



Denmark

“Feeding in” and “Feeding out”, and Integrating Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities

A Study of National Policies

Anne Mølgaard & Tobias Børner Stax
Rambøll Management

*Disclaimer: This report does not necessarily reflect
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or the Member States.*

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This is the second of two semester reports made in 2006. This report will analyse more specifically the *"integration of immigrants (first and second generation) and/or ethnic minorities"* and the *feeding in and feeding out* analysis based on the National Reports on Strategies for Social Protection and Social Inclusion and the Lisbon reports.

The report includes:

- a) A first chapter concentrating on "feeding-in" and "feeding-out".
- b) A second chapter covering the topic of integration of immigrants in detail (first and second generations) and/or ethnic minorities.

In both chapters we attempt to appraise how well the current and intended Danish policy approach is working in terms of:

- Achieving goals set for the policy area.
- Intermediate performance standards or monitoring indicators.
- Administrative, including budgetary questions such as the adequacy of resources, the timeliness of policy interventions and the coherence of the policy approach.
- Whether the policy approach has given rise to any political disputes, public criticisms or judicial interventions.

Furthermore, we have been asked to:

- Describe any problems that have arisen in the implementation and assess whether these suggest fundamental flaws in the policy that may require extensive changes, are significant but tractable within the current policy framework or can be regarded as temporary difficulties to be overcome through "learning-by-doing".
- Identify factors that help to account for variations over time or in different locations in the quality of implementation of the policy (for example: quality of staff, depth of the problems in the locality, evidence of "ownership" by stakeholders, "enthusiasm" of voluntary sector etc.).

These latter points will not be possible to tackle in regard to the chapter on feeding-in and feeding-out as we are primarily assessing a programme for future intervention.

1. Feeding-in and feeding-out

Summary of the chapter on feeding-in and feeding-out

The Danish National Reform Programme points to four challenges that are important. One of these addresses how to prepare for the ageing of the population via continued reduction of the public debt and permanently higher employment as well as via improved employment and integration of disadvantaged groups. This is the challenge that we find are most closely related to the issue of social inclusion and social protection. The challenge is, however, linked to a general challenge of sustaining a strong economy and sustaining growth, and quite a few – if not most – of the initiatives and targets in the National Reform Programme are devoted to such issues, e.g. reflections on competitiveness and on focusing research and capitalizing more on education.

A rather important part of the Reform Programme is the Welfare Agreement. Two particularly central elements in the Welfare Agreement of relevance for social inclusion and social protection are:

- The age thresholds for the voluntary early retirement scheme and pensions are gradually increased with two years by 2019-2022 and 2024-2027, respectively. Afterwards, the age thresholds in the retirement system are indexed by the life expectancy of 60 years old persons, so that the expected period of total retirement will be maintained around 19½ years.
- Continuation of the strategy in previous labour market reforms with a further increase in activation, systematic availability assessments and a new model for the regular employment service to be implemented.

Having stated that the Welfare Agreement probably is the most relevant aspect of the work to be forced into the Reform Programme, it is also important to notice that there is quite a distance between the Welfare Agreement and the National Report on Strategies for Social Protection and Social Inclusion. There are very few – if any – linkages of the Reform Programme and the “new NAP-incl.”. The most direct linkage is between the parts of the NAP-incl. addressing employment and the Reform Programme, and with the ethnic minorities (addressed in chapter 2). It is less directly addressing the what can be termed socially marginalised or vulnerable groups. The groups that are explicitly mentioned in the NAP-incl. are rarely, if at all mentioned in the Welfare Agreement or the National Reform Programme.

Turning to an assessment of the feeding-out from the Reform Programme it is too early to conclude whether the National Reform Programme will lead to an increase in employment benefiting groups at particular risk of poverty and social exclusion such as jobless households, the very long-tem unemployed, single parents, large families, young people, immigrants, ethnic minorities. At this point we can, however, underline that the Reform Programme does not in particular focus on these marginal groups (with the exception of the ethnic minorities to be addressed below), but rather presents more generally relevant structural changes that might influence the marginal groups as well.

If anything, the Reform Programme has focus on overall growth and on sustaining the welfare state. And this might as well be one of the most important factors for sustaining a high level of service for the most vulnerable groups in Denmark. Moreover, keeping focus of the Reform Programme on a general level – and then more briefly continuously referring to concrete measures being implemented and of relevance for particular groups – might be an important strategy for sustaining a general support for a taxed-based welfare state, and thus an important strategy for sustaining social cohesion.

Some of the important issues to watch closely are related to the assumption that continual growth will in fact benefit all groups in society, or whether some groups shall not be experiencing benefits or perhaps even decreases in their living conditions. We have pointed out this issue in previous reports as it is an ongoing debate in Denmark; Do we actually experience increasing gaps between people living in households with the lowest income and other groups in society? We shall have to keep an eye upon this if we are to keep track of the effects of the Reform Programme in regard to the most marginalised and vulnerable groups and in regard to whether the social cohesion is sustained.

A brief methodological note

Prior to carrying out the analysis on feeding-in and feeding-out a brief methodological note is needed. The analysis is based on very broadly formulated guidelines. We have opted to focus this report on the relationship between employment measures and social inclusion. This focus has been chosen since it constitutes a core reflection of relevancy for a central challenge to the Danish welfare state, also emphasised in the National Reform Programme, and since the employment measures are given significant attention in the Programme (with less attention to those most marginalised). We are thus downscaling our attention to the broader economic dimensions and reflections of the National Reform

Programme despite the fact that a large amount of attention in the programme is devoted to such issues.

Furthermore, Denmark's National Reform Programme – First Progress Report mainly presents findings – emphasizes the need for formulating the Reform Programme. There is not much focus on the implementation of the Programme up till now – primarily because little can yet be observed. This influences our assessment and analysis of the programme, including reflections on the intention and the arguments for the choices as well as the relation between the Reform Programme and the National Report on Strategies for Social Protection and Social Inclusion assessed in the previous report.

Finally, we have to touch briefly on the two central terms – feeding-in and feeding-out – in the chapter which are used in this report in the following sense:

The **feeding-in term should** capture how strategies for social protection and inclusion link up to a process towards growth and jobs. The **feeding-out term** reflects the positive contribution that changes carried out within the framework of National Reform Programme make to social cohesion and inclusion.

1.1 Feeding-in

The Danish National Reform Programme points to four challenges to be dealt with. One of these is to prepare for the ageing of the population via continued reduction of the public debt and permanently higher employment as well as via improved employment and integration of disadvantaged groups.

This is the challenge that we find are most closely related to the issue of social inclusion and social protection. The challenge is, however, linked to a general challenge of sustaining a strong economy and sustaining growth, and quite a few – if not most – of the initiatives and targets in the National Reform Programme are devoted to such issues, e.g. reflections on competitiveness and on focusing research and capitalizing more on education.

The challenges consist to a large degree on measures aimed at the labour market emphasised in the Programme:

The main challenges in the years to come are:

- The structural employment must be increased by 50,000 to 60,000 people before 2010 to counter the demographic development. In particular, focus should be on:
 - Continued incentive for people to get into the labour market earlier and stay longer.
 - Ensuring implementation of the integration agreement in order to increase the employment rate of immigrants and descendants.
 - The adaptability of employees and companies must be improved further – for example by strengthening the effort within general adult education and adult vocational training in order to reap the gains and meet the challenges of globalisation and the technological development.

These are significant challenges, also despite the fact that Denmark is already meeting the three employment objectives and did so also in 2005.

The above-mentioned challenges are generally accepted challenges, and the measures enacted for meeting the challenges have been widely debated – both among researches, among central actors in the labour market and in the general public. The reform presented has thus been compiled with inputs from a wide range of relevant sources with the government eventually formulating and deciding upon the political reform with its targets and measures. Especially the sources also pointed to in the Reform

Programme need to be highlighted. The first one to pinpoint is the *Welfare Commission*, consisting of independent experts. The Welfare Commission presented their final report in the beginning of 2006 which focused on the development and the potential financing of future welfare payments in light of the above-mentioned ageing population, cf. www.velfaerd.dk. Secondly, it is the *Globalisation Council*, who finalised its work in March 2006. The Council debated how Denmark in 2015 becomes a society focusing on growth, knowledge and entrepreneurship, cf. www.globalisering.dk. Finally, it is the *Tripartite Committee for lifelong qualification and education*, composed of the social partners and the Government. This committee did also present its report early in 2006, cf. www.fm.dk. All three sources have influenced the process, but it is important to underline that the result of the work – mainly embodied in the Welfare Agreement – is the work of the Government. At least in relation to the work of the Welfare Commission and the Globalisations Council these were followed by heated arguments as to how much was relevant for the successive welfare reform, and in addition whether the Government ignored large part of the work of the two committees.

We do not know how the actual reform has been compiled internally in the Government. Looking at the priorities in the Reform Programme and the – to a certain degree – lacking linking to relevant documents on social inclusion and protection as well as marginalised and vulnerable groups in particular, we find the Reform Programme to be more the work of the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of the Prime Minister, and the Ministry of Employment than the result of the work of the Ministry of Social Affairs

The above-mentioned Welfare Agreement seems to be the most relevant agreement for analysing the feeding-in of the National Reform Programme on linking employment and growth to social inclusion and social protection. This agreement deals with public pensions, early retirement, the labour market and a globalisation fund, which is to be used to strengthen investments in research, education, innovation and entrepreneurship.

Two central elements in the Welfare Agreement of relevance for social inclusion and social protection are:

- The age thresholds for the voluntary early retirement scheme and pensions are gradually increased with two years by 2019-2022 and 2024-2027, respectively. Afterwards, the age thresholds in the retirement system are indexed by the life expectancy of 60 years old persons, so that the expected period of total retirement will be maintained around 19½ years.
- Continuation of the strategy in previous labour market reforms with a further increase in activation, systematic availability assessments and a new model for the regular employment service to be implemented.

Having stated that the Welfare Agreement probably is the most relevant aspect of the work to be forced into the Reform Programme, it is also important to notice that there is quite a distance between the Welfare Agreement and the National Report on Strategies for Social Protection and Social Inclusion. There are very few – if any – linkages of the Reform Programme and the “new NAP-incl.”. The most direct linkage is between the parts of the NAP-incl. addressing employment and the Reform Programme, and with the ethnic minorities (addressed in chapter 2), not with what can be termed socially marginalised or vulnerable groups. The groups that are explicitly mentioned in the NAP-incl. are rarely, if at all mentioned in the Welfare Agreement or the National Reform Programme.

The reason for this seems to be a distinction in political focus between the two texts. The Reform Programme presents overall societal challenges as well as responses to these challenges which are formulated on a more general level than in the NAP-incl. The latter is focused on a lot of different and rather small target groups – groups considered the most marginalised, like the homeless, the trafficked women or mentally challenged. It is not in formulating responses to these groups of people’s problems that one meets the more general challenges presented in the Reform Programme.

This is not to say that there are no linkages between a macropolitical or macroeconomic approach and the targeted policy towards specifically marginalised groups – to be addressed below when we analyse the feeding-out dimension of the Reform Programme.

Should we, however, point to one aspect that is not reflected upon in the Reform Programme, which could have been included as it has been at least a public debate and a debate raised in research reports, it is the issue of poverty – or with a word that might be less politically troublesome in a Danish context: low income groups. There has been an ongoing debate whether there might be increasing differences between households with the lowest income and the average households, and whether this gap is continuously being enlarged. Despite the issue of economic equality and division is being debated frequently the Reform Programme does not touch upon it. Nor does it seem as if the Government views such a potential tendency as a challenge to social cohesion.

Turning to an analysis of some of the specific Lisbon guidelines, highlighted in the guideline for the report, a comparison between Denmark and the EU – presented in the annex to the Progress Report – one sees how the Danish Welfare state begins its consolidation of future welfare from a different starting point than the average EU15 or EU25 member state. On practically all indicators on GL, 17-19, 21, 23-24, Denmark shows significant better scores on the indicators. Furthermore, Denmark engages in the future securing and developing of the welfare state from a comparatively strong economical point of departure.

More specifically to the posed questions on the guideline of the revised Lisbon agreement, we acknowledge that there are no reflections on corporate social responsibility (GL 14). Not to say that such reflections are not present in Denmark – they are and have been for quite a while. It is rather that such measures are not seen as first priorities for enlarging the long terms sustainability of a welfare state ensuring social coherence.

In relation to implementation of employment policies aiming at achieving full employment, inclusion on the labour market and promoting a lifecycle approach (GL 17-19) this is an issue which draws attention. The aim is to reduce the level of unemployed even lower than it is today – despite such attempts are seen as reducing the level of structural unemployment, it is conceived as more difficult than reducing fluctuational unemployment. In fact, the financial aspect of the above mentioned Welfare Agreement is based on the aim to reduce the structural unemployment with 50,000 to 60,000 people before 2010. This aim is perceived as quite optimistic by some economist – bordering upon the naive. This might thus be one of the future major challenges that the Government will have to deal with, if the positive development shall continue and the aim of sustaining and developing the welfare state shall be achieved.

One of the groups that might be further included into the labour market is the ethnic minorities and the disabled people. It is emphasised that the connection of disabled people to the labour market could be a lot better. And there is a need to make a special effort in order to increase the employment rate of disabled persons in all sectors of the Danish labour market.

There is, however, no connection to the NAP-incl. in the reflections on measures to achieve full employment in the Reform Programme.

In relation to the lifecycle approach, the issue discussed concerns the increase of retirement age where the age thresholds for the voluntary early retirement scheme and pensions are gradually increased with two years by 2019-2022 and 2024-2027, respectively. Afterwards, the age thresholds in the retirement system are indexed by the life expectancy of 60 years old persons, so that the expected period of total

retirement will be maintained around 19½ years. Then again, this is not related to the National Report on Strategies for Social Protection and Social Inclusion but only aimed at sustaining the welfare state in general.

Finally, we draw attention to the notion of flexicurity. The Danish “flexicurity model” for the labour market is characterised by flexible rules for hiring and dismissal, a relatively high level of unemployment benefits and social security and a comprehensive active labour market policy. This model is seen as a primary driver for keeping structural unemployment in Denmark at a low level. On a more general level this is doubtless a significant driver, but in relation to the most marginal groups of people the effects might be limited. No doubt the overall employment policies influence the possibilities for including the most marginal groups, but the specific effects might be more the result of targeted measures. This seems especially to be the case in relation to the smaller groups focused on, and thus the case for many of the groups mentioned in the National Report on Strategies for Social Protection and Social Inclusion.

In general, we see only a vague linking of the National Report on Strategies for Social Protection and Social Inclusion and the Reform Programme with the first being rather unstructured in relation to a wide range of specific socially marginalised groups with a presentation of a list of unorganised measures and the latter dealing with macropolitical and economical issues seldom linked to concrete measures of specific relevance for the social vulnerable and marginalised. Undoubtedly, the overall political organisation of the welfare state matters for these groups as well – regardless that the universal dimensions of the Danish welfare state provides the most basic and important measures. But it is difficult – if not theoretically impossible – to translate these universal and macropolitical and economical developments into effects for the marginal groups. Even more difficult as the National Report on Strategies for Social Protection and Social Inclusion and the Reform Programme are compiled on very different analytical levels.

1.2 Feeding-out

According to the guidelines the feeding-out should cover any aspects available in the National Reform Programme which have a positive (or negative) impact on achieving social inclusion objectives. It should assess the extent to which the creation of new jobs is benefiting groups at particular risk of poverty and social exclusion – such as jobless households, the very long-term unemployed, single parents, large families, young people, immigrants and ethnic minorities (including the Roma or people with disabilities). It should assess the extent to which the combination of wages, tax exemptions and in-work and family benefits ensures that people moving into employment are also moving out of poverty. It should examine the social cohesion impact of e.g. infrastructure policies, credit policies and tax policies, etc. and it should assess the extent to which economic growth is increasing the resources of those on the lowest incomes and reducing income inequalities. Finally, the report should also analyse the contribution that economic and employment policies are (or are not) making to social cohesion/inclusion.

We have chosen to focus on only some of these issues and provide a general assessment of the impact of Reform Programme on achieving social inclusion objectives. We have chosen this approach as we find it difficult – and surely in breach of the role of “experts” – to comment upon too wide a range of issues.

In overall terms, the First Progression Report on the Danish National Reform Programme presents only little documentation on actual changes. Not surprisingly, as the Reform Programme was only enacted a year ago, and the changes presented in the Programme primarily are focusing on long-term changes.

What is important to notice is that the Government has enacted one of the central parts of the Programme in regard to the socially vulnerable and marginalised groups: the Welfare Agreement addresses above. As such the Government has engaged in implementing the specific changes outlined a year ago. The Welfare Agreement was enacted in June 2006 and no empirical effects can yet be observed.

What can be observed is a debate on the sufficiency of the Welfare Agreement, especially concerning whether it will – as being emphasised is the aim – adapt the welfare state to the aging of the Danish population, thus sustaining a continual development of the Danish welfare state. It has been argued that the Welfare Agreement is an intervention to small and taking effect too late.

The need for enlarging the part of life where people are working is generally agreed upon, but whether this will be done to a sufficient degree with the current interventions is a relevant question to ask. The central organisations of employers are currently pointing to a lack of labour supply limiting the possibility for growth, thus influencing the future possibilities for sustaining the welfare state.

It can be noticed that there has been a general public acceptance of the need for reforming the retirement system, but it is questionable whether the Government has actually been able to fully capitalise on this broad acceptance within the population and create a sound foundation for the future welfare state. The former Social Democratic Government suffered a major blow in popularity by changing the early retirement system, which by many was conceived as in breach of the promises to the electorate. Perhaps history somewhat frightens the current Government, keeping more reform-like activities at bay or placing them in a somewhat distant future.

Furthermore, a central underlying assumption of the Welfare Agreement is that 50,000 to 60,000 new jobs are created for people currently unemployed. But is this sound assumption which can be reached? The Welfare Agreement of June 2006 introduces a series of new initiatives to meet this challenge. The short, medium and long-term increase of structural employment is primarily attempted via *the above-mentioned later* retirement from the labour market, more immigrants and descendants into employment and a *further reduction of unemployment*.

We will address the issue of ethnic minorities below and – in light of this section's focus on the marginalised and socially vulnerable groups – point to our previous reports this year where we find it questionable whether the Government will succeed in transferring the socially marginalised into the labour market to a larger degree than it is already done today. As least it is questionable in the light of the Reform Programme with its more overall focus. And a least it is questionable that it will happen to the degree strived for. There are surely interventions that might lead to an increased participation in the labour force for other groups in the Danish society – like the ethnic minorities that we return and the physically challenged. But concerning the socially marginalised groups dealt with in the National Report on Strategies for Social Protection and Social Inclusion the Reform Programme is very sparse on initiatives.

One additional dimension in the Reform Programme aiming at including more people into the labour market consist in altering the process for applying for job. People shall increasingly document how they are actively job seeking and thereby entitled to benefits. The Government is trying to make the supply and demand side of labour meet by pressuring unemployed to actively seeking jobs and creating common forums where employers can present job openings. The changes are currently being implemented alongside the reform of the local administrative system which shall be carried through by January 2007. How these changes will influence the people dealt with in the Report on Strategies for Social Protection and Social Inclusion, remains to be seen.

Included in the Reform Programme are attempts at altering the education system, e.g., having people finishing their studies faster and moving faster into the labour market. In addition, continuous education of people working shall keep the labour force qualified to meet the demands of a specializing, technologically developing globalised market and keeping the competitiveness high. This as well shall help reach the aim of increasing the level of employed people. This is, however, not primarily of relevance for the target groups of the Report on Strategies for Social Protection and Social Inclusion.

Also in relation to the field of education, the Government will focus on lowering the vulnerability of people without a youth education. The share of young people who only acquire basic schooling is below the EU average, but there are still too many young people who do not complete a youth education. This group runs a higher risk of unemployment. The share of young people with an immigrant background who drops out of school, particularly as concerns the business educational programmes, is especially high. The aim is to enable at least 95 per cent of all young people to complete a youth education by 2015. Currently only 80 per cent of a youth generation completes such an education. This is a rather ambitious aim, and whether it can be reached, remains to be seen.

The Government itself acknowledges that meeting the target necessitates significantly further interventions not included in the Reform Programme, and an important next step seems to be a multi-annual plan for the Danish economy, including potential new employment objectives to be presented in 2007. It is also emphasised by the social partners that additional intervention is needed, and it is emphasised that the objectives of the Danish Reform Programme of 2005 are not related to the actual conditions on the labour market to a sufficient extent. The social partners find this regrettable as the Programme thereby loses its practical utility – as it is written in the First Progression Report.

In overall terms, the Government has presented an ambitious plan for changes concerning employment. Several initiatives are presented and the plan is multi-dimensional, including many relevant dimensions. But it is primarily a plan. The Reform Programme and the changes presented are just beginning to be implemented and it is yet too soon to identify actual changes of the Programme, not to mention accrual effects.

It remains to be seen whether the National Reform Programme will lead to an increased in employment benefiting groups at particular risk of poverty and social exclusion such as jobless households, the very long-term unemployed, single parents, large families, young people, immigrants and ethnic minorities. At this point we can, however, underline that the Reform Programme does not in particular focus on these marginal groups (with the exception of the ethnic minorities to addressed below), but rather presents more generally relevant structural changes that might influence the marginal groups as well.

If anything, the Reform Programme has focus on overall growth and on sustaining the welfare state. And this might as well be one of the most important factors for sustaining the high level of service for the most vulnerable groups in Denmark. Furthermore, by keeping the focus of the Reform Programme on a general level – and then more briefly continuously referring to concrete measures to be implemented and of relevance for particular groups – might be an important strategy for sustaining a general support for a taxed-based welfare state, thereby an important strategy for sustaining social cohesion.

Some of the important issues to watch closely are related to the assumption that continual growth will in fact benefit all groups in society, or whether some groups shall not be experiencing benefits or perhaps even decreases in their living conditions. We have pointed out this issue in previous reports as it is an ongoing debate in Denmark; Do we actually experience increasing gaps between people living in households with the lowest income and other groups in society? We have to pay much attention to this aspect if we are to keep track of the effects of the Reform Programme in regard to the most marginalised and vulnerable groups and in regard to whether the social cohesion is sustained.

1.3 The Integrated Guidelines

We have commented upon the integrated guideline above under the section feeding-in.

The most important overall conclusion for this report seems to be that there are little reflections in the National Reform Programme related to the socially marginalised or vulnerable groups addressed in the National Report on Strategies for Social Protection and Social Inclusion.

2. Integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities

This chapter concerns the integration of ethnic minorities in Denmark. The structure of the chapter reflects the fact that issues of employment and education are of high priority in the Government's policy and in the Danish public debate on integration.

The chapter is based on Government programs, statistics, information from NGO's, the media and a general assessment of the integration process. A central point in the Government's integration effort is the integration plan "A new chance for everyone" which was launched in June 2005.¹ We will refer to this program throughout this chapter.

2.1. General background information

2.1.1. Employment rate

The employment rate of ethnic minorities is low – 51% compared to 76% of the ethnic Danes. But the overall employment rate covers significantly differences among first and second generation immigrants. Figures show that the employment rate is 57% for second generation compared to 45% for first generation immigrants.²

The lack of attachment to the labour market for large groups among ethnic minorities – particularly women – entails a major risk of social and economic marginalisation.

2.1.2. Income distribution

One of the consequences of the high unemployment rate among ethnic minorities is that their income is significantly lower than the income of ethnic Danes. Whereas the average income of ethnic Danes in 2003 was DKK 252.044, it was DKK 175.113 for ethnic minorities. Moreover, the difference is even more significant when comparing ethnic Danes with immigrants from non-western countries. Immigrants from these countries have an average income of only DKK 157.955.³ Experts consider this difference as an indication of economic marginalisation of immigrants from non-western countries in Danish society.

Moreover, when looking specifically at the average income of the unemployed, the statistics also reveal that unemployed ethnic minorities receive less than unemployed ethnic Danes. Whereas the average

¹ The Danish Government (2005): *A new chance for everyone*.
The program is describe in more detail in the first semester report 2006

² http://www.inm.dk/publikationer/aarbog_om_udlaendinge_2005.pdf

³ http://www.inm.dk/publikationer/aarbog_om_udlaendinge_2005.pdf

unemployed ethnic Dane receives DKK 178.199 a year, the average unemployed ethnic minorities from non-western countries receive DKK 151.688.⁴ This is partly due to the fact that many immigrants receive a particular financial support "initial help" ["starthjælp"] which is significantly lower than the regular unemployment benefit.

2.1.3. Education level

In general, immigrants and their descendants have a lower level of education than ethnic Danes. Figures show that only 12% of the immigrants between ages 25-64 have a Danish higher or vocational education. For their descendants the proportion is 40%. It should be mentioned though that approximately 35% of the immigrants have an education from their country of origin.⁵

2.1.4. Housing

No figures are yet available to show the overall proportion of ethnic minorities living in vulnerable neighbourhoods. The reason for this being that there is no consensus as to what constitutes a valid indicator for a vulnerable neighbourhood. However, the Statistical Yearbook about Foreigners have published figures showing that in 10 selected neighbourhoods with a high unemployment rate and crime rate, there is also a large proportion of ethnic minorities.⁶

2.2. Employment

2.2.1. Introduction

"A job is the key to successful integration". This has been a prevalent view in the Danish Government's approach to the integration of refugees and immigrants in Danish society. This view is reflected in the number of Government programmes concerning employment for ethnic minorities and in the amount of economic resources spent in the area.

2.2.2. Initiatives

Generally the initiatives launched are diverse and are aimed at the refugees/immigrants, at the local authorities or public and private enterprises. Essentially though, the focus is on enrolment of all recipients of unemployment benefits in employment-generating schemes and in the enhancement of work motivation.

"A new chance for everyone"

A key initiative to achieve these objectives, is the programme "A new chance for everyone", which is part of the above mentioned integration plan with the same title.

The programme entails all recipients of unemployment benefits including ethnic Danes. These recipients who have not received an offer of activation for a period of a year or more to have their case and job plan reviewed and subsequently be offered an opportunity to participate in activation. If a person rejects

⁴ http://www.inm.dk/publikationer/aarbog_om_udlaendinge_2005.pdf

⁵ http://www.inm.dk/publikationer/aarbog_om_udlaendinge_2005.pdf

⁶ http://www.inm.dk/publikationer/aarbog_om_udlaendinge_2005.pdf

an activation or job offer, the local authorities are allowed to remove or reduce the unemployment benefits. The economic sanctions are introduced as a way to enhance motivation to work.

The Government has set aside DKK 580 million for this project which entered the implementation process in July 2006. Overall, it is expected that 50.000 recipients of unemployment benefits will have their case reviewed. A website has been developed with the purpose of assisting local authorities implement the programme.⁷

In the experts' point of view, this programme and the amount of economic resources spent imply that this area is of high priority for the Government. Furthermore, "A new chance for everyone" is a good example of how matters of integration affect other policy areas. For instance, integration policy has affected employment policy towards people furthest from the labour market in general.

Concerning the motivation of ethnic minorities, there is a lot of focus on economic incentives. An example is the initiative that targets married couples where both receive unemployment benefits. Here, it is proposed to remove unemployment benefits for spouses who are not employed for a minimum of 300 hours during a two-year period. This proposal has been implemented as amendments to the Active Social Policy in March 2006. Another example is the suggestion that local authorities making a special integration effort to be rewarded by having refunded a larger amount of their expenses spent on unemployment benefits than local authorities that do not perform very well. Both of these initiatives are a part of "A new chance for everyone".

Integration in public and private enterprises

Another main area of focus in the Danish integration effort is the role of public and private enterprises in the integration process. The Government has stated that the public sector has an obligation to contribute to the integration process by employing ethnic minorities. But paradoxically, figures show that private enterprises have a larger proportion of ethnic minorities employed than the public ones. This fact has received quite a lot of political attention. Actors such as The Red-Green Alliance Party [Enhedslisten] and the Confederation of Danish Employers (DA) have questioned the Government's efforts regarding the integration of ethnic minorities in public workplaces. It should be mentioned that during the past 6-7 years different campaigns, networks and other projects have been initiated in order to address the problem of integration in public and private workplaces. However, these initiatives have not yet resulted in a markedly increase in the number of ethnic employees in public workplaces. Therefore, new initiatives have now been introduced.

As part of "A new chance for everyone" a "Diversity programme" has been launched. The program is aimed at small and medium sized enterprises, both public and private. The overall purpose is to increase the number of enterprises gaining experience with employment of ethnic minorities and management of a diverse staff. The program consists of a range of projects such as networking and collection and communication of best practices. It is expected that this exchange of best practices will lead to a more positive attitude towards employment of ethnic minorities in small and medium sized enterprises.

The Government has set aside DKK 18 million for this program, which is to be carried out in the period 2006-2009. A continuous monitoring and evaluation of the program will be carried out by Rambøll Management.

At the local level, the National Association of Local Authorities in Denmark [KL] and Danish Regions [Amtsrådsforeningen] have entered an agreement on "Integration jobs". The special feature about these

⁷ www.nychance.dk

jobs is that the employee works 80% of the time and receives supplementary training the remaining 20% of the time. Accordingly the wage is 80% of the normal wage. The purpose is to give ethnic minorities with insufficient qualifications or insufficient language skills a better chance to find employment. The initiative was agreed upon in April 2006, and in August 2006 a handbook with further instructions for the local authorities followed⁸

To improve the guidance offered to ethnic minorities in regard to integration into the labour market, DKK 300 million has been set aside to hire new consultants in 10 municipalities with many ethnic minorities. The consultants are to help ethnic minorities with job applications and contacts to enterprises. The initiative is part of the "Welfare agreement" ["Velfærdsaftalen"] and the project will be carried out in the period 2007-2010. Furthermore, an ethnic special service ["Etnisk specialfunktion"] will be implemented in one of the new job centres. The purpose of the special service is to communicate best practices and help other job centres with employment issues related to ethnic minorities. The initiative will come into effect in January 2007 when the new jobcentres are established as part of the structural reform⁹

These examples illustrate the effort made to link enterprises closer to the integration process. This is also the case, when it comes to corporate social responsibility. The Ministry of Employment has launched a web-based panel for public and private enterprises ["Virksomhedspanel"], where enterprises are encouraged to share their knowledge about corporate social responsibility – including integration of ethnic minorities. So far 4700 enterprises have signed up for the panel, which corresponds to 1 out of every 20 Danish enterprises.¹⁰

Entrepreneurship

Initiatives have also been taken regarding ethnic entrepreneurship. In the Government's programme "Towards a New Integration Policy" (2002) it was proposed to integrate lessons in entrepreneurship in the introduction program for ethnic minorities, and it was suggested to increase the options for help and guidance for ethnic entrepreneurs.¹¹ Furthermore, the Government have introduced "get-started loans", aimed at entrepreneurs, both Danish and ethnic minorities. The initiative combines a loan guarantee with guidance on starting a new enterprise. The initiative came into effect in 2004.¹²

In some municipalities, the Government's initiatives are supplemented by local measures. In the Municipality of Copenhagen some extra consultants have been hired to guide entrepreneurs of ethnic minorities and a hotline has been established. In addition to this, a campaign aimed at female ethnic entrepreneurs has been launched. The municipality has set aside 2 million for these projects.¹³

Assessment

As previously mentioned, employment as a way to integrate ethnic minorities in Danish society has very high priority. This is both true at a political/discursive level and at the more practical level. As illustrated in the measures described above, there is a tendency to focus on ways to enhance the work motivation of ethnic minorities (e.g. introducing economic sanctions) and on ways to improve the help and guidance offered for this group (more consultants, special service in jobcentre, reviewing of cases etc.). Furthermore, the initiatives launched indicate an increased focus on ways to involve public as well private enterprises actively in the integration process (e.g. the diversity programme and the CSR-panel

⁸ <http://www.kl.dk/360002/>

⁹ http://www.htk.dk/Nyheder/Nyhedsoversigt/Pressemeddelelser/Oktober06/Landsdaekkende_specialfunktion_for_jobcentrene.aspx

¹⁰ <http://www.bm.dk/sw6087.asp>

¹¹ http://www.nyidanmark.dk/bibliotek/publikationer/regeringsinitiativer/2003/regeringens_vision_og_strategier/vision_og_strategier/bil02.htm

¹² <http://www.oem.dk/sw12961.asp>

¹³ <http://www3.kk.dk/upload/fakta%20om%20kommunen/bif/integrationspol/2006-05-22%20kl%201249%20aftale%202007.doc>

for public and private enterprises). Overall, the changes in legislation can be seen as an expression of the Government's principle about a "firm and fair integration policy", which is characterised by the attitude that everyone has to contribute to the Danish society.

It is the experts' assessment that the initiatives are generally a positive step towards a better integration. But at the same time it is important to stress that not all groups of ethnic minorities receive equally much attention under the current integration policy. For instance, employment measures aimed at ethnic minorities who suffer from depressions or traumas are not very much in focus.

Debate

Currently there is an intensive debate concerning 'initial help'. 'Initial help' was introduced in July 2002 and is aimed at newly arrived refugees and immigrants. The rate is the lowest of all the various benefits as it is at least 35% lower than regular unemployment benefits¹⁴. The purpose of 'initial help' is to create a greater incentive for ethnic minorities to find employment. In this light, the Government perceives 'initial help' to be a success. The Minister of Integration has referred to figures which show that a larger proportion of ethnic minorities receiving initial help are self-supporting after a two year period compared to recipients of unemployment benefits, 36% and 27%, respectively. But the Government's way to interpret the figures have been criticised by the opposition. They argue that the figures do not show whether the refugees/immigrants have actually become self-supporting or whether they have just been transferred to other benefit schemes.¹⁵

Additionally, a new report concerning the standard of living for recipients of initial help has just been published by CASA (Centre for Alternative Social Analysis). The report shows that due to the low rate families suffer great privations. In the report, examples are given on parents who cannot afford to buy a bicycle or celebrate their children's birthday. From CASA's point of view there is a great risk that initial help will lead to marginalization of the ethnic minorities.

On the question as to whether or not 'initial help' enhances work motivation, CASA is also in opposition to the Government. CASA argues that for many ethnic minorities the low rate is an additional stress factor which they have to deal with, and that this leaves fewer resources for the employment seeking. Furthermore, they argue that the low rate makes it harder for ethnic minorities suffering from depressions and traumas to recover because they are faced with the daily financial problems.¹⁶

2.3. Education and training issues

2.3.1. Introduction

Like employment, education is an area of high priority in the Government's integration effort. The Government has stated that all young people must be guaranteed relevant offers of education, and education is seen as the most secure way to employment.¹⁷ The priority given to education reflects the fact that recent studies show an achievement gap between ethnic minorities and ethnic Danes. The gap is present both in secondary school, high school and with regard to vocational training.¹⁸

¹⁴ CASA, 2005: *Flygtninge på Starthjælp*, CASA: p.5

¹⁵ Politiken, 4. October 2006: *Starthjælp får ikke flere i job*.

¹⁶ CASA, 2005: *Flygtninge på Starthjælp*, CASA

¹⁷ Integrationsministeriet, 2005: *Ny Chance for alle*. p. 2-3

¹⁸ www.nyidanmark.dk/bibliotek/publikationer/rapporter/2005/taenketank_ungdom_uddannelse/html/chapter04.htm

In secondary school ethnic minorities achieve significantly lower grades than ethnic Danes, and more ethnic minorities than ethnic Danes choose not to take their final examination. In high school the gap between ethnic minorities and ethnic Danes is smaller than in secondary school. But according to the Ministry of Integration who carried out the studies this is partly due to the fact that a smaller proportion of ethnic minorities than ethnic Danes choose and complete high school. Both in secondary school and in high school it is in particular pupils with Lebanese or Turkish origin, who underachieve, do not take their exams or drop out during their studies.¹⁹

Concerning vocational training, it is especially the drop out rates of ethnic minorities which have gained political attention from the Government. Figures show that nearly 60% of the ethnic minorities who have chosen a vocational education have dropped out during studies compared to 30% of the ethnic Danes²⁰. The Minister of Integration has stated that this is one of the primary challenges to the integration process.

To address the problems with achievement gaps and the higher drop out rates of ethnic minorities throughout the educational system several initiatives have been taken. The initiatives target ethnic minorities at all ages.

Children

As part of "A new chance for everyone" some initiatives aimed at children both in the pre-school age and school age are launched. The concrete initiatives taken are various tests in relation to:

- The need for language stimulation among young bilingual children with an ethnic background other than Danish. This test should be seen in connection with the compulsory language stimulation of bilingual children in the pre-school age, which were introduced in 1999²¹
- The need for support in Danish as a second language for bilingual pupils
- The assessment of bilingual pupils in primary/secondary school.

The Ministry of Education expects the first two kinds of tests to be ready for use in 2006.

The Ministry of Education has also launched the project "This Works at Our School" ["Dette virker på vores skole"], with the purpose to gather best practices concerning education and integration of ethnic minorities in primary and secondary school. The Government has set aside approximately DKK 5 million for this project which is carried out by Rambøll Management and UC2, Ressource Centre for Bilingualism and Interculturalism, in the period 2006-2007.²²

Young people

Regarding youngsters, several initiatives have been introduced to improve the education level. As a part of "New chance for everyone" it was decided to make it compulsory for young people aged 18-25 receiving unemployment benefits, and having unemployment as the only personal problem, to start a relevant education. If the youngster does not cooperate by starting an education or drop out without a reason, the unemployment benefit will be terminated. The initiative has been implemented in amendments of legislation in March 2006.²³

The reintroduction of apprenticeships, ["mesterlære"], in vocational training is another initiative proposed in "A new chance for everyone". This is intended to enhance the possibilities of completing vocational

¹⁹ www.nyidanmark.dk/bibliotek/publikationer/rapporter/2005/taenketank_ungdom_uddannelse/html/chapter04.htm

²⁰ http://www.nyidanmark.dk/bibliotek/publikationer/rapporter/2004/taenketank_udlaendinge_uddannelsessytemet/html/chapter22.htm

²¹ <http://pub.uvm.dk/2006/overgang/indledning.html>

²² <http://www.ramboll-management.dk/dan/sites/press/newsarchive/dettevirkerpaavoreskole.htm>

²³ http://www.retsinfo.dk/_GETDOCM_/ACCN/A20060090229

training for young people with practical skills. This initiative has been implemented as amendments to the Act of Vocational Training. The amendments took effect in August 2006.²⁴

Also targeting young people and their parents, the Ministry of Integration has launched the campaign "Need For All Youngsters" ["Brug for alle unge"]. The campaign involves a variety of different activities such as ethnic role models visiting schools, career fairs, mentoring and the establishment of a task force, which is to help and cooperate with technical colleges. The overall purpose of the campaign is to motivate and help ethnic minorities to start and complete a relevant education. The campaign was launched in 2002 and it is expected to run until the end of 2009.²⁵

Adults

To assess, validate and certify ethnic minorities' formal qualifications, the resource centre "Cirius" has been established within the framework of the Ministry of Education. The centre is to help ethnic minorities validate their foreign education in Denmark.²⁶ Moreover, in order to help and make use of ethnic minorities' informal skills another five resource centres have been established. These centres have developed tools such as a clarification template and a competence card. The centres are financed by the Danish Labour Market Agency until the end of 2007.²⁷

In the experts' point of view the large amount of attention given to educational issues in relation to ethnic minorities is a positive trend. Many studies document that education and employment/wage/career are closely related. Therefore, education is a key factor in the fight against marginalization and social exclusion.

However, it is still too early to conclude whether the measures introduced will have the intended effect on education levels. The drop-out rates of ethnic minorities in vocational training is still high as well as the general education level being lower than for ethnic Danes. It should be noted though that compared to first-generation immigrants, the education-level of second-generation is a lot closer to the education level of ethnic Danes. But still more time is needed in order to assess whether the various initiatives have an effect on the possibilities of ethnic minorities to participate in the educational system to the same extent as ethnic Danes.

2.4. Housing

2.4.1. Introduction

In Denmark, ghettoization is a central topic on the political agenda. From the Government's point of view ghettoization is an expression of a segregation process as it hinders integration into social life, the educational system and the labour market. Therefore, a range of initiatives have been taken to counteract ghettoization and vulnerable neighbourhoods.²⁸ The overall objective of the initiatives is to obtain a more balanced composition of residents in the vulnerable areas. Therefore, the initiatives focus on ways to retain resourceful residents, both ethnic minorities and ethnic Danes, and on ways to attract a wider group of new residents to the areas.²⁹

²⁴ http://www.retsinfo.dk/_GETDOC_/ACCN/A20060012030-REGL

²⁵ <http://www.brugforalleunge.dk>

²⁶ <http://pub.uvm.dk/2003/beretning/6.html>

²⁷ <http://www.kompetenceafklaring.dk/videnscentre>

²⁸ The Danish Government, 2004: *Regeringens strategi mod ghettoisering*, p.7-8

²⁹ The Danish Government, 2005: *"En ny chance for alle"*, p. 10-11

2.4.2. Initiatives

In May 2004, the Government's program "Strategy against ghettoization" ["Regeringens strategi mod ghettoisering"], was launched. The program contains 3 central initiatives.³⁰

- 1) A new model for assignment of non-profit housing in vulnerable neighbourhoods. The new model allows the local authorities to reject housing applications from unemployed people if the assignment of a flat increases the proportion of social benefit recipients in the area.
- 2) Setting up a program committee with members from the non-profit housing sector, the local authorities and the business community. The committee is to follow developments in the vulnerable areas and assess the need for dispensations and further initiatives.
- 3) A range of specific integration initiatives. These initiatives are related to such diverse areas as the prevention of crime, homework assistance and gathering of best practices from schools in vulnerable neighbourhoods.

Both initiative 1 and 2 have been implemented, and regarding initiative 3, several activities have been started, but more are expected to come.³¹

There has been some debate on the first initiative. Actors such as the Danish Refugee Council and the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination find the initiative troublesome. They fear that the new model will make it harder for recipients of unemployment benefits to find decent housing.^{32 33} On the other hand, the Government argues that the local authorities have been given new and better options to find decent housing for people, who have been refused a flat in the vulnerable areas.

"A new chance for everyone" also contains initiatives targeting ghettoization.

In the program it is proposed to allocate financial resources for continued renovation of the vulnerable neighbourhoods to make these areas more attractive. Furthermore, it is the Government's intention to boost the sale of non-profit housing and make it possible for local authorities to subsidise the expenses of residents, with limited resources, who wish to leave the vulnerable areas. These initiatives are launched with the purpose of obtaining a more balanced composition of residents in these areas.³⁴

Another initiative is the program "Cities for all people" ["Byer for alle"], The purpose of the program is to ensure a positive development in the vulnerable areas and to improve the integration of ethnic minorities in local schools, on the local labour market and in local spare time activities. The hope is to achieve these goals through an improved cooperation between local authorities, enterprises, schools and local organisations. The project is partly founded by the Ministry of Integration and partly by the local authorities each part contributing with DKK 10 million per year.³⁵ The project is currently being evaluated by the consultancy firm COWI.³⁶

³⁰ The Danish Government, 2004: *Regeringens strategi mod ghettoisering*.

³¹ The Danish Government, 2005: *Regeringens resultater*, p. 27-28

³² [http://sos.secureid.org/stories/storyReader\\$81](http://sos.secureid.org/stories/storyReader$81)

³³ www.flygtning.dk/Enkel_nyhed.1120.0.html?&backPid=1119&cHash=fa868f4827&pS=1109181797&tt_news=98

³⁴ The Danish Government, 2005: "A New Chance for Everyone", p.3-4

³⁵ http://www.nyidanmark.dk/da-dk/Integration/by_og_bolig/byer_for_alle/byer_for_alle.htm

³⁶ www.cowi.dk/cowi/da/menu/projects/samfund/offentligforvaltning/byerforalle.htm

2.5. Social services

The basic principle of the Danish welfare system, often referred to as the Scandinavian welfare model, is that all citizens have equal rights to social security. Thus, social rights are not to be earned through active participation on the labour market. This means that within the Danish welfare system, services such as health care and education are available free of charge and that this principle applies to everyone, both ethnic Danes and ethnic minorities. It is possible though, to add supplementary insurances against for example illness and many enterprises pay these supplementary insurances for their employees. Because a larger proportion of the ethnic minorities are unemployed compared to the ethnic Danes, this means that in some cases ethnic Danes might have an easier access to some social services than ethnic minorities.

2.6. Target groups issues

With the exception of women of ethnic minorities, there is in general no focus on target group issues in the Government's integration effort. Thus, questions concerning the integration of disabled immigrants/refugees are nearly nonexistent on the political agenda.

2.6.1. Women of ethnic minorities

From the Government's point of view, gender can be a significant barrier to integration. It is argued, that due to the pattern of gender roles, early marriages etc. it can be more difficult for women of ethnic minorities to obtain an education and keep a job than it is for men of ethnic minorities. Therefore, funds have been set aside to target some of the gender related challenges to integration. The initiative's main focal areas are:³⁷

- 1) Inspire women of ethnic minorities to participate more actively in the society (e.g. through establishment of women's networks or mentoring). DKK 4 million is set aside each year.
- 2) Combating wife abuse, involuntarily marriages and female circumcision and support to parents who experience problems with their children (e.g. generation gaps). DKK 2,3 million is set aside each year.

CABI, Danish National Centre for Employment Initiatives, is one of the organisations which have established women's networks based on funds from the Ministry of integration. The members of the networks are people who work with gender related integration issues e.g. teachers, job-consultants and employers. The purpose is to exchange experiences and highlight the focus on women without formal qualifications³⁸

The Ministry of Integration also support the carrying out of studies related to integration of women. Thus, the consultancy firm LG Insight has published a range of reports concerning for instance women of ethnic minorities' ties to the labour market and their attitudes, interest and patterns of behaviour in relation to education and participation in the labour market.³⁹

³⁷ http://www.nyidanmark.dk/da-dk/Integration/puljer/kvinder_og_familier_med_etnisk_minoritetsbaggrund.htm

³⁸ <http://www.cabiweb.dk/sw%2027619.asp>

³⁹ <http://www.lg-insight.dk/>

These initiatives illustrate that attention is given to the area. However, figures show that there is a long way to go. For instance, 52% of the women of ethnic minorities are not available for the labour force compared to 22% of the Danish women. For men of ethnic minorities the number is 39%.⁴⁰

2.6.2. Immigrants with disabilities or mental health problems

It is estimated that approximately 25-30% of the refugees, who arrive in Denmark, have mental health problems. These problems are often caused by violent experiences in the refugees' countries of origin e.g. imprisonment, torture or ethnic cleansing.⁴¹ In Denmark the counties are responsible for the treatment of refugees with traumas or other mental health problems. But recently there have been some debate on the counties' ability to deliver this treatment within a fair period of time after the refugees' arrival. At this point of time, refugees have to wait between one and two years for treatment. In 2001, DKK 40 million was set aside to increase the treatment capacity. However, many counties still have not set up more treatment centres, and there is still money left waiting to be spent.⁴²

One of the organisations, who have been granted money in this area is The Danish Refugee Council ["Dansk Flygtningehjælp"]. Their effort is on gathering and communicating knowledge about immigrants with mental health problems. Furthermore, they function as a consultancy for other actors working with this group of immigrants. They have been granted 3.3 million over a three year period.⁴³

As regards disabled immigrants, these are generally given the same offers as disabled Danes. The group is very rarely mentioned in the political debate.

2.6.3. Discrimination

Like disabled immigrants, discrimination is not a topic which receives much attention from the Government. When addressing the low employment rate of ethnic minorities, this is very often explained as a consequence of insufficient Danish language skills, work motivation or problems in placement services. Sometimes enterprises' reluctance to employ ethnic minorities is mentioned but this is rarely articulated as a matter of discrimination.

However, there are some initiatives aiming at reducing racism and discrimination. The campaign "Show racism the red card" ["Giv racismen det røde kort"] was launched in spring 2006. A central element in the campaign is the involvement of famous soccer players who function as ambassadors against discrimination. The activities in the campaign are aimed at soccer crowds, schoolchildren and enterprises. The Government has granted DKK 3,5 million for the campaign.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Ministeriet for flygtninge, indvandrere og integration, 2005: *Årbog om udlændinge i Danmark 2005*.

⁴¹ http://www.nyidanmark.dk/da-dk/Integration/integrationsfremmende_initiativer/-indsats_for_traumatiserede_flygtninge.htm

⁴² <http://www.flygtning.dk/Ventetider.3205.0.html>

⁴³ Socialministeriet, Indenrigs- og sundhedsministeriet, 2006: *Handlingsplan om social beskyttelse og inklusion 2006-2008*, p.27.

⁴⁴ www.stopracismen.dk

2.7. Information, communication and culture issues

Regarding, the integration processes between the ethnic Danes and different minority groups in general there are various ongoing debates and initiatives which can throw a light on this.

In the experts' view, the focus on diversity in Denmark is increasing. The advantages of employing ethnic minorities are often highlighted by the Government in the public debate and as mentioned earlier, a diversity programme aimed at small and medium sized enterprises has been launched. These examples illustrate that an effort is made to provide for awareness rising targeting enterprises and the public in general – even though the main focus is still on the ethnic minorities and on ways to enhance their language skills and work motivation.

It should also be mentioned that Denmark is characterised by a strong mentality about treating everyone equally. This means that many enterprises are reluctant to set up special arrangements for ethnic minorities. It is however the experts' assessment that this principle mainly applies to the discursive level. In practice many enterprises are willing to establish mentoring, supplementary training etc. for ethnic minorities.

Regarding the political participation of ethnic minorities in Denmark, figures from the local election in 2001 show that 71% of the immigrants from third world countries who have Danish citizenship voted. The figure for ethnic Danes was 85%. For immigrants without citizenship the figure was 47%. It should be noted though, that it was an unusual election as it was held at the same day as the general election where the turn-out is generally higher.⁴⁵

Also, when it comes to civic and cultural participation, figures show that ethnic minorities participate to a smaller extent than ethnic Danes. Thus, figures from 1998 show that 31% of the ethnic minorities between 18-66 years old are a member of a union (ethnic Danes: 66%), 16% are a member of a sports club (ethnic Danes: 32%) and 26% read a Danish newspaper on a daily basis (ethnic Danes: 75%).⁴⁶

To involve ethnic minorities more in the formulation of integration policies the so called "Integration councils" ["Integrationsråd"] have been established in many municipalities. The members of the councils are ethnic minorities and the seats are distributed among different ethnic groups. The councils are to guide and help the local authorities in issues related to integration and they are to be consulted in these issues.

In terms of level of translation of official documents, a range of documents are published in 14 languages on the Ministry of integration's website in order to increase the possibilities of ethnic minorities to participate in Danish society.⁴⁷

Finally, there has been a lot of focus on the tone of the debate about ethnic minorities. It has been argued from several sides that the tone is too harsh and that ethnic minorities are too often portrayed in a negative and stereotypical way – e.g. by focusing on the crime rates and unemployment rates. This debate reached new heights when the newspaper Jyllandsposten published 12 caricatures of the Prophet Mohammed in September 2005. Many Muslims saw these caricatures as a severe lack of respect for their religion and as an expression of the media's stigmatization of them as a group. On the

⁴⁵ Togeby, Lise (2004). *"På den anden side af Sundet. Indvandrere og flygtnings organisering og politiske deltagelse i Danmark"*, p. 310.

⁴⁶ http://www.amid.dk/pub/papers/AMID_20-2002_Togeby.pdf

⁴⁷ http://www.nyidanmark.dk/da-DK/Medborgerskab/Medborger_i_danmark/choose_language/

other hand, Jyllandsposten and many other actors – including the prime minister - argued that the freedom of expression is not to be negotiated nor suppressed.

It should be mentioned though, that not all media covering of ethnic minorities are negative. Before, during and after the “caricature crisis”, best practice examples were also highlighted.

2.8 Emigration

There are no major debates on challenges as regards emigration of ethnic minorities. However, occasionally there is mention of a tendency that Somali immigrants with a higher education prefer living and working in e.g. the UK. “

Major developments not mentioned in the previous two reports for 2006

There is nothing to report that is not mentioned in either the previous two reports produced in 2006 or above.