructs. Thus, educational practices as a form of governing are related to epistemological truth games, which render educational research a social practice deeply enmeshed with its research object.

This complex of questions, embedded as they are in each other, illustrates why I study the making of educationally manageable immigrant schoolchildren since it is *in the making* that politics crystallises and education can be critically addressed as dangerous. The making of *the manageable* (or governable) points beyond the individual schoolchild, connecting it with broader images of the social. The envisioning of the social and the educationalisation of the making of the social makes education understandable as a practice of modern governing that *feeds into the fabricating of a welfare nation state*.

Therefore, I invoke the name of Foucault, and use his work, along with building on others’ uses of his work, because doing so makes me consider how the construction of educational problems, questions, and answers are embedded in the making of people, society, and state. However, this is not a Foucauldian study, and I am not a Foucauldian, to paraphrase Ball (2013, 1). Consequently, I do not subscribe to a solitary reading of Foucault’s work nor do I read the entire library he has produced. Rather, I read certain of his texts and study other researchers’ uses of his work as analytical exercises and points of departure for ‘what appears a wandering analysis whose nomadic impulses are carefully designed’ (Baker 2007, 116)²⁷ to stimulate and drive my ethics of discomfort.

²⁷ In this quotation, Baker refers to James D. Marshall’s reading of Foucault.

What follows in the rest of this chapter is an assemblage of carefully designed nomadic threads that govern the theoretical and methodological connections between the three articles, each of which represents a departure from the others.

4.2. Let us suppose

In Chapter 1, I argued for a processual construction of my research object scaffolded as the making of educationally manageable immigrant schoolchildren feeding into the fabricating of a Danish welfare nation state. Discussing use(s) of Foucault's work in educational research in Section 4.1., I demonstrated how we might view education as a set of governing practices that fashion or produce people, societies, and states. This kind of analytical construction work is inspired by Foucault's invitation to suppose that the phenomena we set out to examine do not exist (2008, 2–3):

If we suppose that it does not exist, then what can history make of these different events and practices which are apparently organized around something that is supposed to be [educationally manageable immigrant schoolchildren and a Danish welfare state]²⁸. (Foucault 2008, 3)

Accepting this invitation, I see an opportunity to escape the ghost of integrationism's universalisation of concepts such as welfare, nation, immigrant, integration, and education as 'ready-made objects' (Foucault 2009, 118). Instead, I attend to the ambiguous fashioning of these objects through the making of educationally manageable immigrant schoolchildren. Consequently, I strategically bracket my research object to give myself the opportunity to look for historical practices that gave it existence and made it into something. Dean writes:

To understand the relation between authority and identity, if one likes, we should look beyond the global enwrapping of State formation and the moral regulation of individuals to the variegated domain in which what might be called "regimes of government" come to work through "regimes of conduct". (1996, 211)

Accordingly, I argue that a post-1970 Danish welfare nation state came into existence as the effect of a variegated domain of practices engaged in making welfare, nation, integration, and education into something (a regime of government) and giving identities to immigrant schoolchildren, their families, and their educators (a regime of conduct).

Such an approach challenges the 'obligatory grid of intelligibility' (Foucault 2008, 3) traditionally assigned to the modern state as the epicentre of concentrated power, which orchestrates

²⁸ In the original quotation, Foucault writes 'madness'.

the ideological and educational machinery set in motion to foster good citizens, welfare, and social order (Ball 2013, 40–41; Villadsen 2015, 148). It also problematises ‘the conception of the state as possessing a coherence and unity’ (Villadsen 2015, 147) and as possessing a ‘necessity or functionality’ (Rose and Miller 1992, 176), but acknowledges that significant effort has been invested in making the modern state necessary and providing it with coherence and functional viability. Foucault termed and studied such efforts as ‘the art of governing, that is to say, the reasoned way of governing best and, at the same time, reflection on the best possible way to governing’ (2008, 2). In this way, Foucault suggests that the modern state can be studied as a practice. He writes, ‘[t]he state is inseparable from the set of practices by which the state actually became a way of governing, a way of doing things, and a way too of relating to government’ (Foucault 2009, 277). Accordingly, the modern state is at once an effect of other practices of governing and the ultimate point of reference for modern practices of governing (Foucault 1982, 793; Dean and Villadsen 2012, 84–93; Jessop 2012, 68).

This points to a seemingly contradictory understanding of the modern state as both a mythical abstraction and powerful reality (Dean 1994, 180). Dean suggests this contradiction is a product of Foucault’s antistatism. This kind of antistatism bears at least two implications. First, the state is not a necessity, but only one of many possible answers to the question of governing. Thus, it is only an abstraction of thought. Second, it implies a methodological imperative of cutting off the king’s head (Dean 1994, 180). That is, one can challenge the juridico-sovereign institutional (and negative) understanding of the state as a cold monster capable of taking lives, and complicate it with a view of the state as a powerful reality making life possible by ‘organising the field of powers of advanced liberal states’ (Dean 1994, 180). An antistatist approach does not render the modern state bad or good, just dangerous, as it ‘is nothing else but the mobile effect of a regime of multiple governmentalities’ (Foucault 2008, 77).

Thinking about the modern state as a practice – or as the net effect of practices of governing and of thinking about governing – makes a theory about the state an ‘indigestible meal’ (Foucault 2008, 77; cf. Lemke 2007), as state theorisation – like the epistemological figure of integrationism – is taken to be involved in modern state fabrication (Larsen and Øland 2011, 9). Thus, instead of a theory of state, I deploy an *analytics of governing* (Lemke 2007; Dean 2010a, 30–37)²⁹, which

²⁹ Lemke and Dean use the notion of an ‘analytics of government’. However, by deploying a notion of an analytics of governing, I seek to reinforce my thoughts about the state as a dynamic practice, and not as a stable entity. This is not to imply that Lemke and Dean present the state as a stable entity; on the contrary. I am also aware that in much of his writing, Foucault uses the notion ‘government’, as is evident by the quotations I extract from his writings.

supposes the state and its object of governing do not exist per se, but are made and remade through practices of governing.

Such an analytics of governing implies a strategic decentring and displacement of the research object. By decentring, I mean studying the research object through peripheral practices of its making. By displacement, I mean identifying the making of my research object in dispersed practices across scale and time. In this way, an analytical strategy of decentring and displacement works to offer new viewpoints concerning my research object.

Having studied institutions of the insane and the imprisoned through the disciplines and general technologies of power, Foucault grew doubtful over whether abandoning one displaced institutional analysis would only lead to another ‘in which, precisely, the state is the stake’ confronting ‘us with the totalizing institution of the state’ (2009, 119). I have felt the same kind of doubt: If I look for the Danish welfare nation state in local educational practices addressing immigrant schoolchildren, will I not end up finding the totalising effects of state governing on a different (micro) level? To some extent, my analyses prove my doubts correct inasmuch as the practices I examine do not escape the integrationistic visions of society so fundamental to the workings of the modern state.

However, due to the processual construction of my research object, instead, I look for how *fabricating* a Danish welfare nation state is found dispersed throughout educational practices concerned with *making* immigrant schoolchildren educationally manageable. Consequently, I do not find *the* Danish welfare nation state or *the* educationally manageable immigrant schoolchild. Instead, I find viewpoints on how both *a* Danish welfare nation state and educationally manageable immigrant schoolchildren have been constituted; ‘i.e., the way they are formed, connect up with each other, develop, multiply, and are transformed on the basis of something other than themselves’ (Foucault 2009, 119) in sites, where they are ‘not named but practiced’ (Saar 2012, 43). In this way, the analytical strategy of decentring and displacement dissolves the modernistic dichotomy between the state and its object of governing (citizens and societies) as it takes seriously the totalising effects of the state by deromanticising it as nothing more than the effect of dispersed governing practices.

Important to the viability of an analytical strategy that decentres and displaces is displaying historical sensitivity toward one’s research object and the inherent centrisms of the context out of which it emerges (Foucault 1990, 102). My research object’s context of emergence is found in both the research context, which I established in Chapter 2, informing the analytical construction of my research object, and in the historical context of its fabrication being empirically confined to the

historical material collected and selected for this thesis (see Section 4.3.). Thus, in the following discussion of my analytical decentrings and displacements as they have been enacted among and in each of the three articles, I operate within a double strategic gesture. Depending on the isolated research focus in each of the articles, in some instances, I decentre and displace my research object from centrisms identified in my research context. In other instances, I decentre and displace my research object from historical propensities in practices of (immigrant schoolchildren's) education and welfare governing. In most cases, this distinction is difficult to uphold due to the historical entanglements of knowledge and power immanent to making immigrant schoolchildren educationally manageable as practices feeding into fabricating a Danish welfare nation state. This double gesture of strategic decentrings and displacements works with an ethics of discomfort. Accordingly, I challenge the established, comfortable certainties (centrisms) traversing my research object's context of emergence and point to the comfortable certainties of my own analytical operations. Discussing my historico-analytical comfortable certainties should illustrate my scientific practice as one experimenting with construction and historicisation; that is, the initial construction of my research object becomes an intervention into my historical material, while I let the historical material work its way back into this construction modifying the grid of intelligibility and historicising my initial construction.

An inherent centrism in the context of my research object is found in the juridico-sovereign, institutional understanding of the forming of a Danish welfare state. From this centrism, I decentre my research object to dispersed educational practices addressing immigrant schoolchildren's presence. Thus, in article 1 (Section 5.1.), I decentre the fabricating of a Danish welfare nation state to peripheral administrative practices of governing the welfare of immigrant families and their school-aged children – not in terms of identifying the trickling down of national legislation, but in the administrative knowledge practices rendering the welfare of immigrant families and their school-aged children problematic and thus being in a position to propose manageable solutions. This is a comfortable positioning of my research object as it displays a historical sensitivity towards a post-1970s Danish way of a decentralised administering of welfare and educational provisioning, based on rational analysis (see Section 2.1.). Accordingly, it becomes too comfortable as I recognise the decentralised administrative knowledge practices epitomise a Danish welfare nation state's talented domestication of an antijuridico-sovereign, antiinstitutional understanding of governing.

In article 2 (Section 5.2.), not only do I decentre my research object from peripheral administrative knowledge practices, but also from a different centrism inherent in my research

object, one intricately woven into educational practices, or as Baker (2007, 86–87) states, propensities of the field. More precisely, I decentre my research object from the centrism of thinking about the public provision of education in terms of reform and school development as framing immigrant schoolchildren's educational success or failure. Decentring, I study the making of educationally manageable immigrant schoolchildren through teacher professionalisation practices. Doing so, I understand professionalisation practices as interwoven with acts of problematisations that cast immigrant schoolchildren as needing specially trained professionals, who are themselves interwoven with the project of doing good and making proper citizens for a better society. Consequently, I study the fabricating of a Danish welfare nation state through the professional subjectification of teachers and their practices of problematising immigrant schoolchildren. This, again, becomes a comfortable position for my research object, as it is sensitive to the historical importance assigned to professionals in the forming of modern states (see Section 2.4.). It may be too comfortable as well, for 'concerns about conduct are voiced and pursued by a multiplicity of authorities and agencies that seek to unify, divide, make whole, and fragment our selves and our lives in the name of specific forms of truth' (Dean 1996, 210–11).

In article 3 (Section 5.3.), I decentre my research object from the centrism of the anthropological subject of education; that is, from immigrant schoolchildren's experiences with schooling and from teachers' beliefs and intentions. Instead, I study the making of educationally manageable immigrant schoolchildren and the fabricating of a Danish welfare nation state through a multiplicity of didactic text productions offering pedagogical repertoires comprising objectives, techniques, and truths responsive to problematisations of immigrant schoolchildren's presence and to the (new) social question of integration. As before, this is a comfortable positioning of my research object inasmuch as it exhibits a historical sensitivity towards the didactic reasoning in educational practices.

Nevertheless, my analytical strategy of decentring and displacing my research object as the enactment of an ethics of discomfort with my own certainties is continuously and deliberately constrained by a historical sensitivity towards the propensities inherent in my research object's context of emergence. Foucault writes, '[i]t is within the state that the father will rule the family, the superior the convent, etc. Thus we find at once a plurality of forms of government and their immanence to the state' (1991a, 91). In other words, I decentre my research object within a configuration of practices revolving around the presence of immigrant schoolchildren and having a Danish welfare nation state as an immanent point of reference (Foucault 1990, 98).

Although I have presented the above triple decentring and displacement in a successive manner, it should not be understood as necessarily representing a linear research process. Rather, I have moved back and forth between places of practice to decentre and displace my research object in pursuing a wandering analysis of a research object under construction. In the following subsection, I discuss the theoretical and methodological implications of studying the making of both educationally manageable immigrant schoolchildren and the state as practices.

4.2.1. Productive practices

Practices are ways of thinking and acting – or thinking about acting – or acting upon thinking – with effects in the real. I derive this notion of practices from Foucault's rejection of power as domination. If power is not domination, then what makes it powerful? It is powerful because it comes into play in relations between forces (dominations as well as resistances) in which it plays a productive role (Foucault 1990, 94). Hence, power is not held, but exercised (Foucault 1990, 94). Moreover, Foucault adds exercises of knowledge and truth-telling as preconditions for exercising modern power. Paraphrasing his history of sexuality (Foucault 1990, 98), I argue that immigrant schoolchildren became an object of educational interest and intervention, because a complex of relations of forces had made this object a target of power exercises. Equally, if a complex of relations of forces was able to make immigrant schoolchildren a target, this was because educational techniques, truths, and objectives were capable of investing it as such. Thinking about practices in terms of power and knowledge, and power in terms of thinking and acting leads to an understanding of governing as a practice structuring a context of (im)possible action and thought (Dean 2010a, 22).

The power targeting of, and knowledge investing, immigrant schoolchildren substantiate my understanding of practices as productive in terms of making a target of governing (acting) and an object of educational interest (thinking). Important to note, I observe the productivity of modern power/knowledge practices in peripheral, nominal practices, whereas the power of these dispersed practices is to be studied as the overall effect of their joining in complex, over-all strategies in particular societies (Foucault 1990, 93). Ultimately, power/knowledge practices become productive as they *come about and stand in relation to things other than themselves*. In other words, they are productive as they make up a complex over-all strategy in a particular society, and as they are conditioned by and respond to this complex over-all strategy. In Section 4.4., I show how practices of making immigrant schoolchildren educationally manageable can be understood as forcefully

productive in their standing relation to rearticulations of the social question in a particular post-1970 Danish society.

This complex rendering of practices as productive is summarised in the concept of governmentality, which is both a historical description of the modern state's form of governing people and society as external to itself (Foucault 1991a, 100–102) and an analytical perspective, from which to decipher the practices that define targets of power and objects of knowledge (Rose and Miller 1992; Dean 2010a; Bröckling, Krasmann, and Lemke 2012a; Ball 2013). The relevancy of the analytical perspective of governmentality to my notion of productive practices lies in its underscoring of the relationship 'between techniques of power and forms of knowledge, since governmental practices make use of specific types of rationality, regimes of representation, and interpretive models' (Bröckling, Krasmann, and Lemke 2012a, 2). In the words of Ball, '[g]overnmentality is a conceptual architecture of the modern liberal state and all its strategies, techniques, and procedures as they act upon the human body and social behaviour through the many and varied capillaries of power' (2013, 60). In sum, the analytical perspective of governmentality mediates between dispersed practices of thinking and acting, and strategic situations of powerful dispositions. It offers a perspective on enveloping educational objectification and subjectification processes within those of welfare nation state fabrication, and vice versa. Hence, Dean argues, '[t]he "welfare state", for example, can be understood less as a concrete set of institutions and more as a way of viewing institutions, practices, and personnel, of organizing them in relation to a specific ideal of government' (2010a, 43).

Applying a perspective of governmentality and deploying a notion of productive practices frees my analysis from placing my research object in a confined, precise domain. Rather, it encourages me to displace my research object from its 'self-proclaimed' domain of belonging to identify its making based on something other than itself. In this way, my strategy of decentring and displacement works to establish 'a point of view, a method of decipherment which may be valid for the whole scale, whatever its size' (Foucault 2008, 186). However, Foucault notes, this does not suggest an analysis of homologies as if a practice at one end of the scale is a projection of another at the other end of the scale. Rather, it suggests an analysis of the joining of singular and nominal practices in a complex over-all strategy that in turn envelops each of the singular and nominal practices (Foucault 1990, 100).

In Section 4.2., I demonstrated how I decentred my research object from the centrisms inherent in its context of emergence. In the following, I account for the methodological implications

of these decentrings. Accordingly, I displace the fabricating of a Danish welfare nation state between 1970 and 2013 to three places of practice making immigrant schoolchildren educationally manageable, with these practices functioning as critical prisms through which to observe the production of people, society, and, ultimately, state.

In article 1 (Section 5.1.), such practices are located in dispersed knowledge practices informing the administration of immigrant families' welfare and the organisation of their children's education. These historical practices are fixed in the production and exchange of practical texts among different administrative bodies, schools, universities, and ministries informing the governing of immigrant families' welfare and the organising of their children's education.

In article 2 (Section 5.2.), practices of thinking and acting upon immigrant schoolchildren's presence in public schools are displaced to professional journals as spaces of defining problems, envisioning solutions, propagating missions, and casting ideal professionals.

Article 3 (Section 5.3.) breaks the confines of both the administrative domain and the professional space, displacing practices of making immigrant schoolchildren educationally manageable in a didactical landscape of multiple authorities and agencies offering truths, objectives, and techniques to teachers to manage immigrant schoolchildren's presence.

Characteristic of all three places of practices is their production and circulation of texts, which are inherently practical in that they are regulative, reflexive, and instructive as practical qualities of thinking and acting. From these practices, I derive and construct three distinct corpora of texts, of which the first corpus of texts adhering to article 1 is read primarily as regulative. The second corpus adhering to article 2 is read mainly as reflexive, and the third corpus adhering to article 3 is read as principally instructive. These are overtly methodological distinctions, which dissolve in the analytical processing of each of the textual corpora as demonstrated in the articles (Sections 5.1. through 5.3.).

In combination, they constitute a historical body of material allowing for an analytical decipherment of the powerful effects of productive practices. Inspired by Nordblad's (2013, 28) historical methodology, I argue the combination of different textual types and genres enables the historical assembling of events and practices of thinking and acting, which amounts to a politics of history; that is, establishing a catalogue of new viewpoints from within the productive practices themselves as they join in a complex over-all strategy in a particular society.

In the next section, I discuss the qualities of these different types and genres of texts, and account for my collecting and selecting of them.

4.3. Collecting and selecting the practical texts

Textual effects are ‘paradigmatic artifacts of modern knowledge practices’ (Riles 2006, 2) and, as such, modern administration and schooling. With the development of mass printing, mass schooling, and mass literacy, texts became constitutive of all aspects of modern life: personal (e.g. identity papers), institutional (e.g. rules, programmes, and records), regulative (e.g. legislation, policy papers), cultural (e.g. literature, newspapers, public archives), and research (e.g. publications) (Riles 2006, 5; cf. Dery 1998; Prior 2003, 4). In general terms, historian Poul Duedahl (2007) describes the qualities of texts as inducing order, propagating influence, and recording in terms of evidence or conserving the past for the future. In a more narrow focus on modern schooling, Ball writes that

[t]he discipline of writing was both a means of measuring and recording the learner.... The new technologies of measurement and examination quickly gave rise to a proliferation of ‘scholastic accountancy’, lodged in various ‘ignoble archives’ [citing Foucault 1979] – within which children were measured (literally), filed. (2013, 47)

In sum, the empirical textual referents of my research object are not only to be understood as historical traces or artefacts of past practices. They are techniques among other techniques that made these practices productive. Moreover, and highly important to my performing a positive critique, anthropologist Annelise Riles writes that one of modern critique’s core objects has been precisely the modernistic ‘documentation project’. Thus, modern texts reference ‘*both* a utopian modernist vision of a world’ of progress, ‘and also an ongoing critique of that vision’ (2006, 6; italics in original). In this respect, performing a positive critique means that I attend to the problematisations to which the visionaries and their critics responded from within by turning their own practices upon themselves and exposing how they configure into an over-all strategy in a given society. It also implies an acute awareness of how the textual effects of my study (made manifest by this thesis) run the risk of becoming entangled in that very same over-all strategy.

One possible avenue of escape is to pose my research questions differently from those the texts sought to answer, and read them differently – in a combinatory manner – than they were originally intended to be read. Texts ‘thus provide a ready-made ground for experimentation with how to apprehend modernity’ (Riles 2006, 2) and modern governing, I would add. Accordingly, this thesis’ historical material is analysed as textual effects of everyday practices of modern governing.

Thus, being interested in studying mundane practices of governing people and society that fashioned a Danish welfare nation state between 1970 and 2013, that kind of history writing is ‘not of literature but of that tangential rumour, that everyday, transient writing that never acquires the status of an *œuvre*, or is immediately lost: the analysis of sub-literatures, almanacs, reviews, and newspapers, temporary successes, anonymous authors’ (Foucault 1972, 136–37). Consequently, my three corpora of texts do not, by necessity, comprise textual sources traditionally assigned central importance in existent research (Villadsen 2006, 100) such as ministerial orders, national education acts, policy programmes, government mission statements, or the recordings of parliamentary debates (Kristjánsdóttir 2006). To some extent, accounted for below, they are included as a part of my work. However, my collection of historical material is dominated by lowly, disparate, peripheral, yet productive texts. They are productive because they relate immediately to mundane, practical problematisations (Villadsen 2006, 99; Bacchi 2012, 3).

The first corpus of texts includes text types such as commission reports, project descriptions, project evaluations, status reports, guidelines, orders, and procedural instructions. Characteristic of these types of texts is they exhibit a knowledge production informative of the administration of immigrant families’ welfare and the organisation of their children’s education. They define problems and offer solutions with regulatory effects. See Appendix 10.1. for a complete list of the 162 texts. Selective referencing is made in article 1, presented in Section 5.1.

I derive the second corpus of texts from The Royal Danish School of Education’s annual reports (1970–2000) and from three professional journals addressing teachers of immigrant schoolchildren (1980–2013). The types of texts included are editorials, book reviews, debate pieces, seminar reports, meeting minutes, best practice descriptions, recommendations, study trip reports, seminar announcements, publication lists, and activity logs. In combination, they affirm professional teacher identities and competencies responsive to problematisations of immigrant schoolchildren. See Appendix 10.2. for a list of the journal issues. More detailed referencing is made in article 2, presented in Section 5.2.

Finally, the third corpus of texts includes teacher guidelines, teacher handbooks, teacher textbooks, forewords or epilogues in student textbooks, manuals, guidance notes, catalogues of ideas, and pamphlets offering best practice recommendations for managing immigrant schoolchildren’s presence in Danish public schools. These types of texts revolve around a didactical logic explaining and defining the pedagogical problem, offering instructions on how to deal with

the problem, and coining the objectives. See Appendix 10.3. for a complete list of the 160 texts. Selective referencing is made in article 3, presented in Section 5.3.

Due to the ways these lowly, disparate, peripheral texts are powerful in terms of defining problems, productive in terms of offering solutions, and knowledgeable in terms of offering explanations and objectives, they ‘can be analyzed in terms of the governmentality they express’ (Villadsen 2015, 157; cf. Saar 2012, 37); that is, the way they make immigrant schoolchildren educationally manageable, society integrative, and fabricate a Danish welfare nation state. Accordingly, the three corpora of texts represent a selection corresponding to my research questions, the construction of my research object, the research perspectives accounted for in Section 2.5., and the kind of critique I perform. To summarise, I attend to these lowly, disparate, peripheral, yet highly productive, educational texts to observe practices that are believed make immigrant schoolchildren educationally manageable. By means of my object construction, they can also be said to fabricate something referred to as a Danish welfare nation state. Moreover, selecting these corpora of practical texts decentres my study from an institutional, political analysis of the welfare nation state to the educational, peripheral practices concerned with its fabrication. Assembling texts dispersed across time enables me to shed the light of historical perspective on the making of educationally manageable immigrant schoolchildren. Reading these disparate texts in terms of their governmentality provides me with the opportunity to perform a positive critique of the integrationism so deeply inherent in modern practices of doing good through education and welfare governing.

In this way, my selection of historical material is strategic, with my research questions and form of critique guiding the criteria from which to select the historical material. Thus, it is not pragmatic criteria of delimitation guiding my selection (Villadsen 2006, 100). Although my selection of historical material is strategic, according to sociologist Robert Castel, this does not exempt me from ‘reflecting on the criteria governing’ my selection (1994, 242; cf. Villadsen 2016, 6). Thus, I invoke some sort of pragmatic delimitation in my selection of historical material. What I consider to be pragmatically delimiting is my historical sensitivity to the propensities of the context and practices from which I decentre and in which I displace my research object, as a form of critical (in)subordination (see Section 1.1.).

The pragmatic – or historically sensitive – criteria guiding my selection of historical material are as follows: First, the selected texts revolve around, address, and respond to the same problematised object: immigrant schoolchildren’s presence in Danish public schools. Second, the

texts respond in a thoroughly educational manner: they take into account the individual pupil, the cohort, modes of organisation, pedagogical techniques, and educational objectives. Third, as the secondary literature has pointed out (see Sections 2.1. and 2.2.), the period after 1970 displays intensified globalisation, a crisis of the welfare state, and the presence of immigrant schoolchildren taken as an object of problematisation. Hence, the texts have been produced between 1970 and 2013, when the subject Danish-as-a-second-language (specifically developed for teaching immigrant schoolchildren) was abolished as a subject specialisation in teacher education curricula. Thus, this investigation's historical period is partly based on a history of immigration and partly on a history of an educational development responsive to the presence of immigrant schoolchildren. This methodological choice will be discussed in Chapter 6. Fourth, the texts deal with immigrant children of school age, thereby excluding texts dealing with preschool children or students in postsecondary education. This criterion of delimitation is based on the reflection that all children of school age pass through the public school system, unless their parents chose home schooling or private schooling³⁰.

To my knowledge, no public archive holds this particular variety of texts catalogued under the same categories or placed on the same shelves³¹. Consequently, I developed a systematic, historically sensitive methodology based on *informed serendipity* and *intertextual snowballing*³².

Founding my methodology on informed serendipity is an effect of working with a research object under construction. It invokes a research practice of (in)subordination with the historical propensities of my investigational context. Reading through my research context and speaking with experienced researchers and professionals in the field of immigrant schoolchildren's education, I obtained a sense of the textual pipelines, most of which pointed to administrative archives of local governments, professional libraries, and publishing houses. However, taking my point of departure in such localised textual pipelines would turn my efforts of decentring and displacement into new centres demanding to be assessed by traditional historical criteria such as authenticity, credibility, and representativeness (Scott 2006, 23–32), all of which pertain to modernistic truth-telling and history writing (I elaborate on this argument in Section 4.5.).

³⁰ See Padovan-Özdemir (2012) for a study on immigrant-based private schooling in Denmark.

³¹ See article 3 for a more detailed discussion of accessing archives/professional libraries that specialise in storing literature on the education of immigrant schoolchildren in Denmark.

³² I borrow the snowball metaphor from social scientist Kennet Lynggaard (2010, 141). When doing documentary research, Lynggaard suggests a snowball method based on intertextual references that establish one or more 'mother documents', which gather most references by other documents. In this way, Lynggaard works with a hierarchisation of texts, which stands in opposition to my strategic levelling of all texts as an effect of my approach of decentring and displacement.

Instead, by informed serendipity, I was granted access to the research archive of late education researcher Jørgen Gimbel through former colleagues of his, Christian Horst and Anne Holmen, in the spring of 2013. It was informed serendipity, because I knew Horst and Holmen as highly active figures in my context of investigation, but I did not foresee that they possessed Gimbel's research archive. Gimbel's archive comprised exactly the kind of lowly, disparate, peripheral, practical texts I was seeking. They were not attached to any particular local, institutional context. Instead, they exhibited a production and exchange of texts among different administrative bodies, schools, professional associations, universities, and ministries engaged in immigrant schoolchildren's education and the governing of immigrant families' welfare.

Starting with this collection of practical texts, I identified intertextual references connecting the texts to each other and to other texts outside this collection. This kind of intertextual snowballing, in which one text led to another, referred me to other professionals' personal work-related archives, to professional journals, and to a multiplicity of authorities and agencies producing practical texts for educating immigrant schoolchildren. However, I did not only follow explicit textual references. The more I got a sense of the historical propensities of my investigational context, the more I could also follow implicit references; that is, the themes, statements, and concepts at work across the texts (Villadsen 2006, 101). In concrete terms, this meant I could establish historically sensitive search terms for 'independent' library searches in order to collect as broadly – decentred and displaced – as possible, and remain open to continued informed serendipities³³.

In this way, I work with three analytically distinct corpora of texts, but all three emerge from and intertwine in the same methodological acts of strategic selection, informed serendipity, and intertextual snowballing. Accordingly and as already noted, the quality of my historical material should not be assessed by criteria of authenticity, credibility, or representativeness. Rather, it should be assessed by the historical sensitivity, the textual scope, and the textual saturation of my applied methodology, and by its critical potential.

In my earlier decentring and displacing of my research object, I accounted for the historical sensitivities of my methodology and the way I turn the historical propensities of the investigation's context upon itself to facilitate its critical potential. In listing the variation among text types and textual pipelines spanning the 43 years between 1970 and 2013, I have alluded to the textual scope

³³ Primarily, I used the Danish search engine, www.bibliotek.dk, as it draws from catalogues in every Danish public library.

and volume of this thesis's historical material. This scope lies not only in its variation in production and time, but also in the methodological movement away from my initial starting point. Villadsen argues, 'one must read broadly and move further and further away from one's point of departure' (2006, 101). Thus, my way of constructing my research object and, hence, the way I have strategically collected and selected practical texts have engendered two methodological movements. One starts from the analytical construction of state as practice and from that point, moves to practices of welfare administration and educational organisation, to professional statements about problems, competencies, and identities, and finally, to a didactic landscape of pedagogical objectives, techniques, and truths. The other moves in the opposite direction, starting with the analytical construction of immigrant schoolchildren made educationally manageable through didactic technologies, professional objectification, and subjectification, and the administration of welfare and organisation of pupil bodies.

Applying this kind of methodology, Villadsen (2006, 100) argues that a textual saturation can be observed when a circularity of references emerges. To some degree, this kind of textual saturation is accomplished internally in each of the three corpora of texts. However, holding my research object construction together, my double methodological movement qualifies a textual saturation inasmuch as it unites the three textual corpora of this thesis.

This critical combinatory of texts implies a non-hierarchical, levelling treatment of my historical material, placing the texts in relation to each other in a horizontal constellation. In each of the three articles, I develop and play with different imageries of such horizontal constellations. In article 1, I use Foucault's image of a "polyhedron" of intelligibility' (1991b, 77) to describe my combination of national and local, official and unofficial textual effects of administrative knowledge practices that seek to make governing immigrant families' welfare and organising immigrant schoolchildren's education intelligible and manageable. In article 2, I deploy the image of a patchwork of statements pertaining to educational problematisations and visions of teacher capacities and identities. The image of a patchwork is used to demonstrate that I do not treat professional statements as representing positions in a field of struggle. Rather, I pay attention to how they, in combination with each other, realise a patchwork pattern of linked educational problematisations and teacher professionalisation different from their singular contribution. I also use the same imagery of a patchwork in article 3. As the historical material is qualitatively different, I use this imagery to build on education researcher Staffan Selander's (1984, 20–21) concept of a pedagogical fabric of thoughts made practical for education. In this way, the image of a patchwork

of practical texts is used to illustrate how singular texts are frayed by their intertextual references, leaving them open for the researcher to reweave them together in new patchworks, enabling a positive critique and new viewpoints. In Section 4.5.1., I elaborate on my use of imagery borrowed from the dressmaker's workroom (patterning, polyhedron, patchwork, pattern, material, fabric, fabricating, cutting, weaving, fashioning, crafting, assembling).

The construction of this thesis's historical material results from a concerted methodology balancing between a historical sensitivity towards the historical propensities of the context of investigation and a critical decentring and displacement of a research object under construction across scale and time. I have shown how the entire scope of practical texts has emerged from related processes of strategic collecting and selecting. However, for analytical purposes, this thesis's historical material has been divided into three qualitatively different corpora of texts. In the following section, I discuss how my analytical treatment of these corpora of texts expresses variations on the theme of an overarching analytics of governing.

4.4. Variations on the theme of an analytics of governing

As shown thus far, the research literature using the work of Foucault and invoking his name exhibits an abundant repertoire of how to interpret and apply an analytics of governing. Even Foucault himself continuously reassessed and made changes to his own analytical and methodological strategies as variations on the theme of an analytics of power, knowledge, subjectivity, and governing. Commenting Foucault's lectures at the Collège de France between 1975 and 1976, philosophers Alessandro Fontana and Mauro Bertani cite Foucault concerning his methodology:

I am often drawn to problems that I have encountered in one book that I have not been able to resolve in that book, and I therefore try to deal with them in the next book. There are also conjunctural phenomena which, at a given moment, make some problem look like a particularly urgent problem, a politically urgent problem to do with current affairs, and that's why it interests me.... I do not have a methodology that I apply in the same way to different domains. On the contrary, I would say that I try to isolate a single field of objects, a domain of objects, by using the instruments I can find or that I can forge as I am actually doing my research, but without privileging the problem of methodology in any way. (2004, 287–88)

I find these aspects of Foucault's oeuvre stimulating in writing within the genre of a cumulative article-based thesis. The genre of a cumulative article-based thesis invites the researcher

to experiment with one analytical strategy in one article, leave it, reconfigure it, and apply a new analytical perspective in the next article. Accordingly, I also find the above quotation inspirational as it relates to performing an ethics of discomfort. A research ethics of discomfort not only pertains to a situation in the present (see Chapter 1), it also calls for reflexivity on the researcher's part in the research object's construction, not least, in the continuous development and application of analytical perspectives and strategies for reading, processing, and cutting the historical material collected and selected as empirical referents of the making of the research object anew.

Having constructed an analytics of governing (see Section 4.2.), based on a supposition that the research object does not exist, but emerges in practices of its making and governing, I use the following three subsections to develop, reassess, and make changes to this overarching analytics of governing. These variations on the theme with questioning problem-solving practices. Next, I introduce a professionalisation perspective as a variation of an analytics of 'the conduct of conduct' (Dean 2010, 17; cf. Foucault 1982, 789–90; Foucault 2009, 191–226). Finally, I dissolve practices of problematisation in didactic thinking about ends, truths, and techniques, from which a horizon of governmentalities emerges. Each of these strategic analytical mutations expresses a restless discomfort with my analytical certainties and, hence, a play with different uses (of uses) of Foucault's work.

In sum, I offer three distinct, but interrelated analytical strategies bound together as variations on an analytics of governing via my analytical use of the social question (Donzelot 1997; Castel 2003; Foucault 2004), articulated as it was in a post-1970 Danish context fuelling practices of making people, society, and, ultimately, a welfare nation state governable.

As each analytical approach and its concrete operational implications are argued and accounted for in the articles, the following three subsections will not reiterate exact reproductions of these arguments, operationalisations, and their references. Instead, my aim in Subsections 4.4.1. through 4.4.3. is to show how the articles' analytical approaches function as distinct starting points or perspectives from within an analytics of governing and how they connect as intertwining explorations of the powerful productivity of educational practices. However, I do connect my choice of analytical approaches to each article's isolated focus concerning making immigrant schoolchildren educationally manageable as a practice feeding into fabricating a Danish welfare nation state. I also discuss how these variations on the theme of an analytics of government are historically sensitive to the practical propensities of each of the three corpora of practical texts.

4.4.1. Questioning problem-solving practices

Problems call for responses and action. They are objects to be understood and solved. According to policy researcher Carol Bacchi (2010, 9), this mainstream problem-solving paradigm is based on a positivist assumption that problems are readily identifiable, knowledge is neutral, and, hence, regarded legitimately informative of supposedly rational decision-making and administration. This characterisation of a positivist problem-solving paradigm echoes Baker's and Popkewitz's descriptions of mainstream educational research as lending itself to be useful, practical, and, ultimately, salvationist – that is, capable of resolving problems.

Thus, I argue that this positivist, utilitarian, and salvationist problem-solving paradigm appears as a historical propensity concerning knowledge production practices feeding into administering immigrant families' welfare and organising their school-aged children's education, being the isolated focus of article 1. This can be exemplified with the textual effects of the ministerial commissioning of reports on the 'problem' of immigrant families' welfare, legal status, adaptation, and so forth, or illustrated by administratively requested reports concerning organising immigrant schoolchildren's education, best practice recommendations, or administrative procedures for streaming and placing immigrant schoolchildren in classes and schools.

With the words of Bacchi, researchers and professionals have been 'encouraged to deliver on requests for "solutions" to pre-given "problems"' (2010, 10). Philosopher Anders Fogh Jensen expresses it this way: 'Problems are developed by means of problematisations; that is, people manage difficulties, dangers, each other, and themselves by turning questions about these things into problems' (2013, 20). In other words, problems are paradigmatic to modern governing practices. They activate knowledge through which they can be understood. They define a field or target of intervention and call for means of resolution.

In performing a positive critique, however, I do not take these problems for granted. I do not aspire to understand or solve them; nor do I evaluate others' solutions. Instead, I apply an analytics of governing by questioning how immigrant schoolchildren's presence became a problem in terms of the knowledge that sought to understand it and the techniques suggested to manage it. Inspired by organisation researcher Thomas Lopdrup-Hjorth's use of Foucault's work, my analytical object 'is neither the problems nor their solutions themselves but the process of problematisation in which the former two occur and interconnect in specific ways' (Lopdrup-Hjorth 2013, 29; cf. Foucault 2001, 169–73).

This kind of questioning of problem-solving practices implies an understanding of problematisations as historically contingent. They are ‘not an effect or consequence of a historical context or situation’, but an answer to it (Foucault 2001, 172). This is not to say that problems pertaining to immigrant schoolchildren and their families were and are not real. Rather, what interests this thesis is identifying how and which practices of thinking (knowledge) and acting (techniques) made it possible to conceive of the presence of immigrant schoolchildren and their families as a problematic of welfare and education at all, hence, a problematic of governing within a Danish welfare nation state.

If problematisations are to be understood as answers to concrete situations, the implication is one must look for a question to which the problematisation appeared as an answer (Fogh Jensen 2013, 19). In other words, if the problem of immigrant schoolchildren and their families was an answer, then what was the question? My analysis shows the question was fundamentally one of integration, of keeping the social body pure, healthy, educated, productive, and loyal to the welfare nation state.

I consider the post-1970 Danish question of integration to be a rearticulation of the late-19th century social question about ‘the quality of the population and the strength of the nation’ (Donzelot 1997, 6–7). Social researcher Jacques Donzelot’s study of the position of the family in Western societies (1997, 4) is an inspirational example of how a questioning of problem-solving practices pertaining to children’s and their families’ welfare offers a critical prism through which to study the making of people, society, and, ultimately, state as evidenced in the following quotation:

[T]he child in danger of becoming dangerous, can be drawn up. An infrastructure of prevention will then be erected around him, and an educative machinery will be set into motion.... Not only will he be an object of intervention, but by the same token, he will in turn become an object of knowledge. The family climate, the social context that causes a particular child to become a ‘risk’, will be thoroughly studied.... Knowledge would dissolve repressive power by opening the way to a liberating education. (Donzelot, 1997, 97)

Accordingly, questioning problem-solving practices revolving around the presence of immigrant schoolchildren and their families throws light on the epistemic, administrative infrastructure and the ‘educative machinery’ that at once makes immigrant schoolchildren and their families problematic, yet manageable (Hamre 2012, 43–49), while attending to the social question of keeping society integrated. Similarly, historian of education Jeroen J. H. Dekker’s study on children at risk

throughout the 19th and 20th centuries show ‘a story of the birth time and again of new categories of children at risk together with new measures and institutions to tackle these new risks’ (2009, 18).

Thus, it seems fair to argue that questioning problem-solving practices offers a unique opportunity to capture the productivity of governing practices in terms of the identities they assign to problematised people, the lines of differentiation and division they draw through the social body, and the techniques they develop to use in solving these problems. Problem-solving practices ‘define the contours of the social world’, as argued by political scientist Murray Edelman, inasmuch as they give answers to a question about the social. Therefore, the fabrication of a modern state can be studied as ‘a solution to a problem, the problem of government ... it is therefore a history of a ‘problematization’ (Saar 2012, 40).

Finally, what is particularly fertile about questioning problem-solving practices as a starting point within an analytics of governing is that it exhibits a sensitivity towards ambiguities (Edelman 1988, 16). Accordingly, one problematisation may have several solutions on different levels and multiple ends, which is why it becomes interesting to study the governing of immigrant families’ welfare in conjunction with the organising of immigrant schoolchildren’s education. In addition, problem-solving practices often exhibit multiple problematisations, which at once amplify and disqualify each other (Edelman 1988, 36). As such, problematisations can be nested within other problematisations (Bacchi 2009, 21). ‘As an outcome hereof, partial and local problematizations can come together to form a more complex problematization’ (Lopdrup-Hjorth 2013, 35), or new problematisations may carry elements of older problematisations, Lopdrup-Hjorth argues (2013, 36).

In the following subsection, I endeavour to complicate my analytics of governing by adding the professionalisation perspective to the questioning of problem-solving practices. Bacchi (2009, 29) mentions that problem-solving practices also have the effect of enlisting professionals to solve problems, and Donzelot actually pays substantial attention to what he refers to as ‘the tutelary complex’ of professionals engaged in ‘social work’ (1997, 96–168). In these studies, professionals appear as carriers of knowledge and techniques rendering targets of intervention problematic, yet manageable. In the following subsection, I also reassess and reconfigure my questioning of problem-solving practices by turning professional problematisations of immigrant schoolchildren upon the professionalisation process itself.

4.4.2. Adding a professionalisation perspective

Reassessing and reconfiguring my questioning of problem-solving practices responsive to the presence of immigrant schoolchildren and their families as a variation on the theme of an analytics of governing, I begin by identifying the roles expert professionals play in developing modern welfare nation states. Next, I argue that although this professionalisation perspective displaces state fabrication to practices of thinking (expertise) and acting (prevention and intervention), it maintains a focus on the subject-client as the terminal point of governing, leaving the subjectification of professionals underexamined. Thus, I suggest studying objectification (problematization of immigrant schoolchildren's presence) and subjectification (professionalisation of immigrant schoolchildren's teachers) as entangled and co-constitutive practices, being answers to the post-1970 social question of integration. This enables me to tease out state fabrication through professional reflexive practices.

Reconfiguring the questioning of problem-solving practices in terms of entangled practices of problematisation and professionalisation challenges the modernistic dualism between state and professions (Johnson 1993, 144–45) and, hence, the victimisation/heroisation narrative traversing much welfare professional work and development (see Subsection 2.3.1.). Professors of professional studies André Vågan and Harald Grimen argue a Foucault-inspired analytics of governing does not simply challenge the perception of scientific and professional knowledge as neutral (2010, 417). It also disturbs the popular conception of the lack of power that publicly employed professionals may experience vis-à-vis, for example, changing political objectives, and accountability- and efficiency demands (2010, 416) – the victimisation narrative. It also contests professionals' proclaimed autonomy and identification with progressive, liberating social change (2010, 419) – the heroisation narrative.

These points of critique can be rooted in Foucault's historical examinations of the governmentalisation of the modern state (Johnson 1993; cf. Foucault 1991a; Foucault 2009) and in his examinations of the microphysics of power (Goldstein 1984, 176–81; cf. Foucault 1990). Others have argued that constituting an autonomous, knowledgeable body of experts and professionals was crucial to developing a modern state in which power modes were initially designed to be liberating rather than repressive, the governing target was externalised in the form of individuals and populations, and the governing objective was to achieve 'the common welfare and salvation of all' (Johnson 1993, 141; citing Foucault; cf. Rose and Miller 1992; Villadsen 2007; Dean 2010a; Ball 2013). Within a modernistic perception of knowledge as neutral, experts and professionals provided

the modern state with popular legitimacy as a condition for exercising ‘non-repressive’ power (Johnson 1993, 142–44; Vågan and Grimen 2010, 411). Sociologist Terry Johnson writes:

The professions, then, are involved in the constitution of the objects of politics; in the identification of new social problems, the construction of the means of instrumentalities for solving them, as well as in staffing the organizations created to cope with them. (1995, 23)

Thus, in an analytics of governing, professionals can be understood as both the avant-garde and the beneficiaries of modern state governmentalisation (Johnson 1993, 143). This justifies my adding a professionalisation perspective to the questioning of problem-solving practices. However, Johnson’s concept of professions misses the question concerned with the making of knowledgeable, capable professionals, as its focus is directed towards professionals’ objectification of the subject-client as the terminal point of governing.

With the isolated focus of article 2 examining how professional problematisations of immigrant schoolchildren are entangled with teachers’ identification of themselves as being knowledgeable and capable of handling immigrant schoolchildren’s presence, I can decentre the fabricating of a Danish welfare nation state to reflexive practices, ‘revising and visioning of the dispositions and capacities of the teacher who would administer children’ (Popkewitz 1997, 395; cf. Jones 1990; Weems 2004). This approach is inspired by Popkewitz’s historical tracing of a modernistic culture of redemption and progress in teacher professionalisation (1997, 395), which bears much resemblance to the epistemological figure of integrationism observed and discussed in Section 2.3. Popkewitz sustains an understanding of professionals and professionalisation as a condition of liberal, social ‘administration of freedom’ (1997, 393) being a key characteristic of modern state governing, which constructs the professional teacher as a redemptive agent (1997, 389). In his book, *Struggling for the Soul: The Politics of Schooling and the Construction of the Teacher*, Popkewitz situates the (integrationistic) narrative of redemption in schooling ‘as a continual theme of education saving the nation through the saving of the soul’ (1998, 59). Accordingly, he manages to disturb the research narrative of teachers’ beliefs and attitudes as the key to the success of (immigrant) schoolchildren in terms of examining teachers’ beliefs and attitudes as particular systems of seeing, categorising, and differentiating schoolchildren ‘by which teachers “see”, conduct, and evaluate themselves as normal and “reasonable people”’ (1998, 133).

Thus, I turn the historical propensities of professional practices – in terms of educational problematisations and calls for professional capacities and expertise – upon themselves by

examining how professional problematisations fed into the subjectification of teachers, and vice versa.

Adding the professionalisation perspective to the questioning of problem-solving practices accentuates the productive practices' subjectifying effects. It does so by invoking

two meanings of the word 'subject': subject to someone else by control and dependence [teachers subject to and dependent on educational problematisations of immigrant schoolchildren]; and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge [visionings and revisionings of teachers' expertise and capacities]. (Foucault 1982, 781)

Hereby, I deploy an analytical approach to the study of modern governing understood as the conduct of conduct. Coining governing as the conduct of conduct emphasises the non-repressive, intimate modes of wielding modern power. Thus, Dean argues, governing can be studied as

any more or less calculated and rational activity, undertaken by a multiplicity of authorities and agencies, employing a variety of techniques and forms of knowledge, that seeks to shape conduct by working through the desires, aspirations, interests, and beliefs of various actors, for definite but shifting ends and with a diverse set of relatively unpredictable consequences, effects, and outcomes. (2010a, 18; italics in original)

Adding a professionalisation perspective to the questioning of problem-solving practices dwells with the first mentioned (underexamined professional) conduct in the term *conduct of conduct*. In other words, I argue that teacher professionalisation as an inherent dimension in modern governing should be studied in its intricate entanglements with educational problematisations of (the conduct of) immigrant schoolchildren, as these problematisations work their way back to the professional subjectification of teachers. Such an analytical approach remains historically sensitive to the practical propensities of the professional educational field. It also remains non-evaluative as it examines professionalisation patterns in relation to problematisations rather than rendering judgment based on a universal concept of teacher professionalism.

My analytical linking of educational problematisations and professional subjectification is historically substantiated by observations of the educationalisation of the social question (Smeyers and Depaepe 2008a; Tröhler 2015). These observations follow Dekker's and Donzelot's histories of modern children 'at risk' insofar as they can be regarded as effects of 'the "educational" gaze on society' (Smeyers and Depaepe 2008b, 3). In a historical comparative study of Western nation states, Tröhler finds that since the 18th century, the isolation of 'educational questions from the

social, economic, or political problems of society’ has been a dominant mode of modern reasoning (2008, 32).

Much in line with Popkewitz’s observations, educational problematisations can be seen as a modern answer to the social question promoting educational interventions as ‘the salvation of the social future’ (Tröhler 2008, 34). Historians of education Marc Depaepe et al. even suggest that the post-WWII ‘Western welfare state revealed itself primarily as “pedagogical”’ (2008, 14) inasmuch as it continuously addressed new groups at risk and in need of specific educational interventions catering to new professional capacities (2008, 15). In this way, it becomes possible to relate entangled educational problematisations of certain schoolchildren and professional teacher subjectifications to *something other than themselves*; that is, the new social question pertaining to immigrants’ presence through which visions of society are developed and a modern post-1970 Danish welfare state is fabricated.

Cruikshank argues it was the emergence of the social (society and people) as a tool and object of modern state governing that made it possible to single out certain people/groups/individuals as a particular educational problem, while at the same time gesturing towards societal interests as an integrated whole (1999, 6–9). Connecting these observations to an analytics of governing, the fabricating of a modern state yields equal amounts of totalising, individualising forms of power (Foucault 1982, 782). In other words, examining the reciprocal effects of educational problematisations of immigrant schoolchildren’s presence and teacher professionalisation demonstrates the individualising effects of modern power. Relating these processes to visions and revisions of the social – or an integrated society to be realised through the educationalisation of integration – demonstrates the totalising effects of a Danish welfare nation state in its making.

Examining the enveloping of state fabrication, professional subjectification, and educational problematisations in professionally reflexive practices is consistent with my constructing and decentring a research object in the making. However, one could argue this approach pays less attention to the *plurality* of agencies and *pedagogical minutiae* of ends, truths, and techniques investing the making of educationally manageable immigrant schoolchildren, which is tantamount to an analytics of governing.

Thus, in the next subsection, I discuss my analytical approach deployed in article 3, in which I address a didactic landscape of a plurality of texts investing the making of educationally manageable immigrant schoolchildren. Accordingly, I suggest a governmental reading of the

didactic propensities in educational practices, and reconstruct the social question as fundamentally expressing hopes and fears about a society's cohesion and disintegration, in effect, fuelling the production of educational ends, truths, and techniques involved with making teachers capable and immigrant schoolchildren manageable.

4.4.3. Approaching a horizon of governmentalities through a didactic landscape

In the previous two analytical approaches expressed as variations on the theme of an analytics of governing, I showed how problem-solving practices limn the social contours by marking out dangers and people or groups perceived as at risk, while imagining an integrated, harmonious society. I also related the making of people, society, and state to historical observations of the educationalisation of Western societies, which has served as both a solution and a reproblematisation of the social question. In sum, these variations on the theme of an analytics of governing pay attention to practices of problematising the social while simultaneously envisioning it.

However, with proclamations of a Western welfare state crisis since the 1970s, a series of scholarly dismantlings of 'the social' or 'the society as a whole' have been articulated (Dean 2010b, 677–78). Here, I find the seminal paper by social theorist Nikolas Rose, *The Death of the Social?* (1996). Due to effects of globalisation, cultural pluralisation, and marketisation, Rose argues, the social or society as a whole and as a 'single matrix of solidarity' (1996, 333) is no longer the object of modern state governing in terms of identification projects such as mass schooling, whereby individuals come to understand themselves as members of 'a single integrated national society' (1996, 334). Instead, Rose observes, governing happens through multiple 'communities' by instrumentalising the temporary, shifting allegiances between individuals and communities (such as neighbourhoods, religious communities, consumer communities, etc.) (1996, 334–36). By the end of the paper, Rose acknowledges that while the notion of society is readily invoked by 'political, professional, moral, and cultural authorities[,] the very meaning and ethical salience of this term is under question' (1996, 353).

On this note, I argue that multiple thinking about the social sneaks back into Rose's analysis, resuscitating what he had declared apparently dead. Not least, because his concluding remark suggests a continuous preoccupation with the social, with the questioning of its very meaning, along with his entire analysis observing a vibrant governing of the social – now identified and understood in the shape of communities. Actually, his analysis of 'government through communities' bears

much resemblance to Danish welfare state studies pointing to the emergence of governing practices of decentralisation as a practical effect of marketisation and democratisation since the 1980s (see Section 2.1.).

Rather than burying the social and with it society, I argue, Rose's concluding remarks stimulate a further investigation of the plurality of agencies engaged in marking out the contours of the social. According to Dean, '[a] society in this sense is thus a "problematic unity", at once an ideal of an interdependent and harmonious whole and yet porous, fragile, exposed, conflict- and friction-ridden from inside and out, and subject to fragmentation and dissolution' (2010b, 682). Historically, the social question has been addressing society's margins: addressing the urban poor during the period of industrialisation at the turn of the 19th century (Donzelot 1997), and addressing the immigrant as standing on the social, economic, political, and cultural margins of Western societies since the late 1960s (Brochmann and Hagelund 2011; Schierup, Ålund, and Likic-Brboric 2015). Both groups – urban poor and immigrants alike – were deemed to be simultaneously 'at risk' and 'dangerous' to 'society'.

In the words of sociologist Robert Castel, 'the social question is explicitly posed at the margins of social life, but it "calls into question" the entire society' (2003, xxiii) as 'a domain of civil peace and safety' (Dean 2010b, 681), and Dean adds through which the governing of freedom and welfare can be exercised. In other words, revisiting articulations of the social question and education as answers in relation to the presence of immigrant schoolchildren and their families offers a critical prism through which I can study the making of people and society, and the fabricating of a Danish welfare nation state.

My revisiting of the social question, however, is not an exercise in reading social thinkers or reform programmes. Rather, I develop an analytical approach sensitive to the didactic propensities in educational practices from which my research object emerges. By didactic propensities, I mean the plurality of agencies turning thoughts practical to use in making immigrant schoolchildren educationally manageable and their teachers capable through producing instructional texts on how to teach, socialise, develop, and care for immigrant schoolchildren. In this way, I submit (the former two analytical perspectives of) problem-solving practices and professional subjectifications responsive to immigrant schoolchildren's presence to an analytical perspective of *governmentalities*. In other words, I search for the "conditions of possibility" for thinking and acting in a certain way' (Collier 2009, 96; cf. Foucault 1982, 788–90; Rose and Miller 1992, 182; Foucault 2004, 207–8; Lemke 2007, 44; Dean 2010a, 24–27).

This means asking about the truths by which immigrant schoolchildren have been made thinkable and visible as standing at the margins of school life, differentiated from those standing at the centre. This also means examining the pedagogical techniques that were suggested would make immigrant schoolchildren manageable as objects of teaching, socialisation, development, and care. Finally, this means relating these truths and techniques to educational ends echoing hopes and fears about society and the future. Not only do these questions capture pedagogical repertoires made available to immigrant schoolchildren's teachers. Analysing didactic practices from an analytical perspective of governmentalities also 'gives attention to how political rationalities are embodied in the norms by which we reason the social administration of the particular modes of behaviour and manners of "being"' (Popkewitz 1998, 118). Accordingly, these didactic practices can be understood in relation to something other than themselves; that is, in relation to the social as constituting a domain of governing through which a modern Danish welfare nation state is fabricated.

My pluralisation of truths, techniques, and ends is inspired by Stephen J. Collier's rereading of Foucault's work, suggesting that thinking is "'a dynamic and heterogeneous process" of critical reflection and intervention' (2009, 95; citing Foucault 1984), which calls for a *topological analysis*. Thus, to avoid a reifying analysis, where partial truths, techniques, and ends are confused with the whole of society and state, from an analytical perspective of governmentalities, I examine the configurational principles governing the assemblies of truths, techniques, and ends, 'without implying that they arise from some inner necessity or coherence' (Collier 2009, 80). In other words, I develop an analytical approach identifying a heterogeneity of instructional texts as effects of practices of problematising the presence of immigrant schoolchildren. Then, I cut open these texts in order to construct a topology of truths, techniques, and ends, whose configurational principles can be identified and examined in relation to the social question in a post-1970 Danish context.

Developing this topological perspective of governmentalities makes it possible to turn didactic practices responsive to the presence of immigrant schoolchildren upon themselves. This becomes possible as I unfold and recombine their pedagogical minutiae into a landscape, through which I can approach an emerging horizon of governmentalities as answers to rearticulations of the social question.

Consequently, I suggest an analytical approach to use in studying practices of making immigrant schoolchildren educationally manageable and fabricating a Danish welfare nation state as 'the relation between the forms of truth by which we have come to know ourselves and the forms

of practice by which we seek to shape the conduct of ourselves and others' (Dean 1996, 220). In line with the isolated focus of article 3, this means examining my research object in its making through pedagogical repertoires made available to teachers of immigrant schoolchildren between 1970 and 2013.

In sum, the three analytical approaches outlined above illustrate how an analytics of governing is inherently a historical endeavour. It is historical inasmuch as it takes seriously the historical propensities of practices that make up the research object, in this case, administrative knowledge practices, professional reflexivity, and didactic reasoning, which respond to a particular situation in a particular society. In addition, it is historical insofar as it asks questions from within these historical practices and turns the answers upon themselves as a form of positive critique. In the next section, I elaborate on the concept of history inherent in my analytics of governing and suggest how writing histories can be a form of positive critique.

4.5. Writing histories as positive critique

As I work with an analytics of governing – and not a theory of governing – such an approach demands precise historical content, not in order to reconstruct the past, but to write effective histories as a form of positive critique. According to Dean,

effective history historicises that which is thought to be transhistorical, grasps rather than effaces the singularity of events and processes, and defines levels of analysis that are proper to its objects. An effective history both refuses to use history to assure us of our own identity and the necessity of the present, and also problematises the imposition of suprahistorical or global theory. (1994, 18)

This form of historical critique is twofold. First, its methodology is inherently a critique of modern reasoning with the aim of freeing historical analysis from the anthropological subject, progress, and rationalism (Foucault 1977, 160; Chartier 1994, 171; Dean 1994, 21–29; Popkewitz, Pereyra, and Franklin 2001, 6–7; Ball 2013, 34; Fendler 2014, 172). Second, its analytical approach is historically sensitive, but without bringing along any pretensions about a causally necessary history (Foucault 1977, 154; Dean 1994, 49).

One way to describe the above-established distinction between a modern reasoning about history and the writing of effective histories is to borrow Popkewitz's (2013) distinction between 'historicism' and 'historisation'. Historicism sees the past available as memory, whereby the anthropological subject is treated as a source of origin (2013, 2–3) and inserted as an agent of

change and progress (2013, 4), by which the present is presented as more advanced than the past (2013, 10). Historisation, in contrast, asks about the practices that made the anthropological subject an agent of originality and progress, thus questioning the causality of the present (2013, 2).

In the following, I examine the methodological implications of critiquing modernistic reasoning about history by addressing the writing of effective histories as fundamentally *non-anthropological*, *non-hermeneutical*, *non-universal*, and *non-progressive*. In continuation, I elaborate on the analytical approach implied in writing effective histories in terms of *a strategic presentism*, *a double act of problematisation*, *a preoccupation with practices*, and *cutting and assembling*.

In his paper, ‘Nietzsche, Genealogy, History’, Foucault writes, ‘[w]e want historians to confirm our belief that the present rests upon profound intentions and immutable necessities. But the true historical sense confirms our existence among countless lost events, without a landmark or a point of reference’ (1977, 155). What Foucault is railing against in this quotation is the writing and understanding of history through the sense of anthropological, subject-attributed desires, intentions, ambitions, and visions that supposedly set into motion historical progress. In the case of immigrant schoolchildren’s education, it would mean writing a history about the intentions of prominent educators and/or from the voices (perspectives) of immigrant schoolchildren. Consequently, it would be a ‘history of who said what and why’ (Hacking 1986, 31). However, no single anthropological subject can be held responsible for an idea, a practice, or an outcome, nor can he/she ‘glory in it, since it always occurs in the interstice’ (Foucault 1977, 150). Rather, it is by focussing on the practical interstice that we may examine the historical conditions making possible certain educational visions and school experiences.

Thus, this thesis contributes non-anthropological histories concerning the making of educationally manageable immigrant schoolchildren by treating the historical material as a mass of anonymous texts; that is, as an interstice of non-subjective productive practices, ‘where authors and texts are not the primary referent anymore’ (Saar 2012, 45). Accordingly, the making of educationally manageable immigrant schoolchildren appears ‘in a piecemeal fashion without anyone’s wittingly knowing what [it adds] up to’ (Hacking 1986, 35). While I do record and note authors’ names and texts’ publication data, no analytical value is assigned to these observations (Foucault 1972, 28–29). I simply record them for the sake of methodological transparency and as historical traces for other researchers to pursue or with which they might engage subsequently.

The critical potential of writing effective histories lies not in asking about motivations or meaning (Chartier 1994, 174), nor about authenticity or representativity. The critical potential is found in analytically constructing interstices by reading the carefully selected texts in strategic combination with each other. In this way, I deploy a non-hermeneutical methodology, which does not look for any hidden meanings in statements expressed in the historical material. ‘This non-reductionist approach to statements does not look for any subjective intentionality or pervasive ideology to explain them’ (Villadsen 2015, 157), meaning the examined texts are not interpreted according to their authors’ political or professional affiliations, social histories, or institutional anchoring.

Thus, a historical contextualisation (or historicisation) within a non-hermeneutical methodology is not exterior to the text (the historical material). Rather, the historical context is composed of the mass of texts – or, that is, the relations and interstices between them. A non-hermeneutical methodology derives problematisations, subjectifications, and pedagogical repertoires from reading the selected texts in combination with each other. Consequently, meaning is replaced by patterns, regimes of practices, and configurations.

The non-anthropological, non-hermeneutical discarding of meaning is an effect of a relational ontology. Historian Roger Chartier argues ‘we have a world in which relation is primary.... In this world, we do not play chess with eternal figures like the king and the fool ... the figures are what the successive configurations on the playing-board make of them’ (1994, 185).

This means I construct the mass of texts in a topological manner as a ‘playing-board’ on which the educationally manageable immigrant schoolchildren and their educators appear in relation to each other in successive configurations. Ultimately, this can be described as a non-universalist methodology by which the research object is not regarded as existing a priori, but studied historically through the relations out of which it emerges and contributes. This implies

freeing them of all the groupings that purport to be natural, immediate, universal unities[; thus] one is able to describe other unities, but this time by means of a group of controlled decisions. Providing one defines the conditions clearly, it might be legitimate to constitute, on the basis of correctly described relations, discursive groups that are not arbitrary, and yet remain invisible. Of course, these relations would never be formulated for themselves in the statements in question.... But in no way would they constitute a sort of secret discourse, animating the manifest discourse from within; it is not therefore an interpretation of the facts of the statement that might reveal them, but the analysis of their coexistence, their succession, their mutual functioning, their reciprocal determination, and their independent or correlative transformation. (Foucault 1972, 29)

I find this quotation by Foucault summarises the very essence of writing effective histories, which challenge the constitutive anthropological subject of history and the modern obsession with true meaning underlying false consciousness, both of which are regarded to exist a priori, as universal categories placed above particular situations in particular societies. As already discussed in Section 4.2., I begin by supposing that my research object does not exist, but then I go ahead and look for what history can make of it regardless. To let history make something of one's research object means to construct the historical material by means of informed decisions.

In sum, my controlled decisions rest on a series of delimitations confining my writing of effective histories to the geopolitical entity of Denmark, to the temporal space between 1970 and 2013, to educational practices responsive to the presence of immigrant schoolchildren and their families, to the collection and selection of practical texts and, not least, to the research questions I pose as effects of a discomfort felt in the present (2014). These parameters thus delineate my playing-board of figures, relations, and configurations. All of them are “‘fragments of reality’” whose arrangement we must grasp in order to “‘see the interplay and the development of diverse realities that articulate with one another’” (Chartier 1994, 176; citing Foucault 1978). Accordingly, my deliberate confinements are historically sensitive to a particular situation in a particular society, in which the presence of immigrant schoolchildren and their families was articulated, problematised, and managed as a response to a new social question pertaining to the governing of a Danish welfare nation state. However, none of these historical confinements is there by historical necessity, but instead as the result of a historically informed strategic, recombinatory, analytical manoeuvre.

Thus, deploying a non-universalist methodology, I write effective histories concerning the patterns, regimes of practices, and configurations appearing from my combining fragments of the reality out of which educationally manageable immigrant schoolchildren were brought forth and a Danish welfare nation state was fabricated, based on their coexistence, reciprocal determination, and correlative transformation. Accordingly, I leave modernistic universalist and integrationist categories of welfare, nation, immigrant, integration, and education aside as they are always already ‘positioned in relation to predefined forces or a foundation of dominance and repression’ (Popkewitz, Pereyra, and Franklin 2001, 12)³⁴. Instead, I unfold my playing-board to learn how

³⁴ Education researchers Thomas Popkewitz, Miguel Pereyra, and Barry M. Franklin write about modernistic categories such as class, race, gender, and ethnicity. Such categories are also at play in my historical material, but are treated in the same historicising manner as the categories of welfare, nation, immigrant, integration, and education that go into making immigrant schoolchildren educationally manageable and that feed into fabricating a Danish welfare nation state.

history might employ such categories and concepts in making immigrant schoolchildren educationally manageable and how that process thereby contributes to fabricating a Danish welfare nation state.

What follows from this non-anthropological, non-hermeneutical, and non-universalist methodology is a non-progressive methodology of writing effective histories. It is non-progressive in two senses. First, it challenges the modernistic conception of history as an unfolding progression towards a better state of affairs ('or a golden past' (Fendler 2008, 689)). Education researcher Lynn Fendler writes, 'the teleology of progress driving' modern reasoning about history 'does not allow for the possibility that we may have "gone backwards" and become less free' (2008, 687). Accordingly, a non-progressive methodology seeks to avoid a presentist evaluation of past failures and successes, and to treat the past as a reservoir of causes that made the anthropological subject of history wiser and more self-conscious as a constituent of where we are today.

Second, a non-progressive methodology does not offer a reconstruction of past events as a linear string of consecutive causes. Actually, time is subordinated to practice (Popkewitz, Pereyra, and Franklin 2001, 19; Andersson 2013, 65). However, I do use time to fixate my playing-board in a particular situation in a particular society in a particular time, but not in the manner of a historicist's explanatory framework. Rather, it is fixated as a way of playing with continuities and discontinuities. Accordingly, I study the making of educationally manageable immigrant schoolchildren and the fabricating of a Danish welfare nation state between 1970 and 2013 not as a linearly progressive development repeating the same universalistic categories of welfare, nation, immigrant, integration, and education. Instead, I take up Castel's argument that 'significant changes have taken place, but they have occurred against a backdrop of continuity that allows one to speak of the same problematisation' (1994, 239).

Writing effective histories, I construct series of productive practices in terms of problematisations, subjectifications, and pedagogical repertoires woven together by my constructing a playing-board upon which they emerge, unfold, and change. Consequently, periodisation is used to process and order my historical material and to amplify how one particular productive practice responding to a particular situation in a particular society weaves together threads from other particular practices revolving around the same continuity of problematising immigrant schoolchildren's presence.

In sum, the critical potential of a non-progressive methodology does not lie in finding a liberating escape from the playing-board, but in 'questioning the history that enfolds us, as a violent

imposition of truth' (Ball 2013, 87). On this note, and as a way of accentuating the historicising dimension of an analytics of governing, I pursue an analytical approach consisting of strategic presentism, a double act of problematisation, a preoccupation with practices, and cutting and assembling, so my writing of histories will be effective.

Writing effective histories is, according to Dean, 'above all a practice, a practice undertaken in a particular present and for particular reasons to that present' (1994, 14). In this way, effective histories are as much about the present as they are about the past. Most of all, I argue, writing effective histories it is about both acting and thinking on an experience of discomfort with prevalent certainties and unquestioned practices of governing. Turning to past practices of governing offers new, destabilising viewpoints on the prevailing certainty concerning immigrant schoolchildren's problematic presence and on the unquestioned practices governing that presence. It also exhibits past practices of governing as contingent series of events that are woven together but frayed again.

Moreover, writing effective histories thematises 'the problem of the uses to which history is put and the necessity to which it answers' as illustrated by my above discussion on writing effective histories as an inherent critique of modern reasoning about history. On the one hand, I would like to avoid a presentistic or ethnocentric 'projection of today's preoccupations onto the past' (Castel 1994, 239) to avoid reading past practices as successive causes leading to our present moment. However, as I am already violently enfolded by a history of truths (see Chapter 2), I choose to analytically embrace what Fendler (2008) calls a 'strategic presentism'. Such an analytical approach lays bare the discomfort that triggered the research questions posed by the researcher in a particular present (see Chapter 1). 'When present assumptions are examined in relation to various historical contexts, those assumptions loosen their reins on thought. Since presentism is unavoidable, our presentistic lenses ought to become objects of our critical examination', Fendler writes (2008, 289). Accordingly, the processual construction of my research object is strategically presentistic insofar as I submit it to a patient examination of its very making through a mass of historical texts. In this way, I exhibit the historical contingency of my research object and questions, while posing strategically presentistic questions to past practices of governing, instead of taking for granted the violent imposition of truths history offers.

Foucault expressed this double act of problematisation quite eloquently in a 1976 lecture at the Collège de France: 'We must try to be historicists, or in other words, try to analyse this perpetual and unavoidable relationship between war that is recounted by history and the history that

is traversed by the war it is recounting' (2004, 173–74)³⁵. If I substitute 'war' with 'immigrant schoolchildren' or 'welfare nation state', it should be clear that my act of writing effective histories unfolds as a double act of problematisation. It does so as I examine how immigrant schoolchildren were made problematic and a Danish welfare nation state was fabricated, while historicising such productive practices, showing they are contingent and by no means a necessity of history, but indeed the effects of acting and thinking in response to a particular situation in a particular society in a particular time. Foucault writes, "[e]ffective" history differs from traditional history in being without constants' (1977, 153). Accordingly, this thesis is preoccupied with time-bound, reflexive practices in which power/knowledge relations make up what is taken to be universal (welfare, nation, immigrant, integration, and education).

My preoccupation with the entanglement of historical and analytical practices makes my writing of effective histories "critical" in proportion to its capacity to engage in the tireless interrogation of what is held to be given, necessary, natural, or neutral' (Dean 1994, 20). In this thesis, every analytical decision, perspective, and strategy, every research question, the very research object itself, the mass of texts, and the analytical findings are understood as practices of construction, both in terms of their historicity and in terms of my analytical abstractions (i.e. decentrings, displacements, and (in)subordinations) governed by an ethics of discomfort.

Accordingly, 'knowledge is not made for understanding; it is made for cutting', as Foucault writes (1977, 154). I understand this statement to be a product of Foucault's non-hermeneutical, non-reconstructionist approach to history (Dean 1994, 16, 32), which I have tried to pursue in this thesis by developing an analytical approach of cutting and assembling. By cutting, I mean dissecting the problems, solutions, and truths imposed by the historical material. This means dissolving the position of forces against which the texts establish themselves. Finally, it means posing strategically presentistic questions that cut through the questions raised in relation to a particular situation in a particular society at a particular time. As such, the process of cutting involves analytically reading individual texts. The result of these cutting procedures produces the historical fragments of actions and thoughts that were present as responses to immigrant schoolchildren's presence.

To write effective histories also requires the corollary to cutting; that is, an analytical approach to assembling. Assembling involves reading across individual texts as a means to identify patterns, relations, or interstices that made possible the imposition of problems, solutions, and

³⁵ In this quotation, 'historical' should be understood in terms of historicisation and not in terms of historicism, following Popkewitz's distinction.

truths, and naturalised the questions raised. Placing the analysis in and across the interstices allows me to relate the violent positioning of history to something other than itself and, thereby, offer a catalogue of new viewpoints concerning the history that made immigrant schoolchildren educationally manageable as integral to fabricating a Danish welfare nation state between 1970 and 2013.

In the final subsection of this chapter, I describe the methodological implications of cutting and assembling when marshalling and processing the three corpora of practical texts collected and selected for this thesis.

4.5.1. Marshalling a historical mass of practical texts

If writing effective histories is not about reconstructing a chronology of ‘what men have done or said’ (Foucault 1972, 7), but instead about establishing patterns, configurations, and regimes of practices drawn from relations and interstices between textual effects of acting and thinking, how then can we marshal and process a historical mass of practical texts? Foucault suggests drawing up tables (1972, 10) as a way of cutting open the individual as well as the mass of practical texts and establishing relations among them as series of series to identify ‘what may be the effect of shifts, different temporalities, and various rehandlings; in what distinct totalities certain elements may figure simultaneously’ (1972, 10).

I have received this suggestion rather literally as I have turned my analytical approach of cutting and assembling into tables with which I marshalled and processed my historical mass of practical texts. Working with such tables developed in three phases: phase 1 pertained to *thick descriptions*, phase 2 pertained to *repetitions, assembling and reserialisation*, and phase 3 pertained to *an over-all strategy*. In the following, I account for the practical implications of marshalling and processing the mass of texts in each of the three phases. I supplement these accounts with tables and figures illustrating the outcomes of each phase in an abstract and generic manner³⁶. I do so in order to demonstrate the process by which the mass of texts was analytically decentred and displaced from their anthropological origin and immediate relations and reconfigured according to something other than themselves; that something else which emerged from various analytical attempts of assembling and reserialising the material.

³⁶ My use of tables, in the format of those accounted for below, amounted to a total number of 466 pages of filled out tables, with notes and quotations written in font size 10. 118 pages pertains to article 1, 112 pages pertains to article 2, and 236 pages pertains to article 3.

In phase 1, I constructed a table consisting of five columns corresponding to my text identification and analytical questions, and rows corresponding to the number of texts in each of my three corpora. The table below is a generic template for my construction of tables in phase 1. It also displays the analytical questions asked in processing each of the three corpora.

	Year of publication	Title and author of the text	Analytical question (AQ1)	Analytical question (AQ2)	Analytical question (AQ3)
Corpus of texts marshalled and processed for article 1	xxxx	Xxx	How was the problem of immigrant schoolchildren's education and their families' welfare defined?	How was the problem investigated and explained?	What solutions were suggested?
Corpus of texts marshalled and processed for article 2	xxxx	Xxx	What was the aim, content, and format of the professionalisation pursued?	How was the presence of immigrant schoolchildren problematised?	What professional capacities and identities were teachers of immigrant schoolchildren imagined to possess?
Corpus of texts marshalled and processed for article 3	xxxx	Xxx	What was the pedagogical objective of educating immigrant schoolchildren?	What pedagogical or didactic techniques were made available?	How were the objectives and techniques justified?

Table 1.: Model for thick description

Principally, every text in each corpus of practical texts was registered in chronological order and assigned an identifier according to publication year and title/author of the text. More importantly, every text was read and cut through according to the adhering analytical questions³⁷. Observations corresponding to each of the analytical questions were recorded in the form of quotations or keywords. Accordingly, I pursued a descriptive analysis avoiding 'pre-given and reductionist interpretations' and, instead, accumulated 'thick descriptions' (Villadsen 2015, 157). In other words, phase 1 of filling in the table represents the practical implications of working from within the historical material. By doing so, as Foucault writes, the researcher observes that 'history now organizes the document, divides it up, distributes it, orders it, arranges it in levels, establishes

³⁷ Noteworthy to mention: not every single text appearing in the second corpus comprising professional journals and annual reports from the Royal Danish School of Education was registered. Reading the professional journals and annual reports, I selected only those texts specifically dealing with questions of professionalisation responsive to immigrant schoolchildren's presence. This resulted in approximately 500 entries registered in the table pertaining to the first phase of analytical work preceding article 2.

series, distinguishes between what is relevant and what is not, discovers elements, defines unities, describes relations' (1972, 6–7).

Registering each individual text in such a table proved to be highly efficient in discarding ways of organising the texts that proved irrelevant to my analytics of governing and my way of writing effective histories. To give an example from an early stage of my research process working on the corpus of texts relating to article 1: Initially, I set out to organise the texts according to their municipal and ministerial affiliations. This marshalling of the historical material made it available for geopolitical explanations pertaining to the governing of immigrant schoolchildren's education and their families' welfare. However, I realised that such geopolitical ordering of the texts would result in a naïve reproduction of the positions of forces imposed by the historical material itself and would privilege administrative institutions as the anthropological constituents of history.

Being interested in the administrative knowledge practices that made immigrant schoolchildren's education and their families' welfare manageable, I discarded this method of ordering. Instead, my thick descriptions of problem identifications, investigations, and solutions made the historical material available for analysing problem-solving practice regimes without origin, but instead as emerging from the interstices connecting textual effects of administrative knowledge practices dispersed 'within particular temporal-spatial coordinates' (Dean 1994, 32).

In table 2 below, I illustrate in abstracted form the preliminary outcome of my thick descriptions. Every text entry carried a number in order to be able to identify observed fragments³⁸ in AQ1 through AQ3 with their textual sources. For reasons of simplicity, the table illustrates every text entry holding one observation for each of the analytical questions. However, in my actual processing of the material every text entry held several observed fragments pertaining to each of the analytical questions.

³⁸ A text fragment could be anything from a statement, a concept, to a label/category assigned to immigrant schoolchildren and their families.

	AQ1	AQ2	AQ3
Text ₁	A	B	C
Text ₂	D	E	F
Text ₃	G	H	I
Text ₄	J	K	L
Text ₅	M	N	O
Text ₆	P	Q	R
Text ₇	S	T	U
Text ₈	V	W	X
Text ₉	Y	Z	...

Table 2: Generic outcome of thick descriptions

After cutting through and dissecting the individual texts according to my analytical questions, and ordering them chronologically, the time arrived to disturb the certainties provided by these thick descriptions and their linear sequencing according to the non-hermeneutical, non-progressive imperatives of writing effective histories.

Phase 2 constituted such a remarshalling of my initial thick descriptions and their linearity. The remarshalling in phase 2 is principally guided by a search for repetitive elements as a practical means of deploying an ethics of discomfort (Harwood and Rasmussen 2004, 312–14)³⁹. While piling up thick descriptions based on analytical cutting of every single text, I made notes on particularly *glowing moments* in the historical material (MacLure 2013, 661–63). Therefore, before entering into the second phase of marshalling and processing my historical material I was certain that these glowing moments would define the patterns of repetitions, I was about to establish. However, the analytical process of recording repetitions turned out ‘as a kind of “surfing” of the intensity of the event that has caught us up, in order to arrive somewhere else’, Professor of

³⁹ Education researchers Valerie Harwood and Mary Louise Rasmussen analyse processes of repetition as significant to the subjectification of those involved in those processes (in their case LGBTI adolescence) and as strategic to political/activist advocacy on behalf of LGBTI adolescence. Although Harwood and Rasmussen have a rather different research agenda for paying attention to repetitions, I find that paying attention to repetitions enables an analysis of the imposition of truth, power and subjectification that is not related to one origin, but to the continuous, dispersed an ambiguous repetitive enactment of a truth, power or subjectification.

Education Maggie MacLure writes (2013, 662). In other words, the tedious process of recording repetitions observed in table 2 destabilised the seductive certainty of these glowing moments as some of them only happened to occur once in the entire corpus of texts⁴⁰.

Consequently, I submitted my thick descriptions and their linear sequencing to a critical rereading with attention to repetitive occurrences within each column (pertaining to one analytical question) cutting across texts and time. I grouped these repetitions according to their similarities in new empty tables designed with only two columns. One corresponding to year of occurrence and one to the analytical question. The number of rows corresponded to the number of repetitive occurrences. In this way, a singular text could easily deliver partial elements to different clusters of repetitions, whereby the single text's imposition of truth and coherence was dissolved by cutting through the individual texts and through the mass of texts. The three tables below demonstrate this dispersal and assembling of textual fragments. The numbers attached to each occurrence signifies its textual origin. However, setting the numbers in a lower case demonstrates their increasing insignificance to my analytical work. It should also be mentioned that the actual tables comprising clusters of repetitions exhibited more than two clusters depending on the material.

	AQ1	
1970	1A	
1980	3G	2D
1990	5M	4J
2000	6P	7S
2010	8V	
	9Y	

Table 3.: Cluster of repetitions 1

	AQ2	
1970	1B	
1980	2E	4K
1990	3M	5N
2000	6Q	7T
2010	9Z	

Table 4.: Cluster of repetitions 2

	AQ3	
1970	2F	
1980	3I	
1990	4L	
2000		6R
2010	8X	7U

Table 5.: Cluster of repetitions 3

⁴⁰ MacLure suggests that we pay attention to these glowing moments instead of treating them as if they did not matter (2013, 664). I tend to agree, but I also argue that these glowing moments only become interesting in relation to the researcher's gaze and in relation to patterns of repetitions. Nevertheless, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to return to my observations of these glowing moments and interrogate their relations to my analytical gaze and to the dominant patterns in my historical material.

The entries of each occurrence was maintained in chronological order making it possible to destabilise the linearity of sequences in the historical material as these new tables demonstrated how repetitive occurrences could appear across the entire period under investigation or be confined to certain years, and in that sense, overlaying each other. Thus, my combination of clusters of repetitive occurrences and chronological ordering enabled a strategic play with continuity and discontinuity (Castel 1994, 247; Villadsen 2006, 91–94) – with reserialisation - which was not necessarily bound to time, but just as much related to the repetitions. This resulted in a twisted form of periodisation, by which continuities and discontinuities played out as subtle transformations overlaying each other in time and content as spiral-shaped formations⁴¹ along a continuous thread of responding to the presence of immigrant schoolchildren.

The downside of this approach was that less dominant or less often repeated occurrences received less attention. However, it could be argued this downside was compensated for by means of collecting, selecting, and reading marginal, lowly, or dispersed texts because they were not a priori inscribed in these emerging clusters of repetitions. Thus, grouping repetitions was an act of thematical assembling of the historical material, which could not be simply read off individual texts, but emerged from their interstices effectuated by my strategic cutting and assembling (Raffnsøe 1999, 56–60; Dean 2010a, 32).

The three tables below illustrate, in continuation of the three tables above, how I identified internal patterns in every cluster of repetitions; that is, I identified how each fragmented repetitive occurrence could be placed in relation to the other occurrences within the same cluster forming a pattern. To give an example pertaining to the blue square in the AQ3-table, I recorded numerous statements and concepts referring to *language*, which worked to make immigrant schoolchildren thinkable and visible. Placing these occurrences in combination with each other brought forth a pattern, which was held together by relations pertaining to *language as a condition of life*, *language as a condition for life*, *language that registers certain pupils as immigrant schoolchildren*, and *language that deregisters certain pupils as immigrant schoolchildren*. This pattern is illustrative of the continuities and discontinuities of noticing immigrant schoolchildren in Danish public schools between 1970 and 2013. This example is taken from article 3.

⁴¹ In Appendix 9.4., I exhibit such a spiral-shaped formation developed while working with the analysis accounted for in article 1.

In the process of identifying patterns in each of the clusters, the temporal ordering of the material was bracketed for a moment, as evident in the tables below. These tables consist of only one column pertaining to the analytical question and a number of rows corresponding to the number of patterned clusters.

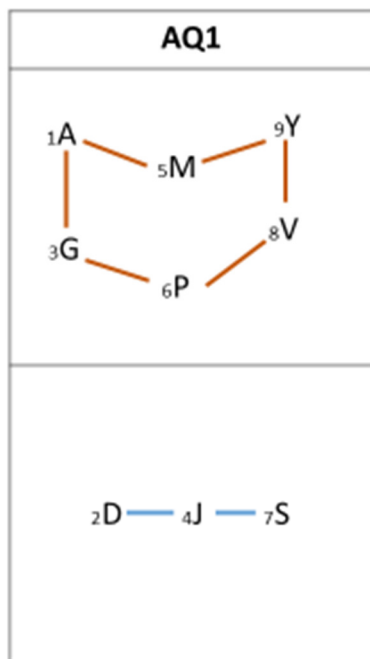


Table 6.: Patterns 1

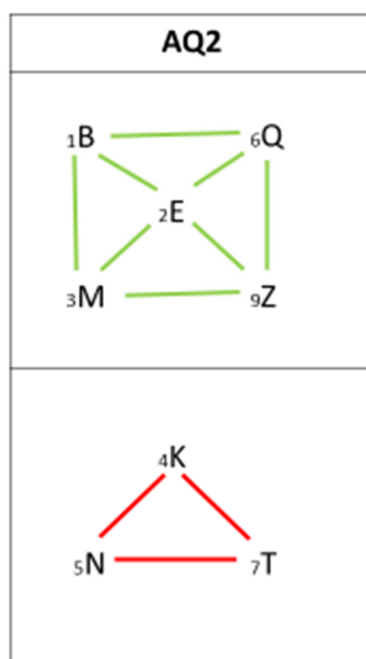


Table 7.: Patterns 2

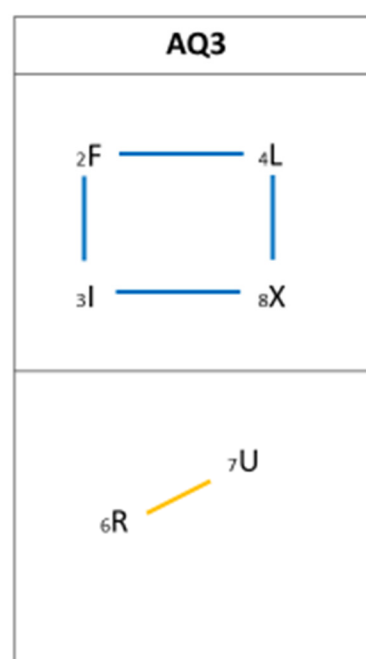


Table 8.: Patterns 3

Each pattern was labelled with a title signifying its analytical theme. When accounted for in the three articles presented in Chapter 5, these patterns were either described individually or in combination with each other depending on the specific research question(s) pursued in each article. Finally, identifying the patterns that weaved the repetitions together also made visible the frays of variation and ambiguity within each stable cluster of repetitions. The variation and ambiguity detectable in the clusters rendered them frayed and open to connectivity with other clusters of repetitions.

This frayed connectivity among clusters of repetitions constituted the basis for the third and last phase of (re-)marshalling my historical mass of practical texts. Having worked from within and across the mass of texts identifying repetitions, which joined thematically, in phase 3, I attended to the over-all strategy of all the thematically patterned clusters of repetitions. In other words, I combined the clusters of repetitions in ways that allowed me to identify ‘relatively stable field[s] of correlation of visibilities, mentalities, technologies and agencies, such that they constitute a kind of

taken-for-granted point of reference for any form of problematization' (Dean 2010a, 37; cf. Bröckling, Krasmann, and Lemke 2012a, 17)

In other words, I compared and related thematised groupings of repetitions to establish new series of relations, not among the singular texts, but among patterns of repetitions. This analytical manoeuvre can be described as looking for interferences (or threads) between frayed patterns to identify 'how patterns deflect other patterns and make them work together' (Fogh Jensen 2013, 32; cf. Foucault 1972, 137). Thus, to write effective histories is to consider how 'things get more and more complex [or ambiguous], because old patterns are not simply secreted, but nested within the unfolding of new dominant patterns' (Fogh Jensen 2013, 32). However, Foucault notes,

[n]o 'local center', no 'pattern of transformation' could function if, through a series of sequences, it did not eventually enter into an over-all strategy. And inversely, no strategy could achieve comprehensive effects if did not gain support from precise and tenuous relations serving, not as its point of application or final outcome, but as its prop and anchor point. (1990, 99)

Accordingly, phase three of processing my historical material operationalised a relational ontology by relating the intrinsic logics of patterns identified in phase 2 to each other and to an 'over-all strategy', which made them possible and they made possible; in this case, the fabrication of a Danish welfare nation state. In other words, the over-all strategy connecting dispersed patterns of practices responsive to the presence of immigrant schoolchildren emerged as the utopian endeavour of making things, people, and society different weaving the fabric that fashioned a Danish welfare nation state. The figure below works as an abstract visualisation of how a combination of patterns joined up in an over-all strategy relating the historical material to something other than itself, dissected and excavated from itself.

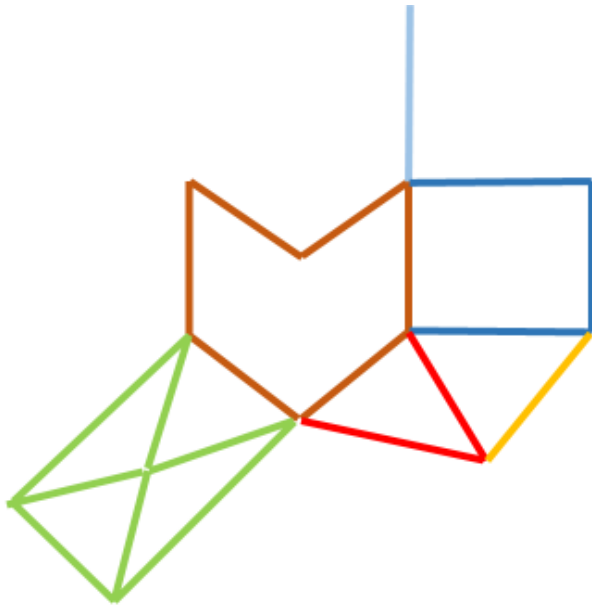


Figure 1: An over-all strategy

However, identifying an over-all strategy based on the combination of different analytical patterns is not conclusive as it may take on different shapes as evidenced by my findings in the three articles presented in Chapter 5. Each of them illustrates a different way of grasping the over-all strategy that has fabricated a Danish welfare nation state between 1970 and 2013.

To conclude this chapter, an analytical practice of employing thick descriptions, assembling, and reserialization joining up in an over-all strategy counters a practice of writing history as a reconstruction of the past. Instead, it performs a positive critique by privileging the act of problematising problematisations in terms of turning the historical material upon itself and reading the texts from their relational interstices to relate them to something other than themselves. This paves the way for establishing new viewpoints on the making of my research object through patterns, configurations, and regimes of governing practices joining up in an over-all strategy.

As evidenced by my references, my marshalling of the historical material is inspired by methodological procedures hinted at in Foucault's archaeologies and genealogies and in others' uses of these methodological procedures. Archaeology is characterised by systematic, non-reductionist descriptions, to which genealogy adds a serial component (Dean 1994, 34). Dean writes:

If archaeology displaces the delirium of interpretation with an analytics of the positivity of discourse, then genealogy displaces both the search for ultimate foundations and its opposite, nihilism, with a form of patient criticism and problematisation located in the present. (1994, 20)

In the end, I am not inclined to describe my own work as either archaeological or genealogical. Rather, I tend to describe my research as *aesthetically effective*. By this, I do not mean that my thesis presents itself as particularly beautiful to the eye of the reader or that its aesthetic expression is particularly alluring. I take aesthetic effectivity to be the outcome of performing a positive critique, which does not purport to offer an interpretation of past practices that can be considered any truer than another; neither does it lend itself easily to solving problems. This thesis' aesthetic effectivity lies in my methodological acts of cutting and assembling from within a history that made something of my research object. In this way, I offer an aesthetic effectivity inasmuch as it 'provides exemplars of an entangled, confounded vision that resists the god's eye perspective and the false clarity of scientism' (MacLure 2006, 229).

I do so by invoking an imagery from the dressmaker's workroom (cutting, crafting, fabric, fabricating, fashioning, fray/frayed, fold, folding, threads, material, patchwork, pattern, assembling, weaving) to describe my analytical method of working with and within my historical material as well as my results. This imagery articulates how I cut, fray, assemble, and weave the historical fabric that makes up my research object by questioning it from a strategic present, while carefully paying attention to minute details of 'how the folds of the fabric of the world are disposed at the place where we start raveling and unravelling some of its threads' (MacLure 2006, 230). In other words, my use of figurative language and metaphors augments my way of thinking about my research object and my way of working with the historical material (Fersch 2013, 92–93); that is, as an analytical composition of an object under construction.

Historian Jan Goldstein describes the outcome of Foucault's work as 'pictures of the world we are familiar with ... provided with a violent affectivity: it seems to issue from an earthquake' (1984, 171). Similarly, I write aesthetically effective histories of something quite familiar (that is, the presence of immigrant schoolchildren in a post-1970 Danish welfare nation-state), but submit it to a refashioning, by which 'where relations replace objects' (Goldstein 1984, 171), and where strategic serialisations replace 'pure serialism' (Noujain 1989, 173).

Instead of conceptual, analytical and methodological closure, I pursue a radical openness and uncertainty generated by an ethics of discomfort and illustrated with an aesthetic effectivity

putting my work at risk. In a highly lucid and frivolous manner (although with a different imagery than mine), MacLure describes this researcher position by means of the 'peepshow' calling

attention to the comprised, voyeuristic nature of the research gaze and the unavoidable absurdity of the research posture. To view the delights of the peep show you have to bend down, present your backside to public view, put yourself at risk. (2006, 235)

In this sense, an aesthetic effectivity lays bare my position as a researcher; my 'ingenious' construction of my research object, my assembling of the historical material, and the fashion and frays of my findings. As a result, I fabricate and fashion three aesthetically effective histories of the making of educationally manageable immigrant schoolchildren as practices feeding into the fabrication of a post-1970 Danish welfare nation state.

5. Three effective histories

In the preceding chapter, I recounted the historical and methodological connections and distinctions among the three articles, noting the ways each applies variations on the theme of an analytics of governing. This amounts to complex construction work supporting and enabling my writing of three effective histories. However, the aesthetic effectivity of this construction work would not have been possible if not for the research questions I raise.

Turning the analytical strategy of problematising problematisations upon my own work, I argue that a research question is an answer to a particular situation in a particular society during a particular time. In other words, the overarching research questions engendering this thesis can be read as answers to the discomfort I experienced while reading the newspaper article introduced in Chapter 1. It was a discomfort directing my attention to the *politics of education* as well as to the *politics of educational research* as a response to immigrant schoolchildren's presence within a Danish welfare nation state. Equally, as evidenced by my discussions with and against this thesis's research context, my research questions embody my struggle with the epistemological figure of integrationism. Moreover, they embody my epistemological stance and constraints.

Accordingly, when I ask, how were immigrant schoolchildren made educationally manageable in Danish public schools between 1970 and 2013 and how did these practices of educationalised governing feed into fabricating a post-1970 Danish welfare nation state, it is implied that I seek to disrupt a modernistic rationalism of hope assigned to education as a practice of doing good for the betterment and preservation of an integrated society. It is implied that I seek to tease out the split seams and fraying edges of an imagined educational and social fabric by paying attention to the continuous work of mending – or, making the unruly manageable. This implies my awareness of the 'cultural [or historical] perspectives involved in generating the educational object and question' (Tröhler 2013, 89).

As suggested in the following three articles, the construction of the educational object and question is closely tied to re-articulations of the social question in a post-1970 Danish context of non-Western immigration and globalisation. Following Tröhler (2013, 81), my method of articulating this thesis's combinatory research question embodies a historical propensity of my field of investigation inasmuch as it bears witness to which questions can be found educationally relevant in a Danish post-1970 context, whereby education has been regarded as an inevitable means of securing collective welfare through individual welfare. Nevertheless, it is implied I do not take for

granted either immigrant schoolchildren or the Danish welfare nation state, as pre-given entities, but ask instead what history can make of them. Accordingly, my method of posing this thesis's research questions constructs the phenomenon of a modern state as a never-ending project (Dean and Villadsen 2012, 120) redeemed in mundane educational minutiae.

Working under the imperative of an ethics of discomfort with my own certainties, while maintaining a curiosity for the manifold of mundane educational minutiae responding to immigrant schoolchildren's presence, along with a quest to uncover the frayed, dispersed practices of governing feeding into the fabrication of a post-1970 Danish welfare nation state, I fragment my overarching research questions into three.

In article 1, I ask about *which problem-solving complexes emerged from the administrative knowledge practices responsive to the welfare of immigrant families and how these problem-solving complexes resonated with the fashioning of a Danish welfare nation state between 1970 and 2010*. What is implied in this combinatory research question is that the modern state finds its problems and solutions of governing through so-called neutral knowledge production and technocratic administration. By historicising such problem-solving complexes, politics emerge from the administrative educational minutiae of organising immigrant families' welfare.

In article 2, I dispense with the notion of administration as a modality of modern state governing. Instead, I inquire into practices of subjectification by asking *which capacities teachers were imagined to exhibit to manage immigrant schoolchildren as objects of educational and, ultimately, societal concern, and how did the entangled processes of educational problematisation and teacher professionalisation embedded in visions of a good citizenry and a good society feed into crafting a post-1970 Danish welfare state faced with the effects of globalisation*. In this combinatory research question, it is implied that teachers' problematisations of immigrant schoolchildren as responses to societal concerns over integration became blended into the teachers' professional identities. It is also implied that practices of teacher professionalisation are deeply engraved by a modernistic rationalism of hope for the Other, the future, and the collective.

In article 3, I raise a combinatory research question pertaining to *which pedagogical repertoires available to teachers of immigrant pupils emerged and evolved between 1970 and 2013*. I inquire into these pedagogical repertoires, investigating their objectives, techniques, and truths. Moreover, I ask *which social utopias emerged from these pedagogical minutiae and fed into the fabricating of a Danish welfare nation state*. Implied in this construction of a combinatory research question is that the educational optimism thriving on social utopias appears in response to a

fundamental aporia experienced in a particular situation in a particular society in a particular time. This tension between utopia and aporia seems not only to be a generator of pedagogical repertoires, but also a core feature of modern state fabrication.

In sum, each of the three fragments of my overarching research questions facilitates a particular venture through the labyrinth I have carefully prepared in constructing my research object and in developing analytical strategies historically sensitive, yet, aesthetically effective in terms of cutting and reassembling the historical material. In this way, fragmenting my overarching research questions directs my attention to different scales of the historical minutiae of educational practices addressing the presence of immigrant schoolchildren and their families in Denmark between 1970 and 2013; that is, scales of administrative regulation, professional subjectification, and instructional disposition. Each scale offers one viewpoint on how educational practices addressing their Other have intertwined with processes of welfare nation state fabrication occurring on its margins. This kind of fragmenting encourages me to pursue different genres of lowly, marginal, and practical texts because such combinations induce the politics of history by which my writing of histories becomes effective.

Each of the following articles thus demonstrates an autonomous work of construction and historical analysis. Even so, as fragments of this thesis's overarching research questions, they do not pursue closure, but serve to illustrate how the research object of this thesis is treated as a *moving target in its making*.

5.1. Article 1:

'Making Precarious Immigrant Families and Weaving the Danish Welfare Nation-State Fabric, 1970–2010'

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Declaration of co-authorship is shown in Appendix 10.5.

Making precarious immigrant families and weaving the Danish welfare nation-state fabric 1970–2010

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ABSTRACT

This article explores the making of immigrant families as precarious elements in the governing of the population's welfare within the Danish welfare nation-state since the 1970s. The emphasis is on how immigrant families became a problem of welfare governing, and what knowledge practices and welfare techniques emerged as problem-solving responses. The article analyses a diverse set of national and local administrative documents advancing a polyhedron of intelligibility by which the authors discover how problem-solving complexes responsive to immigrant families change and sediment, and ultimately, weave the fabric of a Danish welfare nation-state faced with non-Western immigration after the economic boom in the late 1960s.

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Introduction

As a result of the economic boom and labour shortage in the late 1960s, the Danish government invited labour migrants to work in Danish industries. The labour migrants came primarily from Southern Europe, Turkey, Pakistan, and Morocco, and they were expected to return to their home countries when there was no more work for them to do. In spite of an administrative halt on the issuing of work permits in 1973 as an effect of the oil crisis, the immigration of non-Westerners continued. Since then 'people have arrived either as refugees or as family members to immigrants, i.e. via family unification' (Siim and Borchorst 2008, 9).

This reconfiguration of immigration to Denmark after 1973 altered the problematization of immigrants as primarily one of single male low-skilled guest workers' position in the Danish labour market to one of non-Western immigrant families' welfare (Jønsson and Petersen 2010).

Initially, these non-Western labour immigrant families were met by a universal welfare system in terms of health care, education, housing, etc. In this case, universalism referred to tax financed social tutelage, flat rate benefits, and was guided by ideas of equality, prevention and rationality (Kolstrup 2014). However, this universalistic welfare model was historically premised on an implicit notion of 'a homogeneous population in an enclosed national space' (Brochmann and Hagelund 2012, 100) anchoring universal social rights to national citizenship.

The historical wedding of welfare and nation in the formation of Western modern states has been problematized by Lessenich coining it in terms of a liberal paradox (2012, 310). This paradox refers to Western modern nation-states that have essentially been built on capitalism, and hence, have sought to mobilize the productive forces of the population (understood as a territorially unlimited commodity) through welfare governing (understood in terms of territorially delimited decommodification).

In other words, labour immigrants were cast as potentially productive and as such treasured, ‘but at the same time (and on the very same ground of their mobility), they are potentially dangerous – and risky’ (Lessenich 2012, 308).

Thus, an intriguing historical point of departure for this article is the fact that the development of the Danish welfare model peaked in the late 1960s (Christensen and Ydesen 2009), exactly at the point when Denmark was faced with the effects of post-WWII economic reconstruction, which had the consequences of globalizing hitherto nationally enclosed labour markets (Brochmann and Hagelund 2012, 100).

Problematizations of the presence of settled non-Western immigrant families are therefore understood in relation to the perceived contestation of the imagined bounded whole of the nation-state as well as in relation to a universalistic welfare regime under pressure. Simon Warren has lucidly coined the situation facing post-WWII western welfare nation-states as one of ‘ontological insecurity’. ‘The formation of policy in relation to the education of new migrant communities should therefore be understood in the context of a political concern about the unsettling nature of new global flows of people’ (Warren 2007, 373).

This demonstrates the importance of paying attention to the handling of immigrant families in the unique historical post-1970 context of the Danish welfare nation-state. As such, the study of the governing of immigrant families’ welfare functions as a privileged prism through which to study the weaving of the fabric fashioning the Danish welfare nation-state in an era of increasing immigration. In the same vein, Foucault (1991a) argued that state fashioning could best be studied in practices where the hitherto social order was perceived to be contested. In keeping with the metaphorical language of this article, we study the fashioning of the Danish welfare nation-state as a fabric woven and patterned by various political, administrative, social, economic, cultural threads. Arguably, the weaving together of this state fabric crystallizes most lucidly in instances of knots and frays, i.e. when the welfare nation-state is faced with (un)settling immigrant families.

Previous research on the post-1970 state-immigrant nexus has focused on the encounter between non-Western immigrants and the apparatus of welfare provision (schools, housing, childcare, social insurance, etc.) and/or paid attention to immigrants’ identity formation through notions of belonging and citizenship in relation to the national context of their new lives (Alsmark, Moldenhawer, and Kallehave 2007; Faist 2000). Arguably, there is a tendency to separate the perspectives of welfare and nation. Nevertheless, we explore the analytical potential of merging the two perspectives by addressing the following two research questions: What problem-solving complexes have emerged from administrative knowledge practices responsive to the welfare of immigrant families? How do these problem-solving complexes resonate with the fashioning of the Danish welfare nation-state 1970–2010?

In the first section, we present an analytical strategy on how to study practices that weave a state fabric. This is followed by methodological considerations on the historical documentary material used in the analysis. In the third section, we unfold an analysis of the problem-solving complexes responsive to the presence of immigrant families in Denmark. In conclusion, we show how problem-solving complexes responsive to non-Western immigrant families have fashioned the fabric of a Danish welfare nation-state faced with the immigrant presence.

Analytical strategy

In a context of increased international migration the social question of fostering prosperity by managing welfare seems to resonate with Foucault’s analysis of social warfare (Foucault 2004). The notion of social warfare frames the governing of immigrant families’ welfare as a matter of compensating for variations within the optimal general population. In other words, welfare governing as a practice of social warfare becomes ‘the administrative prose of a State that defends itself in the name of a social heritage that has to be kept pure’ (Foucault 2004, 83) – or normal and productive.

Within this framework of thinking about welfare governing since the late nineteenth century, Hansen (1995) argues, the perception of social problems was relocated from an ethical level to an

ontological level by means of statistics, which provided ‘evidence’ of the desirable ‘normal social body’. Among the solutions was a reformulation of the family from being a model of governing to an instrument of integration and normalization of society. As such, the family unit, and the children in particular, became the object of intervention and regulation. ‘Integration is conditional upon the proliferation and support of the norm. Not surprisingly, the connection between the family and the school becomes a privileged instrument for normalization’ (Hansen 1995, 21, authors’ translation).

These introductory notes on the governing practices that have fashioned modern welfare nation-states calls for an analytical strategy that addresses the state fabric as ‘nothing else but the mobile effect of a regime of multiple governmentalities’ (Foucault 2008, 77) constituting a space of (im)possible thinking and acting. In a strategic analytical manoeuvre, we decentre the state fabric as an object of analysis (Foucault 2009, 116–120). Accordingly, we look for the weaving of a state fabric in governing practices responsive to immigrant families who have been constructed as a problem to the common welfare of the Danish population, which also includes a perceived contestation of the cohesion and prosperity of the Danish welfare nation-state.

In her reception of Foucault’s work, Bacchi (2012) suggests studying practical regimes of governing by means of a problematization analysis. Consequently, we have identified how immigrant families became problematized, and what forms of knowledge and what welfare techniques emerged from the efforts made to understand and solve the constructed problem(s) (Bacchi 2012). Such a problematization study conceptualizes the regimes of practices as micropolitics of the state (Ball 2013). A chronological ordering of the material has helped us discover how the problem-solving complexes responsive to immigrant families have changed and sedimented. In this way, we have identified the practical implications of governing through the welfare of immigrant families that in turn suggests how the Danish welfare nation-state fabric was fashioned as a response to questions and problem constructions pertaining to the presence of immigrant families.

Practical texts

In this article, we engage with a historical collection of the voluminous, anonymous, grey and practical literature (Bacchi 2012) produced by national and local administrative bodies responsive to immigrant families, and their children of school age in particular, from 1970–2010. The material comprises a variety of documents produced by administrators, experts and professionals. These documents induce effects in the real (Foucault 1991b, 81) inasmuch as ‘they were designed to be read, learned, reflected upon, and tested out’ (Bacchi 2012, 3).

The collection of material comprises nine commission reports covering the four decades timespan (Ministry of Labour [Arbejdsministeriet] 1971; Ministry of Social Affairs [Socialministeriet] 1975; Ministry of Social Affairs [Socialministeriet] 1981; Ministry of Education [Undervisningsministeriet] 1987; Ministry of Finance [Økonomiministeriet] 1991; Ministry of Internal Affairs [Indenrigsministeriet] 1997, 1998; Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration [Ministeriet for flygtninge, indvandrere og integration] 2009; Ministry of Justice [Justitsministeriet] 2009). These reports have been identified by means of a comprehensive search in the *Danish Law Gazette* using search words that mirrored the historical variety of categories pertaining to members of immigrant families (e.g. ‘guest worker’, ‘foreigner’, ‘Turkish’, ‘bilingual’, ‘integration’, ‘citizenship’)

The collection also includes 153 locally produced documents (reports, statistics, policy recommendations, evaluations, project descriptions and evaluations, and letters of guidance). These documents have been collected by means of a chain-search and the identification of intertextual references. As the result of an initial conversation with two research colleagues¹ with many years of experience in the field of education of immigrants, we were handed over the personal archives of former professor of bilingualism Jørgen Gimbel. This archive comprised a collection of a variety of locally produced documents on the situation and handling of immigrant children of school age in various Danish municipalities² (1979–2002). Following recurring references from this archive, we contacted three retired and two currently active professionals³ specialized in the education of immigrant children.

They allowed us to access their personal archives that contributed with essential documents produced between 1985 and 2010. A few missing documents that had been referred to were obtained by means of a library search.

The collection of such diverse documents constitutes a network of texts illustrative of the production and exchange of documents between different administrative bodies, schools, universities and ministries engaged in governing the welfare of immigrant families, and their children of school age in particular. Moreover, the collection of documents resonates with the Danish situation, which is characterized by a decentralized bottom-up approach to social and educational development, in general (Hulgård 1997; Skov 2005) and welfare governing vis-à-vis immigrant families, in particular (Brochmann and Hagelund 2012; Hetmar 1991).

The analytical potential of this network of texts lies in reading across it for its breadth of information. This means that we do not present an in-depth analysis of every single document. Rather, our cross-readings of the material have paved the way for the identification of patterns of governing the welfare of immigrant families – and ultimately, patterns in the weaving of a state fabric – across time and across fields of welfare governing.

Nested problems

As a first step in a problematization study, it becomes pertinent to ask whom our analytical category ‘immigrant families’ refers to empirically and historically. The first people to fit this category were the labour immigrants (primarily male Turkish, Yugoslav, Pakistani and Moroccan), who found work in Denmark in the late 1960s and who were later reunified with their spouses and children. From the early 1980s, different refugee groups (such as Vietnamese, Iranian, Iraqi, Palestinian, Somali, and Bosnian) were included. In the 1990s, the category began to include the children of the first generation of immigrant families, and in the 2000s, the category was populated by the third and fourth generations of these immigrant/refugee families. As the following analysis will show, various problematizations pertaining to, e.g. labour market issues, immigration regulations, and cultural incorporation have produced articulations such as ‘foreign workers’, ‘aliens’, ‘bilingual children’, and ‘Muslims’ that have been attached to members of non-Western immigrant families.

This short preview of the problematized objects in problem-solving complexes responsive to the welfare of immigrant families indicates that one problem construction rarely stands alone, but is nested in other problem-solving complexes (Edelman 1988, 36). Thus, problematizations of immigrant families are related to e.g. labour market policies, school performance or anti-terrorism measures. Accordingly, our analysis rests on the construction of a ‘polyhedron’ of intelligibility’ (Foucault 1991b, 77) based empirically and historically on a network of texts covering a variety of fields in which attempts have been made to manage the welfare of immigrant families. This means that the phenomenon of managing the welfare of immigrant families has been explored in a variety of instances of problem construction and problem solving.

If they only knew how to make use of welfare provisions

In the 1970s, immigrant families were perceived as a labour market issue and managed according to their adaptability to the Danish welfare system (Ministry of Labour [Arbejdsministeriet] 1971). In other words, it was problematized that immigrant families did not make adequate use of various life-quality-enhancing welfare provisions that would ultimately secure their status as part of a productive workforce and as active participants in society. In a commission report on foreign workers’ living conditions in Denmark, it was noted that:

... foreign workers have been exploited on the labour market and in the housing market. Insufficient Danish language skills, lack of knowledge about Danish customs, and few encounters with Danes may cause the foreigners to feel excluded from Danish society. (Ministry of Labour [Arbejdsministeriet] 1971, 5, authors’ translation)

Poor housing and health conditions, lack of Danish language competences and non-participation in organized leisure time activities were presented as issues of pressing concern for the governing of immigrant families' welfare. These concerns mirrored the operating interior of a Danish welfare system (Ministry of Labour [Arbejdsministeriet] 1971; 53) thought to care for the well-being of the worker and his family. Accordingly, immigrant families were met with empathy and problematized as the precariat of the economic boom, and later, as victims of unemployment due to the oil crisis in 1973. Still, there was a firm belief in immigrant families' potential to adapt to the Danish way of living and to benefit from welfare provisions. This potential was believed to be proportionate to their length of residence: the longer the stay, the more adaptable. 'The workers who wish to stay here should have an interest in adapting to the Danish way of living. From a societal perspective, this should also be the goal' (Ministry of Labour [Arbejdsministeriet] 1971, 62, authors' translation).

In order to foster a 'Danish way of living' among immigrants, there was a call for new knowledge on two pressing matters. One involved improving the coverage of basic statistics on the immigrant population (Ministry of Social Affairs [Socialministeriet] 1975, 32) on the basis of which immigrants' needs could be forecasted in order to provide them with equal access to welfare provisions (Immigrant Committee [Indvandrerudvalget] 1975). This strand of statistics proved to be mostly concerned with immigrants from non-Western countries, despite the fact that the majority of labour immigrants in Denmark came from Scandinavian or other Western countries (Brochmann and Hagelund 2012). A tenacious binary of Western and non-Western immigrant families was launched in the practices of Danish welfare governing, pointing to the future culturalization of non-Western immigrant families. Thus, it is the governing and categorization of non-Western immigrant families that appear to be most significant in our material. Western immigrant families are almost entirely ignored.

The other pressing matter involved 'best practice' borrowing. In the early 1970s, the local administration of Copenhagen Municipality began to pay attention to the increasing number of non-Western children of immigrant families in public schools. In 1971, the first manager of the office for foreign language speaking pupils in the Copenhagen administration, Erik Odde, visited the London Borough of Ealing to learn from English public schools' accommodation of immigrant children. Odde observed that:

... the Indians follow the exact same customs as in their countries of origin: upbringing, women's position in society, etc. In Southall, this does not cause any problems, but in schools, conflicts arise provoked by the strictly raised children's encounter with the liberal, very liberal, English manner. (1971, 6, authors' translation)

The Western/non-Western distinction influenced the dominant perception of the immigrant family environment as deprived and thus the main cause of the troublesome encounters between Danish teachers and immigrant schoolchildren (Bøgsted-Møller 1976). Immigrant schoolchildren were problematized as linguistically and socially ill-prepared for mainstream instruction in public school. Although contested, the English system of reception classes was established to compensate for the lack of adequate Danish language competences and cultural adaptation and to prepare immigrant schoolchildren for mainstream education. This model of reception was implemented not only in Copenhagen, but also in the suburbs of the wider capital area, where substantial numbers of immigrant families and their children settled (Laursen, Hjort, and Christensen 1973).

The first decade of managing the welfare of immigrant families and their children was based on a problematization of immigrant families as victims of exploitation. They were also considered victims of their traditional cultural heritage, which supposedly caused their children to become culturally and socially isolated. As such, they were constructed as being at risk of disintegration. Based on the optimism inherent in social planning and universalistic welfare, a regime of compensating practices was thought to unleash the potential of immigrant families and their children to adapt to a healthy Danish way of living. This way of living was promoted in terms of membership of a self-sufficient nuclear family making proper use of the welfare system as well as contributing to society as responsible taxpayers, whereby a productive workforce and a cohesive society would be sustained.

Minding the cultural gap

Increasingly, during the 1980s, the notion of cultural distance was used to explain immigrant families' lack of adaptation to the Danish way of living. This can be seen in a commission report on children's living conditions in Denmark, where a special section was dedicated to immigrant children and their families.

The immigrant families come to Denmark from societies where family life is shaped in fundamentally different terms than it is among us. The children live their lives at home, which is a home shared by several generations and where the entire family participates in teaching the children their language, norms of conduct and the basic elements of their culture, before the children start in school. Arriving in Denmark, the family finds it difficult to continue this form of living and its integral patterns of upbringing. (Ministry of Social Affairs [Socialministeriet] 1981, 228–229, authors' translation)

Because of the un-bridged gap between immigrant parents' culture of origin and the new Danish culture, immigrant children were problematized as being at risk of losing their identity and facing a cultural clash with the education system (Ministry of Social Affairs [Socialministeriet] 1981, 229–230). This causal explanation was informed by social psychology suggesting that the development of the child was determined by the environment of its upbringing (Ministry of Education [Undervisningsministeriet] 1987, 48). Accordingly, the cultural gap between immigrant families and Danish society was considered causing psycho-social problems for immigrant children.

School psychologists perceived the ill-adapted immigrant schoolchildren as subjects torn between a traditional and a modern way of living. 'Immigrant children belong to a group at risk, since they themselves and their families have had their roots cut from the cultural and social context that normally constitutes the background for the identity formation of these people' (Sahl and Skjelmose 1983, 10, authors' translation). According to Sahl and Skjelmose the solution was to establish a coherence 'between the Muslim ideal-me – obedience and suppression of one's own needs – and the ideal-me of the school – initiative and individuality' (1983, 62–63, authors' translation).

In an attempt to prevent immigrant children from losing themselves between two cultures, experimental bi-cultural classes were initiated in the late 1980s (Clausen et al. 1985). The experiments were based on the assumption that Danish language acquisition was best stimulated and advanced with the use of the pupils' mother tongue. Accordingly, the bicultural classes were organized around 'a group of Danish pupils and a group of pupils (6–10 children) whose parents originate from Turkey' (Moldenhawer and Clausen 1993, 2, authors' translation). A native Danish teacher and a bilingual teacher with an immigrant (Turkish) background were affiliated with the class. In the first report on the pedagogical experiment, Clausen et al. wrote that they 'wished to develop bi-cultural schooling in order to counter prejudices and ensure a better integration of immigrant pupils in school' (1985, 1, authors' translation). However, bi-cultural classes were politically and pedagogically contested, and they never became a permanent technique of education. Instead, remedial instruction was promoted as the most efficient way of incorporating immigrant schoolchildren into mainstream education (Ahmad et al. 1985).

The practice of remedial instruction followed in the path of the compensating practices of the 1970s with the aim of alleviating the problems encountered when immigrant children entered school, 'because they do not speak nor understand Danish sufficiently. Moreover, because they are not familiar with the Danish way of thinking, norms and manners' (Bolwig et al. 1987, 24, authors' translation).

From this regime of remedial practices followed an expanded problematization of immigrant parents – and especially immigrant mothers – as ill-prepared rearers with an out-dated way of bringing up their children. Mothers of immigrant children were addressed in terms of local provision of Danish language courses and information about the Danish way of living. Informing immigrant mothers on Danish values related to upbringing and active participation in civil society was considered preventive welfare work with the aim of minimizing the risk of cultural deviation among immigrant children supposedly caused by traditional upbringing (Padovan-Özdemir 2014). These observations work as an example of how immigrant families became not only an object but also an instrument of welfare governing, i.e. of integration. Similarly, immigrant consultant Klaus Slavensky (1985, 7–8) argued for

the development of welfare provisions targeting all generations of the immigrant family, which would allow all family members to participate in cultural activities in their local area. These interventions were perceived as a temporary exceptional expansion of the general welfare work with the aim of normalizing and aligning immigrant families with the Danish way of living. According to Slavensky, the aim of these exceptional measures was not least to avoid immigrant families ‘turning into a new burdensome proletariat’ (1985, 81, authors’ translation).

Although fostering a Danish way of living was the goal of exceptional welfare work, the social psychological reasoning remained influential. Where the experiment of bi-cultural classes was only a momentary practice, mother tongue instruction was much more successfully promoted. Mother tongue instruction was believed to be not only a human right (Skutnabb-Kangas 1988) and a means of preserving immigrant children’s anchorage with their parents’ culture of origin in order to ease their return to their parents’ country of origin, if this should be relevant. It was also promoted as a means of learning Danish, as in the case of bi-cultural classes, and notably as a means of strengthening immigrant children’s self-esteem as a minority. For not only were immigrant children believed to be at risk of linguistic, social and cultural deprivation in respect to their adaptation to a Danish way of living, but also at risk of not reaching an age-adequate level in their mother tongue. Here, mother tongue instruction was a solution that could be practiced in parallel with practices of remediation. However, in 2002 state-subsidies for mother tongue instruction of non-Scandinavian and non-EU citizens were abolished. This act of welfare retrenchment resulted in a substantial diminishing of the publicly funded provision of mother tongue instruction. Once again, the Western/non-Western distinction was drawn through the social body pointing to the national-cultural embedding of universalistic welfare provision, and, in the words of Lessenich (2012, 310), radicalizing the liberal paradox.

Radicalizing responsabilization

In the 1990s, questions were raised as to whether the exceptional measures and remedial investments in saving immigrant schoolchildren at risk from failing in school were paying off (Mehlbye 1994). This concern emerged against the backdrop of high youth unemployment rates in the 1980s (Martin 2009) and the implementation of New Public Management (Andersen 2008). In addition, it epitomized a shift from welfare governing practices based on rights and citizens’ proper use of welfare provision to welfare governing based on the duties of the self-sufficient taxpayer (Kolstrup 2014). Bilingual pupil consultant, Niels Poulsen’s report from a local survey of the educational tracks of bilingual pupils lucidly illustrates this shift:

[I]t can be said that the expenditure on remediation of bilingual children and youngsters in public schools amply pays off when young people get an education, a job and later pay tax. For me, however, it is just as important that this group is assisted in disassociating from the role of client/victim, which too many of their parents have found themselves playing. (Poulsen 1999, 3, authors’ translation)

The quote also alludes to a decline in the social optimism of the 1970s about the potential adaptability of the first generation of non-Western immigrant families. Rather, they were now problematized in terms of representing a worrying social heritage, which ‘bilingual children and youngsters’ were ‘assisted in disassociating themselves from’.

As such, local and national statistical tracking of the life courses of immigrant families in Denmark presented an epistemological backdrop for re-problematizations of immigrant families. This knowledge practice crystallized in the Ministry of Finance’s commissioning of a report on the advancement of statistics on refugees and immigrants in 1991. The report responded to a wish for more detailed quantifiable categories of immigrant families in terms of demographic data, socioeconomic variables and country of origin (1991, 19). Based on the premise of aligning colloquial terms with statistically valid categories, six categories were developed: ‘asylum seekers’, ‘refugees’, ‘immigrants by family reunification’, ‘aliens/foreign citizens’, ‘immigrants’, and ‘second-generation immigrants’ (1991, 10–17). The reason for advancing the statistical categories pertaining to immigrant families was to be able to monitor and calculate the welfare budgetary expenses ‘caused’ by these groups of the population

The statistical tracking of immigrant family life pointed towards an economization of the governing of immigrant families' welfare. Immigrant families were no longer only managed in terms of their need for support and information about the Danish way of living but rather as a (potential) economic burden to the Danish welfare nation-state. A precarious status that could easily be passed on to the next generations of immigrant families, as suggested in Poulsen's statement above.

One effect of the knowledge practices of 'life tracking' was that they introduced the problem of a 'generational gap' in immigrant families. According to a report on the integration of ethnic minority women commissioned by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, first-generation Turkish immigrant women were supposedly less inclined to learn Danish and lived more isolated from society than did the second and third generations (Ministry of Internal Affairs [Indenrigsministeriet] 1998, 97–98). Furthermore, the perception of generational differences was energized by the commission's observation of a statistical correlation between immigrant women's strong non-Western cultural ties and a peripheral position in the labour market (Ministry of Internal Affairs [Indenrigsministeriet] 1998, 27).

One of the solutions in response to the problem-complex emerging from the suggested generational gap in immigrant families was once again found in targeting non-Western immigrant women/mothers. In a report on the school placement of 'foreign language speaking pupils', Aarhus Education Authorities argued that '[w]ithout special measures, these women cannot be expected to enter into a normal trustful cooperation with the child's school as a support for the child's linguistic, academic and social development' (Hindø and Darr 1991, 9, authors' translation). The immigrant family (immigrant mothers in particular) was to understand the Danish way of living and schooling. This understanding was believed to constitute a significant step in the development of immigrant children's life competences for participating in Danish society.

The social effect ascribed to culture was considered twofold. First, non-Western culture was seen as a barrier to immigrant women, preventing them from actively participating in society, which in turn affected their children negatively. Second, promoting adaptation to 'Danish culture' as the ultimate integration goal obligated immigrant families to subject themselves to preventive welfare measures.

The case of immigrant mothers exemplifies an emerging radicalization of the responsabilization of immigrant families in terms of their lack of economic self-sufficiency, lack of societal participation and, ultimately, their children's risk of social and academic in-adaptability in school.

Risks of socio-cultural epidemics and national vulnerability

The radicalizing responsabilization of immigrant families energized the construction of immigrant schoolchildren as a group posing a risk due to their low academic performances. The problematization of immigrant schoolchildren as academic underachievers emerged in a context where the cost-benefit analyses of the 1990s coincided with the comparatively bad test results among immigrant pupils in the Danish PISA survey around the turn of the millennium (OECD 2003). Poor academic performance was believed to constitute as much risk as cultural deviation and disintegration; notably, not only to individual immigrant schoolchildren but also to their native Danish classmates, the school's reputation and the competitiveness of the Danish welfare nation-state (Jacobsen 2012).

Illustrative of the problem-solving complex emerging from the PISA panic response to immigrant schoolchildren, a 'Copenhagen Model' of integration was introduced. In short, immigrant parents were offered exceptional counselling and guidance in order to voluntarily choose a school with fewer immigrant schoolchildren outside their local district. At the same time, attempts were made to encourage native Danish parents to keep their children at the very same local schools that immigrant parents were advised to leave. Pamela Anne Quiroz has described such practices as 'marketing diversity to different populations' (2013, 62). Accordingly, Copenhagen City council member Per Bregengaard argued that:

... schools with a better ethnic – and consequently social – mix are expected to achieve better academic results because of a friendship effect, which means that talented pupils raise the levels of less talented pupils and that teachers become more ambitious because of the presence of more talented pupils. (Bregengaard 2005, 7)

In this argument, we see how the intertwinement of academic performance and ethnic/social status functions as a nested problem construction. Interestingly, it also illustrates the inverted construction of an epidemic risk of low-performing immigrant schoolchildren: If ‘talented pupils raise the levels of less talented pupils’ it must imply that less talented pupils lower the level of talented pupils. Similarly, Crozier and Davies (2008, 289) have observed how teachers in an everyday English school environment problematized South Asian pupils for failing to mix and engage in extracurricular activities due to their culture. The failure of mixing called forth the Janus-faced problem construction of immigrant schoolchildren as individually deprived of fruitful learning experiences and as a collective potential threat to the school’s cohesion.

The tendency to depict immigrant schoolchildren as an epidemic threat to the social and academic cohesion of schools fuelled the practice of achieving the right mix by means of, e.g. Danish language testing of immigrant school starters. Amending the Danish Education Act in 2005, combined with the introduction of the legal category of ‘schoolchildren with a non-negligible need for support in Danish-as-a-second-language’ (Jacobsen 2012, 45–46), functioned as a de-racialized justification for placing immigrant schoolchildren outside of their local district school and thereby limiting their parent’s free school choice.

The advancement of practices such as testing, screening and monitoring as welfare techniques in response to immigrant schoolchildren pertained not only to school placement. These practices also justified the placement of immigrant schoolchildren within the school in reception classes, selected mainstream classes, in centres of remedial language instruction or referred them to leisure time projects, for example. As an example: based on an assessment of the immigrant pupil’s Danish language proficiency and academic as well as social competences (Ishøj Municipality [Ishøj Kommune] 2009), school headmasters in Ishøj Municipality determined ‘what mainstream class the pupil would be assigned in order to supplement his/her reception class lessons, and possibly eventually be placed in’ (Department of Children and Education [Børn og Undervisning] 2009, 1).

Arguably resonating with a social warfare reasoning, the regime of ‘right mixing’ coincided with an emerging regime of deportation in the aftermath of the 9/11 terror attack on New York and the Danish cartoon crisis in 2005. In 2009, a report was commissioned on the judicial possibility of deporting non-nationals and nationals with an immigrant background deemed to pose a threat to national security (Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration [Ministeriet for flygtninge, indvandrere og integration] 2009). This commission report is the only one of the nine commission reports in this study that does not allude to any form of welfare work addressing immigrant families. Instead, and in combination with the above described regimes of ‘right mixing’, it epitomizes how members of (Muslim) immigrant families became redefined as threats, not only to school and community cohesion, but also to national security.

Up to this point in history, the statistical variable of length of residence had pertained to the expected mode of adaptation, work motivation and belonging to Danish society. In this 2009 report, length of residence was reconfigured as a scale for justifying the deportation of non-nationals or nationals with an immigrant background who had committed criminal offences: ‘The longer a foreigner has resided in the country, the more serious the criminal act must be before the person in question can be deported’ (Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration [Ministeriet for flygtninge, indvandrere og integration] 2009, 32).

In this context, we can observe how the focus on passive, unemployed and ill-informed members of immigrant families in the 1990s was redirected onto possibly criminal members of (Muslim) immigrant families in the 2000s.

Immigrant parents revisited as partners in crime

Arguably, the war on terror unfolded not only as a foreign affair but also as an internal affair of national security and social cohesion (Mouritsen 2005). The (Muslim) immigrant family environment was reconstructed in the 2000s as a potential risk to national security, social order and the democratic

values of the Danish welfare nation-state. In the words of Wacquant (2009), immigrant families were described as ‘a problem population whose civic probity is by definition suspect and whose alleged work-avoiding “behaviors” must be urgently rectified’ (98).

In 2009, the Ministry of Justice commissioned a report on juvenile delinquency (Ministry of Justice [Justitsministeriet] 2009). The report stressed the insignificance of ethnicity in determining the causes of crime committed by juvenile immigrants. Accordingly, the traumas of refugee families and the socio-economically deprived environment of many immigrant families were highlighted as key factors in the criminal propensity of juvenile immigrants. However, analyses with a focus on social factors functioned as a *de facto* racialization of juvenile delinquency.

As part of the implementation of the commission’s recommendations on risk-based systematic identification and report on criminal children and adolescents and children and adolescents at risk of criminal behaviour, it is the perception of the commission that focus should be directed at children and adolescents with a refugee background who may have experienced traumatizing conditions in childhood [...] a group especially vulnerable to social problems and crime. (Ministry of Justice [Justitsministeriet] 2009, 115–116, authors’ translation)

The argument about a *de facto* racialization is debatable as the commission report refers to the specific psychological traumas of refugee families. However, as Coppock and McGovern have demonstrated in the British context, when questions of vulnerability to radicalization or crime propensity of immigrant juveniles are raised, a notable ‘psychologization of social problems’ (2014, 246) emerges. Our analysis has shown that this has been the case in all matters relating to managing the welfare of immigrant families since the early 1980s in Denmark. The epistemic sedimentation of cultural-social-psychology informed the identification of risks in immigrant families. In response to the problematization of immigrant children and youngsters as vulnerable to crime, radicalization and disintegration, pedagogical practices of risk management evolved. Among these practices was a revisiting of immigrant parents as potential partners in crime. Home visits were a highly valued practice in a great many integration projects designed to prevent immigrant (Muslim) girls from dropping out of education and into early marriage (Deniz and Özdemir 2004) and to prevent immigrant (Muslim) boys from falling into criminal ways or becoming radicalized and dropping out of education (Ishøj Ishøj Municipality [Ishøj Kommune] 2001).

The parents [of immigrant schoolchildren] can also be good partners, inasmuch as they support the development of the girl at home. Accordingly, the aim of the home visits was to inform us about the girls’ family background, the parents’ experiences/understanding of their child’s schooling, and the general social and academic development of the child. A secondary aim was to obtain an insight into the parents’ general self-perception in Danish society. (Deniz and Özdemir 2006, 1)

On the face of it, there were ambitions of empowering the immigrant family. However, what we see in this quote is how cultural-social-psychology comes to work in the identification of potential risks *within* the immigrant family by observing their background and personal experiences – ‘all in the name of safeguarding [the children]’ (Coppock and McGovern 2014, 248).

Conclusion

Based on our analytical reconstruction of a polyhedron of problem constructions, knowledge practices, and welfare techniques spanning various fields of managing the welfare of immigrant families, we have identified how the making of precarious immigrant families has remained fundamental to the governing of their welfare.

When non-Western immigrant workers and their families were first observed as objects of welfare governing in the 1970s, they were problematized as victims of economic and structural conditions, yet believed to have the potential to adapt to a Danish way of living if subjected to compensating measures enlightening them about the benefits of the universalistic welfare system. Their deviating traditional non-Western background was believed to cause their children to be at risk of social disintegration in school life.

Minding the cultural gap, the popularity of cultural-social-psychology justified the development of exceptional welfare techniques of remediation, compensation and preservation of immigrant culture of origin. Yet, advancing statistical monitoring of immigrant families’ lives questioned the

economic balancing of these exceptional practices, which in turn problematized immigrant families as an economic burden and hence a risk to the public budget.

From the late 1990s, we have identified a shift in the focus from problematizing immigrant families as *at risk* of economic, social and cultural disintegration to problematizing immigrant families as *an epidemic risk* to the cohesion of the local school, community and not least, to national security. An attempt to manage the threat believed to be inherent in the presence of immigrant families was made by ‘thinning’ the problem in terms of securing the right social and ethnic mix of schoolchildren or ultimately, by deporting criminals with an immigrant background deemed to constitute a threat to national security. These welfare techniques were supported by legislative and juridical gymnastics that would prevent accusations of ethnic or racial discrimination.

We argue that the notions of risk and precariousness run as a common thread in the various practices that have woven together the fabric of the Danish welfare nation-state since the 1970s. This common thread draws our attention to the ontological insecurity supposedly caused by the immigrant presence. As an effect of this ontological insecurity, the liberal paradox emerges in the fashioning of the modern welfare nation-state. It crystallizes as a Janus face which, on the one hand, appears as universalized care for the welfare of the immigrant family balancing between adaptation to a Danish way of living and the preservation of some sort of immigrant cultural heritage in order to maintain a productive workforce. On the other hand, we see an economization of universal welfare care in regards to immigrant families that fundamentally questions the pay-off of this care, which is followed by techniques of ‘thinning’ the immigrant presence in order to keep the social body cohesive, competitive, and secure as a means to bolster the welfare nation-state.

Arguably, the increasingly ambiguous governing of immigrant families’ welfare outlines how universal welfare has been nationalized in terms of promoting a Danish way of living as its objective, and how national security and cohesion have been presumed to be sustained by universalizing the ‘thinning’ of the immigrant presence by means of juridical gymnastics and social warfare techniques. As such, this article has shed light on how ambiguous practices of making immigrant families precarious and brutally taking care of their welfare seem to have fashioned the fabric of the Danish welfare nation-state since the 1970s.

Notes

1. Former colleagues of Jørgen Gimbel and researchers Anne Holmen and Christian Horst provided valuable comments to this study and presented us with Jørgen Gimbel's personal archive that he had left them with at his retirement.
2. Twelve major and minor local governments are represented in the material: Albertslund, Ballerup, Brøndby, Copenhagen, Farum, Gladsaxe, Hvidovre, Høje Taastrup, Ishøj, Køge, Odense, and Aarhus. Relatively large immigrant populations inhabit these municipalities, with Copenhagen exhibiting the largest immigrant population.
3. We owe much gratitude to former and current school consultants, Inger Clausen, Mary-Ann Gordon Padovan, Karen Esrom Christensen, Mona Engelbrecht and former teacher and president of the Association of Teachers of Bilingual Pupils (UFE), Else Nielsen for granting us access to their personal archives.

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No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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5.2. Article 2:

'Racialised Entanglements of Teacher Professionalization and Problematised Immigrant Schoolchildren: Crafting a Danish Welfare Nation-State, 1970–2013'

This article is published in *Paedagogica Historica* (June 3, 2016, e-pub ahead of print). It contributes to the issue on the theme, 'Shaping European Welfare Nation-States through Professional Encounters with the Post-WWII Immigrant'. The issue is co-edited by guest editors Marta Padovan-Özdemir and Christian Ydesen and managing editor Ian Grosvenor. The article will be featured in the print version of issue 52:5 2016.

Racialised entanglements of teacher professionalisation and problematised immigrant schoolchildren: crafting a Danish welfare nation-state, 1970–2013

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ABSTRACT

Modern welfare states emerged as a response to the social question and were crafted through the educationalisation of society engendering a need for a variety of professionals who could take care of citizens of concern. This article revisits the social question in a post-1970 Danish context of a growing non-western immigrant and refugee population and increasing professional attention paid to the presence of immigrant schoolchildren as a new social problem. In particular, the article takes as its point of departure the educationalisation of this new social problem, often referred to in terms of “integration”. Hence, it examines the dispositions and capacities of teachers imagined to handle immigrant schoolchildren as objects of educational and societal concern. Moreover, it explores how these entangled processes of educational problematisations and teacher professionalisation embedded in visions of good citizens and a good society, ultimately fed into the crafting of a post-1970 Danish welfare nation-state. Deploying a governmentality perspective, the analysis is based on diachronic reading of three professional journals specialised in the topic of the education of immigrant schoolchildren (1980–2013), supplemented by the annual reports of the Royal Danish School of Education (1970–2000). The article suggests that the crafting of a Danish welfare nation state between 1970 and 2013 crystallised in entanglements of subtly racialised professional subjectification and educational problematisations of immigrant schoolchildren, inextricably linking public and individual welfare to citizens practising a “Danish way of life”.

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Introduction

The school is the institution where the people, and with this the whole people with its variety of cultural and social backgrounds, meet ... necessarily, we teachers must make up our minds as to the direction in which society should develop ... The perception of language and culture that we convey to these children becomes the frame of reference for their experience of their own opportunities in society.¹

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¹Pernille Petersen and Marianne Ditlevsen, “Dansk som andetsprog – et almenpædagogisk linjefag i udvikling [Danish as second language – a developing general pedagogical main subject]” *UFE-Nyt*, no. 3 (2003): 8–9. Author’s translation. Unless otherwise stated, the author has translated quotes in Danish into English.

Two teacher candidates made these statements in a professional journal article in 2003. These statements frame a professional vision of public schooling in Denmark faced with globalisation and immigration. On a more general level, they exemplify how teacher professionalisation is embedded in broader societal concerns. However, this is not only a contemporary phenomenon. Rather, professional and educational concerns about society and “social problems” have been a defining feature of the crafting of modern societies and modern welfare states.

In a study on the welfare state, professions and citizens, sociologist Margareta Bertilsson identifies historical correlations between the development of modern citizenry and the emergence of various modern professions.² The administration of civil, political and social citizenship defined modern citizens as subjects endowed with rights and duties and as (problematised) objects of professional concern.³ As such, the triad of state governing, professionals and citizens of concern emerged as the answer to the so-called *social question* at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth century in industrialising western societies, in which a growing concern for the urban precariat arose.⁴ In the US, this precariat also included new immigrants.⁵ Historians of education Paul Smeyers and Marc Depaepe have suggested that the practical effects of responding to the social question implied an expansive “educationalisation” of society, meaning that “social problems could and would be solved by education”.⁶ In this way, it has been argued that the western welfare state emerged as an inherently educational project.⁷

Consequently, the social question and the educationalisation of society engendered a need for a variety of professionals (e.g. jurists, reformers and educators) increasing proportionately with new domains of social reality thought to be problematic, dangerous and in need of professional intervention.⁸ In turn, this evolving complex of professionals and objects of concern provided legitimacy to modern state governing by offering “neutral” expert knowledge with “a commitment or ethical imperative to place the welfare of the public or of the individual client above the self-interest of the practitioner”.⁹ In a similar vein, in a study on teacher professionalism in early twentieth-century America, education researcher Lisa Weems shows that professional educators were cast as experts capable of identifying problems and providing solutions “for the good of the person and

²Margareta Bertilsson, “The Welfare State, the Professions and Citizens,” in *The Formation of Professions: Knowledge, State and Strategy*, ed. Rolf Torstendahl, SCASSS Series (London: Sage, 1990), 114.

³For similar observations see for example Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol, eds., *States, Social Knowledge, and the Origins of Modern Social Policies* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press; Russell Sage Foundation, 1996).

⁴Jacques Donzelot, *The Policing of Families* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997); Daniel Tröhler, “The Construction of Society and Conceptions of Education: Comparative Visions in Germany, France and the United States Around 1900,” in *The “Reason” of Schooling. Historicizing Curriculum Studies, Pedagogy, and Teacher Education*, ed. Thomas S. Popkewitz (New York: Routledge, 2015), 23.

⁵Lisa Weems, “Troubling Professionalism: Narratives of Family, Race, and Nation in Educational Reform,” in *Dangerous Coagulations? The Uses of Foucault in the Study of Education*, ed. Bernadette M. Baker and Katharina E. Heyning (New York: Peter Lang, 2004).

⁶Paul Smeyers and Marc Depaepe, “Introduction—Pushing Social Responsibilities: The Educationalization of Social Problems,” in *Educational Research: The Educationalization of Social Problems*, ed. Paul Smeyers and Marc Depaepe (Dordrecht: Springer, 2008), 2.

⁷Marc Depaepe et al., “About Pedagogization: From the Perspective of the History of Education,” in *Educational Research: The Educationalization of Social Problems*, ed. Paul Smeyers and Marc Depaepe (Dordrecht: Springer, 2008), 14.

⁸Nikolas Rose and Peter Miller, “Political Power beyond the State: Problematics of Government,” *British Journal of Sociology* 43, no. 2 (June 1992): 181; Depaepe et al., “About Pedagogization: From the Perspective of the History of Education,” 15; Christian Ydesen, “Crafting the English Welfare State: Interventions by Birmingham Local Education Authorities, 1948–1963,” *British Educational Research Journal* (January 2016): 2, doi:10.1002/berj.3223.

⁹Jan Goldstein, “Foucault among the Sociologists: The ‘Disciplines’ and the History of the Professions,” *History and Theory* 23, no. 2 (1984): 175.

the nation”.¹⁰ As such, historian Jan Goldstein argues that professionals working on behalf of public as well as individual welfare and based on expert “abstract” knowledge became the “quintessentially modern mode of wielding power”.¹¹ In addition, curriculum researcher Thomas S. Popkewitz shows how the professional work of teachers and the institutionalisation of mass schooling crystallised vital modes of modern state governing in terms of securing public welfare through individual welfare.¹²

Accordingly, the entanglements of modern state governing and professionalisation were bound up with specific projects of fostering good citizens and maintaining social order rooted in visions of a good society. In this vein, Popkewitz notes that “[p]rofessionalism constructed the deliverance of the ‘soul’ (the child to be rescued) through a revisioning and visioning of the dispositions and capacities of the teacher who would administer children”.¹³ Thus, it becomes clear that the interpellation of professional teachers in the service of liberal democratic public welfare subjectified teachers as redemptive agents with an ethos of educational optimism.¹⁴ The theme of educational optimism later appears in the social engineering projects launched in the (re)construction of post-Second World War welfare states,¹⁵ in which professionalisation and professionalism were viewed as indispensable to modern liberal governing.¹⁶

Based on these introductory notes on the co-constitutive entanglements of professionals, problematised citizens and modern governing, it seems reasonable to argue for the fruitfulness of studying modern state-crafting in professional practices of educationalisation addressing problematised citizens in society.

This article revisits the social question in a post-1970 Danish context of a growing non-western immigrant and refugee population and rising professional attention paid to the presence and lives of children of immigrant and refugee parents “as a new social problem”.¹⁷ In particular, the article takes its point of departure in the educationalisation of this “new social problem”, often referred to in terms of “integration”. Hence, it asks what capacities teachers were imagined to exhibit in order to handle immigrant schoolchildren as objects of educational and, ultimately, societal, concern. Moreover, how were these entangled processes of educational problematisation and teacher professionalisation embedded in visions of

¹⁰Weems, “Troubling Professionalism: Narratives of Family, Race, and Nation in Educational Reform,” 241.

¹¹Goldstein, “Foucault among the Sociologists,” 176.

¹²Thomas S. Popkewitz, *Struggling for the Soul: The Politics of Schooling and the Construction of the Teacher* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1998); “Educational Sciences and the Normalisation of the Teacher and Child: Some Historical Notes on Current USA Pedagogical Reforms,” *Paedagogica Historica* 33, no. 2 (January 1997): 386–412.

¹³Popkewitz, “Educational Sciences and the Normalisation of the Teacher and Child,” 395.

¹⁴Popkewitz, “Educational Sciences and the Normalisation of the Teacher and Child.” Turning to the Scandinavian context, educational researchers Hannu Simola, Sakari Heikkinen and Jussi Silvonen find that same kind of optimistic faith in the promises of modern schooling and professional teaching in a post-1960s Finnish context (“A Catalogue of Possibilities: Foucaultian History of Truth and Education Research,” in *Foucault’s Challenge: Discourse, Knowledge and Power in Education*, ed. Thomas S. Popkewitz and Marie Brennan (New York: Teachers College Press, 1998), 64–90). In a contemporary Danish context, education researcher Vibe Larsen has argued that educational optimism has been prevalent in the educational handling of immigrant children, believing that education could improve the lives of immigrant children, and thereby solve societal problems of “integration” and sustain the public welfare (“Kategoriseringer i en multikulturel praksis [Categorisations in multicultural practices],” in *Kultur og etnicitet på arbejde: Professionelt arbejde i det flerkulturelle samfund* [Culture and ethnicity at work: professional work in a multicultural society], ed. Barbara Day and Jette Steensen (Århus: ViaSysteme, 2010), 112–13).

¹⁵Klaus Petersen, “Fra ekspansion til krise. Udforskning af velfærdsstatens udvikling efter 1945 [From expansion to crisis. Exploring the development of the welfare state after 1945],” *Historisk Tidsskrift* 16, no. 6 (1997): 356–75.

¹⁶Rose and Miller, “Political Power beyond the State,” 173; Valérie Fournier, “The Appeal to ‘Professionalism’ as a Disciplinary Mechanism,” *Sociological Review* 47, no. 2 (1999): 280–307.

¹⁷Grete Brochmann and Anniken Hagelund, “Migrants in the Scandinavian Welfare State: The Emergence of a Social Policy Problem,” *Nordic Journal of Migration Research* 1, no. 1 (2011): 16.

good citizens and a good society that ultimately fed into the crafting of a post-1970 Danish welfare state faced with the effects of globalisation?

In order to offer not only insights into the operating logic of educational problematisations in processes of teacher professionalisation, but also to suggest how an analysis of teacher professionalisation contributes to our understanding of how educationalisation of “the social question” in terms of immigrant schoolchildren has fed into the crafting of a post-1970 Danish welfare state, the article is structured as follows. The first section provides an overview of the post-1970 immigrant presence in Denmark. In the second section, the notion of governmentality is clarified as an analytical framework that enables a combined analysis of educational problematisation, professional subjectification and state-crafting. This is followed by a section on the use of professional journals as historical material for this analysis. The fourth section presents the analysis of the entanglements of educational problematisations of immigrant schoolchildren and teacher professionalisation. In the final section, it is suggested how these entangled practices of educational problematisation and professionalisation were embedded in visions of good citizens and a good society feeding into the crafting of a Danish welfare nation-state.

The immigrant presence in post-1970 Denmark

Like most other Western European societies, Denmark underwent rapid economic growth in the 1960s, which had the effect of engendering a substantial labour shortage.¹⁸ In effect, the Danish government actively invited primarily male workers from countries such as Yugoslavia, Turkey, Morocco and Pakistan.¹⁹ The general assumption was that these so-called “guest workers” would return voluntarily to their home countries when labour opportunities were no longer available to them. However, it became evident with the oil crisis in 1973 causing economic decline that many of the “guest workers” did not intend to return to their home countries. In fact, some of them had already brought their spouses and children to Denmark in the early 1970s. Consequently, the Danish government introduced a full immigration stop with exemptions made with regard to high-skilled workers, family reunification and asylum-seeking refugees.²⁰ Since then ever more restrictive immigration regimes have been installed.²¹ Although the immigrant population in Denmark comprised significant numbers of Scandinavian and western immigrants, the group of non-western immigrants and refugees received particular attention from the public, politicians and professionals.

¹⁸Stephen Castles, “How Nation-States Respond to Immigration and Ethnic Diversity,” *New Community* 21, no. 3 (1995): 293–308; Jacques F. A. Braster and María del Mar del Pozo Andrés, “Educating Immigrants in the Netherlands: Migration Flows and Educational Policy in the Twentieth Century,” *Paedagogica Historica* 37, no. 1 (January 2001): 87–106. It should be noted that former colonial powers such as France and the UK had received immigrants from their former colonies as early as the late 1940s and 1950s (Abdelmalek Sayad, *The Suffering of the Immigrant* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004); Ian Grosvenor, *Assimilating Identities: Racism and Educational Policy in Post 1945 Britain* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1997)). Although Denmark had been a colonial power and still ruled Greenland and the Faroe Islands, the immigration of former colonised subjects was not at stake in the post-Second World War Danish context. Nevertheless, historian Christian Ydesen has made a compelling analysis of the educational handling of Greenlanders and Germans in the Danish Commonwealth, 1945–1970 (“Educating Greenlanders and Germans: Minority Education in the Danish Commonwealth, 1945–1970,” in *Writing Postcolonial Histories of Intercultural Education*, *Interkulturelle Pädagogik Und Postkoloniale Theorie 2* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2011), 239–67).

¹⁹Brochmann and Hagelund, “Migrants in the Scandinavian Welfare State,” 15.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 16.

²¹Brochmann and Hagelund, “Migrants in the Scandinavian Welfare State.”

Historians Heidi Vad Jønsson and Klaus Petersen show that the attention paid to the presence of non-western immigrants during the 1970s shifted from a concern about immigrants' social problems (e.g. poor housing conditions, labour market exploitation, and lack of knowledge about their social rights) to an understanding of:

... the immigrant group as a problem in itself. It had to do with a lack of integration (particularly in relation to children and education) and with immigrants as a special group that the Danish welfare state had to care for on equal terms with other exposed groups.²²

This observation clearly points to the educationalisation of the social question in terms of integration of non-western immigrants, not least when children of immigrant and refugee parents entered public schools. Jønsson observes that the administration of immigration and immigrants in Denmark in the 1980s played out between immigration restrictions and active interventionist measures of integration.²³ In 1998, the first Integration Act was passed. This constituted an official separation of immigration control and integration measures.²⁴ Due to the increasingly restrictive immigration regimes mentioned earlier, one could imagine that the educational attention paid to non-western immigrant schoolchildren would decline. However, as the analysis will show, non-western immigrant schoolchildren would continue to be addressed as immigrants, or at least as children with an immigrant background, although they might have been born and raised in Denmark.²⁵

Thus, when the notion of immigrant schoolchildren is used in this article it is with reference to non-western immigrant and refugee children of school age. The notion also refers to the so-called second, third and even fourth generation of descendants of the early "guest workers" and later arriving refugees.²⁶ This is important contextual information in regard to the educationalisation of the social question in terms of the immigrant presence in Denmark 1970–2013, not least because Statistics Denmark has provided statistical material according to these population categories since the 1980s,²⁷ which has fed into the professional expertise of handling the presence of immigrants and refugees as "a special group to care for".²⁸ Focusing in particular on

²²Heidi Vad Jønsson and Klaus Petersen, "Denmark: A National Welfare State Meets the World," in *Immigration Policy and the Scandinavian Welfare State 1945–2010*, ed. Grete Brochmann and Anniken Hagelund (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 108.

²³Heidi Vad Jønsson, "Immigrations- og integrationspolitik [Immigration and integration policy]," in *Dansk velfærdshistorie. Hvor glider vi hen?* [Danish welfare history. Where are we coming to?], ed. Jørn Henrik Petersen, Klaus Petersen, and Niels Finn Christiansen, University of Southern Denmark Studies in History and Social Sciences, vol. VI (Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2014), 861–996. See also Marta Padovan-Özdemir, "Ledelse af forskelle – eller forskelliggørende ledelse? [Managing differences - or differentiating management?]," in *Klasseledelsens dilemmaer: fortsatte magtkampe i praksis, pædagogik og politik* [Dilemmas of classroom management: continued power struggles in practice, pedagogy and politics], ed. John Krejsler and Leif Moos (Frederikshavn: Dafolo, 2014), 211–27 for an analysis of the educational handling of immigrant parents with children enrolled in Danish public schools 1980–2013.

²⁴Jønsson, "Immigrations- og integrationspolitik [Immigration and integration policy]," 863.

²⁵Jønsson observes that descendants of non-western immigrants and refugees were prime target groups of educationalised integration measures from the late 1990s and onwards (*ibid.*, 864).

²⁶Between 1970 and the mid-1990s, refugees only occasionally appeared as a target group of educational interventions. In this early period, primarily Vietnamese, Chilean and Tamil refugees attracted educational attention, although from 1979, Denmark accepted 500 UNCHR-distributed "quota refugees" annually (Jønsson and Petersen, "Denmark: A National Welfare State Meets the World," 112). In the late 1990s, refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Somalia and Kosovo attracted much educational attention (Jønsson, "Immigrations- og integrationspolitik [Immigration and integration policy]," 864).

²⁷Statistics Denmark [Danmarks Statistik], *Indvandrere i Danmark 2015* [Immigrants in Denmark 2015] (Copenhagen, 2015).

²⁸For similar observations on the use of statistics pertaining to immigrants and ethnic minorities see for example Popkewitz, *Struggling for the Soul*, 132–3; Riva Kastoryano, *Negotiating Identities: States and Immigrants in France and Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 22–6; Walter R. Allen et al., "Qui Bono? Explaining – or Defending – Winners and Losers in the Competition for Educational Achievement," in *White Logic, White Methods: Racism and Methodology*, ed. Tukufu Zuberi and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), 217–38. For observations on the use of statistics in education, in general see e.g. Martin Lawn, ed., *The Rise of Data in Education Systems: Collection, Visualisation and Uses* (Oxford: Symposium Books, 2013).

educational problematisations of immigrant schoolchildren, it is worthy of mention that this article's use of the notion of immigrant schoolchildren also refers to all the emerging educational labels assigned to this group of schoolchildren throughout the period 1970–2013, such as “foreign language speaking pupils”, “bilingual pupils”, “ethnic minority pupils” etc.²⁹ The way that these notions appear in the historical material will be treated in the analysis.

Based on readings of secondary sources, 1970 is chosen as the historical starting point for the analysis as the early 1970s was a time when the first immigrant schoolchildren appeared in Danish public schools and attracted professional attention. The analysis ends in 2013, when the subject specialisation Danish-as-a-Second-Language was abolished in teacher training curricula, marking an end (or a new beginning) to the process of teacher professionalisation in response to immigrant schoolchildren that had begun in the 1970s.

In this way, Denmark constitutes an interesting case for exploring the educationalisation of the presence of non-nationals in the figures of immigrant schoolchildren and what effects it has had on teacher professionalisation and on the crafting of a post-1970 Danish welfare state.

Governmentality

So far, the article has argued historically and theoretically for the co-constitutive entanglements of modern welfare state governing, professionalisation and the educationalisation of the social question in nineteenth- and twentieth-century western societies. In order to bring this triad to work in the analysis of teacher professionalisation in response to educational problematisations of immigrant schoolchildren that has fed into the crafting of a post-1970 Danish welfare state, what remains is to introduce and clarify the concept of governmentality. Acknowledging that the concept of governmentality is derived from Michel Foucault's historical observations of the governmentalisation of western states,³⁰ the concept speaks very well with the notion of educationalisation as it historically captures the construction of *the social* as a field of relations to be governed³¹ by knowledgeable professionals.³² However, it should be stressed that this article is primarily concerned with the analytical potential of the concept of governmentality as it thematises the above-mentioned triad of power relations and the identities of the governed as well as of the governing.³³ Underlining the relevance of the concept of governmentality, Popkewitz writes that “modern schooling inscribes the power relations in governmentality. The governing of the child is

²⁹For a historical discourse analysis of the legislative-administrative curricular development of educational labels assigned to immigrant schoolchildren 1970–2006 see Bergthóra Kristjánsdóttir, “Evas skjulte børn. Diskurser om tosprogede elever i det danske nationalcurriculum [Eva's hidden children. Discourses of bilingual pupils in the Danish national curriculum]” (PhD thesis, The Danish University of Education, 2006).

³⁰Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France 1977–1978*, ed. Michel Senellart (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 110.

³¹Ibid., 70–9; Maarten Simons and Jan Masschelein, “The Governmentalization of Learning and the Assemblage of a Learning Apparatus,” *Educational Theory* 58, no. 4 (2008): 394.

³²Terry Johnson, “Expertise and the State,” in *Foucault's New Domains*, ed. Mike Gane and Terry Johnson (London: Routledge, 1993), 139–52.

³³Janicke Andersson, “Governmentality as a Genealogical Toolbox in Historical Analysis,” *European Education* 45, no. 4 (2013): 61–74; Johnson, “Expertise and the State”; Simons and Masschelein, “The Governmentalization of Learning and the Assemblage of a Learning Apparatus”; Kaspar Villadsen, “Governmentality: Foucault's Concept for Our Modern Political Reasoning,” in *Education Policy and Contemporary Theory: Implications for Research*, ed. Kalervo N. Gulson, Matthew Clarke and Eva Bendix Petersen (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015).

also the governing of the teacher”³⁴ As such, professional subjectification and educational objectification work as two sides of the same coin. According to Foucault, a spiral process of subjectification/objectification means becoming a subject by control of someone else and/or by one’s own self-conscience. “Both meanings suggest a form of power which subjugates and makes subject to.”³⁵

Thus, this article is not about the lived experiences of immigrant schoolchildren and their teachers.³⁶ Rather, it is about them coming into existence through educational practices of governing, i.e. as objects of concern that can be understood due to certain attributed deviating qualities and be governed accordingly by teachers displaying certain professional dispositions and capacities.³⁷ Thus, it is exactly at the point of contact between the governing of others defined as deviating from the image of good citizens and the governing of oneself (as professionals) in the image of a good society that the crafting of the modern welfare state crystallises. In other words, professional acts of defining objects of educational concern – in this case immigrant schoolchildren – seems to be a founding characteristic of the crafting of the modern welfare state,³⁸ since “what it means to be professional will always also be part of a cultural and political struggle about the purposes and ends of society and its institutions”³⁹

By definition, the concept of governmentality implies an understanding of the modern welfare state as the effect of multiple practices of governing.⁴⁰ This calls for a “decentring” of the state, that is, to demonstrate how the state is crafted through local and dispersed practices of governing,⁴¹ where professionals engage in the educationalisation of the social question in terms of forming citizens and shaping society, through which a modern welfare state is crafted.

In sum, this article assigns three intertwined analytical imperatives to the concept of governmentality. First, it assigns the imperative of identifying how objects of educational concern (in this case immigrant schoolchildren) are problematised in the image of good citizens. Second, it assigns the imperative of observing how problematisations of the governed taint the subjectification of the governing (in this case teachers). Third, it assigns the imperative of examining how the entanglements of educational problematisations and professional subjectifications in the image of a good society work as a practical mode of crafting a modern welfare state.

³⁴Popkewitz, *Struggling for the Soul*, 77.

³⁵Michel Foucault, “The Subject and Power,” *Critical Inquiry* 8, no. 4 (1982): 781.

³⁶Lecturer in social history and education Kevin Myers has convincingly identified the lack of academic attention paid by historians of education to the lived experiences of immigrants and ethnic minorities (“Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities in the History of Education,” *Paedagogica Historica* 45, no. 6 (December 2009): 801–16). This article aims to cover a parallel research lacuna in terms of a historical examination of the professional subjectification of teachers engaged in the education of immigrant schoolchildren.

³⁷Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*, 56–7.

³⁸Jeroen J. H. Dekker, “Children at Risk in History: A Story of Expansion,” *Paedagogica Historica* 45, no. 1–2 (2009): 17–36; Ian Grosvenor, “All the Names’: Leas and the Making of Pupil and Community Identities,” *Oxford Review of Education* 28, no. 2–3 (June 2002): 299–310; Ingrid Lohmann and Christine Mayer, “Lessons from the History of Education for a ‘Century of the Child at Risk,’” *Paedagogica Historica* 45, no. 1–2 (February 2009): 1–16.

³⁹John Krejsler, “Professions and their Identities: How to Explore Professional Development among (Semi-)Professions,” *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research* 49, no. 4 (September 2005): 335.

⁴⁰Johnson, “Expertise and the State,” 140.

⁴¹Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*, 116–20; Villadsen, “Governmentality: Foucault’s Concept for Our Modern Political Reasoning,” 147–8.

Method and sources

An obvious methodological implication of deploying this governmentality perspective is to de-sanctify the juridico-legal conception of the state as a coherent unity. Accordingly, we must look for state governing where it is:

... completely invested in real and effective practices; to study power by looking, as it were, at its external face, at the point where it relates directly and immediately to what we might, very provisionally, call its object, its target, its field of application.⁴²

Professional journals of education constitute such a point, since they epitomise a reflexive professional practice in terms of problematising the object of education and its field of application.⁴³ Professional journals exhibit a relevant empirical richness inasmuch as they suggest means and ways to solve the proposed problems by turning theory into the practical, while expressing “the intention of an educational objective or philosophy”⁴⁴ underpinned by visions of schoolchildren becoming good citizens for the betterment of society.

Three professional journals of education have been selected for this analysis. The first journal, *UFE-news*, was issued four to five times a year and run on a voluntary basis by the Association of Teachers of Bilingual Pupils from 1980 to 2006.⁴⁵ The second journal, *Language & Integration*, was published quarterly by the Centre for the Development of Instruction and Education of Bilingual Children and Youth (UC2) from 1997 to 2013.⁴⁶ The Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Integration have published the third journal, *The Flying Carpet*,⁴⁷ jointly since 1995 on a quarterly basis. Nearly 270 journal issues have been included in this study. As the reader might have noticed, the 1970s are not represented by any of the journals mentioned. This empirical lacuna is covered by integrating the annual reports of the Royal Danish School of Education (1970–2000). These annual reports are included since the journal texts have made

⁴²Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975–76* (London: Penguin, 2004), 28.

⁴³Kaspar Villadsen, “Genealogi som metode – Fornuftens tilblivelseshistorier [Genealogy as method – the history of reason’s coming into existence],” in *Sociologiske Metoder* [Sociological methods], ed. Ole Bjerg and Kaspar Villadsen (Copenhagen: Forlaget Samfundslitteratur, 2006), 101–2.

⁴⁴Marc Depaepe and Frank Simon, “Sources in the Making of Histories of Education: Proofs, Arguments and Other Reasonings from the Historian’s Workplace,” in *Educational Research: Proofs, Arguments, and Other Reasonings*, ed. Paul Smeyers and Marc Depaepe (Dordrecht: Springer, 2010), 25.

⁴⁵In Danish, the journal was called UFE-nyt. The association worked as a sub-division of the Danish Union of Teachers (DLF). The association was initially organised on a local level in Copenhagen in 1977 under the name FUFU (Association of Teachers of Foreign Language Speaking Pupils), but a few years later on a Danish national level bearing the name LUFFE (National Association of Teachers of Foreign Language Speaking Pupils). In 1986, FUFU and LUFFE merged and received the name UFE, Association of Foreign Language Speaking Pupils (Foreningen for undervisere af flersprogede elever). In 1992, the denotation of UFE was changed into Teachers of Multilingual Pupils (Foreningen for undervisere af flersprogede elever). Due to the Ministry of Education’s new official naming of immigrant schoolchildren as bilingual children in 1994, the association decided that UFE from then on denoted Teachers of Bilingual Pupils (“25 år. Fra LUFFE og FUFU/LUFFE til UFE [25 Years. From LUFFE and FUFU/LUFFE to UFE],” *UFE-nyt. 25 år på øretævernes holdeplads 1979–2004* [UFE-news. 25 years on the way station of beating], 6–8).

⁴⁶In 1996, the Ministry of Education funded the establishment of this centre of excellence, which was commissioned to produce and disseminate knowledge on the education of immigrant schoolchildren and enhance the expertise of educators. Until 2001, the journal held the title *Uc2 News* (Uc2-nyt). In 2001, UC2 (Centre of Excellence and Development in Teaching and Education of Bilinguals) was closed, but reappeared as the Centre of Excellence on Bilingualism and Interculturalism under the umbrella of Centre for Advanced Studies Copenhagen (CVU København) publishing the journal under the name *Language & Integration* (Sprog & Integration) from 2002 to 2010. Since 2008, UC2 has been run as a research unit within University College Copenhagen conducting action-based research and providing in-service training and further education in the area of bilingualism, Danish-as-a-Second-Language and intercultural pedagogy. From 2011 to 2013 the journal was issued as a digital newsletter, *Bilingualism & Interculturality* (Tosprogethed & Interkulturalitet).

⁴⁷In Danish: Det flyvende tæppe. Between 2011 and 2013, the journal was published solely by the Ministry of Education.

substantial references to the in-service training of teachers of immigrant schoolchildren provided by the Royal Danish School of Education.⁴⁸

Due to their serial character, Marc Depaepe and Frank Simon argue, professional journals mirror trends in educational development. As such, the above-mentioned journals reflect a post-1970 Danish educational context characterised by a decentralised bottom-up approach to educational development in general⁴⁹ and in particular in relation to the education of immigrant schoolchildren.⁵⁰ According to education researchers Karen Borgnakke and Peter Henrik Raae, teacher professionalisation constituted a significant side effect of this decentralised educational development.⁵¹ I argue that teacher professionalisation can be said to have constituted the very vehicle for the educational problematisation of immigrant schoolchildren.

As such, the three journals and the supplementary annual reports have been selected due to their explicit shared concern for the professionalisation of education of immigrant schoolchildren. In addition, they exhibit a variety of levels within the field of education of immigrant schoolchildren: NGO teacher associations, research and training institutions, and the Ministry of Education. Accordingly, this historical material is illustrative of the manifold professionals (native Danish and immigrant teachers, mother-tongue instructors, school administrators, school inspectors and consultants, education researchers and ministry officials, social workers, volunteers) who have been engaged in educational problematisations of immigrant schoolchildren, envisioned solutions, and contributed to the formation of professional teacher dispositions and capacities responsive to the education of immigrant schoolchildren for the betterment of society.

However, I do not use this range of views and positions in order to assign subjective intentionality or ideology to explain educational problematisations and visions of teacher capacities.⁵² Rather, I approach the textual material as a patchwork of statements found in reflexive texts such as announcements of or recorded minutes/reports from in-service training programmes, seminars and conferences, articles on best practice, and in lists of publications and accounts of research/development activities. The combination of historical material (in this case textual statements from various levels, professionals and points in time) is, according to historians of education Peter Cunningham and Phillip Gardner, an analytical construction in which each text “returns to the other a greater realisation of its evidential potential than it could ever generate on its own terms.”⁵³

⁴⁸In Danish: Danmarks Lærerhøjskole (DLH). In the 1970s and 1980s, the Royal Danish School of Education stood out as a highly significant institution in the field of an emerging professionalisation of teachers encountering immigrant schoolchildren. DLH functioned for more than hundred years and closed in 2000, when it reappeared in the form of the Danish University of Education (DPU). DLH's commission was to develop and professionalise educators and develop educational interventions, didactics and pedagogy in close collaboration with local schools and municipalities in terms of in-service training programmes, facilitation of local study groups and action-based education research.

⁴⁹Karen Borgnakke and Peter Henrik Raae, “Professionaliseringsgevinsten – om lærerprofessionalisering gennem forsøg og udviklingsarbejde [The gain of professionalisation – on teacher professionalisation through experiments and developmental work],” in *De professionelle – forskning i professioner og professionsuddannelser* [The professionals – research on professions and professional training], ed. Katrin Hjort (Frederiksberg: Roskilde Universitetsforlag, 2004), 153–78.

⁵⁰Tytte Hetmar, *Tosprogede elever: En undervisning i udvikling* [Bilingual pupils: teaching in progress], Københavnerstudier i tosprogethed [Copenhagen studies in bilingualism], no. 15 (Copenhagen: Danish Royal School of Education, 1991), 27.

⁵¹Borgnakke and Raae, “Professionaliseringsgevinsten,” 153.

⁵²Villadsen, “Governmentality,” 157.

⁵³Peter Cunningham and Philip Gardner, *Becoming Teachers: Texts and Testimonies, 1907–1950*, Woburn Education Series (London: Woburn Press, 2004), 10. Although Cunningham and Gardner speak of the combination of oral testimonies and written materials I think that the same observation goes for my collection of material and patchwork of statements.

Accordingly, the analytical approach privileges a focus on discursive relations of power in the material in terms of educational problematisations and professional subjectification, embedded as they are in visions of a good society. In practical terms, the analysis is based on meticulous recordings of (1) problematisations of immigrant schoolchildren, (2) suggested professional dispositions and capacities, and (3) educationalised social concerns in every journal issue and annual report. These recordings have been chronologically ordered in a table for each of the four sources used. Re-reading these tables, it has been observed how “various operators of domination support one another, relate to one another ... converge and reinforce one another in some cases, and negate or strive to annul one another in other cases”.⁵⁴

In spite of the serial character of the material, I have subordinated the element of time to the element of power relations. This means that the analysis makes use of time, when time demarcates a new or recurring educational problematisation and/or professional disposition or refers to a historical event outside of the field of education of immigrant schoolchildren. Consequently, attention has been paid to how educational problematisations, teacher dispositions and educational ends appear, reconfigure and layer across statements and in the course of time. This has resulted in the identification of five patterns of entangled educational problematisations and teacher professionalisation.

Entanglements of problematised immigrant schoolchildren and teacher professionalisation

Thus far, I have demonstrated the relevance of revisiting the social question in terms of the educationalisation of immigrant schoolchildren in a post-1970 Danish context as a way of studying the crafting of a Danish welfare state in local dispersed practices of governing. In the following paragraphs, I explore the professionalisation of teachers in terms of suggested dispositions and capacities with particular attention to acts of educational problematisation of immigrant schoolchildren in its production. I suggest that five discursive patterns of entangled professionalisation and educational problematisations can be observed in the historical material between 1970 and 2013. The first entanglement revolves around the identification of immigrant schoolchildren as a socio-cultural problem and the formation of a socially committed vanguard of teachers (1970–1992). In the second entanglement, the socio-cultural problem construction reconfigures as a sociolinguistic problem and calls forth teacher dispositions in terms of contrastive linguistic and cultural vigilance (1980–1994). Running parallel to the second entanglement, a third discursive pattern negates the vigilant dispositions of native Danish teachers and, instead, appeals to the cross-cultural and bilingual capacities thought to be inherent in teachers with an immigrant background (1980–2002). With the introduction of the school subject Danish-as-a-Second-Language in 1994, the fourth entanglement reinstates native Danish teachers as experts capable of identifying and handling immigrant schoolchildren in terms of their bilingualism (1994–2013). As an effect of combined PISA and post-9/11, the fifth and final entanglement introduces a shared educational responsibility among a variety of professionals who are envisioned to raise immigrant schoolchildren’s academic performance and foster a Danish democratic mind-set (2001–2013).

⁵⁴Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended*, 45.

A socially committed vanguard (1970–1992)

Reading the Royal Danish School of Education's annual reports from the 1970s, it becomes evident that only a handful of in-service training courses were offered on the instruction of Danish to "foreign language speaking pupils".⁵⁵ In 1980, a similar observation was made by the then course manager at the Royal Danish School of Education, Sv. Hugo Madsen, in a status report on teacher training in response to the presence of immigrant schoolchildren in public schools. He concluded that:

[t]he unavoidable facts are that the number of foreign language speaking children in public schools is rising, and so is the number of teachers who must take on the instruction of them without having any special qualifications to do so. Problems with the instruction of these children, who are already in a difficult position, are perceived as more and more urgent.⁵⁶

Thus, Madsen was critical of the ministerial order on the instruction of "foreign language speaking pupils"⁵⁷ of 1976, in which it was enshrined in law that the instruction of immigrant schoolchildren should be provided by qualified teachers, although exemptions were accepted as long as the teachers obliged themselves to pursue additional training.⁵⁸

Due to the lack of formal in-service training courses, teacher professionalisation in response to the presence of immigrant schoolchildren emerged from everyday experiences arising from local educational encounters with immigrant schoolchildren.⁵⁹ During the 1980s, these everyday experiences were given voice and shared among colleagues in teacher-initiated study groups.⁶⁰ Such everyday experiences were informed by didactic knowledge on the instruction of foreign languages, research on language stimulation of working-class children,⁶¹ and by the 1976 ministerial order's emphasis on the prevention of cultural conflicts.⁶² Consequently, teachers' formal qualifications were subordinated to their personal experiences with and socio-educational involvement in the lives of immigrant schoolchildren as they and their families were problematised as a new social precariat. In a best-practice article on reception classes, teacher Gustav Bjerregaard noted that:

[i]f the teacher involved in the work with foreign language speaking pupils is not engaged in the entire problematics of immigration and becomes conscious of the fact that he is not only a teacher, but also socially committed, he will soon reach a deadlock.⁶³

The socio-educational aspects of teachers' work with immigrant schoolchildren were strongly reiterated in an editorial of LUFÉ-news in 1980. The board of LUFÉ demanded more hours for "the contact with the parents, hours for the special socio-educational work with foreign language speaking pupils and hours for the fabrication of teaching materials". The board argued that this "instruction demands a strong individualisation in regard to the pupils' different cultural backgrounds".⁶⁴ As such, teachers of immigrant schoolchildren were

⁵⁵Of these few courses, approximately one-third concerned instruction of Danish to Greenlandic pupils.

⁵⁶Hugo Madsen, "Om uddannelse til undervisning af fremmedsprogede børn – 'Status', Juli 1979" [On training for the teaching of foreign language speaking children – 'Status', July 1979], *LUFFE*, no. 1 (1980): 11.

⁵⁷"Foreign language speaking pupils" was the official term for immigrant schoolchildren between 1975 and 1994.

⁵⁸Madsen, "Om uddannelse til undervisning af fremmedsprogede børn."

⁵⁹Danmarks Skolebibliotekarforening [Denmark's Association of School Librarians], "Konference: Dansk er mange ting / Det tavs sprog for udlændinge [Conference: Danish is a lot of things / The unspoken language for foreigners], *LUFÉ-Nyt*, 1980.

⁶⁰The Royal Danish School of Education, *Annual Reports* (1980–1989).

⁶¹*Ibid.* (1970–1975).

⁶²Madsen, "Om uddannelse til undervisning af fremmedsprogede børn."

⁶³"Modtagelsesklasser på Frederiksberg [Reception classes in Frederiksberg], *LUFFE*, no. 1 (1980): 13.

⁶⁴Bestyrelsen [The board], "Leder" [Editorial], *LUFÉ-Nyt*, 1980.

subjectified as a socially committed vanguard initiating self-defined study groups for sharing professional experiences and filling the lacuna of culturally sensitive teaching material.

As also observed by education researcher Mette Buchardt, immigrant schoolchildren were identified and made objects of educational concern in terms of their cultural, national or religious affiliations deemed different from Danish national culture and Protestantism.⁶⁵ The combination of these objectification practices, the call for culturally sensitive and individualised teaching material and a socially committed vanguard of teachers generated a series of teacher-initiated seminars with “culture experts” and study trips to the immigrants’ countries of origin in order to gain a cultural insight into the backgrounds of immigrant schoolchildren.

A series of seminars on the cultural, national and religious differences of immigrant schoolchildren organised by UFE in the 1980s confirms how these cultural insights fed into the educational problematisation of immigrant schoolchildren. In 1984, teacher Edna Kovanda reported from a seminar with cultural sociologist Birgitte Rahbek Pedersen, who had conducted school ethnography of “non-Scandinavian and non-EC foreign language speaking pupils”. Compared with native Danish schoolchildren, Kovanda reported, Pedersen observed that immigrant girls and boys found their identities in domestic chores and in reading the Koran, respectively.⁶⁶ Teacher Helle Søndergård’s account of a seminar with ethnographer Lotte Bøggild confirmed the traditionalistic life of immigrant families. She referred to the fact that Bøggild had questioned the moral values of many resident Turks and accounted for the generational gap in Turkish families: “[W]hen young Turks in Denmark act like a young urban Turk in e.g. Ankara, they are told by their parents that they have become too Danish.”⁶⁷

Projecting the “modern Danish way of life” as the “normal”, the culturalised educational problematisations of immigrant schoolchildren were cast against this normalcy. Reporting from a conference on immigrant youngsters in Denmark in 1989, it was observed that:

[i]mmigrant youngsters have poorer living conditions than Danish youngsters – Danish parents are more resourceful – Youngsters from Turkey have the hardest time – Youngsters from Pakistan come closest to the living conditions of Danes – Youngsters from Yugoslavia are closest to Danish culture.⁶⁸

Feeding into the professional dispositions of teachers, these observations favoured an understanding of immigrant schoolchildren as products of culturally backward families. Arguably, as pointed out by historian of education Ian Grosvenor, culturalised problematisations of immigrant schoolchildren worked in ambiguous ways. On the one hand, they fostered a cultural sensitivity in teachers. On the other, they engendered an “idea of ‘a national way of life’ [against which newcomers were cast as being] ‘culturally or socially different’”.⁶⁹ – hence, deemed objects of socio-educational concern. As such, the perceived cultural otherness and

⁶⁵Mette Buchardt, *Pedagogized Muslimness: Religion and Culture as Identity Politics in the Classroom* (Münster: Waxmann, 2014), 33.

⁶⁶Edna Kovanda, “En debataften med Birgitte Rahbek Pedersen [An evening of debate with Birgitte Rahbek Pedersen],” *LUFENyt*, no. 1 (1984): 4–5.

⁶⁷Helle Søndergård, “Anbefaling: En mødeaften med Lotte Bøggild [Recommendation: After Work Meeting with Lotte Bøggild],” *UFE-Nyt*, No. 1 (1989): 15.

⁶⁸Edna Kovanda and Anne Mortensen, “Konference om unge indvandrere,” *UFE-Nyt*, no. 3 (1989): 11–12.

⁶⁹Ian Grosvenor, “It Is on the Site of Loss That Hopes Are Born’: Migration, Education and the Writing of History,” in *Migration, Intercultural Identities, and Border Regions (19th and 20th Centuries) Migration, Identités Interculturelles et Espaces Frontaliers (xix^e et Xx^e Siècles)*, ed. Elien Declercq, Walter Kusters, and Saartje Vanden Borre (New York: Lang, 2012), 39. Grosvenor observes this ambiguity by examining a report based on a UNESCO conference on the cultural integration of immigrants held in Havana in 1956.

precarious social status of immigrant schoolchildren had promoted teachers' socio-educational involvement beyond classroom teaching in the 1970s and 1980s.

In the early 1990s, this "unlimited care" of the socially committed vanguard was questioned. At UFE's general assembly in 1992, the then manager of Copenhagen Immigrant Counselling Services Henny Casino Rasmussen cautioned that "[t]eachers are often the first adults in the new society and often, he/she gets involved in the family's interests and problems, but remember! be good teachers".⁷⁰ This cautioning epitomises how the subjectification of a socially committed vanguard had been paralleled by professional concerns regarding teachers' didactic qualifications for teaching Danish to immigrant schoolchildren.

Linguistic and cultural vigilance (1980–1994)

In 1980, teacher Svend Hansen noted that all the socio-cultural insights were valuable in so far as to "understand the pupils' behaviour, but not something one can use to answer the much more practical question: How do you teach a foreign language speaking pupil to speak Danish?"⁷¹ Without diminishing the explanatory value attributed to the socio-cultural backgrounds of immigrant schoolchildren, the professionalisation of teachers took a sociolinguistic turn during the 1980s, establishing the foundation for the provision of teacher training for many years to come. The research field of sociolinguistics in relation to immigrant schoolchildren emerging at the Royal Danish School of Education in the 1980s contributed substantially to this so-called sociolinguistic turn. In 1981, a seminar on the further education of teachers of "foreign language speaking children" was held at the Royal Danish School of Education. This seminar was seminal to the sociolinguistic turn as it was concluded that future training of teachers of immigrant schoolchildren should focus on contrastive linguistics and foster cultural sensitivities.⁷² Accompanied by increasing numbers of in-service training courses on the instruction of "foreign language speaking pupils", in 1985, a group of researchers at the Royal Danish School of Education established a Centre for Multicultural Studies initiating the publishing of a book series called *Copenhagen Studies in Bilingualism*.⁷³

The sociolinguistic turn informed teachers' problematisation of immigrant schoolchildren as being linguistically deprived as observed by three teachers in an article on teaching in reception classes in 1984:

Many of our pupils in M1 [primary reception class] are born in this country. These pupils in particular often exhibit poorly developed conceptual understanding in their mother tongues as well as in Danish. Thus, these pupils are often misjudged for speaking Danish without a foreign accent, when actually speaking a superficial language.⁷⁴

⁷⁰Anne Marie Andersen, "Referat af UFE's ordinære generalforsamling 1992 [Report from UFE's general assembly 1992]," *UFE-Nyt*, no. 5 (1992): 33.

⁷¹Svend Hansen, "Lærerne i oprør over undervisning af indvandrerbørn [Teachers outraged about the education of immigrant children]," *LUFENyt*, no. 1 (1980): 4. The article was originally published in the Danish newspaper *Politiken* on 19 August 1980.

⁷²Jørgen Gimbel, ed., *Videreuddannelse af lærere for fremmedsprogede elever: rapport fra seminar på Danmarks Lærerhøjskole den 27. august 1981* [Further training of teachers of foreign language speaking pupils: report from seminar at The Royal Danish School of Education, August 27, 1981] (Copenhagen: Royal Danish School of Education, Institute of Danish Language and Literature, 1981), 61.

⁷³It is evident from the annual reports of the Royal Danish School of Education that the establishment of the Centre for Multicultural Studies was linked to Danish researchers' study trips to the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies and conference participation at the University of Birmingham. The book series is still being published, now by the Centre for Studies in Danish as a Second and Foreign Language, at the University of Copenhagen.

⁷⁴Mette Rasmussen, Ulla Varming and Dorte Frederiksen, "Forslag til M1-lærere fra arbejdsgruppen [Ideas for M1-teachers from the working group]," *FUFE-Nyt* (September 1984): 10.

The risk of professional misjudgement alluded to in this quote was discussed at the 5th Nordic Conference on Bilingualism in 1987. Representative of UFE's workshop committee Ulla Varming accounted for a crucial question raised in the conference discussions:

Should we as teachers and educators regard it as our task to develop our knowledge and abilities to put ourselves in the place of immigrant children and their parents – i.e. to mend the deficiencies in our entire course of training; deficiencies that call for a much better cultural understanding?⁷⁵

In the framework of sociolinguistics, the response was positive. The response also introduced a rights perspective that sought to engender a political awareness and responsibility in teachers of immigrant schoolchildren. In an interview article in UFE-news in 1988, cultural sociologist Christian Horst argued that teachers should accept the fact that “Denmark has become multicultural. Consequently ... [t]he school must reflect the children's social and cultural reality, so that everyone may feel proud of their background”.⁷⁶ In this way, immigrant children were constructed as an educational problem in terms of their cultural and linguistic under-representation and isolation in public schools, as argued by Nauja Wiberg, teacher representative on the Immigrant Committee in Ishøj, in an article on the benefits of bicultural education.⁷⁷

Accordingly, the sociolinguistics turn attuned teachers' attention to the potential learning resources to be found in the multilingual and multicultural capacities of immigrant schoolchildren. After a study trip to London in 1989, a group of teachers acknowledged that “linguistically feeble pupils” constituted a new situation of instruction, urging teachers to change their current teaching practices. They noted, “we as teachers should start to view foreign language speaking pupils as a potential instead of something onerous and time consuming”.⁷⁸

In practical terms, this often meant integrating cultural and linguistic artefacts from the emigration countries in teaching activities. Accordingly, the linguistically and culturally vigilant teacher working in a multicultural school would not restrict him/herself to telling only, for example, Danish fairy tales. “The teacher must also tell fairy tales from the immigrant children's countries of origin”, argued teacher Søren Hegnby, in order to let immigrant schoolchildren feel recognised and foster international understanding in multicultural classrooms.⁷⁹ In this sociolinguistically informed rights and anti-discrimination perspective, teacher Ellen Widding acknowledged that “[l]anguage alone is not enough to achieve a successful integration, but if we do not provide the pupils with useful linguistic tools, they will have a hard time coping” after having attended an in-service training course in Danish-as-a-Second Language at the University of Copenhagen.⁸⁰

The professional subjectification of teachers as linguistically and culturally vigilant and sensitive to discrimination fuelled the sociolinguistically informed articulation of immigrant schoolchildren in terms of their linguistic status/situation. Throughout the 1980s and the early 1990s, immigrant schoolchildren were referred to in different linguistic terms such

⁷⁵Ulla Varming, “5. Nordiske Tosprogethedskonference. 2 sprog/kulturer i pædagogik og uddannelse [Fifth Nordic Conference on Bilingualism. Two languages/cultures in pedagogy and education]”, *UFE-nyt*, no. 1 (1988): 4.

⁷⁶Anon, “Uddrag af en samtale med Christian Horst [Excerpt from a conversation with Christian Horst]”, *UFE-Nyt*, no. 1 (1988): 10.

⁷⁷Nauja Wiberg, “Hvad sker der i Ishøj? [What is happening in Ishøj?]”, *UFE-Nyt*, no. 1 (1988): 11–13.

⁷⁸Per Rasmussen, “En studierejse til London [A study trip to London]”, *UFE-Nyt*, no. 1 (1989): 20.

⁷⁹Søren Hegnby, “Eventyr i den fler-kulturelle skole [Fairy tales in the multicultural school]”, *UFE-Nyt*, no. 2 (1992): 16.

⁸⁰Ellen Widding, “Dansk som andetsprog. Et kursus på Københavns Universitet [Danish as a second language. A course at the University of Copenhagen]”, *UFE-Nyt*, no. 3 (1992): 11.

as “foreign language speaking pupils”, “multilingual pupils” and “bilingual pupils”. At UFE’s general assembly in 1992, it was declared that the term “foreign language speaking pupils” was no longer a legitimate term:

In this context, the word foreign has a bad sound. It is negative and is associated with inferiority, being different, with distancing, in sum, it almost oozes problems ... We have chosen to change the word foreign language speaking to multilingual.⁸¹

As such, the culturalised problematisations of immigrant schoolchildren were reconfigured in linguistic terms that were thought to render immigrant schoolchildren didactically manageable, while recognising their precarious educational situation as well as their linguistic and cultural resources. In sum, the linguistically and culturally vigilant teacher was expected to continue his/her immigrant cultural studies, acquire in-depth knowledge of Danish culture, phonetics, pronunciation and grammar in order to contrast these with the languages and cultures of immigrant schoolchildren.

Trojan horses (1980–2002)

Running parallel to the fostering of linguistically and culturally vigilant native Danish teachers, a persistent call for immigrant teachers was made. In an article on the use of “Turkish teachers” as support teachers in mainstream classrooms, it was noted that “[t]he advantages are obvious, since one has the opportunity to make sure that the pupils’ conceptual cognitive competences are developed in Turkish, before one instructs on concepts in Danish. Similarly, it has had a beneficial disciplinary effect.”⁸² However, the article also pointed out the disadvantage in terms of Turkish teachers not holding a Danish degree. As such, the subjectification of immigrant teachers mirrored the educational problematisation of immigrant schoolchildren as both deficient and deprived in terms of Danish language and culture, while holding potential resources in respect of their mother tongue competences and experiences with cultural bridging.

Consequently, from 1982, special preparatory programmes at certain teacher colleges were established in order to familiarise immigrant teacher candidates with the Danish education system.⁸³ In line with the above-mentioned perspective of cultural rights and recognition, it was imagined that immigrant teachers holding a Danish teacher’s degree could engage as professional equals in collaboration with native Danish teachers and act as figures of identification to immigrant schoolchildren.

From this position, immigrant teachers raised concerns about the split life condition of immigrant schoolchildren. In an interview in a themed issue of the LUFÉ journal in 1983, mother-tongue instructor Kemal Köksal worried about the different “school lives” of Turkish children: “Danish school, Turkish School, and Koranic school. These different institutions make different demands in regard to manners ... thus, it is very important that collaboration exists between the Danish school and the mother tongue instruction, at the

⁸¹Inger Glerup, “Ud med FREMMEDSPROGEDE – Ind med FLERSPROGEDE [Foreign language speakers out – multi language speakers in],” *UFE-Nyt*, no. 5 (1992): 3. See footnote 48 for details on the use of these terms in connection with the acronym UFE.

⁸²Astrid Gjesin, “Fremmedsprogede elever skolegang i Århus [Foreign language speaking pupils’ schooling in Århus],” *LUFFE*, no. 1 (1980): 20.

⁸³“Københavns Dag- og Aftenseminarium. Lærerruddannelse for indvandrere [Copenhagen day and evening college. Teacher training for immigrants],” *LUFÉ-Nyt*, no. 6 (1981): 18–20.

least”.⁸⁴ Holding a Danish degree, immigrant teachers were not only thought to care for the split life condition of immigrant schoolchildren. They were also attributed the potential of “a ‘real’ teacher, who is also able to teach Danish children”,⁸⁵ thereby exposing native Danish schoolchildren to a non-stereotypical immigrant figure.

The subjectification of teachers with an immigrant background as cultural and linguistic brokers was reflected in the recorded minutes from a debate on the functions of “bilingual teachers” in public schools organised by UFE and FML (Association of Mother Tongue instructors) in 1990. It was concluded that “[t]he bilingual teacher remains the key to the good schooling of immigrant children, among other things, because they can inform and engage the parents and mediate knowledge about the Danish school tradition”.⁸⁶ As such, immigrant teachers were thought to possess the capacity for introducing immigrant schoolchildren to the “Danish way of life”, while communicating “good ideas as to how one [as immigrant schoolchild] adapts/asserts oneself in order to be heard, cared for, and sided with”.⁸⁷ as argued in an article on the new functions of mother-tongue instructors. This subjectification of immigrant teachers was anchored to “[t]he new fundamental view that the pupils are here, and that they will stay here” as stated in a discussion on the need for teachers with an immigrant background (including mother-tongue instructors) at the annual information meeting organised by the Ministry of Education in 1994.⁸⁸

Due to their foothold in a Danish democratic culture complemented by their roots in an “immigrant culture”, immigrant teachers’ presence in schools was, at the turn of the millennium, increasingly promoted as a way of securing a democratic representation of the entire pupil population and society. Illustratively, a teacher with an immigrant background stated in an interview:

My goal is to be a good teacher to all pupils, and not only to Hassan and Muhamed. In my teaching, I hope to foster positive cultural encounters and contribute to the development of a broader and more updated definition of Danishness.⁸⁹

This quotation displays how the professionalisation of immigrant teachers was cast against a vision of an inclusive Danish society. However, as the analysis has shown, this inclusiveness was premised on an ambiguous subjectification of immigrant teachers in terms of appreciating their appearance as immigrants on the outside (knowing how to behave as an insider to immigrant cultures) and thinking and acting in alignment with the Danish school system on the inside. According to the chairman of the Association of Mother Tongue Instructors and Bilingual Teachers,⁹⁰ Jamal Bakhteyar, “the best integrated parts of the group of immigrants are mother-tongue instructors and bilingual teachers. They, and most of the other well-integrated immigrants, are exactly the ones who include both cultures”.⁹¹ In this way, immigrant teachers were subjectified as Trojan horses capable of entering the lives and

⁸⁴Anon, “Interview med Kemal Köksal, modersmåslærere på Selsmosekolen [Interview with Kemal Köksal, mother-tongue instructor at Selsmose School]”, *LUFÉ-Tema: Modersmålsundervisning*, no. 1 (1983): 23.

⁸⁵Wiberg, “Hvad sker der i Ishøj?,” 12.

⁸⁶Reni Jensen and Inger Glerup, “Isolationen er det værste [The isolation is the worst]”, *UFE-Nyt*, no. 4 (1990): 23.

⁸⁷Annette Westrup, “Nyt indhold i modersmålsundervisningen [New content for mother-tongue instruction]”, *UFE-Nyt*, no. 3 (1992): 9.

⁸⁸Inger Glerup, “Nyt fra Undervisningsministeriet [News from the Ministry of Education]”, *UFE-Nyt*, no. 2 (1994): 4.

⁸⁹Jette Luna, “Hvilken hudfarve har dansklæreren? [What colour does the teacher of Danish have?]”, *Sprog & Integration*, no. 4 (2002): 10.

⁹⁰In Danish: Foreningen for Modersmåls- og Tosprogede Lærere (FTML).

⁹¹Ole Loumann, “Modersmåslærere. Portræt af en trængt faggruppe [Mother-tongue instructors. Portrait of a struggling group of professionals]”, *Sprog & Integration*, no. 3 (2002): 21.

minds of immigrant schoolchildren and their parents in terms of aligning their “manners” and “reasoning” with Danish school traditions, while balancing this alignment with care for their mother tongues and cultural resources.

However, coinciding with the introduction of the subject specialisation Danish-as-a-Second Language in teacher training curricula in 2001 and abolishment of state-funded mother-tongue instruction for non-Scandinavian and non-EU citizens in 2002, the burgeoning formalised professional expertise in Danish-as-a-Second-Language fuelled a questioning of the relevance of immigrant teachers. In an article on the qualifications of “bilingual teachers”, it was asserted, “[a]lthough the teacher is a bilingual it does not guarantee that the person holds linguistic-pedagogical knowledge for handling bilingual education.”⁹²

Expert teachers (1994–2013)

Prior to the questioning of the relevance of immigrant teachers, the attribution of extended educational capacity to immigrant teachers had simultaneously subjectified native Danish teachers of immigrant schoolchildren as victims of a lack of training. However, this victimisation should also be related to the introduction of the subject Danish-as-a-Second-Language in the national curriculum in 1994, which was not underpinned by a similar subject specialisation in teacher training curricula. Consequently, UFE demanded that:

... all teacher candidates should have the opportunity to acquire knowledge of what is generally required when a group of pupils do not have Danish as their mother tongue and is not descended from a Danish majority culture. [Furthermore, they demanded] education of teachers particularly qualified for the instruction of Danish-as-a-Second-Language.⁹³

In the same year as this demand was made, the Ministry of Education funded the establishment of the Centre of Excellence for the Teaching and Education of Bilingual Children and Youngsters (UC2) in 1996.⁹⁴ Chairman of the Centre’s board Niels Holst wrote in a press release that:

[a]round the year 2000, approximately every tenth pupil in public school will be bilingual – and a few years later the same will be the case in post-secondary education. For this large group, training and education might be the most important prerequisites for integration in Danish society.⁹⁵

Based on this educationalisation of the social question of integration, UC2 initiated a formalisation and standardisation of in-service training courses and further education programmes in Danish-as-a-Second-Language and intercultural pedagogy. As a result, Danish-as-a-Second-Language appeared as a professional reconfiguration of what had earlier been coined linguistic and cultural vigilance and functioned as the practical crystallisation of a Danish sociolinguistic field of expertise. Accordingly, education researcher Helle Laursen argued that the formalisation of Danish-as-a-Second-Language was a “termination of the ‘caring function’ that Danish-as-a-Second-Language has had ... the teacher should possess professional knowledge, i.e. to know something about language and language acquisition in

⁹²Søren Hegnbj, “Tosprogede læreres kvalifikationer [Bilingual teachers’ qualifications],” *Sprog & Integration*, no. 3 (2002): 19.

⁹³Anon, “Nyt fra FU og Lokalgrupper [News from the Executive Committee and local committees],” *UFE-Nyt*, no. 2 (1996): 37.

⁹⁴See footnote 49 for more information.

⁹⁵Niels Holst, “Udviklingscentret for undervisning og uddannelse af tosprogede børn og unge [Centre of excellence and development in teaching and education of bilingual children and youth],” *UFE-Nyt*, no. 2 (1996): 18.

order to deploy a pedagogy which yields good results”.⁹⁶ In this way, the socially committed vanguard of teachers was outstripped by formally accredited teachers with an expertise in language learning, bilingualism, and intercultural pedagogy.

This professional disposition was formative in the educational objectification of immigrant schoolchildren as “bilingual pupils”. Summarising a national survey on Danish-as-a-Second-Language in public schools, consultants Lene Timm and Jette Luna concluded that “[w]hen a teacher has acquired further training in Danish-as-a-Second-Language, the focus on the pupils’ social and cultural backgrounds moves to planning and execution of good teaching”.⁹⁷ This move coined the educational problematisation of immigrant schoolchildren in predominantly linguistic terms. Thus, what was important for teachers to understand was “what it means to grow up with two languages and, not least, what it means to attend school in a language that is not one’s first language”.⁹⁸

Shared educational responsibility (2001–2013)

The strong linguistically oriented professionalisation of teachers and objectification of immigrant schoolchildren during the first decade of the twenty-first century became intertwined with educational and societal panics concerning the comparatively bad testing results in the Danish PISA surveys (especially of immigrant schoolchildren).⁹⁹ These panics reinforced the educational responsibility of teachers and schools. In 2004, English headmaster Hugh Howe from Fir Vale School was invited to speak at a Danish teachers’ conference on effective schools. Howe argued that explanations of immigrant schoolchildren’s poor academic performances should be found “in teaching and school practices. Not in the pupils’ backgrounds, as is often the case in Denmark, the reporter added”.¹⁰⁰

Notably, the PISA panics were cast against a vision of a “world-class” public school in a competitive Danish society, as expressed by then Minister of Education Bertel Haarder.¹⁰¹ Accordingly, immigrant schoolchildren were problematised for impeding the competitiveness of Danish society and the solution was to share the educational responsibility among a variety of professionals working with immigrant schoolchildren. Not only teachers, but pre-school educators, speech therapists, school psychologists, social workers and many more professionals “should be capable of monitoring, analysing, supporting and evaluating bilingual children’s bilingual development” as stated in an editorial of *Language &*

⁹⁶Lisbeth Eg Jensen, “Kvalitet i andetsprogsundervisningen [Quality in Second Language Teaching],” *UFE-Nyt*, no. 4 (2000): 30–2.

⁹⁷Lene Timm and Jette Luna, “En tilstandsrapport uden roser [An inspection report without praise],” *Sprog & Integration*, no. 4 (2004): 6.

⁹⁸Mette Ginman and Lone Wulff, “Dansk som andetsprog som efteruddannelsesfag [Danish-as-a-second-language as in-service subject training],” *Sprog & Integration*, no. 1 (2010): 29.

⁹⁹Since 2000, the national Danish PISA surveys have been accompanied by three PISA surveys focusing exclusively on the academic performance of non-western immigrant schoolchildren (Niels Egelund and Torben Tranæs, eds., *PISA Etnisk 2005: kompetencer hos danske og etniske elever i 9. klasser i Danmark 2005* [PISA ethnic 2005: competences among Danish and ethnic pupils in 9th grade in Denmark 2005] (Copenhagen/Odense: Rockwool Fondens Forskningsenhed/Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2008); Niels Egelund, Chantal Pohl Nielsen and Beatrice Schindler Rangvid, *PISA Etnisk 2009: etniske og danske unges resultater i PISA 2009* [PISA ethnic 2009: ethnic and Danish youth’s results in PISA 2009] (Copenhagen: AKF, 2011), available at <http://www.akf.dk>; Vibeke Tornhøj Christensen et al., *PISA etnisk 2012: PISA 2012 med fokus på unge med indvandrerbaggrund* [PISA ethnic 2012: PISA 2012 with focus on youth with an immigrant background] (Copenhagen: KORA, 2014)).

¹⁰⁰Lene Timm, “Skoleresultatater til den store guldmalje [School results with a vengeance],” *Sprog & Integration*, no. 2 (2004): 9.

¹⁰¹Bertel Haarder, “Vi skal gøre det bedre - vi skal være blandt de bedste [We must do better - we must be among the best],” *Sprog & Integration*, no. 1 (2005): 16–17.

Integration in 2005.¹⁰² Ultimately, the expertise and responsibility of teachers trained in the subject Danish-as-a-Second-Language were thought to be shared by all subject teachers. “Thus, it is essential that the maths teacher as well possesses the required knowledge of second-language-teaching if education is to be truly effective”, the National School Council asserted in 2008.¹⁰³ It may be suggested that this redistribution of expertise and educational responsibility for immigrant schoolchildren influenced the abolishment of the subject specialisation in Danish-as-a-Second-Language in teacher training curricula, relegating it to a dimension of general pedagogy and didactics in 2013.

Worthy of observation is how the educationalisation of the problem of immigrant schoolchildren supposedly impeding national competitiveness coincided with an educationalisation of post-9/11 panics about immigrant schoolchildren being at risk of becoming disengaged from a democratic “Danish way of life”.¹⁰⁴ Illustrative of these combined educationalised panics is the then manager of the Department for Bilingual Development in Copenhagen Søren Hegnby’s report from a so-called multicultural school:

The Danish Public School’s [Folkeskolen] work is founded on integration in terms of a mutual process, through which different ethnic cultures adapt to each other. Without giving up their ethnic identity, culture and language, bilingual children must acquire sufficient linguistic and other competences in order to be able to participate in society on an equal footing with other Danes.¹⁰⁵

From this quote we may observe how immigrant schoolchildren were ethnically othered from their native Danish peers, and problematised for lacking linguistic, academic and democratic competences in order to “participate in society” in terms of education, employment and democratic encounters with their fellow citizens. The intertwining of national economic prosperity, individual welfare and democratic cohesion was reiterated in 2005 by Haarder asserting that “high academic demands are a condition for economic growth, welfare and democracy”.¹⁰⁶

... parent role models were carefully selected. They are people who recognise the strengths and opportunities in diversity. They have all succeeded in finding a place for themselves in Danish society. From this position, and balanced with their original background, they have supported their children’s education and general well-being in Denmark.¹⁰⁷

Again, the “well-integrated” immigrant was called upon to educate immigrant schoolchildren and their parents on how to balance between nurturing an immigrant cultural heritage and actively contributing to and benefiting from a Danish welfare society. While promoting “successful immigrant parents”, immigrant parents deemed less successful were addressed by so-called “school-home-counsellors” who were teachers specially trained to:

... get in contact with new-Danish parents and motivate them to attend parental meetings ... inform new-Danish parents about the education system ... and advise other teachers on the

¹⁰²Editors, “At teste eller ikke at teste... [To test or not to test...],” *Sprog & Integration*, no. 1 (2005): 2.

¹⁰³Rune Smed Thostrup and Rune Hejlskov Schjerbeck, “Formandskabet for Skolerådet: Indsatsen for indvandrere og efterkommere skal styrkes i Folkeskolen [The chairmanship of the National School Council: Interventions directed at immigrants and descendants must be strengthened in public schools],” *Det Flyvende Tæppe*, no. 8 (2008): 3.

¹⁰⁴Aside from the Danish government’s involvement in the international war on terror, it is worth noting that Denmark had its own version of a 9/11 event in terms of the Danish cartoon crisis in 2005.

¹⁰⁵Søren Hegnby, “Det er en dansk skole! En god dansk skole i en multiethnisk virkelighed [‘It is a Danish school! A good Danish school in a multiethnic reality],” *UFE-Nyt*, no. 4 (2003): 26.

¹⁰⁶Haarder, “Vi skal gøre det bedre – vi skal være blandt de bedste,” 16.

¹⁰⁷Kuljet Kaur, “Brug for alle unge [In need of all young people],” *UFE-Nyt*, no. 2 (2006): 38.

inclusion of new-Danish parents ... and foster coherence between exposed pupils' schooling and their homes.¹⁰⁸

Consequently, the educational responsibility for immigrant schoolchildren was shared among a wide range of professionals (e.g. teachers, bilingual teachers, school-home counsellors, integration workers, school consultants, school psychologists, speech therapists, social workers) and non-professionals (e.g. immigrant role models, native Danish parents, volunteers in after-school activities).

Around the same time, the so-called Trojan horses were reactivated in the figure of volunteer immigrant role models who could present stories of "successful integration". As part of the national campaign, *In Need of All Young People*:

This wide range of professionals added to the linguistic problematisation of immigrant schoolchildren in terms of concerns about "ethnic identity", "their original background" and "new-Danishness". Thereby, the earlier culturalisation of the social question pertaining to immigrant schoolchildren's integration reappeared as a concern regarding their "loyalty" towards a "Danish way of life" in terms of education, employment and democratic participation.¹⁰⁹ This many-sided and hyper-educationalised problematisation of immigrant schoolchildren was entangled with so-called hyper-professionalisation. By 2013, all teachers in public schools were subjectified to provide linguistically sensitive instruction, a variety of integration workers and voluntary role models were thought to induce immigrant schoolchildren to pursue further education and become self-sufficient citizens, and various educational and creative consultants were engaged in the promotion "of democratic education, dialogue culture and active citizenship, and [in] countering cultural conflicts, radicalization and extremism".¹¹⁰

Concluding remarks

This article has demonstrated how the social question pertaining to the presence of immigrant schoolchildren in Denmark since the 1970s has been educationalised through reflexive practices of teacher professionalisation. The analysis has shown how a professional subjectification of native Danish teachers as socially committed and linguistically and culturally vigilant in the 1970s and 1980s was taken over by an immense call for immigrant teachers for their capacities to act as Trojan horses during the 1980s and throughout the 1990s. The call for immigrant teachers was clearly an effect of the prevalence of culture in educational problematisations of immigrant schoolchildren. In 1993, migration researcher Carl-Ulrich Schierup observed that "[o]n the one hand, culture is perceived to be a 'problem', but on the other, it is a 'resource', an 'enrichment' or some kind of 'panacea'; a universal means to cure all problems and diseases of society".¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸Helene Hoff, "Nye skole-hjem vejledere skal styrke forældresamarbejdet - nye projekter inddrager nydanske forældre i elevernes skolegang og uddannelse [New school-home counsellors will strengthen cooperation with the parents – new projects to involve new Danish parents in their children's schooling and education]," *det flyvende tæppe*, no. 13 (2009): 5.

¹⁰⁹Comparatively, education researcher Jamie A. Kowalczyk makes a similar observation of how immigrant students in contemporary Italy are educationally managed as a disturbance to "the national cultural thesis for living" ("Transgression as democratic *Convivenza*: Italian school policy and the discourse of integration," in *The "Reason" of Schooling: Historicizing Curriculum Studies, Pedagogy, and Teacher Education*, ed. Thomas S. Popkewitz (New York: Routledge, 2015), 172.).

¹¹⁰Anders Christian Frederiksen and Preben Holm, "Fastholdelseskaravanen – Fra viden til handling [Educational retainment caravan – from knowledge to action]," *Det Flyvende Tæppe*, no. 23 (2013): 9.

¹¹¹Carl-Ulrich Schierup, *På kulturens slagmark: mindretal og størretal taler om Danmark* [On the battlefield of culture: Minorities and majorities speak about Denmark] (Esbjerg: Sydjysk Universitetsforlag, 1993), 152.

Nevertheless, as a way of reinstating native Danish teachers as capable of handling the education of immigrant schoolchildren, immigrant schoolchildren were re-problematized in terms of their “bilingualism” by the end of the 1990s. Hence, native Danish teachers were subjectified as experts specialised in the subject Danish-as-a-Second-Language and, hence, liberated from the need to be rooted in an immigrant culture. Although this expert subjectification continued through the 2000s, the analysis identified a trend of so-called hyper-professionalisation in the aftermath of combined PISA and post-9/11 panics. This hyper-professionalisation appeared in terms of distributing the educational responsibility for immigrant schoolchildren to a variety of professionals as well as non-professionals. Of course, this hyper-professionalisation was entangled with a so-called hyper-educationalisation of the social question pertaining to immigrant schoolchildren’s integration in terms of their educability, employability and loyalty to a democratic “Danish way of life”.

In this way, I argue that the educationalisation of the social question pertaining to immigrant schoolchildren became embedded in teachers’ “caring pedagogies”¹¹² traversed by far-reaching concerns about the social, cultural and economic cohesion of Danish society, to which the presence of immigrant schoolchildren was deemed a potential disturbance. According to anthropologist Steffen Jöhncke, the Danish welfare state was formed in the image of a political unity based not only on compromise, but also on cultural homogeneity granting legitimacy to the universalistic welfare project of redistribution.¹¹³ Accordingly, this article has shown how culture, language and social background have worked as markers of distinction in the social body of schoolchildren.¹¹⁴ In particular, culture and language have prevailed as categories pertaining exclusively to non-western immigrant schoolchildren. As such, culture and language worked as a de facto racialisation of immigrant schoolchildren as well as immigrant teachers and role models. However, the educationalisation of these categories made the racialisation subtle inasmuch as they emerged from “caring pedagogies”. Moreover, culture and language were promoted as teachers’ educational tools for securing the welfare of immigrant schoolchildren and, thereby, sustaining the prosperity and cohesion of society. Thus, the educationalisation of the social question pertaining to the presence of non-western immigrant schoolchildren subjectified teachers and other (non-) professionals as agents of the restoration of the culturalised bonds of solidarity, ultimately crafting not only a Danish welfare state, but a Danish *welfare nation-state*.

In conclusion, this article has shown how the crafting of a Danish welfare nation-state faced with increasing globalisation and immigration between 1970 and 2013 crystallised in entanglements of subtly racialised professional subjectification and educational problematisations of immigrant schoolchildren, inextricably linking public and individual welfare to citizens practising a “Danish way of life”.

¹¹²This term is borrowed from Hallelu Pinson, Madeleine Arnot and Mano Candappa, *Education, Asylum and the “Non-Citizen” Child* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

¹¹³Steffen Jöhncke, “Velfærdsstaten som integrationsprojekt [The welfare state as a project of integration],” in *Integration: Antropologiske perspektiver* [Integration: anthropological perspectives] (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum, 2007), 37–62. See also sociologist Herman Schmid’s genealogy of the Danish welfare state, in which he argues that the Danish welfare state was conceived as a popular community (in Danish: “folkefællesskab”) in the 1930s. This conception expressed the idea of national solidarity (Schmid, “Velfærdsstatens Solidaritetsformer [The welfare state’s forms of solidarity],” *Dansk Sociologi* 6, no. 3 (1995): 38).

¹¹⁴Education researcher Trine Øland makes a similar observation in her study of the emergence of race and human biology in progressive pedagogy in twentieth-century Denmark, where “markers of difference like ‘culture,’ ‘intelligence’ and ‘biology’ are merged into a ‘system of reason’ that encircles the migrant child’s human potential” (Øland, “Human potential’ and Progressive Pedagogy: A Long Cultural History of the Ambiguity of ‘Race’ and ‘Intelligence,’” *Race Ethnicity and Education* 15, no. 4 (2012): 562).

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Notes on contributor

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5.3. Article 3:

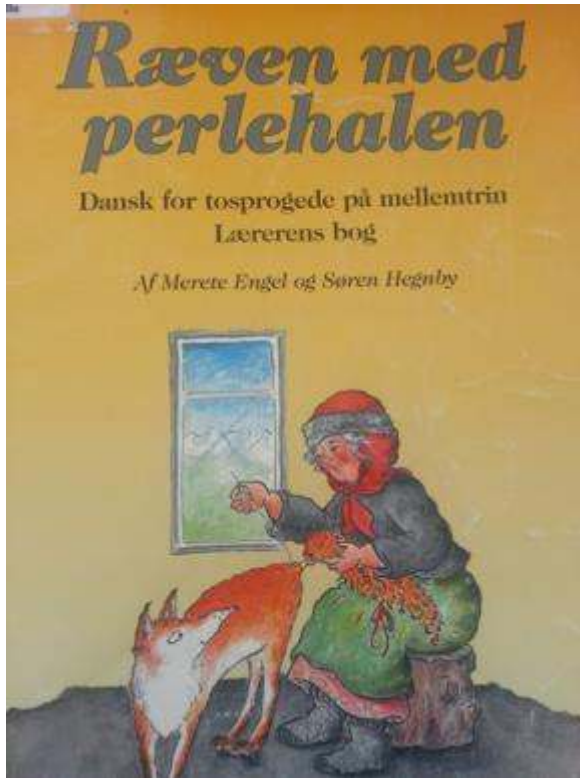
‘Fabricating a Welfare Civilisation: A Governmental Analysis of Pedagogical Repertoires Available to Teachers of Immigrant Pupils in Danish Public Schools, 1970–2013’

This article is featured as a book chapter in the volume, *State-Crafting on the Fringes – Studies of Welfare Work Addressing the Other*, edited by Bolette Moldenhawer, Marta Padovan-Özdemir, Christian Ydesen and Trine Øland, Denmark: Museum Tusculanum (publication forthcoming in 2017). The book manuscript is currently undergoing peer reviewed.

Fabricating a Welfare Civilization

- A Governmental Analysis of Pedagogical Repertoires Available to Teachers of Immigrant Pupils in Danish Public Schools, 1970–2013

Marta Padovan-Özdemir



1. Visual: Engel and Hegnby 1997, front cover. The book is entitled (in English) *The Fox with the Pearl Brush*. Danish for bilinguals, lower secondary level; teacher's book.

Once upon a time there was a big fox cub with a terribly ugly brush. It did not look like a true fox brush. It looked more like a goat tail. All of the other foxes made fun of him, and they did not want to play with him. (Zilan 1997, 3)¹

1. Introduction

The Kurdish fable *The Fox with the Pearl Brush* is about a fox that does not fit in with the rest of the other foxes because of his unusual brush, so he decides to leave his home. After many trials and obstacles, among which he loses his brush but gets it back decorated with pearls, he cleverly tricks the other foxes into losing their brushes as well. In the end, however, with a poor old

¹ My translation. If nothing else stated, all non-English quotations have been translated by the author of this chapter.

woman's help, he helps the other foxes realize it was wrong of them to make fun of his brush, and the foxes all promise to never again make fun of those that look different.

In 1997, this folktale was purposefully adapted as a didactic children's reader and translated into Danish to give schoolteachers culturally sensitive teaching material to use when instructing immigrant pupils. The reader was supplemented with a teacher's workbook providing guidelines and background information about the Kurdish people from Turkey, who constituted one of the largest ethnic minority groups in Denmark at that time. The teacher's workbook also offered information about bilingualism and language acquisition. This material provided not only a repackaged fable for classroom use, but also a pedagogical repertoire of pedagogical truths, techniques, and objectives to call on when teaching immigrant pupils. Most of the truth statements concerned the immigrant pupils (in this teaching material referred to as "bilingual children"), their background, perceived potentials, and educational challenges. Based on truth claims about the Kurdish people and their vibrant oral narrative tradition as a justification for the didactical use of folktales and on truth claims concerning Danish being the second language immigrant pupils would be learning outside of their homes, the authors stated that

bilingual children do well in Danish public schools, with a significant share becoming capable readers. At the same time, however, another large has difficulties in reading. Their teachers typically state that while these pupils become technically proficient, they read without being able to comprehend and lose themselves in the story. (Engel and Hegnby 1997, 7)

2

This quotation demonstrates the way truth claims in teaching guidelines become nested in pedagogical problem constructs. The authors identified the problem as a matter of deprivation and lack of comprehension due to immigrant pupils' missing the necessary "linguistic and cultural prerequisites that render the text comprehensible" (Engel and Hegnby 1997, 9). The solution offered can be found in the didactic repurposing of a folktale. Starting from a story familiar to them from their heritage, as stated in the introduction to the teacher's workbook, "[the children] can read with an overview, because they know the type of text, the gallery of characters, the milieu of the storyline, and so forth. (...) The many linguistic repetitions, which are typical of fairy tales, ease the comprehension" (Engel and Hegnby 1997, 9).

While allowing for folktales' admittedly limited outlook on the world (one hardly resonating with contemporary language use), the authors argued that reading such works could foster "good reading habits among the pupils—that is, promoting attitudes towards reading as a

matter of comprehension and losing oneself in the story” (Engel and Hegnby 1997, 9). Although the stated primary objective of such teaching material was to use it in teaching immigrant pupils Danish as their second language and help them improve their reading skills, its use was also directed toward changing pupil attitudes about reading. Moreover (but merely as a by-product), the authors suggested the teaching material could be used to promote intercultural dialogue in multicultural classrooms, “where the cultural background of bilingual pupils should be included” (Engel and Hegnby 1997, 5).

I provide this brief analysis of teaching methodology to invoke some of the available materials that formed a portion of the pedagogical repertoires available to teachers of immigrant pupils in the period under review and discuss how such manifestations display a richness of visions, missions, truths, and techniques.²

1.1. Research interest

The research interest guiding this chapter is twofold. First, it is historically interesting to determine the emergent pedagogical repertoires available since the early 1970s that aimed to equipping teachers with the pedagogical means to work with immigrant pupils in Danish schools. Such pedagogical repertoires are particularly interesting inasmuch as they reveal regimes of practice concerning *how* to teach and socialize immigrant pupils coupled with regimes of knowledge explaining and justifying *why* immigrant pupils should be taught and socialized in particular ways. The *how* and *why* in pedagogical repertoires are always also framed by objectives embedded in visions of future citizens and a better society. This leads to the second research interest guiding this chapter that investigates *which* societal utopias emerged from pedagogical repertoires for teaching and socializing immigrant pupils. Altogether, the chapter teases out how these pedagogical minutiae have fed into the fabrication of a Danish welfare nation-state “where it is not named but practiced” (Saar 2012, 43).

In sum, this chapter contributes with histories of practical thought that was invested in pedagogical repertoires available to teachers of immigrant pupils in Danish public schools, 1970–

² The collection of historical material used in this chapter is abundant with images, drawings, and photos. Although this chapter does not offer a visual analysis, a few images carefully selected from the historical material have been included at strategic places in the chapter. These images constitute a visual support and/or challenge to the textual content of the analysis. The selected images are analytically interesting (Tenorth 2001, 72–78) inasmuch as they provide visual content to the pedagogical envisioning of immigrant schoolchildren and to the visions, missions, truths and techniques available to teachers of immigrant schoolchildren. At the end of this chapter, a complete list of the images displayed can be found.

2013. It contributes to the overall theme of this volume by inquiring into the pedagogical minutiae at the margins of the Danish welfare nation-state to identify the horizon of governmentalities into which such minutiae feed and against which they are cast.

1.2. Reading guidelines

I have thus marked out the threefold research interest guiding this study and introduced the reader to the analytical potentials of teaching guidelines as being the kind of historical material with which this chapter engages. In the next section, I will outline a context of the pedagogical attention that emerged responding to immigrant pupils' presence in Danish public schools between 1970 and 2013. Next presented are the methodological implications of working with teaching guidelines as historical material and the theoretical construct of the research object. Following is an elaborated operationalization of the concept of governmentality as an analytical strategy to use in reading the historical material. The final section presents the analysis, divided into seven thematic configurations, of the truths, techniques, and objectives discovered in the pedagogical repertoires under review. The chapter ends with concluding remarks on how these configurations can be understood to have fabricated a Danish welfare nation-state in the image of a welfare civilization.

4

1.3. Pedagogical attention

Choosing 1970 as the starting point for my analysis implies the peak of a post-World War II welfare state expansion, including the economic boom of the late 1960s, when Turkish, Yugoslavian, Pakistani, and Moroccan primarily male “guest workers” were invited to Denmark to cover a labor force shortage. Due to the oil crisis in 1973, jobs were no longer abundant. Hence, beginning my analysis in the early 1970s signifies the *unexpected* and *unsettling* settlement of non-Western “guest workers” as they were expected to return to their countries of origin, when jobs were no longer available (Jønsson and Petersen 2013, 765-66). The reunifying of “guest workers” with their spouses and children in the course of their settlement in Denmark is an important historical backdrop for our understanding of the appearance of immigrant pupils in Danish public schools since the 1970s. This appearance was eloquently framed by consultant of “foreign language speaking pupils” Erik Odde in his introduction to a handbook concerning the arrival of this student cohort in public schools: “Every day, teachers, who have dealings with

children of guest workers in their classrooms, must admit to Max Frisch's words: 'Man hat Arbeitskräfte gerufen, und es sind Menschen gekommen'" (1974, 5–6, German words in original)³. In the 1980s, the number of asylum seeking refugees rose (Jønsson and Petersen 2013, 766).

In 1970, the Ministry of Education issued the first circular letter addressing instructing "foreign children" in public schools. In 1979, the first organizational guidelines were issued, and in 1984, the Ministry of Education offered official pedagogical guidance (Kristjánsdóttir 2006, 100–103). In 1994, the subject Danish as a Second Language (DA2) was introduced in the national curriculum, but only in 2002 was DA2 as subject specialization offered in teachers' education curricula. The reason for ending the period under investigation in 2013 is in that year, the subject specialization DA2 in teacher education curricula was abolished and relegated to continuing as a dimension of the subject area General Pedagogy. Furthermore, in 2014, a new school reform was launched by the Ministry of Education. Ending my analysis in 2013 also implies I will not treat the effects of the so-called refugee crisis in 2015, which will likely result in new pedagogy produced to instruct teachers on how to work with "refugee children" in schools. Thus, the expanding collection of materials demonstrates that with every major influx of immigrants and refugees, numerous pedagogical texts are brought forth, which are aimed at guiding teachers in instructing these groups of pupils.

In the period under review, the constructing of immigrant pupils as a (new) educational target group called forth different labels. Over the years, these labels changed along with the changing pedagogical repertoires, which will be dealt with in the analysis. That the reader might understand the various references made to this group of pupils of non-Western descent over time, the following is a listing of some of the most dominant labels: "children of foreign workers," "immigrant pupils," "refugee children," "foreign language speaking pupils," "bilingual pupils," "ethnic minority pupils," "descendants," "2. generation immigrants." In this chapter, the single label *immigrant pupil* has been chosen for historical and analytical reasons. For historical reasons, it is important to observe that when immigrant pupils were mentioned in a Danish context between 1970 and 2013, in most cases, it was with specific reference to children of immigrants with non-Western backgrounds; primarily Turkish, Yugoslavian, Pakistani, and Moroccan. Only occasionally did non-Western refugee children attract pedagogical attention. Between 1970 and the mid-1990s Vietnamese, Chilean and Tamil refugee children were observed as a special

³ Translation of German words: "Labour force was invited, and human beings came."

pedagogical target group. In the late 1990s, refugees from Bosnia- and Hercegovina, Somalia and Kosovo caught pedagogical attention (Jønsson 2014, 864-65). Hence, Nordic and other immigrants with Western backgrounds were rarely included in this reference.

Notably, the Western/non-Western divide that penetrated pedagogical repertoires responsive to immigrant pupils' presence resonated with Statistics Denmark's deployment of these categories in its statistical work on immigrants and their descendants since the early 1980s (Petersen, Petersen, and Christiansen 2013, V:17). What these statistical categories also allude to is the biogenico-cultural heredity assigned to non-Western immigrant pupils not only in terms of their non-Western nationality, but also in terms of their status of being second, third, and fourth generation children of non-Western immigrants and refugees in Denmark – even when holding Danish citizenship status. Bearing this in mind, the first word of the analytical label *immigrant pupil* alludes to this historical practice of pedagogical culturalization and subtle racialization (Padovan-Özdemir, forthcoming), when immigrant pupils were constructed and treated as objects of pedagogical concern in Danish public schools, 1970–2013, regardless of the different labels applied through the years. A revealing example of the culturalization and subtle racialization of immigrant pupils as objects of pedagogical concern is the following excerpt from the first ministerial guideline on the instruction of “foreign language speaking pupils.” At this point, it was observed: “When public schools received foreign language speaking pupils, whose families were foreign workers, immigrants, or refugees, the school became attentive to the children’s and youngsters’ general cultural backgrounds including religious, social, sociocultural conditions, and so forth” (Ministry of Education 1984, 60). In this way, immigrant pupils were understood in terms of their biogenico-cultural heritage, which was most explicitly articulated by labels such as “children of foreign workers,” “immigrant pupils,” “ethnic minority pupils,” “descendants,” “2. generation immigrants.” These labels, however, have been accompanied by other labels more closely affiliated with pedagogical constructions of immigrant children as *pupils* (such as “foreign language speaking pupils” and “bilinguals”). Accordingly, this chapter's use of the label *immigrant pupil* is strategic in terms of reminding the reader of the historicity of the constructing of immigrant pupils as objects of pedagogical concern. In this way, whenever the label *immigrant pupil* is used it refers analytically to all the labels appearing in the historical material. When the label immigrant pupil or other labels appear with double quotation marks, they refer to particular labels used in the historical material.

In sum, focusing analytically on the pedagogical handling of the *Other*—in this case immigrant pupils—offers a privileged prism through which we may observe the making of future citizens and society, and along with that process, the fabrication of a Danish welfare nation-state. According to sociologist Zygmunt Bauman, “[t]he other of the modern state is the no-man’s or contested land: the under- or over-definition, the demon of ambiguity” (1991, 8). In other words, the pedagogical handling of immigrant pupils epitomizes the ambiguous fabrication of a Danish welfare nation-state at its margins, where it is imagined to be disturbed, irritated, and contested, but also where its imagined unity can be (re-)established, (re-)invented, maintained, and protected. An illustrative example of this argument can be found in an instructional book on best practices for teaching and integrating immigrant pupils and their families in a local school district in the municipality of Horsens in Western Denmark stating: “Contemporary immigration history is made visible in public schools, since it is here that all the children of Denmark meet” (Falk et al. 2003, 23). This statement epitomizes Bauman’s predicament of the modern state in terms of envisioning public schools as *contested land* and a pupil population defined by the Other due to contemporary immigration.



This drawing by the Danish illustrator Klaus Albrechtsen is one from a series depicting the daily life of those teaching immigrant pupils in Denmark. It bears the caption, “Instruction of Immigrant Children.” Notice the question marks on the back of the book, which may illustrate teachers’ professional perplexity experienced in relation to immigrant pupils’ presence in Danish public schools in the early 1980s.

2. visual: County Center for Educational Materials 1982, 7.

2. A patchwork of practical texts

In order to understand the full scope of the pedagogical attention paid to immigrant pupils, it seems fair to note that not only schools and teachers paid this particular attention, but also a variety of professionals engaged in research, local and national administrations, publishing houses, and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). Over the years, this attention materialized in numerous pedagogical texts targeted at teachers, which offered instruction on engaging with immigrant pupils. Identifying the variety of these pedagogical texts, produced as a means to shape pedagogical repertoires responsive to immigrant pupils' presence in public schools, can offer a unique possibility for studying how professional thought, practices, and imaginaries addressing the non-Western other worked in fabricating a Danish welfare nation-state in its pedagogical minutiae.

Being interested in the formation of pedagogical repertoires, instructional texts such as teacher guidelines, teacher handbooks, teacher textbooks, forewords or epilogues in student textbooks, manuals, guidance notes, catalogues of ideas, and pamphlets stand out as exceptionally potent historical material. It is abundant with "expertise, vocabulary, theories, ideas, philosophies, and other forms of knowledge" (Dean 2010, 25) made pedagogically and didactically operational for teachers to use in teaching and socializing immigrant pupils.

A common characteristic to this palette of texts is their function as *paratexts*. According to the literary scholar Gérard Genette (1997), a paratext is one that accompanies another text in order to make the latter apprehensible. It works as a threshold to another text, "a privileged place of a pragmatics and a strategy, of an influence on the public, an influence that—whether well or poorly understood and achieved—is at the service of a better reception for the text" (Genette 1997, 2). A paratext promotes, explains, justifies, or comments on another text. When teacher guidelines appear in the form of forewords, epilogues, or teachers' appendices in student textbooks, there is a direct relation between the paratext and the student textbook, of which the teacher guideline instructs the reading and application. In a broader rendering of the concept of pedagogical paratexts, I argue that teacher guidelines also appear as independent paratexts in the form of handbooks, manuals, ministerial guidance notes, or catalogues of ideas. Teacher guidelines comment on the possible enactment of the official curriculum, make academic knowledge practical for instruction, offer ideas for including materials and activities during instruction, or provide explanatory descriptions of pupils (Skjelbred 2007, 121). Although Prof. of text science Dagrun Skjelbred (2007, 124) does not account for independent teacher handbooks and such as

paratexts, I find it stimulating to approach such pedagogical texts as paratexts because their references to and appropriations of other pedagogical texts (education acts, subject curriculum, education research, etc.) constitute the very pedagogical fabric (Selander 1984) that fashions pedagogical repertoires.

This image of a pedagogical fabric brings me to speak of the collection of historical material as the making of a patchwork of texts. By definition, a patchwork is composed of various pieces that, despite their seemingly incongruence, together constitute an assembled whole. The strength of this chapter's methodology lies precisely in not assigning a privileged position to any single publication, but rather to conceive of the work presented herein as variable and relational, as "it is caught up in a system of references to other books, other texts, other sentences: it is a node within a network" (Foucault 1972, 23).

What unites the variety of texts that make up the particular textual patchwork displayed in this chapter is, first, their shared interest in the same object of pedagogical attention: immigrant pupils. Second, all the texts have explicitly targeted teachers of immigrant pupils in primary and lower secondary school (the Danish comprehensive public school, *Folkeskolen*). Third, all the texts have been explicitly pedagogically and didactically instructional. Of course, these common features are the result of deliberate choices of selection criteria, resulting in excluding texts that exhibited no practical, specific advice for instructing and socializing immigrant pupils. Texts advising teachers on the instruction of adult immigrants were also excluded, although it is evident teachers of immigrant pupils indeed did appropriate some of these due to a lack of resources in the 1970s and 1980s. Fourth, only texts published in Danish have been included in the collection. Thus, these selection criteria represent the common denominators, or threads, weaving together the textual patchwork considered in this chapter.

To ensure a variation of texts, no criteria were established regarding authorship or genre (although articles were not included). Nor has a textual hierarchy been deployed, as all texts have been treated equally; this means, for example, ministerial texts have not been assigned more importance than a foreword to a children's reader. Accordingly, this chapter presents a history of the emergence of pedagogical repertoires available to teachers of immigrant pupils via the ordinary production and dissemination of instructional texts, signifying the dispersed nature of the pedagogical attention paid to the treatment of immigrant pupils.

In my attempt to remain sensitive to the system of references in which the texts appear, the search for historical material began by screening two Danish professional journals specializing in

the area of immigrant pupil pedagogy that covered most of the period from 1970 to 2013.⁴ Special attention was paid to notices about and reviews of newly published teaching materials, notes of guidance, or teacher handbooks and pamphlets. These screenings also illuminated the continuous professional call for more and better teaching materials that could guide teachers of immigrant pupils (see, e.g., “Editorial,” 1982, and Engel and Christensen 2000), a professional call frequently echoed in forewords to those texts selected for my analysis. The following excerpt from a teacher’s book on teaching “foreign language speaking pupils” to speak Danish is illuminating:

In the summer of 1975, we [teachers] were encouraged to produce an ABC for six-to-ten-year-old foreign language speaking pupils. At that point, we had had some years of experience teaching that kind of pupils in reception classes. (...) We found that no existing beginners’ courses were appropriate for our pupils (...) These pupils must learn and train in how to make sentences in meaningful situations in order for them to analyse and express their experiences and achieve social contact (...) They lack knowledge of Danish culture—of the everyday lives of Danes: their way of living, customs, traditions, morals, norms, and so forth. (Eilstrup and Odde 1976, 1)

During the accumulation of material, the texts themselves were screened for references that could point toward other texts meeting the above-listed criteria.

10

These searches were supplemented by conversations with representatives of various publishing houses and NGOs.⁵ This provided the search process with an overview of relevant existing material on the market and insights into previous publications no longer available for purchase. None but two of the contacted publishing houses and NGOs had kept any copies of their earlier publications.⁶ By referrals from these conversations, four Teacher Centers were contacted.⁷ The Teacher Center in Odense was noted as the last one still holding a comprehensive collection of relevant material. As a result of the Information Agreement from 2012, it became evident that

⁴ The journals were *UFE-news* (in Danish: UFE-nyt), published 1980–2006 and *Language & Integration* (in Danish: Sprog & Integration) published 2002–2010.

⁵ Gyldendals Forlag, Haase & Søn, Specialpædagogisk forlag, Kroghs Forlag, Huset LM (Lærerforeningernes Materialeudvalg and GO Forlaget), Dansk lærerforeningens forlag, ActionAid Denmark (Mellempfolkeligt Samvirke), Ibis, Danish Refugee Council (Dansk Flygtningehjælp), and Danish Red Cross (Dansk Røde Kors).

⁶ Specialpædagogisk Forlag had a collection of all their publications and a special catalogue on publications related to the education of immigrant adults and children, 1991–1998. Access to this collection was granted. LM was also able to exhibit a list of publications.

⁷ Teacher Centers (Center for Undervisningsmidler) in Copenhagen, Roskilde, Århus, Vejle, and Odense. Until 1976, Teacher Centers were local library collections under municipal government authority, providing services and teaching materials to the local schools. From 1976 to 1997, they were centrally organized on a county level (Liaison Committee for County Centers for Educational Materials 2004).

the spring of 2015 was the last opportunity to gain access to older collections of teaching materials that had been available to teachers of immigrant pupils over the period in question.⁸

These initial searches were used as a basis for developing historically sensitive search words for a more comprehensive search in the Danish library search engine Bibliotek.dk, which draws from every public library catalogue in Denmark. The search strings were built upon a logic whereby all entries had to respond to “lærer” (teacher) *and* to categories of immigrant pupil⁹, *or* national, ethnic or religious categories¹⁰, *or* pedagogical concepts¹¹, *or* organizations/institutions contributing to this field of education.¹²

This complex search through a landscape unfolded by intertextual references resulted in a patchwork made up of 160 texts. As displayed in the following chart, the collected texts are far from evenly distributed throughout the period of investigation. It is not the focus of this chapter to explain this temporal distribution. However, for the sake of a contextual understanding, it is important to note in 1994, the subject DA2 was integrated into the national curriculum, and this event appears to be significant in explaining the increase in pedagogical materials produced for teachers working with immigrant pupils. Only fifteen of the forty-four texts from the 1990s belong to the period between 1990 and 1994, while twenty-nine were produced from 1995 to 1999. Implementing DA2 as an optional specialization in teacher education programs in 2002 may have fueled pedagogical texts’ production to an even greater degree.

⁸ In 2012, the so-called “Information agreement” (in Danish: Informationsaftalen) was agreed upon by the Danish University Colleges, which Teacher Centers became affiliated with in 2000, by the Association of Publishers (in Danish: Forlæggerforeningen) and the Trade Association for Teaching Resources (in Danish: Brancheforeningen for Undervisningsmidler). With this agreement, Teacher Centers ceased to function as cumulative libraries with lending departments. From 2012, Teacher Centers have been obliged only to display teaching resources (including teacher handbooks, etc.) that are available on the market. The publishing houses have been obliged to provide Teacher Centers with exemplars of new publications. When a teaching resource ceases to be available for purchase, Teacher Centers must remove it from their collections (The Education Information Foundation, 2012).

⁹ The search words in this category were ”indvandrere” (immigrant), “indvandrerbørn” (immigrant children), “indvandrerlever” (immigrant pupils), “fremmedsprogede” (foreign language speaking), “gæstearbejder” (guest worker), “tosproget” (bilingual), “minoritet/mindretal” (minority), and “andetsprog” (second language).

¹⁰ The search words in this category were “tyrker/tyrkisk” (Turk/Turkish), “araber/arabisk” (Arab/Arabic), “jugoslav/jugoslavisk” (Yugoslav/Yugoslavian), “bosnier/bosnisk” (Bosnian), “vietnameser/vietnamesisk” (Vietnamese), “iraner/iransk” (Iranian), “kurer/kurdisk” (Kurd/Kurdish), “iraker/irakisk” (Iraqi), “pakistaner/urdu” (Pakistani/Urdu), “tamiler/tamilsk” (Tamil), “chilener/chilensk” (Chilean), “marokkaner/marokkansk” (Moroccan), “somalier/somalisk” (Somali), and “muslim/islam” (Muslim/Islam).

¹¹ The search words in this category were “assimilation” (assimilation), “flerkultur/multikultur” (multiculture), “interkultur” (interculture), “inklusion” (inclusion), “medborgerskabsundervisning” (citizenship education), “mangfoldighed/diversitet” (diversity), “antiradikalisering” (antiradicalization), “dansk som andetsprog” (Danish as a Second Language), “dansk som fremmedsprog” (Danish as a Foreign Language).

¹² The search words in this category were “Mellempøkkeligt Samvirke” (ActionAid Denmark), “Ibis”, “Dansk Flygtningehjælp” (Danish Refugee Council), “Dansk Røde Kors” (Danish Red Cross), “Statens Pædagogiske Forsøgscenter” (State Center for Pedagogical Innovation), “Undervisningsministeriet” (Ministry of Education), “Integrationsministeriet” (Ministry of Integration), and various publishing houses.

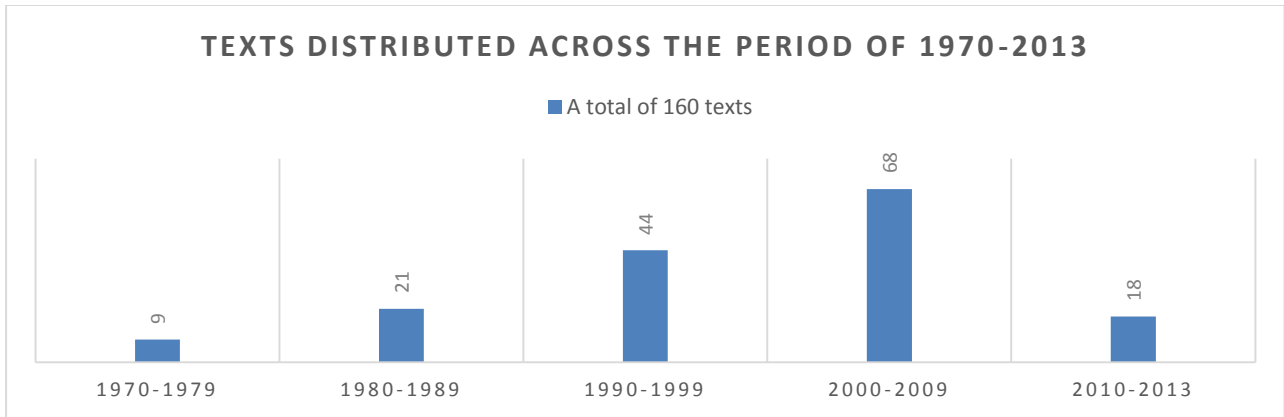


Chart 1: Temporal distribution of historical material.

This process of searching, selecting, and collecting has shown that historical “material is not ‘raw’ but already the result of other practices of conservation and organisation” (Dean 1994, 15)—and referencing. Accordingly, this patchwork of texts makes it possible to identify what has been possible to think and say, how the thinkable and the sayable have been disseminated, and which truths and regimes of practices have been kept, discarded, or reactivated (Foucault 1991a, 59–60).

3. Constructing the research object

The epistemology behind studying the fabrication of a welfare nation-state in pedagogical minutiae is inspired by Michel Foucault’s critique of universals, that is, things (such as state, society, and subjects) that are supposed to exist a priori. Instead, Foucault suggests we suppose the things we study do not exist (2008, 3). If I suppose that immigrant pupils do not exist, “then what can history make of these different events and practices which are apparently organized around something that is supposed to be [immigrant pupils]” (Foucault 2008, 3)? Likewise, if a Danish welfare nation-state does not exist, then what can history make of the different pedagogical repertoires that are apparently embedded in the making of future citizens and a better society and, thus, the fabrication of a Danish welfare nation-state?

One way of answering these questions is by turning to the notion of the *social question*. According to Robert Castel, the social question

is a fundamental aporia through which a society experiences the enigma of its own cohesion and tries to forestall the dangers of its disintegration. It is a complaint that interrogates, [and] calls into question the capacity of a society (known in political terms as a nation) to exist as a collectivity linked by relations of interdependency. (2003, xix–xx)

The social question implies a process beginning at the margins (Castel 2003, xxiii): those of school life, a culture, a nation, a welfare system—wherever immigrant pupils and their families are situated at the fringes of a society and deemed a potential danger to their own social success and to the harmonious and interdependent whole that society is imagined to be (Padovan-Özdemir and Moldenhawer 2016). Following sociologist Mitchell Dean’s reception of Castel’s work, society thus becomes a “problematic unity” that “presupposes the idea of a definite population within a given territory made possible by the legal and political system of the state, which is also the key locus of action and intervention, of direction and coordination” (2010b, 682).

Historically, Foucault argues, the social question emerged as an effect of the externalization of society from the state in the eighteenth century (2009, 349–50). During the three centuries of giving existence to what is referred to as a modern nation-state, on the one hand, society was thought to be composed of a field of subjects to be managed. On the other, society was imagined to be composed of free individuals, evolving “naturally,” a social body requiring little intervention and only insofar as to shelter its people from the risks thought to be inherent in society (Foucault 2009, 354). In this way, historical variations of the social question and its answers illuminate the process of state fabrication that depends on the making of a society and its (free and responsible) citizens, while also becoming part of an answer to the social question. As such, fabricating a social question bears witness to the fears as well as the hopes for the future, and from a pedagogical perspective, “education becomes the key solution for integrating the dangerous groups” (Pettersson, Olsson, and Krejsler 2015, 201)—those on the fringes of society.

Revisiting the social question in a post-1970 Danish pedagogical context of increasing amount of attention paid to immigrant pupils’ presence in public schools allows me to study this particular pedagogical attention as an expression of *a fundamental aporia* through which the imagined cohesion of a Danish welfare nation-state is questioned and potential dangers of its disintegration are identified.¹³ Thus, it applies a focus on “‘local’ problems (...), [as] histories of

¹³ Migration researchers Grete Brochmann and Anniken Hagelund (2011) have termed the welfare state’s concerns about non-Western immigrants and their children as the *new* social question – compared to the old social question pertaining to the urban precariat of industrialization around the turn of the nineteenth century. For an elaborated discussion of the educationalization of this new social question, see Padovan-Özdemir (2016).

the social can further trace the emergence of the social and of notions of society” (Dean 2010b, 686)—and hence, trace the fabrication of a welfare nation-state. As argued elsewhere (Padovan-Özdemir and Moldenhawer 2016), this pedagogical birthing of immigrant pupils crystallizes the weaving together of universal welfare and territorially bounded nationhood. In this sense, the pedagogical/social question of handling immigrant pupils in public schools draws on an ambivalent epistemological repertoire of universalized individual freedom while attributing national characteristics to it. As such, this repertoire validates a welfare nation-state that must bear responsibility for the social, cultural, political, and economic cohesion of society by addressing the presence of immigrant pupils.

In sum, the research object of this chapter is the pedagogical minutiae of the coming into existence of a Danish welfare nation-state from 1970 to 2013 as a pedagogical response or solution to problematizing immigrant pupils’ presence in Danish public schools.

4. Analytical strategy

The processual designation of state as practices of governing, where it is not named but practiced is rooted in Foucault’s analyses of the governmentalization of state (2008; 2009). The process of governmentalization is inherent to the historical emergence of the modern state, society, and free individuals and signifies complex configurations of sovereignty, discipline as well as biopolitics as modes of modern state governing. That being stated, the analytical operationalization of the concept of governmentality is of primary interest to me. The analytical potency of the concept of governmentality lies in its decentering of the fabrication of state (Foucault 2009, 116–20). As such, the analytical perspective of governmentality does not confine the analysis “to a precise domain determined by a sector of the scale, but should be considered simply as a point of view, a method of decipherment which may be valid for the whole scale, whatever its size” (Foucault 2008, 186). Therefore, an analytical perspective of governmentality connects the subjects, truths, techniques, and objectives emerging from pedagogical repertoires with questions of forming society and thereby fabricating the state.

The perspective of governmentality suggests to study a welfare nation-state’s coming into existence “in a set of practices which are not orchestrated by a central agency, do not have a functional necessity, and are not pervaded by a particular ideology” (Villadsen 2015, 148). The variety of materials in the patchwork of texts in terms of authorship, genre, and temporal distribution presented earlier in this chapter has made it plausible to identify regimes of practices

that were not centrally orchestrated. By providing answers to the social and pedagogical questions concerning immigrant pupils' presence in the school, the historical material of 160 instructional texts offers a basis by which I can begin to decipher how subjects, truths, techniques, and visions of society came into existence whereby a Danish welfare nation-state was (and continues to be) fabricated.

In order to decipher the historical material, I have divided the analytical perspective of governmentality into three analytical questions concerning the jurisdictions, veridictions, and *telo*i in every instructional text. In combination, these questions examine practices of conduct, whereby rules are imposed and reasons given on how to make (pedagogical and practical) sense of immigrant pupils' presence (Foucault 1991b, 75).

The analytical question addressing pedagogical jurisdictions pertains to the pedagogical techniques teachers were advised to use in their work with immigrant pupils. Asking questions about jurisdictions helps me decipher the prescriptive effects of “thought made practical and technical” (Dean 2010a, 27). In this analysis, pedagogical techniques have been identified in the form of, for example, instructional artifacts and remedies, pedagogical activities, teacher behavior, facilitated pupil behavior, modes of organization, teaching content, and assessment techniques.

Pedagogical repertoires are traversed by truths that assign particular qualities to immigrant pupils. These qualities may function to explain behaviors, performance, challenges, and so forth that immigrant pupils are believed to exhibit or experience while in school. These qualities also hold the function of drawing lines of demarcation throughout the student body, for example, between those who speak Danish and those who do not. Not only do the truths describe, problematize, and subjectivate immigrant pupils, they also justify the suggested pedagogical techniques. Furthermore, the truths themselves are justified, with reference to either professional experience or academic disciplines.

According to Dean (2010a), governing can hardly be imagined without an objective, a mission, or a goal. By identifying the *telo*i in pedagogical repertoires, it becomes empirically and historically possible to connect the coming into existence of subjects, society, and state, as this fabrication “presupposes a better world, society, way of doing things, or way of living” (Dean 2010a, 45)—even when this means preserving the status quo.

Important to observe, the analytical questions of jurisdictions, veridictions, and *telo*i bear considerable resemblance with the didactical logic inherent in teaching guidelines. This reflects suggesting a certain method, which is justified by professional experience or research, with the

aim of accomplishing a certain pedagogical objective. This analytical condition is lucidly captured by education researcher Valerie Harwood and gender research Mary Lou Rasmussen (2004, 306) in their citing Foucault: “Everything perceived is only evident when surrounded by a familiar and poorly known horizon.” The study of a horizon of governmentalities is inevitably limited by the very same horizon that is the object of and tool for the study and that imposes itself on the analysis. Consequently, utilizing questions of jurisdiction, veridiction and teloi in a governmental perspective, I have turned the didactical logic of the historical material upon itself, making a familiar yet poorly known horizon available to the analysis.

In practical terms, the identifying of truths, techniques, and objectives in each and every of the 160 texts has been registered in a table of four columns (title-authorship-date, teloi, jurisdictions, veridictions) and 160 rows placing the texts in chronological order.¹⁴ The reading and rereading of these research notes have been guided by a strategic analytical discomfort (Harwood and Rasmussen 2004) with the apparent historical series and connections between the texts—for example, that of chronology, authorship, or intertextual references, which the material naturally tries to impose on the reader. Consequently, the texts have been treated as a mere surface of statements with no hidden intentions to be interpreted, nor with an inherent dictum to follow. Thus, it is important to note that when I mention professional titles and authorship, it is not done so with the aim of attributing any analytical significance to this additional information, since all texts in the patchwork have been treated equally and anonymously in terms of discarding any anthropological assumptions about the intentionality of the author (Goldstein 1984, 172–73). The added information about professional titles and authorship serves only as a historical trace that may speak to the other chapters of this volume and also may be pursued in future research.

This approach resulted in a process of descriptive patterning, whereby the analytical work has been a matter of reserializing and reorganizing the material.¹⁵ According to Foucault, such an analytical approach distinguishes “what is relevant and what is not, discovers elements, defines unities, describes relations” (1972, 6). Thus, to perform descriptive patterning means to refrain from historical interpretation and strategically to doubt the series and connections the material may try to impose on the researcher/reader. Instead, descriptive patterning urges the researcher to *describe* the historical material in terms of its jurisdictions, veridictions, and teloi, while inductively identifying patterns across scale, time, and texts. In doing so, processes of repetition

¹⁴ The table covers 136 pages of notes and text fragments from the historical material.

¹⁵ The process of reserialization and reorganization resulted in another 100 pages of tables comprising notes and text fragments.

(Harwood and Rasmussen 2004, 312)—in which things and relations stay the same, or things stay the same and relations change, or relations stay the same and things mutate—have functioned as the historical-analytical grid for the research I present. Accordingly, in some cases, the analysis identifies a pedagogical technique that was repeatedly suggested with varying justification and varying objectives. In others, the analysis takes as a point of departure an objective repeated in the same form over a longer period, but in which the techniques and truths promoting it varies. In addition, the same truth claim has been used to justify different objectives and pedagogical techniques. Thus, the analysis is a result of many layers of systematic readings and rereadings of the material, through which it becomes strikingly apparent how truths, techniques, and objectives conflate with each other in numerous ways.

In line with my layered analysis and image of a patchwork of texts, I have organized the analytical findings around the notion of configuration. In this case, a configuration is understood as an analytical arrangement or assemblage of pedagogical truths, techniques, and objectives illustrating a particular pedagogical and governmental pattern in the historical material across scale, time, and texts. As such, the analytical configurations must be read as the result of reserializing and reorganizing the material; that is, the result of working in a didactical landscape of instructional texts, while reworking it from a governmental perspective. Hence, each of the seven analytical configurations that follow has been constructed based on a didactical theme identified in the material and then reworked or reconfigured from a governmental perspective. This analytical strategy of descriptive patterning has enabled a critical (re-)reading of the historical material with its own themes and concepts as a way of working creatively and reflexively with *a familiar and poorly known horizon*. Accordingly, the fabrication of a Danish welfare nation-state in its pedagogical minutiae has been studied by means of reassembling pedagogical repertoires available to teachers of immigrant pupils across scale, time, and instructional texts.

5. Analytical configurations

In this section, I present seven themed analytical configurations. The first themed configuration identifies the ways pedagogical gazes have subjectivated immigrant pupils. The second configuration focuses on the promises attributed to (Danish) language as teachers have used it in their work with immigrant pupils. The third configuration identifies the centrality given to spoken (Danish) language in the pedagogical making of future citizens and in the maintenance of a deliberative democratic society. The fourth configuration revolves around topics to be discussed in

teaching and identifies their imagined transformative potentials. The fifth configuration explores the nonverbal dimension of pedagogical repertoires in promoting an affective and embodied integration. The sixth configuration explores the pedagogical organization of cultural encounters. The seventh configuration identifies immigrant parents as an appending object of pedagogical concern with the effect of the emergence of a so-called parental didactic.

5.1. Noticing immigrant pupils

A basic premise of this analysis has been the pedagogical attention out of which immigrant pupils emerged as objects of pedagogical concern. A telling example of this is the following excerpt from a teacher's handbook on "foreign language speaking pupils" in Danish schools, which stated: "From the moment that the pupil does not exhibit any linguistic difficulties, he/she must be regarded as being 'deregistered' as a foreign language speaking pupil" (Odde 1974, 13). Thus, this statement implies that certain signs of deficiency had to be observed in order for an immigrant pupil to be registered and handled as one.¹⁶ Thus, in a governmental perspective, it becomes relevant to attend to the particularities of the pedagogical gaze on immigrant pupils; that is, the ways to look at immigrant pupils in order to deal with them as objects of pedagogical concern.

18

Characteristic of the entire period between 1970 and 2013 was the continuous call for teachers to obtain background information about immigrant pupils; that is, "to inquire into the cultural and religious backgrounds of these pupils in order to try to understand their way of thinking and their behaviour" (Hill, Høg, and Kayerød 1975, 11). Noticing immigrant pupils for their non-Danish cultural backgrounds became a founding feature of defining immigrant pupils as a group for pedagogical concern. As part of general pedagogical practice in regards to enrolling pupils, information about the immigrant pupil's family was sought. In 1974, the focus was on information about

¹⁶ In an ethnographic study of ethnic minority pupils' identity formation in a Danish public school, anthropologist of education Laura Gilliam (2007, 63-64; cf. Gilliam 2009) discusses the problematization of immigrant pupils as a general institutional logic inherent in schools. According to Gilliam's study, problematized (immigrant) pupils are those who do not comply with the role of a disciplined middle-class white pupil offered to them by the school. Gilliam also argues that the logic of problematization should be understood in relation to other institutional logics of the school such as isolation of pupils from their life worlds, neutralization of their race, class and social differences standardizing them as pupils differentiated in terms of age, capabilities, etc. Similarly, my analysis shows that practices of pedagogical problematizations of immigrant pupils go beyond a single institutional logic. Rather, pedagogical problematizations appear as the effects of teachers' pedagogical repertoires of truths, techniques and objectives. As such, I study pedagogical problematizations as nominal and historically situated and not as expressions of generalized institutional logics of modern schooling.

the parents' workplace (phone number), the parents' job position in their home country, whether the pupil comes from a rural or urban area, number of years attending school in the home country, religion, eating habits. Moreover, the pupil's age must be estimated. (Odde 1974, 16)

Consequently, knowing about immigrant pupils' cultural, religious, national, and social backgrounds became associated with professionalism (Beyer and Løntoft 1992, 8). Hence, it was commonly held that immigrant pupils should be noticed by their individual appearance, yet, “[w]hat they have in common is above all a cultural background different from the Danish one. They also have in common that they grow up in a bi- or multicultural environment” (Kromayer 1995, 8).



This image appeared in a teaching guideline for sex education in “multiethnic classrooms” with particular attention paid to “ethnic minority girls.” The image appears in connection with instructions on how to treat the group of “ethnic minority girls” in a differentiated manner recognizing them for their individual differences.

3. visual: Gundersen et al. 2012, 18.

From the 1990s onward, the above-mentioned practice of gathering information about immigrant pupils was refined in terms of developing case sheets and charts serving as epistemological grids through which teachers would notice immigrant pupils. Such case sheets and charts became ever more meticulous and integrated into everyday pedagogical practice. This comprehensive and holistic pedagogical gaze directed toward immigrant pupils, however, was explicitly disassociated from special education practices in terms of diagnostic clinical observation (Beyer and Løntoft 1992, 3). In a test material for assessing immigrant pupils' well-being in school, ethnographer Lotte Bøggild and school psychologist Sonja Overby argued it was extremely important for “the

school's teaching staff to look upon the pupils as normal" (1992, 15). This also meant the purpose of noticing immigrant pupils in these ways was to make the teaching content sensitive to the diversity of cultures, religions, and national affiliations, and to differentiate the instruction and pedagogical intervention according to the immigrant pupil's linguistic progression and social development—not to diagnose.

Using these extended observation charts meant background information on immigrant pupils and their families was further supplemented with observations about "the pupil's linguistic and academic competence, his/her social life [in school], and personal resources" (Gamby and Fehrmann 1998, 11). These epistemological grids were pervaded with psychosocial truths about learning in which emotional responses were expected to be *age adequate*, where learning was premised on the pupil's *desire* to learn, and the learning community of the class was dependent on the pupil's *cooperation skills* (Gamby and Fehrmann 1998, 8). Consequently, the filling in of case sheets and charts was based on conversations between the teacher and the immigrant pupil (and his/her parents) and on teachers' observations of the immigrant pupil in everyday linguistic and social interactions.

However, as early as the 1980s, concerns were raised about how immigrant pupils' social behavior in class could distort a teacher's assessment of the pupils' proficiency in Danish. In a volume on Danish as a *foreign* language, edited by two Danish researchers in sociolinguistics, teacher and speech therapist Birthe Høeg Møller observed "children with an almost perfect Danish pronunciation, perfect, although with short and stereotypical sentences, the most neat reading, and in addition fine and well-behaved manners, prove to not understand half of what goes on around them" (Gabrielsen and Gimbel 1982, 279).

In the aftermath of this concern, eight test materials appeared. Of these eight, one dealt solely with the well-being of immigrant pupils (Bøggild and Overby 1992), one assessed the mother tongues of Somali- and Arabic-speaking immigrant pupils (Malmberg et al. 2000), another focused exclusively on reading skills (Friis, Pedersen, and Ærø 2006), and the remainder primarily focused on immigrant pupils' linguistic proficiencies in Danish (Beyer and Løntoft 1992; Beyer and Løntoft 1993; Bundgaard et al. 2001; Friis Eriksen and Miller 2008). Despite the predominant linguistic focus, the epistemological grid of "background information," "age adequate emotional responses," "desire to learn," and "cooperation skills" ran throughout as a strong undercurrent in these test materials. Hence, whenever a test result was interpreted and conveyed observations of the immigrant pupil's reactions to the test situation, the pupil's interest in the test material itself,

way of working with it, and data on family background were also taken into consideration. These epistemological grids were cast against visions of immigrant pupils as future citizens in the Danish society, where Danish proficiency, emotional behavior, and learning attitudes were regarded as “indispensable cultural techniques” (Beyer and Løntoft 1993, 3) that immigrant pupils needed to demonstrate, if they were to have “a chance of benefitting from schooling and eventually get an education and, thereby, the opportunity to live a financially and socially safe and self-managed adult life in Danish society” (Beyer and Løntoft 1993, 6).¹⁷

Accordingly, the practice of assessment developed into an arena whereby immigrant pupils became not only objects of a pedagogical gaze, but also positioned as active subjects partaking in a learning process of acquiring “indispensable cultural techniques.” This development crystallized in an edited volume on testing and evaluating DA2, in which “the pupils themselves are trained to be actively participating in setting the objectives for and in the evaluation of their own learning,” as stated by Anne Kærgaard, who holds a master’s degree in Danish and didactics (Friis Eriksen and Miller 2008, 9). Although this practice resonated with a general pedagogical trend of pupil self-evaluation (Christensen 2008, 44), the truth claim supporting this assessment practice was found in the observation that

many bilingual children and youngsters have not been raised with the idea that they themselves can set their own goals. (...) The father, the mother, culturally like-minded imams, uncles, and other adults of authority in the network show the way. (Friis Eriksen and Miller 2008, 8)

In this way, assessment practices became not only the teacher’s pedagogical tool for instructional differentiation, pedagogical problem identification, and placing and grouping of immigrant pupils, but also a tool with which immigrant pupils could practice autonomous learning and decision-making in order to be able to live a future self-managed adult life in Danish society. However, this future-oriented feature appearing in assessment practices of the new millennium was accompanied by a re-articulation of the sociolinguistic understanding of “bilingual pupils” language development. Teacher Helle Toft Nielsen stated, “bilingual pupils will always be in need of an extra introduction to the vocabulary of a text. The bilingual dimension will always

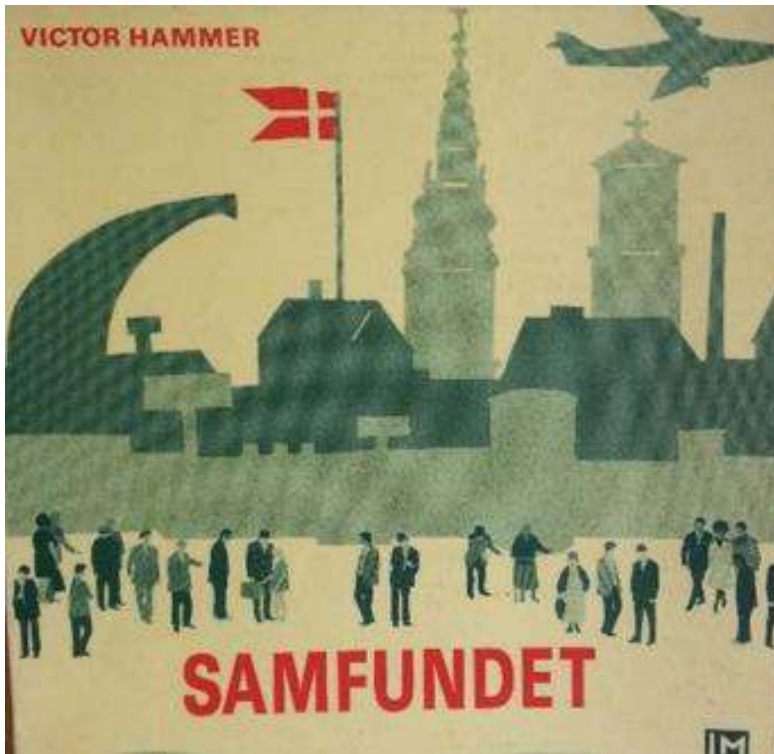
¹⁷ With these epistemological grids in mind, it seems interesting to note that the first national review of the provision of DA2 in public schools concluded: “The group of bilingual pupils, who receive supplementary instruction, seems, thus, to be the youngest, the academically feeble-minded, those pupils who do not dare to speak out, those least socially integrated, those pupils who exhibit disruptive behaviour” (UC2 and KLEO 2004, 41).

accompany them” (Friis Eriksen and Miller 2008, 57). In this sense, bilingualism (when exhibited by immigrant pupils) was claimed to be a condition of life and *for* life.

The assessment techniques developed in the first decade of the new millennium appeared on a backdrop of *panics* about immigrant pupils lowering the national competitiveness in terms of their comparatively bad academic performances in the Danish PISA surveys.¹⁸ One distinct practical effect of these panics is worth mentioning in relation to the use of assessment techniques targeting immigrant pupils. In 2005, parental choice of school was introduced in the Danish Education Act. However, due to the above-mentioned panics about high numbers of immigrant pupils lowering the academic level in certain schools, parents of immigrant pupils were temporarily denied their free choice of school “if, at the time of school admission, it is estimated that the pupil exhibits a nonnegligible need of linguistic support in the form of DA2, and it is deemed pedagogically necessary to refer the pupil” (Fehrmann et al. 2007, 7) to a school different from that chosen by the parents.¹⁹ Historian of ideas Gro Hellsdatter Jacobsen (2012) finds that this differential treatment was (and still is) justified by means of language testing and, partly, with reference to immigrant pupils’ ethnic and socio-cultural backgrounds with the overall objective of securing integration. Jacobsen suggests to understand this measure as a state of exception that is a characteristic feature of a competitive welfare nation-state faced with economic and cultural globalization. Accordingly, I understand this differential practice as partly an effect of the panics about the comparatively bad testing results of Danish pupils, in particular ethnic minority pupils, in the international PISA surveys. Partly as an effect of the above-mentioned *life sentence* ascribed to the bilingualism of immigrant pupils that kept them as objects of pedagogical attention and concern.

¹⁸ Egelund and Tranæs 2008; Egelund, Nielsen, and Rangvid 2011; Christensen et al. 2014.

¹⁹ If a later assessment of the immigrant pupils’ level of proficiency in Danish proved to be on an acceptable level, the parents regained their right to choose a school for their child. In this way, language assessment worked to register or deregister immigrant pupils as object of pedagogical concern.



The book entitled Society: this image displays public life in Copenhagen with the Danish national flag, the parliamentary tower, a church tower, and an airplane in the background.

4. visual: Hammer 1987, front cover.

5.2. The promised land of (Danish) language

23

As suggested in the previous section, language worked as the luminous marker of immigrant pupils; whether in the form of bilingualism as a condition of life and for life or in the form of attaining a certain level of Danish language proficiency that could register or deregister them as immigrant pupils. Tainted and traversed by notions of cultural/national heritage, desire, emotions and sociability, language, and in particular the Danish language, stood out as a focus for pedagogical repertoires emerging and becoming available to teachers of immigrant pupils between 1970 and 2013. All the wonders imagined to be inherent in (Danish) language can be lucidly exemplified by the following excerpt from a catalogue of ideas for language stimulation and observation:

Language is a tool, which one should know how to handle, when one wishes to contact others, convey one's intentions, stand one's ground, influence others, have fun, show respect, gather information, and understand humour and irony. Language has many facets containing a whole repertoire of words, expressions, intonation, stresses, and accentuations that one can choose from. Language is necessary in order to make use of one's democratic rights, to get access to the labour market, and to cope in society. (Littman and Rosander 2004, 12)

Reading this excerpt in reverse, however, all the wonders of language appear with their dystopian counterparts: If one fails to master the (Danish) language, one will be deprived of equal and beneficial human interaction. One will even be deprived of civil rights and become isolated, resulting in not being able to live a self-sufficient life and partake in a democratic society.²⁰ Accordingly, these articulations of utopia and dystopia must be regarded as the effect of constructions concerning the lack of Danish proficiency “as the biggest problem to immigrants and refugees at all levels in the education system” (Ministry of Education 1991, 1).

The utopian enterprise and dystopian dangers present in the pedagogical configuring of language concerning immigrant pupils reveal how (Danish) language was articulated in veridictive, jurisdictional, and teleological modes that I see sedimenting over time.

In 1973, grammar school teacher Aage Salling, who holds a master’s degree in English, published a book on the theory of foreign language instruction arguing that all language teaching and learning could only ever hope to cover but a small section of the entire language in question. Hence, the objective of advancing pupils’ language proficiency needed to address “what they can do with the language, and what the language can do for them” (1973, 34). This teleological claim was adopted by most teacher guidelines for instructing immigrant pupils in the 1970s. The adaptation of Salling’s “little language” meant that immigrant pupils’ initial learning of Danish in

²⁰ Historian of education Julia Nordblad makes a compelling comparative historical analysis of differing pedagogical programs responding to the presence of “Finnish-speakers and Sami in Sweden, and the Bretons and Arab-speaking Tunisians within French pedagogical territory at the end of the nineteenth century” (2013, Abstract). Of interest to my analysis of the centrality (Danish) language in pedagogical repertoires available for teachers of immigrant pupils in Danish public schools is Nordblad’s observation of how the possibilities given for learning the majority language was closely connected to instituting a *demos* of equals. She observes that learning and speaking the majority language fabricates equal citizens of the *demos*. Accordingly, “[t]he insistence on and denial of [particular pedagogical methods] correspond to the inclusion and exclusion, respectively, of these groups into and from the community of equals” (2013, Abstract). These comparative historical findings support my observations of how Danish language came to be the promised land of immigrant pupils’ in terms of becoming equal citizens in the Danish society. Examining the Danish context, historian Ove Korsgaard notes that with the post-1864 establishment of a Danish “democratic nation-state” Denmark chose a strategy conflating *ethnos* with *demos*. Accordingly, language became “the ‘natural’ foundation” (2008, 51) on which to build a Danish democratic nation-state in the ideal image of “one people, one language, and one state” (2008, 52). According to Korsgaard, the standardization and homogenization of language “was represented as an ethnic issue. Even if the social question played an important role in the process toward democracy the feud was interpreted not only as a social struggle between the ‘upper-class’ and the ‘people’ but also as an ethnic-cultural struggle between Germans and Danes – between the ‘people’ and the ‘foreigners’” (2008, 54). In this process of nation-building, it is crucial to observe that today’s comprehensive public school (*Folkeskolen*) is rooted in this early development of a “school of the common people” in which Danish was the language of instruction (2008, 58). Based on the experiences of WWII, the Danish public school was not only to foster loyal citizens, but was “encrusted with educating and forming the individual into a democratic citizen” (2008, 92). According to my analysis, these two educational projects seem to intertwine in the pedagogical repertoires available to teachers of immigrant pupils in post-1970 Danish public schools. In an analysis of contemporary Danish Language curriculum, professor of Danish as a Second Language Anne Holmen notes that on top of the subject’s primary objective of providing insight into Danish language and literature, the subject also serves as a framework for pupils’ participation in democratic deliberation (2011, 31).

reception classes was delimited to a basic, grammatically correct form of Danish that “will not offend against the language used by the most advanced language users” (Hill, Høg, and Kayerød 1975, 5). It was offered to help ready them for integrating into mainstream classes and participating in everyday situations with Danes. The corollary: knowing languages other than Danish was regarded as a barrier to learning and socialization (Hill, Høg, and Kayerød 1975, 7).

With the growing recognition that families and children of non-Western labor immigrants were coming to settle in Denmark, however, the above-described language submersion model was increasingly criticized for treating immigrant pupils as tourists, who were learning only what could be obtained from a phrase book or a tourist guidebook, yet were simultaneously deprived of their mother tongue (Country Center for Educational Materials 1982; Rahbek Pedersen and Skutnabb-Kangas 1983).

From the 1980s and until 2002, when state funding for mother tongue instruction offered to non-EU and non-Scandinavian pupils was withdrawn, a *maintenance model* was promoted as the alternative to the early *submersion model*. The pedagogical crystallization of the maintenance model suggested that the first language (mother tongue) of immigrant pupils be advanced before acquiring Danish, or that the first and second languages be advanced in parallel, or that DA2 be acquired by means of the immigrant pupil’s first language. This last mode of the maintenance model was indeed the one most commonly advocated for in the pedagogical repertoires.

In the 1980s, from an administrative point of view, the maintenance model was promoted with the objective of “maintaining the mother tongue or official language [of the country of origin] and retaining relations with the family’s homeland” (Ministry of Education 1984, 12), as it was still expected immigrant families would return to their countries of origin. From a psychosocial point of view, language was seen as a marker of identity. According to teacher Gry Clasen, this meant that immigrant pupils were to be given “an identity as foreigners in Denmark” (County Center for Educational Materials 1982, 97). However, from a similar psychosocial point of view, mother tongue instructor Željka Rasmussen warned such ties should not be bound too tightly as doing so would generate “too great a sentiment of nostalgia towards the home country. A nostalgia that turns into hatred against Denmark among children as well as their parents, when they come to know that their wish to return cannot be realized” (County Center for Educational Materials 1982, 27).

As such, language and language acquisition appears to have been constructed as internal (psychological) as well as external (social) battlefields. As an internal battlefield, immigrant pupils

were imagined to struggle with bridging two different worlds of language and national/cultural identification (Arenas et al. 1987, 90). The solution was to foster “whole persons,” which “in the case of bilingual pupils means that they develop bilingual and bicultural competencies” (Falk et al. 2003, 82). While learning Danish, immigrant pupils would “get the opportunity to gradually pick up on the surrounding society and thereby become able to create an existence in a new/different culture” (Isaksen and Wagner 1998, 4).

In parallel, this internal struggle had been articulated as an echo of an external battlefield. With reference to cultural sociology, the problematized linguistic effects of international labor and family migration since the 1960s were, as early as 1982, being articulated in terms of “social and cultural assessments and experiences that give rise to conflicts and misunderstandings in a given situation of communication” (Gabrielsen and Gimbel 1982, 89). The veridictive claims of cultural sociology introduced a structural power perspective concerning the instruction of immigrant pupils. An intriguing effect of this truth claim can be found in the official curriculum for DA2, where it was suggested

[t]he connection between language and power should be given a fair amount of attention. Thus, it is important to provide bilingual pupils with linguistic tools with which to deal with the oppression that they might be exposed to. Likewise, they must learn how to react linguistically in particular situations, for example, when addressed as *nigger*.²¹ (Ministry of Education 2005, 124)

26

This quotation also bears witness to a rights perspective connecting psychosocial and sociocultural truth regimes that were traversing pedagogical configurations addressing immigrant pupils’ language(s). In the 1980s and early 1990s, this idea was primarily about “all children’s right to share the mother tongue of their parents, regardless of mother tongue and place” (Kristiansdottir 1992, 3). In the second half of the 1990s, immigrant pupils’ rights to use their mother tongue were related to the general pedagogical jurisdictional regime of premising all instruction on the individual pupil’s prerequisites and former experiences—including the use of languages other than Danish—as a means to learn Danish and the rest of the curriculum. In the 2000s, the “right to language” was rearticulated as immigrant pupils’ “right to be offered instruction in DA2 in all subjects during all the years that the pupil[s] attend[s] public school” (Christiansen and Løntoft 2009, 9). This last version of linguistic rights should be understood in

²¹ In Danish: *perker*. It is a derogatory term for all non-Western, non-white persons, in particular, persons of Middle-Eastern descent.

connection with the earlier observation of immigrant pupils' bilingualism articulated as a condition of life and for life. As such, it was connected to the development of an official definition of immigrant pupils as "bilingual pupils," "who on a daily basis encounter or are in need of two or more languages" (Ministry of Education 1995a, 13).

Thus, this three-decades-long pedagogical configuration of immigrant pupils' language(s) as contested internal and external battlefields carried with it a common narrative about a Danish nation-state as exceptionally culturally and linguistically homogenous prior to the 1960s, where speaking Danish was regarded "not only as a practical arrangement, but often also as an expression of loyalty towards society" (Holm and Laursen 2004, 70). It also carried a second narrative about a post-1950s Danish *welfare* state as exceptionally democratic and modern as evidenced by the following excerpt from a 1985 handbook on intercultural teaching:

As a teacher, one often finds that immigrant pupils are rather "underdeveloped" in comparison to their Danish peers. This is due to problems arising in connection with the translocation from a socially and technically backward rural environment to a highly technologically developed society like the Danish one. (Clausen 1985, 12)

Bringing in governmental perspectives of nation and welfare, enables me to understand how the notion of (Danish) language was scaled territorially in terms of an exclusive national/cultural community and evolutionistically in terms of an exclusive modernity, leaving immigrant pupils on the *threshold* of potential integration into a modern welfare society. At that time, as suggested in a teacher handbook on pupil-centered teaching for DA2, language pedagogy "can be regarded an element in the efforts made to integrate bilinguals" (Christensen, Hölscher, and Rabitsch 1996, 7). Thus, Danish language acquisition could be viewed as a promised land. For immigrant pupils to reach it,

a Danish language applicable to different levels is required: First, it should be usable in creating a good child life in daycare including play and contact with children as well as adults. Later, the language will be utilized in school settings, still as a means to achieve positive contact and to learn and hence, a means to achieve educational goals. (Glerup 2006, 8)

However, as this quotation also implies, (Danish) language became a moving target for there would always be a new domain in which knowledge of a "[g]ood, better, Danish" (as Rahbek Pedersen and Skutnabb-Kangas 1983 polemically titled their teacher handbook on

immigrant pupils' integration into Danish society) language was required and consequently, ever retaining immigrant pupils on that threshold of the promised land.

5.3. Speak or perish!

From the examination of (Danish) language as a promised land for immigrant pupils to pursue to become active democratically minded self-sufficient citizens in Danish society, the verbal modality of language stood out as a dominant theme in the pedagogical repertoires available to teachers of immigrant pupils. It appeared so in two mutually constitutive modalities.

The first modality revolves around the linguistic truth claim that “central to the acquisition of a new language stands the spoken language” as argued by sociolinguist Jørgen Gimbel (2000, 25) in a pamphlet on “bilingual pupils” in primary school. Although this truth claim consistently justified the primacy of verbalization in instructing immigrant pupils over the forty-three year period under investigation, it appeared in relation to different teleological and jurisdictional articulations of the pedagogical use of spoken language. In the early years of the 1970s, the primacy of verbal communication was a matter of mastering the most basic, everyday communication situations encountered in school and in the local community as a means to adapt. This pedagogical repertoire continued into the 1980s, although then, it was justified with another truth claim that “[m]any foreign language speaking pupils have their background in primarily ‘oral cultures’” (Ministry of Education 1984, 96), which was imagined to cause them difficulties in grasping the abstractions implied in written language. In 1992, consultant of immigrant education Bergthora Kristjansdottir suggested in a pamphlet on the instruction of DA2 in primary school that reading instruction should be based on the spoken language as this would accord with the succession in which monolingual children learned to read (Kristjansdottir 1992).

The late 1990s were characterized by an intensified professional specialization of the DA2 subject area (Padovan-Özdemir 2016), which only fueled the primacy afforded to spoken language. In a ministerially commissioned collection of articles dealing with DA2 as a new instructional area, educator Lene Lonnov suggested that via conversation, “pupils will consistently have the opportunity to test their skills and hypotheses in practice by producing language themselves” (Ministry of Education 1995b, 10). Commenting on the direct method in the instruction of a basic “little language” known from the 1970s, the primacy of spoken language would now unfold pedagogically in authentic situations of verbal communication. This required that “authentic questions were posed and authentic answers given in response” (Christensen,

Hölscher, and Rabitsch 1996, 9). As suggested by pedagogical consultant Kitte Søndergård Kristensen, this meant orchestrating teaching situations based on, for example, games including an information gap or engaging with “topics that are important to the pupils and give rise to a good discussion. Typically, this would be topics that offer the opportunity to draw comparisons between the pupils’ homelands/countries and Denmark” (Ministry of Education 1995b, 21). The jurisdictional theme of authenticity stood in close relation to an understanding of immigrant pupils as silent pupils who, with the support of teachers, could become communicative pupils.



This drawing is found in a teacher handbook on DA2 instruction promoting the communicative method in language teaching. The drawing illustrates a pedagogical circle, allowing the participants to make verbal exchanges of opinion and practice language. The phrase states: “What do you say to this?”

5. visual: Holm & Laursen 2004, 33.

This teleological theme of communicative pupils was articulated more forcefully from the beginning of the 2000s as illustrated by speech therapist Jette Løntoft’s argument that “[l]anguage acquisition is a process that requires the child to be active” (2000, 17). From then forward, engaging actively in conversations during instruction was seen not only as a means to learn (the Danish) language, but also as a learning mode in general. More importantly, conversation was promoted as a pedagogical tool for helping make immigrant pupils more aware of and responsible for their own learning processes. In the teaching guidelines for the national curriculum of DA2, it was suggested that

[d]iscussions of what it means to learn Danish and its associated emotions should be included in the teaching, preferably in view of literature, images, or anything else that may thematise the cultural encounter (...) [and] give rise to conversation[s] about differences and similarities. (Ministry of Education 2005, 104)

The way this quotation connects immigrant pupils' verbalized reflections about their language learning with verbalizing emotional aspects of a cultural encounter leads me to the second modality of verbal (Danish) language present in the pedagogical repertoires. It centered on a veridictive theme most lucidly exemplified by the following truth claim: "Motivation for learning the language in order to become socially integrated is a significant impetus" (Christensen, Hölscher, and Rabitsch 1996, 7). While this truth claim was stated in 1996, it is found articulated in different forms across the entire period between 1970 and 2013. It connects the immigrant pupil's inner emotions with notions of a sociality, with *sociality* referring here to the interaction between two persons, the classroom community, or the larger (Danish) society. The capability of communicating verbally across this scale of socialities was thought to be a sign of integration. In the following encircling of the second modality of verbal language, I will establish what integration as a teleological claim became when imagined to be the result of speaking Danish to each other.

Speaking Danish meant being able to engage in social interaction with other Danes—in mainstream classes and in the local community. In the 1970s, this pedagogical objective was related to a psychosocial problematizing of immigrant pupils perceived as being "silent, polite, and withdrawn and soon to become disruptive and, at times, aggressive" (Odde 1974, 30). Here then, teaching oral Danish skills to immigrant pupils meant avoiding aggression and fostering socially appropriate behavior. For example, the teacher could organize the first guided tour around the school as a pedagogical encounter, in which immigrant pupils could learn a few phrases: "Hello, and—if the deputy headmaster hands out a notebook or if the dentist offers a tube of toothpaste: Here you go! Thank you! Goodbye!" (Hill, Høg, and Kayeørd 1975, 11).

As more and more immigrant pupils were placed in mainstream classes during the 1980s, at a time when (anti)racism was high on the public agenda, daily conflicts in the classroom or in the schoolyard were observed. These conflicts were primarily interpreted as resulting from cultural differences to be approached with deliberative methods. In a teacher handbook on multiethnic pedagogy and intercultural teaching, educators Anne Madsen and Jørn Steenhold argued "[s]ince our traditions are based on a propagated democracy, there is reason to believe that the

disagreements will and can take place without conflicts” (1987, 7). Teachers were advised to place all pupils in a circle in which an open, balanced conversation could unfold. As such, spoken language appeared as a pedagogical objective, which was tapped for use as a pedagogical tool to facilitate peaceful conflict resolution and foster cross-cultural empathy while keeping a deliberative democratic sociality intact.

The privileging of spoken (Danish language) in the form of conversation and deliberation was coined in a catalogue of ideas and exercises for intercultural teaching, whereby school headmaster Jens Raahauge concluded that “[c]onversation is a hallmark of the Danish school, and of lessons in Danish in particular” (Klöcker et al. 1999, 9). This statement becomes even more interesting when considered along with the social power ascribed to conversations conducted in Danish, with Raahauge a few pages later in the same instructional text making the jurisdictional suggestion to “cultivate the mother tongue of globalization (...) which in terms of teaching Danish epitomizes the conversation, the narrative, the spoken word” (Klöcker et al. 1999, 13). These quotations reveal how spoken Danish language was thus attributed universal values. Consequently, conversation in Danish became a justified pedagogical tool with which the teacher could encourage classroom community across cultural differences.

From the perspective of conversations as a pedagogical crystallization of a deliberative democratic sociality, immigrant pupils were not only problematized as lacking Danish proficiency, but also described as a group of individuals for whom it was a new phenomenon “to take a stand on things, evaluate, and express their opinion about an issue” (Bach and Bech 1998, 8). In order to promote these critical deliberative skills among immigrant pupils, conversation, discussion, and dialogue were suggested as key pedagogical remedies to be deployed in immigrant pupil instruction.

When identifying the centrality given to spoken (Danish) language as a means of language acquisition and democratic socialization, it seems noteworthy to observe how the justification for focusing on immigrant pupils’ spoken Danish language was found in their tradition of an oral heritage in the early 1990s, whereas, in the mid-2000s, it was articulated in precisely the opposite direction, with the observation that “many immigrant children are clearly marked by a nonverbal culture” (Egholm 2006, 138) in their family environment. These contradictory veridictive justifications should be understood in relation to a broader development in the *migratory histories* assigned to immigrant pupils. Between 1970 and 1990, immigrant pupils were largely regarded as the offspring of rural, undereducated immigrant families. From the beginning of the 1990s and

onward, they were problematized as the offspring of a new urban (Muslim and non-Western) precariat.²²

Where the first migratory history held a romanticized perception of rural oral traditions, the second one imagined threats to the deliberative democratic tradition lurking in the urban immigrant precariat, in which, it was imagined, parents did not cultivate deliberative skills in their children. Hence, the issues at stake when deploying pedagogical techniques of conversation, discussion, and dialogue in the 2000s were matters of empowerment and subtle transformation. In a book describing best practices of working with “ethnic minority girls,” anthropologist Marianne Nøhr Larsen wrote: “The pedagogical project is not to overthrow the girl’s values, but to teach her to ask questions and to give her the courage and strength to dare to try to change things that she would like to change” (2004, 204). Similarly, teacher training college lecturers Nanna Butters and Jette Bøndergaard suggested history teachers working with multicultural groups of pupils employ pedagogical dialogues through which the teachers could engender “more positive perceptions of the future” (2010, 58) for immigrant pupils to apply in making autonomous, reflexive choices about their lives. Nøhr Larsen observed these were vital conversations, through which “each and everyone may come out at the other end as ‘someone’” (2004, 197). Moreover, these deliberative pedagogical techniques were offered to teachers as a means of peaceful cross-cultural conflict resolution. The parties involved could “keep their dignity,” with the community suffering the least amount of damage as recommended in a best practice report on conflict resolution in multicultural schools (Jacobsen et al. 2008, 54).

Consequently, pedagogical techniques of conversation, discussion, and dialogue experienced a merger with teleological themes of holding immigrant pupils responsible for their own learning process, for the social cohesion of the classroom, and, not least, for transforming into modern, critical, reflexive citizens capable of imagining a better future for themselves, while

²² My use of the notion *precariat* holds a triple meaning. One, it alludes to the hyper-flexibility and hyper-mobility requested from today’s labour force causing significant numbers of workers to experience insurity in terms of temporary work contracts, “with ‘the migrant’ as its quintessential incarnation” (Schierup, Ålund and Likic-Brboric 2015, 51). Two, it epitomizes the criminalization and racialization of urban social poverty and marginality (Wacquant 2009, 31). In this way, it subscribes to a “nexus of precarious labour and truncated citizenship” (Schierup, Ålund and Likic-Brboric 2015, 50). Understanding these two meanings in a governmentality perspective, I add third meaning in terms of the inherent precariousness in modern welfare governing, whose all-encompassing care also has the effect of creating its own threats. Accordingly, it may be argued that in targeting rural, undereducated immigrant families with modernizing education, a new urban (Muslim and non-Western) precariat was created and perceived as a threat to a Danish welfare nation-state (Padovan-Özdemir and Moldenhawer 2016; cf. Raffnsøe 2008). In sum, the notion of *precariat* pertaining to non-Western immigrant families and their children embodies the fundamental aporia through which a welfare nation-state faced with economic and cultural globalization seeks to anticipate and prevent the dangers of its disintegration.

engaging in the maintenance of deliberative democratic socialities across the scale by means of spoken (Danish) language. Stated polemically, engaging in conversations became a question of whether to speak or perish.

5.4. Semantics of (immigrant) life

Clearly, the pedagogical repertoires available to teachers of immigrant pupils promoted spoken (Danish) language. Evidently, these teaching materials also offered suggestions for teachers concerning which topics to talk about with immigrant pupils, and with what justifications and objectives.

In 1974, Odde argued immigrant “pupils should be offered up-to-date information about daily life and societal conditions [in Denmark]” (1974, 20). A group of teachers supported this teleological argument. As the result of attending an in-service teacher training program, they had produced a catalogue of ideas for topics to talk about with immigrant pupils, so the students could begin to integrate a Danish social code of conduct (County Center for Educational Materials 1974). The list of conversational topics included greetings, the school, the home and domestic chores, food, meals and groceries shopping, sickness and health, clothing, leisure time, the local community, work, and traffic rules. This simplified introduction to a Danish social code of conduct was based on an understanding of immigrant pupils as individuals “(probably due to the traditions of the country of origin, anxiety, etc.) often standing in confrontation with differently minded people (e.g., as to religion, eating habits, clothing, gender roles, language, morals, etc.)” (Eilstrup and Odde 1976, 2).

As clearly demonstrated in a later teaching material titled *Society*, these conversational topics were selected as they were imagined to represent “practical significance to the individual citizen in his/her everyday life” (Hammer 1980, 59). Moreover, the topics worked as a pedagogical crystallization of a society produced in the image of a modern tax-supported welfare state (Kolstrup 2014). Accordingly, Victor Hammer described a society in which

[e]ach and everyone works for himself/herself and his/her family. But one also works for society (...)
A society should take care of its members (...) Society does so by providing institutions and authorities from whom one can reach out for help. (1980, 2–5)

The above-mentioned conversational topics continued to appear in pedagogical repertoires through the 1980s and onward, although some expansions and modifications can be observed. The publication of an exhibition catalogue on the teaching of “immigrant children” (County Center for Educational Materials 1982) marked a significant mutation in the justifications of and criteria for selecting appropriate topics to discuss with immigrant pupils. Although the topics stayed the same, it was suggested they should no longer only represent the daily life of “Danish children,” “Danish families,” “Danish workers.” The same topics were to be presented and talked about in accordance with the

milieus that the [immigrant] pupil is acquainted with and needs to know of in order to cope in Denmark (...) The point of departure need not be confined to dialogues and material about Danish conditions. It may also include visuals from the pupils’ home countries. (County Center for Educational Materials 1982, 83)

Furthermore, teacher and ethnographer Inger Clausen argued “[i]n order for them to experience the content as relevant and motivational, it is very important that they can identify with the persons appearing in the material. Thus, it should depict and involve immigrant children” (County Center for Educational Materials 1982, 84).

As such, justification for the list of selected topics no longer only pertained to their representative value in regards to a Danish welfare society, but also became a matter of cultural representation and identification regarding the immigrant pupils’ lives before and after they had settled in Denmark. In the beginning of the 1990s, teaching material depicting the everyday life of an “immigrant family in Denmark” was increasingly available for use in schools (e.g., Alsterberg and Murray 1992). Incorporating the immigrant perspective in the conversational topics and teaching content thus paved the way for cross-cultural comparisons.



The photograph shows a pupil exhibition of Turkish artifacts: diplomas, schoolbooks, notes, a tea set, Turkish girls' names, and so forth.

6. visual: Overgaard & Klein 1998, 28.

As shown above, language teaching and learning in the mid-1990s were thought to take place in meaningful communicative situations. Where meaningfulness was found in cultural representations in the 1980s and early 1990s, in the second half of the 1990s, the pedagogical question of meaningfulness found its veridictive justification in developmental learning theory. This developmental perspective cast immigrant pupils as children having “a very limited conceptual world and carrying very few experiences from the surrounding society with them, when they begin school” (Kidde 1997, 14). Accordingly, the pedagogical repertoires suggested teachers work with age-appropriate topics: Grades 1–2: my body and me, family, vacation, food, shops, earth, heaven; Grades 3–6: the farm, circus, pets, immigration; Grades 7–9: crime, identity, family issues, tradition/culture/religion, commercials, otherness (Kidde 1997).

Along with this modification in developmental perspective concerning choices for meaningful conversational topics came an articulation of relevant topics as “functional entities, including existential issues that may illuminate the conflicts generated by the encounter with the new/another culture and, as such, pave the way for the new identity” (Isaksen and Wagner 1998, 4). Accentuating the existential dimension of the semantics of language learning and teaching meant the objective of conversin in Danish should be more than just an exercise in language acquisition. The conversational topics should represent a *semantics of (immigrant) life*. In a catalogue of pedagogical ideas for teaching immigrant pupils, the age-appropriate topics mentioned above were rearticulated as a means of helping make immigrant pupils not only

conceptually, but also existentially “aware of themselves and the surrounding world” (Larsen 2002, 77).

In the same way the pedagogical tools of conversation, dialogue, and discussion were thought to have transformative potential in the 2000s, topics pertaining to culture, religion (in particular Islam), tradition, and identity were suggested to be of particular existential relevance to immigrant pupils. Engaging with a semantics of (immigrant) life revolved around the teleological theme of fostering autonomous citizens capable of freely making independent decisions, an objective that was articulated in contrast to a traditional Muslim individual, often perceived as dependent on his/her family in every matter of life. Characterizing the public debate on immigrants, textbook author Kim Boye Holt described the public image of traditional Muslim immigrant subjects in a teaching guideline: “It is about ghettos, hijabs, and maladjusted school children. About oppressed women, forced marriages, and immigrant gangs. Or about mosques, halal meat, and Muslim codes of conduct” (2011, 6).

Thus, what started out as a list of conversational topics representative of a welfare society in the 1970s, turned into an existential semantics of (immigrant) life to be used pedagogically in offering immigrant pupils an opportunity “not only to learn ‘something,’ but also to learn something about themselves” (Butters and Bøndergaard 2010, 192). In their guidelines for teaching history from an intercultural perspective, Butters and Bøndergaard argued (immigrant) pupils “should come to learn about themselves as reflexive subjects with the opportunity to act” (2010, 192). This teleological theme of emancipation and reflexive agency is also found in teaching material presenting a thematization of immigrant pupils’ futures in education, in the labor market, and in relation to their immigrant (Muslim) background (Grøndahl et al. 2005), and in material for sex education in multicultural education (Gundersen, Bune, and Holm Jensen 2012). An illustrative example of this teleological theme can also be found in a teacher guideline for using the material titled *In Two Minds*²³:

[M]ore than ever before does Danish society offer a mosaic of opportunities, where the individual can and should find his/her own unique way. This confronts the youngster of today with a range of difficult choices and decisions that are more personal and individual than in earlier times, and to a lesser extent based on “what you come from” or “destiny.” (Nøhr Larsen, Thorborg, and Sahibzada 2012, 9)

²³ In Danish: *I syv sind*.

Thus, this reflexive, dialogical processing of a semantics of (immigrant) life is suggested to hold the promise of emancipating immigrant pupils from a traditional, dependent, collectivistic fatalism.



7. visual: Nøhr Larsen, Thorborg, and Sahibzada 2012, 57.

This collage illustrates an idealized relationship between a mentor (to the left) and his mentee (to the right):

Mentor: "Chooses to support you"

Mentee: "You choose to accept the support"

Mentor: "Supports you in the difficult steps on the road and in sticking to the course you've chosen"

Mentee: "You take responsibility and choose your own way"

Mentor: "Listens to you and trusts in you, because he knows that you can be trusted in your cooperation"

Mentee: "You keep in contact with your mentor"

The collage is illustrative of the pedagogical relation and expectations implied in existential conversations in which immigrant pupils are asked to engage.

5.5. Affective, embodied, playful integration

The existentially transformative potential of the conversational content emerging in the pedagogical repertoires was accompanied by an aesthetically sensuous, experience-based pedagogy. The pedagogical regime of creative expression, play, and experience has a long history running parallel with industrialization, modernization, the making of modern educational systems, and welfare nation-states (Christensen 2008; Hultqvist 2004). Not least, it is linked with progressive pedagogies (Øland 2011). What is of interest for this analysis is which truths, technological functions, and *telois* were ascribed to emotions, sensuous experience, aesthetics, and the body in pedagogical repertoires available to teachers of immigrant pupils?

A repertoire of pedagogical techniques (e.g., dramatization and role playing, children's games, school excursions, creative reproduction of experiences, visualization, handicraft, singing, dancing, physical exercises, and storytelling) was set in motion to invoke emotional and aesthetic dimensions of learning—and ultimately, immigrant pupil integration. This repertoire of techniques was consistently deployed between 1970 and 2013, but it seems noteworthy to observe truths about immigrant pupils that justifying the use of these techniques between 1980 and 2013 were remarkably opposite to claims proposed during the 1970s.

In the pedagogical repertoires of the 1970s, immigrant pupils were described as “the unspoiled (primitive) other” most of whom have “a close relationship with nature” (Odde 1974, 32). Thus, handicraft, playing, and singing were preferred teaching activities as they were imagined to resemble the life of immigrant pupils before they settled in urban areas in Denmark. Moreover, such aesthetic learning activities were thought to work as alternative opportunities for immigrant pupils to use to “express their experiences and achieve social contact” (Eilstrup and Odde 1976, 1).

What appeared as a romanticized version of immigrant pupils unspoiled by urbanization and modernization transformed into a veridictive framing of immigrant pupils as inhibited due to a traditionalistic, authoritarian upbringing. In a report on methods for teaching immigrant pupils, teachers Dorte Frederiksen, Mette D. Rasmussen, and Ulla Varming (1985, 36) described immigrant pupils as far from being age-appropriately developed as concerned their motor skills. The authors wrote:

Many of the children are in a very bad shape and use their bodies in wrong ways—for example, many of them walk stiffly and with little spring in their step. There are many explanations. Among others, these kids are not used to using their bodies in activities such as rhythmic, swimming, and gymnastics, something that Danish children often have experience in from home or daycare. Another explanation can be that a lot of the children have too big, too small, or otherwise poorly fitting shoes. (Frederiksen, Deibjerg, Rasmussen, and Varming 1985, 37)

Music, physical exercises, and sensuous, experience-based teaching programs were suggested as pedagogical techniques that could aid immigrant pupils being released from their inhibitions. Accordingly, in a ministerial teaching guideline, teachers were recommended to attend “to the fact that the informal characteristics and ‘play-like’ appearance of the Danish form of teaching can seem strange—even ‘un-serious’—to children and parents who are accustomed to a more restrictive and authoritarian school behavior” (Ministry of Education 1984, 74). In this way, creativity and playfulness were constructed as hallmarks of modernity—and as such, of Danish public schools.



This photo was taken by Sonja Iskov and Henrik Saxgren who were the revolutionary leftist founders of the photo collective May 2 [2. Maj], (in)famous for their critical photography. The photo is purported to illustrate immigrant children having fun on the playground of a Danish school or daycare institution on a hot summer day.

8. visual: Rahbek Pedersen & Skutnabb-Kangas 1983, 81.

The jurisdictional effects of this veridictive binary construction appeared with an accentuation of games and play as important pedagogical tools for socially integrating immigrant pupils. In a pedagogical perspective, social integration became a matter of establishing social

norms of the classroom community in terms of cooperation, trust, and positive physical and emotional relations (Gudmander 1990, 10). These social norms were imagined to be embodied by immigrant pupils through physical exercises in which they would need to adapt to and imitate the rules of the game. As such, during the 1990s, an emancipated body and relaxed physical behavior (of immigrant pupils) were articulated as signs of openness and a desire to learn. In a pamphlet on the pedagogical facilitation of cultural encounters with asylum seekers, it was suggested “[a]ctivities in sports life can be the first step towards integration. Sports life is good medicine for asylum seekers. Furthermore, it has great value to the local communities” (Danish Red Cross 1994, 13). Consequently, the image of the active body became a sociomaterial sign of the citizen proper. According to a beginner’s course material, the telos of engaging immigrant pupils in creative, physical, and sensuous learning situations was that of fostering “active and curious children who function as dynamic parts of a collective unit” (Iranzad and Nørgaard 1993, 5). In this way, the pedagogical techniques of games and physical exercises presented another modality to construct a sociality of the classroom or the local community and, not least, of embodying that sociality as complementary to the verbal-reflexive internalization of Danish socialities.

In tandem with the pedagogical promotion of immigrant pupils’ embodied integration and bodily emancipation, the aesthetic and creative dimension of experienced-based pedagogy was brought to the fore. When notions of aesthetics and creativity were articulated in relation to the teaching of immigrant pupils, they appeared in a mode of universalization. As already alluded to in the beginning of this chapter, folktales were suggested as a form of universalized aesthetics. In a ministerially commissioned inspirational handbook on the subject of DA2, teacher and head of the department for the education of “bilingual pupils” Søren Hegnby promoted the use of folktales because in this form, “the child can encounter the most important issues of conflict in its own life in symbolic form (...) and the child’s own emotional conflicts are universalized” (Ministry of Education 1995b, 37). In the same mode of universalization and pedagogization of aesthetics, teacher Anne Larsen argued, “spontaneity, language, and fantasy are correlated with learning” (Ministry of Education 1995b, 106). However, it was a commonly held truth that immigrant children “have not been accustomed to play with their imagination as have Danish children” (Kidde 1997, 14). Teacher and psychologist Heidi Kromayer contributed to this truth claim with the following observation:

Danish parents have gradually come to value toys as a replacement of reality and have learned to value the social aspect of play. Refugee and immigrant families, in general, do not value play and toys to the same degree yet. (1995, 46)

The binary of *play-like Danish pedagogy* versus *authoritarian immigrant pedagogy* thus was linked with an imagined scale of modernization, in which play and imagination signified the most progressive modernism. By the end of the 1990s and throughout the 2000s, play and imagination, like transformative dialogues, were suggested as key pedagogical techniques in teaching immigrant pupils both the Danish language and a social code of conduct. It was believed that by engaging immigrant pupils in play, the youngsters could imitate and embody a social code of conduct. Moreover, appealing to immigrant pupils' imagination (e.g., through folktales) would release their potential for being actively involved—in their own learning process, in existential matters, in the sociality of the class, and in society itself. Thus, the telos connecting truths of modernization and techniques of play and imagination was articulated with the notion of active citizenship. In teleological terms, this process meant fostering immigrant pupils who could imagine themselves living in a better (more modern and emancipated) future and act on this future in accordance with the rules of the sociality.

According to Butters and Bøndergaard, pedagogies of aesthetics (e.g., drama exercises) could work as creative magnifiers of (immigrant) pupils' everyday existential conflicts, but with the possibility of “creating happy endings that resolve conflicts” (2010, 185). In a similar manner of redemptive reasoning, art therapist Kis Henriksen, with reference to Jungian psychology, suggested redeeming “the traumatic experience [of refugee children] through an aesthetic, creative, and playful process, so that there will be room for new learning and development of new competencies” (2013, 15).

The existentially transformative potential believed to be inherent in dialogically processing a semantics of (immigrant) life was also a potential found in pedagogically orchestrated aesthetic, emotional, and bodily experiences of immigrant pupils. Butters and Bøndergaard argued that through pedagogically facilitated experiences, immigrant pupils could learn “that the body can be operated and managed in new ways, that one dares to let go, or that one has challenged oneself” (2010, 185). In sum, it becomes evident that an aestheticized, experience-based, pedagogical engagement with immigrant pupils was configured around the teleological-redemptive theme of emotional, embodied, and playful integration.

5.6. *Pedagogizing the cultural encounter*

The epistemological grid of the *cultural encounter* has run as a strong undercurrent throughout the pedagogical repertoires in terms of noticing, defining, and facilitating “acceptable ways of being and performing differences” (Kowalczyk 2015, 178) among immigrant pupils. In other words, the epistemological grid of the cultural encounter has placed immigrant pupils on the threshold of the promised land of Danish language and integration, yet has kept them verbally, reflexively, emotionally, and bodily engaged in the potential transgression of that imagined threshold. Education researcher Jamie A. Kowalczyk notes this pedagogical configuration can be framed as “a double gesture that normalizes and divides” (2015, 178). This observation implies the epistemological grid of the cultural encounter always also placed immigrant pupils at the margins of a sociality, be it with interpersonal relations, classroom communities, or Danish society. Therefore, the epistemological grid of the cultural encounter has created jurisdictional as well as teleological effects. On the one hand, the cultural encounter has been suggested as a pedagogical tool in terms of its potential for facilitating dialogue and aestheticized experiences. On the other, the cultural encounter has been presented as the pedagogical materialization of a telos of harmonious coexistence.

42

Consequently, native Danish pupils were included in pedagogical interventions suggested to address immigrant pupils. Analytically framing the cultural encounter as both a technique and an objective of pedagogy, this section pays attention to how native Danish pupils and immigrant pupils were positioned in the pedagogical orchestration of the cultural encounter.

Between 1970 and 2013, the pedagogical volume of the cultural encounter grew from a simple matter of *mutual respect* to one of *global education*. The simplest form of pedagogizing the “cultural encounter” can be found in Odde’s advice to teachers regarding receiving and introducing “foreign language speaking pupils” to the class:

[The teachers should] inform the Danish pupils about their new classmate’s country and its culture. If at times there is not enough international understanding at schools where foreigners are enrolled, often, one of the reasons is that the two parties know too little about each other. (1974, 26)

Just as the teachers received suggestions to obtain background information about immigrant pupils, so were they to share this knowledge with native Danish pupils, so they might behave respectfully in relation to the “newcomers.” This pedagogizing of the cultural encounter

was premised on an understanding of (immigrant) cultures as static entities that one could learn about from anthropological, ethnographic descriptions. Furthermore, the encounter between native Danish pupils and immigrant pupils was framed in terms of culture clash and shock.

Although the ethnographic gaze remained quintessential to the imminent pedagogizing of the cultural encounter, the pedagogical repertoires emerging in the 1980s countered a perception of culture as static. Instead, they suggested pedagogizing the *dynamics* of cultural encounters, which, first, resulted in existential *dialogues with* immigrant pupils about *their new* culture. Cultural sociologist Birgitte Rahbek Pedersen suggested

[s]uch a pedagogy must bridge the two cultures (...) This does not mean that the children should throw old ballast overboard; rather, they should prevent their culture from turning into a museum-like culture, which is detached from reality, and instead become a culture that has incorporated the new situation. (1980, 162)

Accordingly, pedagogizing the dynamics of cultural encounters came to work as a way for immigrant pupils to transgress the threshold between their older immigrant culture and a new, adapted immigrant culture. Similarly, in a handbook on intercultural teaching, Clausen argued that to avoid exoticizing youngsters, teachers should “first and foremost be occupied with immigrant pupils’ present and future rather than with the past of their parents” (1986, 17).

In addition, and inspired by British multicultural and antiracist pedagogy (Buchardt and Fabrin 2012), pedagogizing the dynamics of cultural encounters also resulted in facilitating *dialogues and simulated encounters between* native Danish pupils and immigrant pupils. This meant configuring pedagogical techniques in terms of national and ethnic decoration, singing and dancing representing immigrant cultures, ethnographic exercises whereby *all* pupils would “explore similarities and differences between Danish culture and immigrant culture” (Clausen 1986, 17), and role playing revolving around ethical dilemmas supposedly arising from the cultural encounter. Together, these pedagogical techniques were suggested to be used in teaching *all* pupils “the art of approaching what is different” (Clausen 1986, 17) to reduce prejudice. In a handbook decrying racism, journalist Ole Hammer suggested teachers organize their teaching “in such a way that Danish pupils get the opportunity to experience the world of immigrant pupils,” while being sensitive and respectful in regards to the background and needs of immigrant pupils (1986, 27).



The image depicts an exercise, in which all pupils engage with each other's backgrounds from around the world in order to foster cross-cultural tolerance and a global outlook.

9. visual: Godiksen et al. 2003, section of the front cover.

As native Danish pupils were included in the pedagogical equation, *the double gesture of normalisation and division* became evident in the repertoire of pedagogical techniques and, in particular, in Hammer's advice to teachers to differentiate their approaches in the pedagogical use of the cultural encounter. This teleological theme suggested that *all* pupils should learn the art of encountering the Other (as an act of normalization); whereas native Danish pupils would experience having their horizon widened and immigrant pupils would feel represented and recognized for their cultural otherness (as an act of division).

44

During the 1990s and 2000s, the double gesture of normalization and division solidified in the pedagogical repertoires for utilizing the cultural encounter. Gestures of division came together around an axis, where the widening of an intellectual horizon was to be found at the one end, and the bolstering of self-esteem at the other. In a teacher's guideline for intercultural teaching material, the authors wrote the objective was to "give bilingual pupils the opportunity to experience a higher degree of self-worth in class (...) [and to provide] Danish pupils with insight into the cultural traditions the bilingual pupils have brought with them" (Bech 1996, 3).

Gestures of normalization concerning immigrant pupils took on two modes. The first was one of neutralization, whereby the ambition was to represent and treat immigrant pupils "like the ordinary run of children" as argued in a pamphlet on Bosnian refugee children (Kringelbach, Hegnby, and Elgaard 1995, 1). The other mode was one of balance as expressed in a best practice book: "To bilingual children, a successful integration means they develop a bicultural identity and bilingual competencies without perceiving the two cultures as mutually exclusive entities" (Falk et al. 2003, 11).

Normalization in regards to native Danish pupils meant relativizing their self-perception as Danes, because a “[l]ack of self-understanding often gives an exaggerated image of Denmark’s significance in a global perspective” as argued by Kristjansdottir in a pamphlet for promoting international understanding (1992, 4). Such a relativizing practice of normalization can be illustrated by the truth claim made in teaching material about Bosnian refugee children in which it was stated that “[m]any of the [Danish] children’s songs, which we conceive of as a national treasury of songs, in fact originate from other countries” (Kringelbach, Hegnby, and Elgaard 1995, 21).

Another normalizing practice pertaining to a teleological theme of community building can be deduced from pedagogizing the cultural encounter. With the objective of building a community, it was suggested the pedagogically facilitated cultural encounter, for example, be organized around what it meant to be Danish, which *all* pupils should deliberate upon in order to come up with a shared, inclusive definition of Danishness. In this case, chair of education and youth in Copenhagen’s local government Per Bregengaard proposed pedagogizing the cultural encounter as “a means for the development of [the pupils] themselves as well as of society here and now and in the future” (2001, 52). For this to happen, Bregengaard argued, there should be created “a space of a shared identity and responsibility in the group or in the class across cultural boundaries” (2001, 52). Accordingly, the objective of building a shared identity and responsibility in and for the group/class/society downplayed the importance attributed to representing and recognizing immigrant cultures. Instead, what gained prominence in the pedagogical organization of cultural encounters was a new culture, coproduced with shared norms and values. It was suggested this new culture be promoted by means of role playing in which all pupils could encounter ethical dilemmas and a variety of values from which to make collective ethical choices and choose values the whole class community could share. This pedagogical technique of engaging all pupils in ethical role playing was justified by a regime of teleological and veridictive claims about “intercultural competencies” as something to be fostered by “a dynamic interplay between social and cultural values, and as a part of pupils’ general education” (Erdem and Smidt 2005, 4).

The notion of intercultural competences traversed the pedagogical repertoires of the 2000s. Arguably as an effect of the National Competence Accounts from 2005²⁴ (Ministry of Education

²⁴ In 2002, OECD presented a report on the key competences that twelve member-states would promote through their education systems. With reference to this work, the then Danish government commissioned a national survey of the Danish people’s competences significant to the labour market, civil society and to individual life coping. In this

2005a), which accounted for the human resources supposedly needed in Denmark, immigrant cultures and languages were rearticulated as resources and competencies needed for bolstering the competitiveness of the Danish nation-state on a global scale. This new formula for pedagogizing the cultural encounter favored a more utilitarian perspective on immigrant cultures and languages. According to a handbook on global education, doing so meant “mobilising the resources that we possess in our different cultures in order to actualize the good life in our efforts to manage the global problems of today” (Farr, Rohde, and Smidt 2009, 9). For the sake of the viability of the individual and the competitive power of the Danish nation-state on a global scale, the pedagogical repertoire for transforming and mobilizing (immigrant and native Danish) cultures involved

exercises and tasks that demand cooperation and dialogue. The pupils should be put in situations where they are confronted with their own and other’s norms, thus, challenging them to see the world with new eyes, take a stand, and act accordingly, (...) [in] an engaging work where a sense of involvement and joy are key elements. (Farr, Rohde, and Smidt 2009, 14)

This quotation demonstrates how earlier-described pedagogical repertoires of ethical and existential confrontations and emotional involvement were rearticulated in this new utilitarian formula of the pedagogized cultural encounter, in which cultures and languages of immigrant pupils were neutralized, highlighted, and transformed in the very same pedagogical gesture.

5.7. Parental didactic

Just as pedagogizing the cultural encounter could not be imagined without including native Danish pupils, neither did the pedagogical repertoires imagine educating immigrant pupils without including their parents as objects of pedagogical concern. Clearly, this is connected with the mention of parents, in general, in the first paragraph of Danish Education Acts since 1975.²⁵ It has been stated that *the school in cooperation with the parents* should provide the pupils with skills, knowledge, and opportunities for personal development. However, what is of interest for my analysis is how immigrant parents also were made objects of pedagogical concern, how teachers were advised to deal with immigrant parents, and why and how they were imagined to play a significant part in their children’s education.

survey, the respondents were asked to scale their level of competence in regards to literacy, learning, self-management, creativity and innovation, social skills, communication, intercultural competences, democracy, health and, the environment.

²⁵ Since 1975, the Danish Education Act has been changed twice, in 1993 and in 2006.

Most pedagogical repertoires emerging between 1970 and 2013 were grounded in the belief that all parents, including immigrant parents, always want the best for their children. On the one hand, this optimism had the pedagogical effect of subjectivating immigrant parents as parents with whom teachers could cooperate. On the other, immigrant parents were made objects of pedagogical concern through an epistemological prism of culture and modernization. In the 1970s, immigrant parents were described as premodern, that is, conservative, collectivistic, and traditional in terms of upbringing and gender roles. According to Odde, immigrant “parents often feel that a Danish school is too liberal, and that may be the reason why they do not respect it” (1974, 30). This truth claim was instructive concerning constructing immigrant parents as objects of pedagogical concern due to normative conflicts arising from encounters between the traditionalistic, premodern immigrant parent and the modern liberal Danish school via its staff.

In a double pedagogical gesture, immigrant parents were found to be both the cause of and the solution to “confused foreign language speaking pupils without an identity” (Frederiksen, Deibjerg Rasmussen, and Varming 1985, 66). It is exactly in the configuring of veridictive claims about a conflict of norms and immigrant pupils as victims of this conflict that the justification for including immigrant parents in the pedagogical repertoires was found. Illustrative of this justification is a handbook on “multiethnic pedagogy” in which was argued that “[c]hildren learn and understand best when there is coherence among their learning, parents, family, and local community” (1987, 45). In addition, it is worthwhile noting this way of reasoning was consistently invoked throughout the period under investigation.

The proceeding typologies of immigrant parents revolved around an evolutionistic scale with “traditional,” “isolated,” “Muslim,” “restrictive,” and “ignorant” immigrant parents on the one end, and “progressive,” “adapted,” “moderate Muslim,” “smart,” and “open-minded” immigrant parents on the other end. A striking example of this typologization is found in a teacher textbook on storytelling and “bilingual children.” First, it offered an anecdote about an immigrant pupil whose parents had encouraged her to read books, although they could not do so themselves. “The effect of the parents’ smart choices was that all three of their children got academic degrees in Denmark” (Løntoft 2002, 72). What followed this anecdote was an observation of how difficult it was to make immigrant parents understand the importance of telling stories to their children. The author stated she had experienced “parents who have, in all earnestness, claimed that they did not know any stories” (Løntoft 2002, 73).

From the constructing of immigrant parents as objects of pedagogical concern as well as subjects to cooperate with on the matter of immigrant pupils, a repertoire of contested issues arose. During the 1970s and 1980s, these issues were related to immigrant parents' restrictive attitudes toward their children's participating in physical education, sex education, school camps, and music education. The reader may notice that all of these issues were concerned with *high-stakes* teaching activities that were imagined to promote an affective, embodied, and playful integration of immigrant pupils as the above analysis has highlighted. Career guidance, bilingualism, religious education, home economics, special education, school parties, exemptions from school due to non-Protestant religious holidays, religious fasting, homework, rights and duties of parents, and values in upbringing were added to the repertoire during the 1990s and 2000s. All of these issues were articulated as contested due to immigrant parents' religious and cultural reservations as to, for example, their children showering naked with other children, learning about liberal sex attitudes, staying away from home under the supervision of non-Muslim adults, or making individual career choices. Issues such as special education and parental involvement were regarded *hot topics* due to immigrant parents' supposed reluctance to accept their children being referred to special or remedial education, or immigrant parents' ignorance of their rights and duties as parents of children enrolled in Danish public schools.

In a handbook on intercultural teaching, the psychosocial implication of these high-stakes issues was framed in the following terms: “[O]n the one hand, there are the parents’ restrictions, and the school’s demands on the other, leaving the pupils in a double conflict” (Clausen 1986, 82). Thus, the objective motivating a repertoire of pedagogical techniques to address immigrant parents and the high-stakes issues was asserted as a matter of giving “bilingual children an anchorage in Danish culture and in the parents’ culture and, thereby, provid[ing] them with self-confidence (...) so that they get the opportunity for active and equal participation in school life and in society” (Clausen, Engel, and Kristiansdottir 1995, 7).

As the repertoire of contested issues accumulated over the years, the repertoire of pedagogical techniques grew increasingly comprehensive. The primary pedagogical approach of the 1970s and 1980s was one of providing immigrant parents with basic information about the organization and code of conduct of the school along with Danish values of upbringing. It was assumed that providing basic information through conversing with immigrant parents would facilitate “the most essential attitude change treatment and the achievement of the most basic understanding [among immigrant parents]” (Frederiksen, Deibjerg Rasmussen, and Varming

1985, 66). It was suggested this work of providing information would lead immigrant parents to “adapt their principles to the new situation, in which parents and children find themselves in Denmark” (Rahbek Pedersen and Skutnabb-Kangas 1983, 233).

In 1994, the Danish Union of Teachers (DLF) published two pamphlets with guidelines on how to pedagogically manage a public school comprised of multiple cultures. Among other things, it was suggested to extend cooperation with immigrant parents by means of a more comprehensive dialogue and a facilitated “interplay across ethnic boundaries” (32). The pedagogical facilitation of an *ethnic interplay* was suggested to take its point of departure within a convivial atmosphere created around “ethnic food and music” one to which immigrant parents might contribute at school social events, or by encouraging immigrant parents to allow their children to participate in birthday parties in Danish homes. Teacher Ellen Mejer Hansen argued that such convivial social events “are good for ‘the coming together’ of our very different parents (...) [and] work positively on Danish parents’ attitudes towards the bilingual pupils” (Ministry of Education 1995b, 78).



10. visual: Danish Refugee Council 2008, 12.

During the late 2000s, Danish Refugee Council ran several local development projects aimed at engaging immigrant parents actively in schools and daycare institutions. The projects facilitated dialogues with various stakeholders and information work targeted immigrant parents.

Within a jurisdictional regime of dialogue, teachers were advised to pay more attention to their own and immigrant parents’ mutually unspoken expectations. In a teaching guideline on DA2, it was suggested the teacher should “provide the opportunity for parents to be included and make room for them to tell about their child, but also for the teachers’ and the school’s

expectations to be conveyed clearly to the parents” (Gamby and Fehrmann 1998, 11). Important to note from this advice is that the inclusive regime of dialogue came with a reservation: The voices of immigrant parents would be recognized as long as the result was a shared understanding of the school’s expectations of immigrant parents.

The thematization of expectations directed toward both parties crystallized in a ministerial pamphlet called *Rights and Duties in Public School*²⁶ (Ministry of Education 2002), solidifying the reservations of an inclusive regime of dialogue by articulating the school’s expectations as the *duties* of immigrant parents and immigrant parents’ expectations as *rights*. In a guideline on parental meetings, teachers were advised to introduce immigrant parents to “what they commit themselves to when having their children enrolled in a public school” (Luna and Froberg 2003, 4). The repertoire of pedagogical techniques that followed from this initial introduction mirrored largely the techniques suggested for teaching and socializing immigrant pupils described in the above-noted analysis. Teachers were advised to make verbal contact via the aid of interpreters instead of writing letters. Furthermore, teachers should inform and pedagogically justify the Danish way of doing things in school by means of concrete examples, visuals, and experience-based activities. Teachers should also enter into dialogue with immigrant parents to obtain knowledge about their background and engage with them in their concerns with the aim of guiding them through the system and negotiating the terrain of values and attitudes. While encouraged to challenge the attitudes of immigrant parents, teachers were also advised to resolve contested issues by way of compromise and pragmatic solutions; for example, by shower curtains in the showers or considering religious holidays when planning social events or parental meetings. However, this practice of accommodation was always also followed by a reservation: “[W]hen it comes down to values, here, we must stand firmly” as argued by school headmaster Lise Egholm in her instructional memoires (2006, 52).

Nevertheless, justified by a teleological theme of deliberative democracy, by the end of the 2000s and early 2010s, the regime of dialogue was raised to the second power. A substantial number of pedagogical guidelines were framed, having been inspired by the social constructionist model of appreciative inquiry, which was considered an apt tool for improving social relations and community building in a culturally diverse group of parents. Thus, in a guideline on appropriate dialogues a teacher might conduct with immigrant parents (Navigent 2008), teachers were advised

²⁶ In Danish: *Rettigheder og pligter i folkeskolen*. The pamphlet was published by the Ministry of Education as a tool to be used in the cooperation between school and parents in general, although much attention was paid to the above-listed “high-stakes issues” pertaining to immigrant parents in particular.

to inquire into immigrant parents' dreams instead of problems, since "[h]uman beings are influenced and led by their own visions for the future" (10).

As an effect of the veridictive and jurisdictional configuration around appreciative dialogues, it was also suggested that teachers involve immigrant parents as active partners in educating their children. Once again, immigrant pupils' psychological health was invoked, suggesting it depended on "how they utilise the knowledge and skills they acquire in school in their everyday lives, which is largely spent together with the family" (Jensen 2011, 29). In effect, immigrant parents were increasingly held responsible for their children's academic success. Teachers were, thus, offered "parental didactic" to be used to create "learning situations inside as well as outside school, where parents may contribute actively to the child's learning" (Holst Jensen and Wybrandt 2013, 3). Teachers could draft family assignments as part of homework or use immigrant parents as guest teachers. By the early 2010s, the pedagogical repertoires for teachers to use in relation with immigrant parents had become an all-inclusive endeavor underpinned with a teleological theme of holding immigrant parents responsible beyond the school-home relationship. This is clearly exemplified in a pedagogical guideline: "The aim of parental involvement (...) has been to provide the parents with knowledge and tools with which to better support their children in family, school, and leisure life" (Jensen 2011, 29).

6. Concluding remarks

By means of an analytical and historical revisiting of the social question in Danish pedagogical minutiae between 1970 and 2013, it has been possible to identify the coming into existence of immigrant pupils (and their parents and native Danish peers) as objects of pedagogical concern observed against epistemological grids of hopes and fears.

Reading across the seven configurations of pedagogical truths, techniques, and objectives, it seems fair to conclude that considerable practical thought has been invested in positioning immigrant pupils strategically on cultural and societal thresholds—of the Danish language, of deliberative democratic socialities, and of modern living. Positioning immigrant pupils in these ways appears to have been fundamental to pedagogical concerns through the various eras, inasmuch as subjects standing on a threshold hold out hope for transgression. At the same time, they epitomize the fear of what will happen to the *promised land* in the event of transgression. Accordingly, the pedagogical repertoires available to teachers of immigrant pupils bear witness to a double pedagogical gesture.

In a first move, we observed a continual widening of the threshold by means of a variety of psychological, sociological, and ethnographic epistemologies for noticing, describing, understanding, and sorting immigrant pupils. Common to all of these epistemologies seems to have been the prism of the cultural encounter. This has cast immigrant pupils as trapped between two conflicting cultures and at risk of an existential crisis—as underrepresented in the school culture of the majority and a potential disintegrative danger to the classroom community, or as holding cultural resources valuable to the curriculum and the competitive power of the Danish nation-state.

In a second move, I also observed the epistemological variations of the cultural encounter having been traversed by an optimistic evolutionistic reasoning that rendered the premodern, traditional, restricted features attributed to immigrant pupils amenable to change and progress. Thus, evolutionistic reasoning fueled the development of an ever more comprehensive repertoire of pedagogical techniques for preparing immigrant pupils to transgress that threshold separating them from actualizing themselves in a modern democratic sociality.

Consequently, the pedagogical techniques offered to teachers of immigrant pupils were articulated as hallmarks of a modern democratic sociality. The primacy afforded to pedagogically framed conversations was not only justified as a means to teach Danish to immigrant pupils; these conversations were also thought to facilitate a miniature enactment of a democratic deliberation to be embodied by immigrant pupils in the form of autonomous, critical stances and reflexive decision-making. Furthermore, involving immigrant pupils in pedagogically framed democratic deliberations as well as in playful and creative experience-based activities with their native Danish peers was thought to be constitutive of community building, based on ideas of maintaining a modern democratic sociality. As a complement to this collective socializing and preparing of immigrant pupils who stood on the threshold was the existential version of pedagogically framed conversations between teachers and immigrant pupils. Facilitating a reflexive verbalization of a semantics of immigrant life was thought to engender transformation and offer emancipatory agency in immigrant pupils. This would, ultimately, allow them to draw closer to a modern way of life in Denmark. Existential conversations about the semantics of immigrant life were thus suggested as gateways to modernity and deliberation as the social and ethical glue binding modern communities.

The pedagogical techniques used for preparing immigrant pupils to transgress the perceived threshold seemed to crystallize all the promises held out by the modern democratic

sociality in which individual actualization was seen as a constituent part of reifying deliberative communities and vice versa. In this balancing act of emancipatory individualization and modern collectivization, pedagogizing the cultural encounter worked as an ideal simulation of the appreciation of individual (cultural) differences while invoking a collective ethics from below through deliberative exchanges in the encounter with the Other. In other words, teachers were advised to avoid moralizing and, instead, facilitate cultural encounters that would require *all* pupils to develop an ethics of deliberation constitutive of their classroom community. However, the analysis shows a limit was reached concerning an appreciative ethics of deliberation. The promised land of a modern democratic sociality could not be compromised, hence the need for existentially transformative conversations between teachers and immigrant pupils, which included parents.

As part of the pedagogical positioning of immigrant pupils on the threshold, the teleological themes of the pedagogical repertoires were articulated in a language of opportunity. To reiterate a few examples: If immigrant pupils mastered Danish, they would have the opportunity to participate equally in democratic deliberation and actualize themselves as self-sufficient taxpayers. If immigrant pupils mastered the skills and attitudes of democratic deliberation, they would have the opportunity to contribute to the building of (local) communities. If immigrant pupils embodied playfulness and creativity, they would have the opportunity to imagine a better future for themselves.

These concluding remarks have focused on and emphasized the transtemporal themes of pedagogical repertoires available to teachers of immigrant pupils, whereby it was suggested that developing pedagogical repertoires over time addressing immigrant pupils' varying needs has been very much a process of sedimentation, rather than breaks. However, it must be noted that based on the analysis, two subtle teleological breaks in practical thinking about teaching and socializing immigrant pupils can be identified. The first break happened around the beginning of the 1980s and marked a shift from a teleological theme of *coping* to one of *recognizing*. This teleological break appeared in relation to the growing public recognition that immigrant families and their children were not going to return to their countries of origin, as was believed in the 1970s. As a revival of a progressive pedagogical doctrine of taking a point of departure in the experiences and qualities of the pupil, the telos of recognition emerged in the pedagogical repertoires of the 1980s. In a Danish public context of growing racial sentiment, the pedagogical repertoires suggested that teachers promote tolerance and reduce prejudice by exhibiting cultural

artifacts in school that represented immigrant cultures. The teleological theme of recognition reverberated and gave rise to a new didactical formula during the 1990s, when the pedagogical repertoires suggested teachers utilize the mother tongues and cultural heritages of immigrant pupils in teaching DA2 and as bridge builders between immigrant culture and Danish sociality. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, in a context of cultural and political panic concerning threats related to (Islamic fundamentalist) terrorism, the second break appeared, resulting in reorienting toward a telos of emancipation and reflexive agency to be promoted in the minds of immigrant (Muslim) pupils (and their parents) by means of appreciative dialogical techniques. This regime of dialogue was offered to teachers in order to enable immigrant pupils (and their parents) to imagine a better—modern, emancipated—future for themselves by leaving (much of) their premodern, traditional, (Muslim) ways of life behind (or at least at home).

All the efforts invested in pedagogy for those standing on the threshold, in addition to the subtle teleological breaks observed, serve to illustrate how the pedagogical minutiae addressing immigrant pupils were traversed by a fundamental aporia. This aporia was fueled by immigrant pupils' presence, against which practical thinking produced truths, techniques, and objectives that could reinvent the social, cultural, and political glue of society by identifying, containing, and neutralizing its potential threats of disintegration. In the 1970s, the threat of disintegration was personified by the socially inappropriate behavior of immigrant pupils and their ignorance concerning a comprehensive welfare system in terms of public institutions providing equal treatment of and equal opportunities for all citizens. In the 1980s and 1990s, the threat of disintegration was located in the cultural narrow-mindedness of immigrant pupils and their parents and intolerance of native Danish pupils. These threats were imagined to create a split identity in immigrant pupils, thereby depriving them of a sense of cultural belonging, and loyalty. These concerns continued to reverberate throughout the 2000s. They were accompanied by heightened concerns concerning the existential will and capacity of immigrant (Muslim) pupils and their parents to critically reflect on the utility of their traditional immigrant heritage in terms of actualizing prosperous (modern) lives and, ultimately, making their human resources available to the competitive power of a Danish welfare nation-state.

By revisiting the social question in terms of a fundamental aporia constitutive of the pedagogical repertoires, the analysis has shown how the disintegrative effects of immigrant pupils' presence were imagined to 1) undermine the egalitarian visions of a comprehensive welfare system, 2) undermine the building of community through tolerant deliberation and

accommodation of various life forms, and 3) waste human resources on tradition rather than use them for a better future.

Bearing in mind the profound epistemological prism of the cultural encounter, one would imagine the pedagogical repertoires for teaching and socializing immigrant pupils would have generated dystopian fears in terms of cultural diversification of a homogenous nation-state and, thus, have given rise to pedagogical techniques of national cultural assimilation. Indeed, this hypothesis has been demonstrated by several scholars of multicultural education in a Danish context (Gitz-Johansen 2006; Haas et al. 2011; Kristjánsdóttir 2006) as well as in other national contexts (Schiffauer et al. 2005; Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins 1988). This analysis, however, indicates that what has been at stake in the social questioning of and practical thought about immigrant pupils' presence were the dangers of disintegration of *an imagined modern heterogeneous society* in which the risks of disintegration were seen in modes of unreflective and nonnegotiable difference, not difference per se.

Crystallized in the notion of the cultural encounter, *difference* seems to have been a significant teleological, jurisdictional as well as veridictive driver in developing pedagogical repertoires to address immigrant pupils' education. However, it was a particular pedagogized version of difference that emerged and mutated as observed against a horizon of governmentalities tainted by five temporally and thematically entangled pedagogical projects. The first project to appear in the pedagogical repertoires was one of *modernization*, which in the 1970s meant introducing modern liberal manners to immigrant pupils (with rural, traditional, and Muslim backgrounds). This project was muted in the pedagogical repertoires of the 1980s and 1990s, but reappeared after 2000 in the form of a pedagogical project of *responsibilization*. This post-2000 versioned imperative of modernization encouraged teachers to involve immigrant pupils and their parents in appreciative, reflexive, and imaginative inquiries into the hopes, potentials, and possible futures of immigrant pupils as reflexive, autonomous entrepreneurs responsible for building independent self-sufficient lives. The interim muting of the modernization project between 1980 and 2000 made room for three mutually entangled projects of *democratization*, *community building*, and *balancing of differences*. As the analysis has shown, these three projects were enforced by a regime of democratic deliberation, through which *all* pupils were involved in recognizing, yet simultaneously reworking their mutual differences based on negotiating shared values of peaceful coexistence. In this way, the ethical code of democratic deliberation set subtle limits for the performance of difference.

Reflected in the unsettling presence of immigrant pupils at the margins of an imagined cohesive heterogeneous sociality, the pedagogical repertoires for teaching and socializing immigrant pupils thus appear to have fabricated a post-1970 Danish welfare nation-state in the form of a *welfare civilization*.²⁷ In other words, the pedagogical repertoires available to teachers of immigrant pupils hardly mentioned a Danish welfare nation-state, but managed to practice one via a civilizing project, where the (spoken) Danish language was articulated as a means to modernize in terms of stating one's (universal welfare) rights, contributing to deliberative community building and making an independent living.

In sum, the pedagogical fabrication of a welfare civilization was based on an optimistic evolutionistic governmentality that provided teachers of immigrant pupils with truths and techniques for maintaining an imagined threshold between a premodern traditional immigrant heritage and a modern Danish civilized future. This governmental horizon offered a teleology of hope, along with promises for the pedagogically facilitated existential betterment of immigrant life in terms of transgressing the threshold of a utopian welfare civilization.

²⁷ This notion is borrowed from the Danish journalist Rune Lykkeberg (2016).

7. References

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8. Visuals in the order of appearance

1. Illustration made by Bodil Nygaard in: Zîlan, M. 1997. *Ræven med perlehalen: Et kurdisk folkeeventyr* [The Fox with the Pearl Brush. A Kurdish Folk Tale]. Copenhagen: Haase.
2. Illustration made by Klaus Albrechtsen in: County Center for Educational Materials. 1982. *Undervisning af indvandrerbørn: Et udstillingskatalog* [Teaching Immigrant Children: An Exhibition Catalogue]. Copenhagen: Københavns Amtskommune. Amtscentralen for Undervisningsmidler.
3. Picture taken by Mikkel Dalum, Lars Nybøll, Michael Madsen, Stephen Monaghan and Fotosearch in: Gundersen, M., B. B. Bune, and R. H. Jensen. 2012. *Seksualundervisning i det multiethnisk samfund: med særligt fokus på undervisning af etniske minoritetspiger* [Sex Education in Multiethnic Society: With a Special Focus on Educating Ethnic Minority Girls]. Copenhagen: Sex & Samfund.
4. Front cover made by P. Bo Christensen in: Hammer, V. 1980. *Samfundet* [Society]. Grundbog i samfundsorientering; 2. edition. Copenhagen: Lærerforeningernes Materialeudvalg.

5. Illustration made by Nygårds Maria Bengtsson in: Holm, L., and H. P. Laursen. 2004. *Andetsprogsdidaktik* [Second Language Didactic]. 2. revised edition. Frederiksberg: Daneklærerforeningen.
6. Photo taken by ENTEN ELLER in: Overgaard, L. L., and E. K. Klein. 1998. *Min familie og mit land* [My Family and My Country]. Copenhagen: LM.
7. Collage made by Søren Christensen, Behrouz Bigdeli and Spild af Tid in: Nøhr Larsen, M., S. Thorborg, and I. I. Sahibzada. 2012. *Undervisningsmateriale til i syv sind: Syv film om ungdom og identitet* [Teaching Material for 'In Two Minds': Seven Films about Youth and Identity]. Copenhagen: Brug for Alle Unge.
8. Photo taken by Sonja Iskov and Henrik Saxgren in: Rahbek Pedersen, B., and T. Skutnabb-Kangas. 1983. *God, bedre, dansk? Om indvandrerbørns integration i Danmark* [Good, Better, Danish? On Immigrant Children's Integration in Denmark]. Copenhagen: Børn & Unge.
9. Front cover photo taken by Torben Ulrik Nissen in: Godiksen, L., L. Ærsøe, E. Farr, and C. Skjoldborg, eds. 2003. *Når mennesker mødes: Idékatalog til interkulturel undervisning* [When People Meet: Catalogue of Ideas for Intercultural Teaching]. Copenhagen: Ibis; AFS Interkultur; Mellemløkeligt Samvirke; Statens Pædagogiske Forsøgscenter.
10. Danish Refugee Council (Dansk Flygtningehjælp). 2008. *På bølgelængde: Metoder til dialog og samarbejde mellem tosprogede forældre og professionelle* [On the Same Page: Methods for Dialogue and Cooperation Between Bilingual Parents and Professionals]. Copenhagen: Dansk Flygtningehjælp, Integration.

6. Making some noise by unravelling the fabric of doing good

In a ‘sermon’ on educational research, Professor of Education David E. Labaree wrote the job of scholars is ‘to move through the cacophony of data listening for a melody’ (2012, 76). I beg to differ. I have found that my historical material of practical texts depicting the process of making immigrant schoolchildren educationally manageable plays a seductive melody. It is music to me, which sings about truths concerning the problematised presence of immigrant schoolchildren and their families, clarity of solutions imagined to solve the problems constructed, and optimistic visions of the future. Indeed, each of the texts has tried to convince me to hum along with its tune. Yet my job has not been to listen for a melody. What I set out to do was to make some noise, that is, to disrupt the incisive, familiar melodic strains of history by singing out of tune. My construction of a new type of research object and a fresh group of analytical questions to use in querying the historical material enabled this process.

I have achieved my objective by way of conducting a positive critique under the imperative of an ethics of discomfort. I have accounted for the discomfort experienced when I first read an article for which I had sat for an interview. The interview had concerned the matter of integrating immigrant children. Throughout my thesis work, I have strategically embraced a presentist approach as a way of questioning questions and problematising problematisations of the past to unfold history’s enfolding of the present. Moreover, I have sought to place my own research questions at risk by turning the research context, which has informed and tainted my work, upon itself. I have wrestled with the historical propensities of my object of investigation to ensure my certainties would not rest. Finally, I have written three effective histories exploring fragments of my research object as a moving target in its making.

What follows in the rest of this chapter are two sections. The first summarises how my three articles contribute to the three research perspectives that I suggested be explored to contribute with a catalogue of new viewpoints concerning the history of immigrant schoolchildren’s education, the educational minutiae of the fabrication of a Danish welfare nation state, and the dangerousness of governing practices of making people, society, and state. In the second section, I summarise my findings on problematisations, solutions, and state fabrication to induce my positive critique with historical matter. Finally, I relate this historical matter to something other than itself. Thus, I continue to sing out of tune in my unravelling of the fabric of doing good enfolding the making of

educationally manageable immigrant schoolchildren as governing practices feeding into the fabrication of a post-1970 Danish welfare nation state.

6.1. A catalogue of new viewpoints

Based on a scholarly cross-fertilisation of research fields constituting this thesis's research context, I identified three underexplored research perspectives in Chapter 2. All three perspectives have been at play and tangled together in my three articles. What follows is a reading across the three articles to clarify how they have contributed to each of the three research perspectives.

The first perspective relates to the lack of historical studies that treat immigrant schoolchildren's education – and to the absence of immigrant schoolchildren in the history of education. Triggered by a particular discomfort felt in the present related to the unquestioned problem-solving complex arising in response to non-Western immigrant children, I have taken the years of 1970 and 2013 as starting and ending reference points for framing a historical study of educational responses to immigrant schoolchildren's presence in Danish public schools. I use the year 1970 as a point in the history of immigration to Denmark that links back to the late 1960s, economically prosperous years when the Danish government invited Southern European and non-Western labourers to cover a labour shortage. The year also serves as a point forward to the years of economic recession caused by the global oil crisis in 1973 and the issuance of a halt to labour immigration that same year. Despite the economic recession and stoppage, many of the labour immigrants settled in Denmark, and family reunifications became a dominant immigration mode with the effect of immigrant children increasingly appearing in Danish public schools.

While immigration policies have been continuously tightened since that period, the educational attention paid to the presence of immigrant schoolchildren and their families expanded. Thus, I establish the year 2013 as marking a different point of reference. It refers to a history of educational development as it denotes the year when the subject specialisation Danish-as-a-Second-Language in teacher education curricula was abolished as an autonomous subject and instead was integrated into the subject of General Pedagogy. Here then, the year of 2013 points back in time to a process of professionalising the education of immigrant schoolchildren and educationalising the social question of integration, while also pointing forward to a future of immigrant schoolchildren's presence in Danish public schools.

I construct these two reference points and the period between them as an historical entanglement of both a migratory history and an educationally focussed attention. Whether through

social warfare as the administrative prose of governing welfare (article 1), the educationalisation of a new social question (article 2), or a fundamental aporia about the cohesion and integration of society (article 3), the educational attention paid to immigrant schoolchildren's presence between 1970 and 2013 in Denmark amounts to a biological understanding of post-1970 migratory history. In other words, this thesis argues the making of educationally manageable immigrant schoolchildren rested on a biologisation of the ontological status pertaining to this object of educational concern that was profoundly supported by national statistics and disciplines such as cross-cultural social psychology, sociolinguistics, and anthropology. Thus, biologisation appeared in the guise of numbers, cognitive schemata identity, language, and culture.

I problematise these appearances as a matter of biologisation because the educational attention paid to immigrant schoolchildren's presence seems to have emerged from this process and then violently enfolded these schoolchildren in a migratory history assigned to them because of their biological connections with a history of non-Western immigration. In other words, it ran in their blood that they were to be made manageable as *immigrant* schoolchildren of educational concern.

In addition, my analyses observe the ontological status of immigrant schoolchildren as objects of educational concern in terms of a residue of the precariatisation of non-Western labour immigrants and their descendants. The historical process of precariatisation has been a two-edged practice of turning immigrant schoolchildren into objects of educational concern. On one side, it objectified immigrant schoolchildren as individuals bearing an inherited migratory history concerned with leaving behind a so-called rural traditional way of living, which characterised them as victims of a socioeconomically deprived livelihood due to their families' subordinate position in the labour market and ignorance of the welfare system. On the other, it objectified immigrant schoolchildren as a perverted side effect of failed integration that called for educational attention as the answer to a fundamental aporia felt about the future of an educated, productive, democratically minded citizenry.

These findings follow Trine Øland's observation of how "culture/ethnicity" steered the spreading of genes' in progressive educational practices of governing human differences after WWII (2012, 579; cf. Lentin 2005), a somewhat overlooked perspective in educational research on immigrant schoolchildren's education. This observation is supported by Joron Pihl's (2000) broader study of social research making a lesser contribution towards addressing a lack of questioning that concerns racialisation's presence in practices of doing good.

In article 2, I addressed racialisation as part of caring pedagogies arising from the above-described ontological status assigned to immigrant schoolchildren. Thus, I observe a distinction between biologisation and racialisation, although I acknowledge their entangled epistemological histories (Hacking 2005). In my analyses, biologisation pertains to the ontology, and racialisation pertains to the epistemology of making immigrant schoolchildren educationally manageable. Where biological hereditary reasoning concerning immigrant schoolchildren's presence made them a continuous object of educational attention, racialisation practices worked to construct needs that were perceived as different due to this biological heredity, which therefore required a different type of care and management. In this way, I argue, racialisation makes biologisation practical and socially effective.

Thus, biologisation as well as racialisation in educational practices responsive to the presence of immigrant schoolchildren in a post-1970 Danish context worked as a means of differentiation. In my analyses, this practice of differentiation pertained equally to historically inherent mechanisms and logic in modern education as it did to differentiations made among pupils throughout the total school population. Here, I observe biologisation and racialisation as radicalised expressions of managing modern education's Other. Most obviously, these practices illustrate in profound historical detail the fundamental state racism inherent in modern governing in the shape of education, even when (or exactly because) it is obscured by numbers, cognitive schemata identity, language, and culture (Lentin 2005) – all in the service of individual as well as collective welfare and progress.

This kind of state racism expressed through education is inevitably linked to the legacy of Western colonialism and nation building as radical examples. Such an entrenched variant is fundamentally an effect of modern governing and thus becomes an integral part concerned with keeping the social body well and normal, with education magnifying these aspects. From a modern state racism perspective, educational practices addressing immigrant schoolchildren's presence exhibit all the efforts of managing its Other as potentially fraying the social fabric. This Other appears in my analyses in two temporally confined forms. In the first, the Other of modern education is constructed as the non-Western, traditional, authentic foreigner predominantly confined to the period between 1970 and the early 1990s. In the second, the Other of modern education is constructed as the internal defect of normalisation and integration confined to the period between the mid-1990s and 2013. Nonetheless, both forms of Otherness have been addressed with educational optimism regarding the possibility of normalising, enlightening, democratising,

modernising, and civilising immigrant schoolchildren in order to mend or keep the social fabric intact.

In sum, returning immigrant schoolchildren to their proper place in the history of education turns out to be a delicate matter, as one runs the risk of reproducing a biologisation of their ontological status and a racialised epistemology for understanding their role in that history. This accounts for my insistence on refusing to study immigrant schoolchildren in education or the making of immigrant schoolchildren. Instead, I specifically chose to study the making of *educationally manageable* immigrant schoolchildren. In doing so, my analytical endeavours have succeeded in turning educational practices upon themselves, thus exhibiting subtle but highly effective racialised practices of governing the social through managing its Other. The most lucid example of this analytical movement is found in article 2's observation of how the racialised construction of immigrant schoolchildren as objects of educational concern worked its way back into the professional dispositions and identities of professional teachers imagined to manage immigrant schoolchildren. This racialisation emerging from entanglements around the educational problematisations of immigrant schoolchildren and the teacher professionalisation not only addressed immigrant schoolchildren and immigrant teachers, it also fed into the construction of racialised dispositions of native Danish teachers.

Casting the making of educationally manageable immigrant schoolchildren in a historical light has had the benefit of exposing the politics of education – not so much in terms of the in- or exclusion of immigrant schoolchildren, but in illuminating the complex of educational practices invested in keeping the social body intact and integrated. This brings me to the second research perspective pertaining to the historical educational minutiae of the welfare state/immigrant nexus. As demonstrated throughout this thesis, the making of educationally manageable immigrant schoolchildren has worked as a critical prism through which we can study the fabrication of a post-1970 Danish welfare nation state. Identifying this fabrication of a welfare nation state through its educational minutiae responding to immigrant schoolchildren's presence has taken different points of departure in my three articles. This process is partly due to the articles' having been finalised at different stages of my research process, and partly due to my deliberately experimenting with various uses of an analytics of governing. Accordingly, this experimenting has held implications for the more detailed object construction and analytical sensitivity applied in each of the three articles, whereby each article contributes with an effective history of cutting and reassembling the welfare state/immigrant nexus.

To recount, article 1 takes its point of departure in the historical observation of (un)settling immigrant families, calling forth a universal welfare system to take care of these families' welfare as they settled on Danish territory, whereby the permanency of their presence became unsettling for an imagined national homogeneity. This combination of welfare state and nation state perspectives constructed the research object as a knot to be undone by analysing the problem-solving complexes emerging as a response to the (un)settling presence of immigrant families and their school-aged children, pointing to the ambiguous wedding of universal welfare and national particularism.

In a different manner, article 2 begins with my historical observation of the modern welfare state serving as a profoundly educational project by which professionalisation of welfare provision (including education) has been intricately linked with constructing a modern citizenry, whose rights and duties were delineated as a response to the social question. Revisiting the framing of the social question in a post-1970 Danish welfare state context strikes a nerve of the above-discussed precarisation of non-Western labour immigrants and their descendants. Moreover, it enables a perspective on the welfare state/immigrant nexus that teases out the subtle, racialised reasoning about education's and, hence, the welfare state's Other as a being not yet knowledgeable about, and incapable of living according to and contributing to, a national thesis of achieving welfare. Focussing on this professional mobilisation in response to immigrant schoolchildren's presence accentuates the reconstructing of a modern citizenry faced with the presence of a non-Western population in whose blood universal rights and national duties do not run, resulting in its members becoming objects of professional and educational concern.

Article 3 offers a different angle on the social question pertaining to immigrant schoolchildren's presence. It takes its point of departure in a fundamental aporia felt about a supposed disintegration of society epitomising hopes and fears, which engendered the production of pedagogical repertoires made available to immigrant schoolchildren's teachers. Unravelling these hopes and fears about societal disintegration through educational objectives, pedagogical techniques, and truths made available to teachers contributes to our understanding of the welfare state/immigrant nexus by teasing out how this nexus epitomises a historically continuous work of mending split seams and fraying threads as they appear in the societal fabric. Ultimately, this kind of analysis casts the welfare state/immigrant nexus in a new light, illuminating the modernistic form of state racism in terms of keeping society nationally cohesive and productively fit. It is in this vision of a stable society where an immigrant's precarious reality of a life lived on the margins

tends to engender fears about a welfare civilisation's decline, despite such fears being couched in modernistic language highlighting the hopes of integration.

Therefore, across these three modes of unravelling the educational minutiae of the welfare state/immigrant nexus, this thesis demonstrates the analytical potential of working with the process of *educationalisation* of the social question pertaining to integrating immigrant schoolchildren. Instead of studying the educational minutiae of the fabricating of a welfare nation state faced with non-Western immigration through educational institutions (schools, bureaucracies, teachers), the educationalisation perspective offers a different language of critique to address educational optimism as being intricately interwoven with problem constructions of a precarious, marginal life.

The third research perspective is somewhat of a meta-perspective on the first two research perspectives and relates to the potential of a governmental approach. It raises the epistemological question that asks whether we might bracket or dissolve the research object we set out to investigate by looking for its historical matter in its very making – where it is practiced, but not necessarily named. Did my initial strategic supposition concerning the non-existence of educationally manageable immigrant schoolchildren and a Danish welfare nation state allow me to apply a different kind of analysis in deciphering their coming into being? This question that concerns the core of my object construction is followed by one examining whether it makes sense to study educational practices and state fabrication as effects of governing the social. Ultimately, this raises the further question that concerns whether an effective historical analysis of educational practices responding to immigrant schoolchildren's presence can contribute with new viewpoints on the fabrication of a post-1970 Danish welfare nation state.

I argue this thesis has aptly demonstrated the advantages of such an analytics of governing, because it has facilitated identifying historically sensitive fragments of nominal problematisations, solutions, and truths ready to use in analytically reassembling the historical matter comprising both the making of educationally manageable immigrant schoolchildren and the fabricating of a post-1970 Danish welfare nation state. This is done not as an analysis of causality, but as one of construction in the double sense of effective history as a problematisation of problematisations. What is particularly potent about this kind of analytics of governing is that it renders everything as dangerous. Even those ideas history imposes on us as practices in the service of doing good – securing individual and collective welfare in the broadest sense of the word by making the social viable through educational practices that transform individuals living precarious, marginal lives into a citizenry educated, employable, capable of democratic deliberation, and loyal to the modernistic

integration project – which, I have shown, makes up the very fabric fashioning a post-1970 Danish welfare nation state.

As this thesis has demonstrated, an analytics of governing offers a language of positive critique enabling a historical sensitivity to ambiguities as real and observable, not merely as ideological discrepancies or comparative inconsistencies found between policy and practice. By describing, cutting, and reassembling these ambiguities in all their historical matter, the politics of education is conjured. In this sense, politics becomes a matter of governing, regardless of scale; ‘that is to say, the way in which one conducts the conduct of men is no more than a proposed analytical grid for these relations of power’ (Foucault 2008, 186). Therefore, an analytics of governing renders everything (even the act of doing good works) dangerous. This in turn makes visible the ambiguities inherent in modernistic practices of governing (in this case, education) and enfold the educational minutiae addressing immigrant pupils’ presence into the coming into existence of ‘a composite reality and a mythicized abstraction’ (Foucault 2009, 109) – into something called a Danish welfare nation state by way of responding to the social question once again.

This thesis’s contribution to a governmental perspective on immigrant schoolchildren’s education and, thus, its contribution to an emerging field of research investigating educational practices addressing the immigrant as a matter of modern state formation, lie precisely in my meticulous process of unravelling ambiguities of educational practices. Consequently, I argue that to problematise the epistemological ghost of integrationism that haunts most educational research, we must pay attention to how educational optimism and social utopian visions are intricately bound with an aporia felt about integration’s Other – how hope is bound up with fear. In the following conclusion, I summarise the historical matter of these ambiguous relations and relate them to something other than themselves.

6.2. The historical matter of my positive critique

Unravelling ambiguities in educational practices of doing good summarises the methodological as well as the historical aspect of this thesis’s positive critique. Not least, it summarises my cultivating a profound questioning sense concerning the emergence of educational practices responsive to the presence of immigrant schoolchildren and their families in Denmark between 1970 and 2013 as a matter of modernistic governing and, ultimately, the fabrication of a Danish welfare nation state. This thesis began with a discomfort experienced in the present pertaining to the unquestioned

problem-solving complexes constructing immigrant children as an educational problem requiring management. Submitting my work to an ethics of discomfort, I have been able to substantiate, as well as to challenge, this discomfort by applying an effective historical analysis traversed by a language of positive critique. This analysis amounts to a critical configuration of the ambiguous positivities of integrationism in terms of casting educational practices as dangerous, since they can be constructed as practices of mending the social fabric by which people, society, and state are made and remade. Such practices are historically universalised as doing good, thus violently imposing a history of truth, which a positive critique may unravel as neither good nor bad, but as dangerous – that is, with effects on the social.

As such, this thesis does not evaluate past educational practices responsive to immigrant schoolchildren's presence. Instead, it constructs descriptive patterns and configurations of problem-solving complexes emerging from these educational practices, in whose historical matter I have found a mass of carefully selected texts complementing each other by their various regulative, reflexive, and instructional genres, while resonating with the historical propensities of textual production in the educational field.

This thesis has argued that immigrant schoolchildren have been made educationally manageable while simultaneously being depicted as problems meriting educational concern. As discussed above, such practices of educational problematisations have emerged from a profound biologisation of the presence of immigrant schoolchildren and their families with the educational effect of subtly racialised problem constructions. Furthermore, I argue these racialised epistemologies also traversed the educational techniques imagined to be solving the constructed problems.

The historical matter of such subtly racialised problem constructions revolves around an educational concern about the precarious position of immigrant schoolchildren and their families found at the margins of a comprehensive welfare system – the margins of Danish language, Danish culture, a democratic dialogue, and a modernistic self-realisation. Accordingly, immigrant schoolchildren and their families were constructed as at risk of being unable to share in the welfare and good life available to those more thoroughly enmeshed in the social fabric. This way of problematising immigrant schoolchildren has been discerned throughout the period of investigation, although it appears most dominant in the quarter century between 1970 and the mid-1990s. From the mid-1990s forward, the educational concern pertaining to immigrant schoolchildren's presence subtly transformed. While the problem construction continued to be formed from the same

epistemological building blocks as outlined above, the fear over living on the margins changed. Rather than its continuing to be a concern such a life would result in individual deprivation and failure, the idea morphed into something perceived as much worse: the marginal life would result in the collective whole's disintegration.

Interestingly enough, only in article 1 is a similar transformation in the configuration of educational solutions observed: the fear about individual deprivation was met by compensatory enlightenment projects, whereas the fear about collective disintegration was met by regulating the number of immigrant children in classrooms and schools. In articles 2 and 3, acts of professionalisation as well as pedagogical techniques appear to have nurtured immigrant schoolchildren's native languages and cultures, while at the same time using this accentuation of Otherness as the basis for recognising and empowering as well as facilitating a transgression of the immigrant self as a form of modernistic self-actualisation. In article 3, I labelled this idea of a double educational gesture aimed at the Other as a 'threshold pedagogy', an activity that does not mend the social fabric by erasing differences of the Other, but instead normalises differences through an educationalisation of the cultural encounter as the hallmark of an enlightened, compassionate modernity.

Assembling all these fragments of an educational reality emerging as responses to the presence of immigrant schoolchildren and their families from a governmental perspective has pointed to the fabricating of a post-1970 Danish welfare nation state as an effect of the ambiguous matrimony between universal welfare and national particularism. One might think it was the nationalisation of universal welfare that produced a subtle, but profound, racialised practice of making immigrant schoolchildren educationally manageable. Although this is part of the picture, my analyses indicate the racialisation of educational practices responsive to immigrant schoolchildren might be understood more clearly as an effect of an inherently modernistic project of securing welfare; building an integrated, national whole; and demanding civilising progress.

The act of historicisation by means of an aesthetically effective approach of cutting and reassembling the historical matter has helped me to turn history and universal categories upon themselves. In doing so, the research object begins to unravel and appear in relation to something other than itself – an overall strategy. In this case, I argue, the fabrication of a post-1970 Danish welfare nation state thus appears as an overall strategy in the shaping of modernity. Similarly, this thesis has turned both the modernistic project and its epistemological ghost of integrationism upon

themselves, thus revealing the danger of their imposing on immigrants welfare, education, and integration, as undertaken in the benign guise of doing good.

7. References

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8. English summary

Ever since children of non-Western labour immigrants appeared in Danish public schools in the early 1970s, immigrant schoolchildren have attracted considerable educational attention from politicians, administrators, teachers, experts, and researchers. This attention has often been voiced as a concern for these children's individual welfare, but also for the collective welfare of Danish society.

With the objective of unravelling this educational attention, the thesis asks how were immigrant schoolchildren made educationally manageable in Danish public schools between 1970 and 2013. To offer a critical exploration of these high-stakes educational practices addressing immigrant schoolchildren and their families, the thesis also inquires how these practices of educationalised governing have fed into fabricating a post-1970 Danish welfare nation state.

The thesis explores these research questions from a critical, historical perspective on three distinct educational practices used to capture the manifold investments present in making immigrant schoolchildren educationally manageable. First, it describes administrative knowledge practices in which administrators, experts, and professionals have been involved in identifying the problem of and suggesting solutions for organising the welfare and the schooling of immigrant schoolchildren. Second, it studies teacher professionalisation practices whereby teachers, experts, and researchers have been involved in identifying educational problematisations of immigrant schoolchildren's presence, based on which professional capacities, dispositions, and identities have been developed over time. Third, it examines didactical practices in which teachers, experts, researchers, textbook writers, journalists, publishing houses, nongovernmental organisations, and so forth have been involved in developing pedagogical repertoires of truths, techniques, and objectives for teachers to manage immigrant schoolchildren's presence.

These three educational practices have been investigated through their textual effects in the shape of commission reports, project evaluations, administrative procedures, professional journal articles, teacher handbooks, teacher guidelines, and so forth. Three corpora of historical material have been established based on the personal research archive of the late education researcher Jørgen Gimbel. This trove is supplemented with the personal, work-related archives of other professionals who have been active in the investigational field, annual reports of the Danish Royal School of Education (1970–2000), three professional journals that were specialised in the field of immigrant schoolchildren's education (1980–2013), and a comprehensive public library search. The three corpora comprise 872 texts exhibiting the qualities of regulating, reflecting, and guiding educational practices addressing immigrant schoolchildren's presence in Danish public schools between 1970 and 2013.

The thesis constructs educational practices vis-à-vis immigrant schoolchildren as a critical prism for studying the emergence of a Danish welfare nation state. Qua an analytics of governing, the emergence of a Danish welfare nation state is constructed and studied as the effect of a variegated domain of practices engaged in the governing of individual and collective welfare as responses to the social question of integration. Thus, this thesis cultivates a profound questioning of problem-solving complexes arising in response to immigrant schoolchildren's presence, as these problem-solving complexes have been involved in educationalising the social question of integration, and imagining a better society.

As such, this thesis offers problematisations of immigrant schoolchildren's education, showing how educationalised welfare work addressing non-Western immigrant children and their families functioned not only as a deeply rooted national(ist) project, but also equally as a racialising, civilising, modernising project of governing the social and doing good. Accordingly, the thesis demonstrates how revisiting the social question in a post-1970 context of educating immigrant schoolchildren disturbs the optimistic salvation project of publicly educating and integrating immigrants. The thesis shows how a post-1970 Danish welfare nation state can be understood as the effect of an inherently modernistic project of brutal care, subtly racialised professionalisation, and a civilising pedagogy placing immigrant schoolchildren on the threshold of a thesis of modern Danish life.

The thesis has been prepared as a collection of two scientific journal articles and one lengthy contribution to an anthology, in which the thesis's analytical findings are presented. In addition, it presents a chapter on the development of a positive form of critique, a thematised historiography of the cross-disciplinary research context informing this thesis, a brief reflection upon concepts lost and found in translation, an extended discussion on the writing of history and the methodological implications of an analytics of governing, and a final chapter discussing the thesis's overall contribution to its research context.

9. Dansk resumé

Den pædagogisk håndterbare indvandrerelev i Danmark, 1970-2013 – En kritisk prisme for studiet af dannelsen af en dansk velfærdsnationalstat

Siden de tidlige 1970'ere, hvor de første børn af ikke-vestlige arbejdsmigranter begyndte i den danske folkeskole, har indvandrereleven tiltrukket sig stor pædagogisk opmærksomhed fra såvel politikere, administratorer, lærere, eksperter og forskere. Denne pædagogiske opmærksomhed har været udtrykt som en bekymring for indvandrerelevens individuelle velfærd, men ofte også som en bekymring for kollektivets velfærd i det danske samfund.

Med ambitionen om at afdække denne pædagogiske opmærksomhed, stiller afhandlingen spørgsmålet om, hvordan indvandrereleven er blevet gjort pædagogisk håndterbar i den danske folkeskole i perioden mellem 1970 og 2013, og hvordan pædagogiserede styringspraktikker har bidraget til at skabe en post-1970 dansk velfærdsnationalstat.

Afhandlingen besvarer disse forskningsspørgsmål ved at anlægge et kritisk-historisk perspektiv på tre distinkte pædagogiske praksisfelter med henblik på at indfange mangfoldigheden af investeringer i at gøre indvandrereleven pædagogisk håndterbar: For det første undersøges administrative videnspraksisser, hvor administratorer, eksperter og professionelle har været involveret i identificeringen af problemer og løsninger i organiseringen af indvandrerelevens velfærd og skolegang. For det andet studeres professionaliseringspraksisser, hvor lærere, eksperter og forskere har investeret energi i at forstå indvandrerelevens tilstedeværelse som et pædagogisk problem for dermed at kunne udvikle professionelle kompetencer, dispositioner og identiteter til at kunne håndtere disse problemer. For det tredje udforskes didaktiske praksisser, hvor lærere, eksperter, forskere, lærebogsforfattere, journalister, bogforlag, NGO'er og andre har bidraget til udviklingen af pædagogiske repertoires af sandheder, formål, mål og metoder, således at læreren kunne håndtere indvandrerelevens tilstedeværelse.

Disse tre pædagogiske praksisfelter er blevet undersøgt gennem deres tekstlige produktioner i form af kommissionsrapporter, projektevalueringer, administrative retningslinjer, professionelle tidsskrifter, lærerhåndbøger, undervisningsvejledninger osv. For hvert praksisfelt er der blevet etableret et tekst-korpus. Disse korpusser baserer sig på nu afdøde sociolingvist, Jørgen Gimbels forskningsarkiv, suppleret med andre professionelle aktørers arbejdsrelaterede arkiver, Danmarks Lærerhøjskoles årsberetninger (1970-2000), tre fagtidsskrifter med eksklusivt fokus på indvandrerelevens skolegang og uddannelse (1980-2013) og en omfattende bibliotekssøgning. Disse tre tekst-korpusser indeholder tilsammen 872 tekster, som i forskellig grad har karakter af at være regulerende, reflekterende og vejledende for den pædagogiske praksis med at håndtere tilstedeværelsen af indvandrerelever i den danske folkeskole mellem 1970 og 2013.

Afhandlingen konstruerer pædagogiske praksisser vis-à-vis indvandrereleven som en kritisk prisme for studiet af velfærdsnationalstaten. Qua en styringsanalytik konstrueres og undersøges skabelsen af en dansk velfærdsnationalstat som effekten af en mangfoldighed af praksisser, der har været engageret i ledelsen af individuel såvel som kollektiv velfærd. Således kultiverer afhandlingen en problematisering af problem-løsningskomplekser, der er opstået som respons på indvandrerelevens tilstedeværelse, som svar på integrationens sociale spørgsmål og på baggrund af forestillingen om et bedre samfund.

Afhandlingen bidrager med problematiseringer af den pædagogiske håndtering af indvandrereleven og viser, hvordan pædagogiseret velfærdsarbejde i relation til ikke-vestlige indvandrere ikke blot har spejlet et rodfæstet nationalt projekt, men i ligeså høj grad har udgjort et civiliserende, racialiserende og dermed moderniserende projekt med henblik på at lede det sociale i den gode sags tjeneste. Hermed destabiliseres den pædagogiske optimisme, der historisk har løbet som en rød tråd i uddannelse- og integrationsindsatsen. På denne baggrund må den post-1970 danske velfærdsnationalstat forstås som effekten af et grundlæggende moderne projekt, der viser sig i form af en brutal omsorg, subtilt racialiseret professionalisering og en civiliserende pædagogik, der placerer indvandrereleven på tærsklen til en moderne dansk livsform.

Afhandlingen er bygget op omkring to forskningsartikler og et antologi-bidrag, hvor afhandlingens analyser præsenteres. Derudover redegør afhandlingen for en positiv kritik-form, bidrager med en tematisk historiografi over afhandlingens forskningskontekst, giver en kort refleksion over begreber i oversættelsesarbejdet, fremlægger en længere diskussion af kritisk historieskrivning og styringsanalytikkens metodologiske implikationer. Slutteligt diskuteres afhandlingens overordnede bidrag.

10. Appendices

10.1. Complete list of material used in the article, 'Making Precarious Immigrant Families and Weaving the Danish Welfare Nation-State Fabric 1970-2010'

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10.4. A spiral-shaped formation

This model was developed in the process of analysis pertaining to article 1. The model has been presented at the Society for the History of Children and Youth 8th Biennial Conference in Vancouver, June 2015.

