



Denmark

Promoting Social Inclusion of Roma

A Study of National Policies

Jørgen Anker, Jacob Andreas Holch,
Mia Høwisch Kristensen and
Tine Ane Nielsen
Ramboll Management Consulting

*Disclaimer: This report reflects the views of its author(s)
and these are not necessarily those of either
the European Commission or the Member
States. The original language of the report is English.*

July 2011

1



On behalf of the
European Commission
DG Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion



Contents:

1. Summary	3
2. The Roma population in Denmark	4
2.1 Estimated size of the population and social differentiation within the Roma group(s)	4
2.2 Geographic distribution of Roma in Denmark	5
2.3 Current issues/debates in terms of social exclusion of Roma	5
2.4 Assessment of existing policies and governance framework (mainly on a local level, as no national policies aimed specifically towards Roma exist)	6
3. Status on social inclusion of ethnic minorities in Denmark.....	7
3.1 Poverty and social exclusion situation of ethnic minorities in Denmark.....	7
3.2 Extent of discrimination towards ethnic minorities	14
3.3 Special groups at risk	17
3.3.1 <i>Somalis</i>	17
3.3.2 <i>Socially disadvantaged Eastern Europeans</i>	18
3.4 Assessment of existing policies and governance framework	20
3.4.1 <i>Denmark's National Reform Programme 2011</i>	20
3.4.2 <i>Existing policies, initiatives and regulations affecting the situation of ethnic minorities in Denmark</i>	21
3.4.3 <i>Discussion: The NRP, existing policies and the situation of ethnic minorities</i>	22
3.5 Key challenges and future recommendations	23
4. References	25

Summary

This second 2011 independent expert report is structured in two parts. The first part supplies a description of the Roma population in Denmark. The second part gives a status on the social inclusion of ethnic minorities on a broader basis from statistical indicators as well as qualitative data sources.

The term "Roma" is not widely used, nor does it have a fixed meaning in a Danish context. Roma normally refers to a group of people with a common culture and language, but they are not particularly visible or have a strong tradition in Denmark. A website for Roma living in Denmark estimates the population around 10,000 individuals, but as people are not registered on the basis of ethnic categories, this is a highly uncertain number. Most Roma reside in Copenhagen and the city of Elsinore. The Roma that are known to the public are socially and financially vulnerable groups that stay in Denmark short-term with the purpose of income generating activities such as bottle collection, petty crimes and various high street performances or tricks. In later years, there have been a few high-pitched public debates on Roma. In the summer of 2010 following several critical media stories a small number of Roma were expelled from the country due to illegal camping and violation of public order. There are no policies or special programs directed towards Roma in Denmark, as Roma at risk of social exclusion are included in general strategies of integration and social inclusion.

Ethnic minorities in Denmark are disadvantaged in comparison with persons of Danish descent on the basis of various social indicators. In terms of employment, immigrants from especially non-western countries have a significantly lower employment rate (54 % compared to 78 % for persons of Danish descent). Among the employed immigrants there is a tendency towards basic-level jobs. In relation to this, immigrants also generally have lower levels of education and income. The analysis shows that immigrants and their descendants fall behind on a number of social indicators compared to persons of Danish origin.

On the topic of discrimination towards ethnic minorities, the report finds that there is a need for more research and documentation of the actual extent of discrimination in Denmark. However, surveys and reports so far indicate that discrimination is a serious issue that create barriers to immigrants and their descendants' integration in society and equal opportunities for all.

The report covers two special minority at-risk groups: Somalis and socially disadvantaged Eastern Europeans. Somalis in Denmark are among the most socially vulnerable ethnic groups. Data shows that Somalis have a high share of social housing residencies, low degree of employment, low share in the top half income group, and high crime conviction rates. Especially Somali women are disadvantaged in terms of employment and income. Socially disadvantaged Eastern European immigrants form a growing challenge to the social services in Copenhagen. People with very limited resources migrate to Denmark, while the Danish social system due to legal and financial restrains is not able to help them, ultimately putting these groups at large risk of social exclusion.

Within a political framework, a number of recent policies affect immigrants and immigrant families severely. As an example the "Initial benefit" initiative reduces the cash benefit for unemployed immigrants, who have not yet resided seven consecutive years in Denmark. The initiatives were introduced with the overall purpose of increasing employment, but all the while they expose large numbers of immigrants to social exclusion and poverty.

1. The Roma population in Denmark

The debates concerning Roma in Denmark are typically linked to the debates concerning Eastern Europeans in general as Roma is not an acknowledged ethnic minority in Denmark. This chapter will describe the national Roma situation in Denmark based on academic literature and articles on the subject as well as interviews with specialists in the field.

1.1. Estimated size of the population and social differentiation within the Roma group(s)

This section will describe the national situation of Roma population in Denmark in terms of estimated size and the groups' social structure. However, as the Central Office of Civil Registration or other institutions do not register citizens based on ethnicity there are no specific numbers to report. Also in the academic field there are very few studies concerning the Roma subject. The most relevant work is however included in this report. Generally, Danish academics call for more scientific work in this field.

The category Roma is in a Danish context a non-specific term that has no fixed meaning. First and foremost it is used to describe a group of eastern European individuals with a common language and culture. According to a Danish website concerning Roma groups in Europe and Denmark not all persons who identify as Roma introduce themselves as such because they want to avoid prejudice associated with the term.¹ This of course has a large impact on which kind of Roma groups are known to the public. It is therefore often marginalised Roma groups who are known to the government, media and public; other well integrated Roma groups resident of Denmark are not visible in the same way. According to the municipality Elsinore only about 100 Roma are known to the public authorities out of approximately 1,200-1,300 Roma living in Elsinore all together².

According to the Danish website concerning Roma group(s) in Europe and Denmark the number of Roma living legally in Denmark is estimated by the Roma groups to be around 10,000.³ These Roma have arrived to Denmark from various countries at different times and are registered as Danish, Yugoslavian or Swedish citizens depending on their nationality. Many of the Roma who are now living in Denmark and holding a permanent residency came as migrant workers in the 1970s while others came during the wars in Balkan.⁴

As for Roma who are in Denmark without a permanent residence it is far more difficult to make such estimations. Due to the laws of registrations and because of the rules and laws concerning entry and residency in Denmark there are no numbers on how many Roma travel to Denmark or how long they stay. Generally, the laws on entry and residency in Denmark distinguish between EU and non-EU citizens. Most EU member states are part of the Schengen Agreement. This means that citizens living in the Schengen countries can travel freely between the countries without any form of border control. Citizens from countries who are members of the EU or the EEA (European Economic Area) can obtain a special registration card from the Danish state administration. Denmark is a member of the EU and therefore adheres to the Union's rules

¹ www.romnet.dk (<http://romnet.dk/romafolketdk.html>)

² Interview with integration consultant from the municipality Elsinore

³ [www.romnet.dk](http://www.dr.dk/P1/p1_temaer/Romaer/20060324150120.htm), Danish Broadcasting Corporation P1:
http://www.dr.dk/P1/p1_temaer/Romaer/20060324150120.htm

⁴ <http://romnet.dk/romafolketdk.html>

regarding freedom of movement. Citizens from countries outside Europe may have to apply for a visa before travelling to Denmark.⁵

A citizen of a country with no visa requirement can enter Denmark and stay in the Schengen region for a maximum of 90 days per 6 months. According to the municipality of Copenhagen the Roma groups from other EU countries without a permanent residence usually stay in Denmark for 3 months, leave and then come back. Without a permanent residence no social services can be claimed from the Danish state. According to social workers from the municipality of Copenhagen the Roma groups who are here without a permanent residence are often very poor and live a hard life. Nonetheless they find the life as homeless in Copenhagen to be better than the existence in their home country.⁶

1.2. Geographic distribution of Roma in Denmark

According to the municipality of Copenhagen the Roma population is spread out across Denmark, with the majority living in Copenhagen and Elsinore, a city on the north coast of Zealand. The group of homeless Roma in Copenhagen often camp in parks or green areas and are according to the social service department often seen in the main shopping streets in Copenhagen, begging for food and money, as well as committing petty crimes such as theft. It is important to stress that the well-integrated and well-functioning Roma groups in particular in Elsinore are 'invisible' to the municipality and live, work and/or go to school like the majority of citizens in Denmark.

1.3. Current issues/debates in terms of social exclusion of Roma

As Roma is not a category used in the context of state law but first and foremost colloquially and in the media, this paragraph will focus on the debates of social exclusion of Roma produced in the media.

In the early part of the summer 2010, the Danish media produced several stories concerning visiting groups, who were referred to and identified as Roma and who committed different types of crimes. The stories mainly concerned a group of Roma who was camping on a preserved green space of Copenhagen called "Amager Fælled", where it is illegal to camp. Their presence was described as disturbing because of the high level of trash and increased crime rate in the nearby allotment society. The 7th of July 2010 23 persons were arrested for illegal camping and violation of public order⁷. All 23 persons were expelled and quarantined for the next two years. The expulsion happened with reference to the public order and health.⁸ This raised a public debate with accusations of discrimination and racism which led to a complaint filed by the European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC) on behalf of ten of the expelled Roma. The complaint was based on the fact that the expulsion was not based on individual violation of the law but that the Roma were expelled as a group. Academic reports concerning the media coverage of this expulsion also stressed that the focus on ethnicity in this case was striking. It is not common that ethnicity transcending nationality is used as an applicable category in Denmark. In April 2011 the Danish Immigration Service annulled the expulsion with reference to a violation of both Danish and EU law. The High Court found that the expulsion was made on insufficient basis.

⁵ New in Denmark – The Official Portal For Foreigners and Integration: http://www.nyidanmark.dk/en-us/citizenship/citizen_in_denmark/3%20entry%20and%20residence%20in%20denmark.html#

⁶ Note from the social services department of Copenhagen. 25-05-2010.

⁷ Frello 2010

⁸ The Danish Immigration Service 2010

Earlier media debates have concerned specific affairs within the municipality of Elsinore. Here the Complaints Committee for Ethnic Equal Treatment⁹ has filed a complaint against separate Roma classes in the state schools in Elsinore. These classes were later closed but another complaint was filed. This time the municipality of Elsinore was accused of referring individuals to the social services department based on their (Roma) name¹⁰. This is illegal under to the Danish discrimination law and not a practise anymore, according to the municipality of Elsinore.

A current debate from June/July 2011 on the Roma topic is based on reports from Roskilde Festival, where supposed Roma groups have been accused of theft and harassment of festival participants.¹¹ Roma – among many others – come to Roskilde to collect bottles and cans, which can be a profitable business. This year and last year, a discourse on the festival has tagged the Roma as aggressive and larcenous causing verbal and physical conflicts between bottle collectors and participants. Some NGOs have made an effort to reduce the Roma (or more precisely “gypsy”) hate speech and level of conflict on the festival through information campaigns and mediation. What is interesting, and somewhat worrisome, about this debate is that an ethnic term is used to describe a criminal and social problem, which is normally unheard of in a Danish context. As festival organisers and NGOs have stressed, the problem is not the Roma, but rather the conflicts that arise when poor and sometimes desperate people from many different countries and groups compete for a lucrative and non-regulated market.

1.4. Assessment of existing policies and governance framework (mainly on a local level, as no national policies aimed specifically towards Roma exist)

As the Roma groups in Denmark are many and diverse, it is first and foremost the most socially marginalised groups who are in focus when policies and governance framework are discussed. The most marginalised Roma groups in Denmark are typically homeless without a residence permit. Shelters and care homes that are run by government support are by law limited to accommodate only Danish citizens and/or individuals with a residence permit. Within a period of 1-2 days the residence permit status has to be known to the shelter and care home staff otherwise persons seeking shelter are not permitted to stay. According to the municipality of Copenhagen, many homeless Roma without a permanent residence are in a disadvantaged position due to the social service law and also because of the marginalised position Roma groups hold among the other homeless.¹²

As mentioned, due to the law on discrimination, differential treatment on the basis of race or ethnic origin is illegal in Denmark. Policies or governance framework targeted individuals on the basis on their ethnicity or race are thus not initiated. The efforts made by the municipality of Elsinore were therefore stopped and the marginalised Roma groups are now handled as a part of the overall integration process and strategies aimed at socially marginalised groups in general.

⁹ The Complaints Committee for Ethnic Equal Treatment was closed 31 December 2008. Instead a new complaints body was established, the Board of Equal Treatment. For more information regarding the Board see <http://www.ligebehandlingsnævnet.dk/>

¹⁰ <http://www.kristeligt-dagblad.dk/artikel/50883:Danmark--Efternavnet-sorterer-romaer-fra-i-Helsingoer-Kommune>

¹¹ <http://ibyen.dk/fokus/roskildefestival/ECE1320065/romaer-paa-roskilde-hvorfor-elsker-de-vores-musik-men-hader-os/>

¹² Rasmussen et al. 2009

2. Status on social inclusion of ethnic minorities in Denmark

Because of the limited size of the Roma population in Denmark in quantitative terms and the limited focus on Roma as a distinctive group in both national policies, scientific research and public debates, the rest of this Second Report 2011 on Social Inclusion will have a broader perspective and assess the social inclusion of ethnic minorities in general. Firstly, the inclusion of ethnic minorities in Denmark will be analysed using indicators such as income, employment rate, education and crime rate. Secondly, the extent of discrimination towards ethnic minorities will be assessed. Thirdly, the situation of two minority groups at risk of social exclusion, which receive special attention by the Danish authorities and media, namely Somalis and Eastern European migrant workers, will be described. Finally, the existing policies and governance framework aiming at promoting social inclusion of ethnic minorities will be discussed.

2.1. Poverty and social exclusion situation of ethnic minorities in Denmark

To assess the extent of social exclusion and poverty faced by ethnic minorities in Denmark, a number of statistic variables have been analysed. The chosen variables act as indicators of the minorities' economic situation, their position on the labour market, their level of education and crime rate. All the data has been provided by Statistics Denmark, Denmark's official statistics.

Employment

In April 2011, 10.2% of the population of Denmark was of non-Danish ancestry. Of these, 6.8% was from non-western countries (see Table 1). At the same time, though, immigrants and descendants from non-western countries only made up 5% of the labour force (see Table 2). This figure shows that a relatively high proportion of immigrants and descendants from non-western countries is incapable of working, either because of their age or other circumstances.

Table 1: Population of Denmark, April 2011. Source: Statistics Denmark, 2011.

	Persons of Danish origin	Immigrants	Descendants
Denmark	89.8%	0.0%	0.0%
Western countries	0.0%	3.1%	0.3%
Non-western countries	0.0%	4.7%	2.1%

Table 2: Labour force of Denmark, age group 16-66, 2008. Source: Statistics Denmark, 2011.

Denmark	Western countries	Non-western countries
92%	3%	5%

The limited contribution to the labour force by immigrants and descendants from non-western countries is also expressed in a limited employment rate (see Table 3). Particular immigrant women from non-western countries have a low employment rate of only 48.8% against an employment rate of 75.7% for women of Danish origin. Immigrant men from non-western countries have an employment rate of 59.6%, which is also remarkably lower than the

employment rate of men of Danish origin of 77.8%. The employment rate of immigrants from western countries is also lower than that of persons of Danish origin, but it is significantly higher than the employment rate of immigrants from non-western countries, which signifies that immigrants from western countries find entry to the Danish labour market easier than immigrants from non-western countries. One positive aspect shown by Table 3 is that entry to the labour market increases over generations, so that the descendants of immigrants of both western and non-western origin have higher employment rates than their immigrant parents. Especially the employment rate of women improves, and this to such extent that the difference in employment rate between men and women disappears. For descendants from non-western countries both men and women have an employment rate around 64%.

Table 3: Employment rate, 2009. Source: Statistics Denmark, 2011.

	Total	Men	Women
Total	75.6%	77.8%	73.4%
Persons of Danish origin	77.7%	79.7%	75.7%
Immigrants from western countries	62.9%	66.0%	59.6%
Descendants from western countries	70.9%	71.3%	70.6%
Immigrants from non-western countries	54.1%	59.6%	48.8%
Descendants from non-western countries	64.6%	64.4%	64.8%

When looking at employment, there is not only a difference in the employment rates of persons of Danish origin and immigrants and descendants, but also in the type of jobs that the members of the different groups occupy. As Table 4 shows, immigrants and descendants from non-western countries are remarkably absent in positions as top managers and also underrepresented in upper-level jobs. Instead, they – and especially descendants – are overrepresented in basic-level jobs. The figures show that even when immigrants and descendants from non-western countries enter the labour market, it is often to occupy jobs of a lower status, typically with lower responsibilities and lower pay. A relative high number of immigrants from non-western countries figure in the table as self-employed. This can be an indicator of initiative within the group, but self-employment can also be used in situations where formal employment is difficult to find.

The data from Table 4 is further illustrated for persons of Danish origin and immigrants from non-western countries in Figure 1 and 2.

Table 4: Type of employment, 2009. Source: Statistics Denmark, 2011.

	Persons of Danish origin	Immigrants from western countries	Descendants from western countries	Immigrants from non-western countries	Descendants from non-western countries
Self-employed	7.0%	7.3%	6.3%	8.5%	3.5%
Assisting spouses	0.2%	0.5%	0.1%	0.3%	0.0%
Top managers	3.3%	2.1%	2.5%	0.5%	0.7%
Employees - upper level	13.0%	16.8%	16.1%	7.1%	5.7%
Employees - medium level	19.0%	14.5%	16.2%	8.1%	9.4%
Employees - basic level	37.9%	28.9%	35.3%	36.6%	48.8%
Other Employees	8.8%	12.4%	9.7%	23.8%	18.3%
Employees, not specified	11.0%	17.5%	13.8%	15.1%	13.6%

Persons of Danish origin

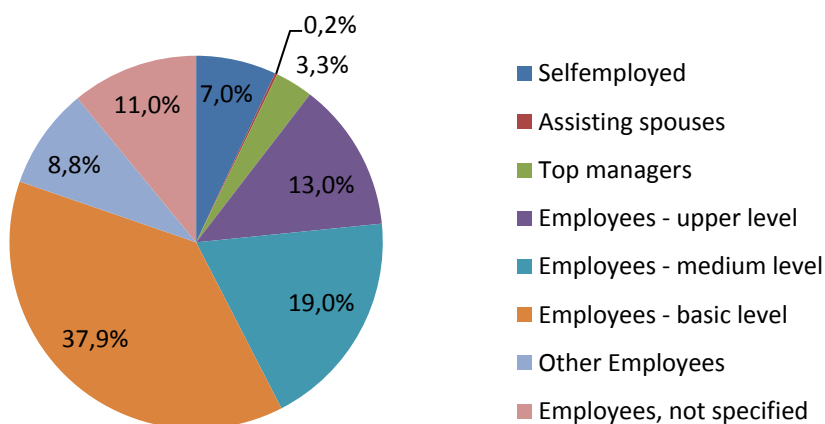


Figure 1: Type of employment, 2009. Source: Statistics Denmark, 2011.

Immigrants from non-western countries

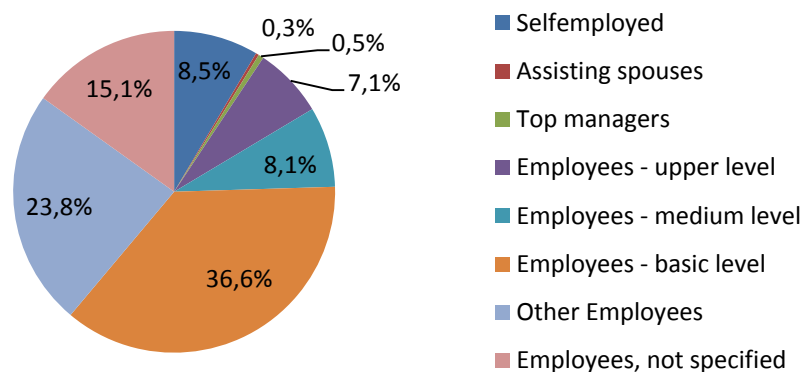


Figure 2: Type of employment, 2009. Source: Statistics Denmark, 2011.

Education

Just as immigrants and descendants are overrepresented in the lower job categories, they are also overrepresented in the lower categories when it comes to the highest attained level of education. Especially descendants of immigrants are strongly overrepresented in the lowest category of education, basic school grade 8-10. Immigrants are percentage wise underrepresented in the category of basic school, however, 27% of all immigrants' educational backgrounds are unknown and the figures for immigrants can therefore be misleading (Table 5-7).

Table 5: Highest attained education, men and women, 2010. Source: Statistics Denmark, 2011.

Men and women	Persons of Danish origin	Immigrants	Descendants
Basic school 8-10 grade	31%	25%	59%
General upper secondary school	6%	8%	11%
Vocational upper secondary school	2%	1%	4%
Vocational education	33%	19%	11%
Short-cycle higher education	5%	4%	2%
Medium-cycle higher education	13%	8%	4%
Bachelor	2%	1%	2%
Long-cycle higher education	6%	6%	3%
PhD-degree	0,4%	0,3%	0,2%
Unknown	1%	27%	3%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%

Table 6: Highest attained education, men, 2010. Source: Statistics Denmark, 2011.

Men	Persons of Danish origin	Immigrants	Descendants
Basic school 8-10 grade	31%	25%	63%
General upper secondary school	5%	8%	9%
Vocational upper secondary school	3%	1%	5%
Vocational education	36%	19%	10%
Short-cycle higher education	6%	4%	2%
Medium-cycle higher education	9%	7%	3%
Bachelor	2%	1%	2%
Long-cycle higher education	7%	7%	3%
PhD-degree	0.5%	0.4%	0.2%
Unknown	1%	28%	4%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%

Table 7: Highest attained education, women, 2010. Source: Statistics Denmark, 2011.

Women	Persons of Danish origin	Immigrants	Descendants
Basic school 8-10 grade	30%	26%	55%
General upper secondary school	7%	9%	14%
Vocational upper secondary school	2%	1%	4%
Vocational education	31%	19%	11%
Short-cycle higher education	4%	4%	2%
Medium-cycle higher education	17%	9%	6%
Bachelor	2%	1%	2%
Long-cycle higher education	6%	6%	3%
PhD-degree	0.3%	0.3%	0.1%
Unknown	1%	26%	3%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%

However, this picture of descendants overrepresenting the lower education categories may be changing, as more and more descendants between 20 and 29 years old attend education. In recent years, especially the number of female descendants from non-western in education has increased. In 2008, 35% of female descendants of the age of 20-29 were in education compared to 37% of women with Danish origin. The percentage of men of the age of 20-29 in education is somewhat lower; 27% for descendants from non-western countries and 30% for men with Danish origin in 2008. Unfortunately, attaining an education does not always guarantee a job for immigrants. Among those who finished a long-cycle higher education in 2004-2006, the employment rate was 20 percentage points higher for persons of Danish origin than for immigrants from non-western countries. For the other education levels the difference was smaller, but still significant. Furthermore, an education attained outside Denmark in a non-western country seems to have little value to Danish employers. For example, immigrants from non-western countries have similar incomes regardless of whether they have attained a vocational education outside Denmark or not. However, some types of educations are valued differently, and immigrants with a medium- or long-cycle education within the social areas or the health sector

attained in a non-western country generally receive higher incomes than immigrants with other educations attained in a non-western country.¹³

Income

One way of assessing the income distribution of different ethnic groups is by looking at their representation in different income deciles. The total 24-64 year old population of Denmark has been divided into 10 equally large groups (deciles), according to their income, so that the 1st decile represents the poorest 10% of Denmark's population and the 10th decile represents the richest 10%. If the personal incomes were evenly distributed within each ethnic group, 10% of the members of each group would be found in each decile. However, this is not the case, as Table 6 shows. Any value over 10 signifies that the group is overrepresented in the specific decile, and a value under 10 signifies an under-representation.

Table 8: Income distribution, 24-64 years old, 2007. Statistics Denmark, 2009.

Income decile	Persons of Danish origin	Immigrants from western countries	Descendants from western countries	Immigrants from non-western countries	Descendants from non-western countries
1	8	25	16	28	23
2	9	10	10	21	15
3	10	9	9	14	12
4	10	9	8	10	11
5	10	8	8	7	9
6	10	8	9	6	8
7	10	8	9	5	8
8	10	7	9	4	6
9	11	8	10	3	5
10	11	9	12	2	3

From Table 6 it is evident that immigrants and descendants from both western and non-western countries are largely overrepresented in the lowest income group, the poorest 10% of the population. Immigrants and descendants from western countries are neither over- nor underrepresented in the 2nd income decile, but slightly underrepresented in decile 3-8. Interestingly, descendants from western countries are overrepresented in the 10% of the richest individuals of the populations. Immigrants and descendants from non-western countries are markedly overrepresented in both the 1st, 2nd and 3rd decile, which signifies that the vast majorities of these groups have incomes below the national average. Furthermore, the groups are significantly underrepresented among the richest 30% of the population (decile 8, 9 and 10). In comparison, persons of Danish origin are underrepresented in the poorest two deciles and overrepresented in the richest two deciles. The low incomes of immigrants and descendants must be seen especially in relation to their low employment rate, but also in relation to their low educational background and predominant types of employment (employees at basic level). One

¹³ Statistics Denmark, 2009.

positive tendency from Table 6 is that descendants have higher incomes and appear to be better integrated than the first generation immigrants.

Benefits

Immigrants and descendants are also overrepresented as recipients of social benefits. Table 9 shows that immigrants from non-western countries make up 10.8% of all recipients, even though they only account for 4.7% of the population (see Table 1).

Table 9: Recipients of public benefits, 2011Q1. Statistics Denmark, 2011.

	Persons with Danish origin	Persons from western countries	Persons from non-western countries
Total	86.2%	2.8%	10.8%

Crime

The final variable in the analysis of the social inclusion of ethnic minorities in Denmark is the crime rate. A high crime rate is here seen as an indication of a limited or conflict-ridden integration in society. Table 10 shows persons of Danish origin, immigrants and descendants' proportional share of convictions of unsuspended imprisonment, suspended imprisonment and fines. The three different convictions are seen as indicators of the severity of the offence. The ethnic groups are further divided into age groups. From the table it is evident that immigrants and descendants account for a much higher share of the convictions than their share of the total population (see Table 1). The table also shows that young descendants have higher crime rates than older descendants, whereas the same tendency is not visible among immigrants.

Across all offenses, immigrants and descendants account for 11% and 3% of all convictions, respectively. When adjusted for differences in age, the crime rate is 68% higher for male immigrants and descendants than for all men. When further adjusted for differences in socio-economic status the difference decreases to 46%.¹⁴

¹⁴ Statistics Denmark, 2009.

Table 10: Convictions of crime, 2009. Statistics Denmark, 2011.

Conviction	Age of person	Persons of Danish origin	Immigrants	Descendants	Total
Unsuspended imprisonment	15-19 years	64%	14%	21%	100%
	20-29 years	74%	19%	8%	100%
	30-79 years	86%	12%	2%	100%
Suspended imprisonment	15-19 years	80%	9%	11%	100%
	20-29 years	82%	13%	5%	100%
	30-79 years	86%	13%	1%	100%
Fine	15-19 years	86%	6%	8%	100%
	20-29 years	80%	14%	6%	100%
	30-79 years	87%	12%	1%	100%

Summary

The above analysis has depicted the situation of ethnic minorities in Denmark. It has shown that immigrants and descendants, especially from non-western countries, have lower employment rates, lower job positions, lower educational backgrounds, lower income, higher usage of social benefits and higher crime rates than persons of Danish origin. Even though some of the aspects show tendencies of improvements in the future, the analysis still goes on to show that immigrants and their descendants fall behind on a number of social indicators compared to persons of Danish origin.

2.2. Extent of discrimination towards ethnic minorities

When assessing the social inclusion of ethnic minorities in Denmark, an important aspect to supplement the above analysis is the extent of discrimination towards ethnic minorities. Discrimination is important because it can limit the feeling of being welcomed in society and thereby increase marginalisation of ethnic minorities. Furthermore, discrimination can restrict minorities' job and education opportunities etc., and thereby further restrict their socioeconomic lives. This section first analyses ethnic minorities' and the Danish majority's experiences of discrimination, drawing particular on a survey conducted by the Municipality of Copenhagen in cooperation with the research institute Catinét in 2010. It afterwards discusses the impact of discrimination on minorities' opportunities to realise their aspiration. The section summarises by concluding that more research is needed to assess the extent of actual discrimination (as opposed to experienced discrimination) and the effects of this discrimination on the lives of the minorities.

In February and March 2010, on behalf of the Municipality of Copenhagen, Catinét Research conducted a survey among 2,149 Copenhageners over the age of 15; 1,143 of Danish origin and 1,006 of non-western origin (immigrants and descendants from the Middle East, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Somalia, Turkey and the former Yugoslavia). The topic of the survey was the respondents' experiences of discrimination. The survey was conducted by telephone and the respondents had the opportunity to be interviewed in their native language, if they wished so.

Similar surveys had been carried out once a year in the previous three years, which allowed comparison of the data with the purpose of finding trends.¹⁵

The results of the survey show that twice as many immigrants and descendants than persons of Danish origin felt that they had been discriminated against within the last year (23% against 9%). In the survey from 2010 there was no significant difference between men and women's experiences, but together with the results from the previous surveys there is a tendency that slightly more male than female immigrants or descendants feel discriminated against, while the situation is the opposite among persons of Danish origin. Furthermore, it appears that the experience of discrimination was more frequent among younger than older people of Danish origin, while there was no such trend among immigrants and descendants. Typically for the people who had experienced discrimination, both immigrants and descendants and persons of Danish origin, discrimination had happened 2-5 times within the last year. A smaller but significant part of the people had experienced discrimination 10 times or more within the last year, while only 1 in 6 had only had one experience of discrimination.¹⁶

The reason for the discrimination experienced by immigrants and descendants was dominantly perceived to be their ethnicity (mentioned by 62%) and their religion (mentioned by 48%). Among the persons of Danish origin the most often mentioned reason was gender (41%). The respondents were asked who had discriminated against them, and even though many different answers were given, it appears that three quarters of the experiences of discrimination were caused by strangers. The most frequently experienced forms of discrimination are ignorance (experienced by 45% of immigrants and descendants) and taunt (39%). Physical violence and vandalism of property have been experienced by 7% and 3% respectively of the immigrants and descendants who have experienced discrimination.¹⁷

When asked where the experience of discrimination had happened, the most frequent answer among immigrants and descendants was in public transport (38%). The second most frequent answer was at work (34%). Even though the workplace is still a frequent scene for discrimination there might be a tendency towards a decrease in discrimination at work, although the decrease is still too small to be statistically significant. Other frequent places of discrimination of immigrants and descendants include shops (mentioned by 16%), institution of education (15%), nightlife (11%), the council (11%) and 'other' (26%). Among the answers in the 'other' category 'on the street' is a frequently appearing answer. In comparison, persons of Danish origin experience equally frequently discrimination at work (34%) and more frequently discrimination in nightlife (20%), but much less frequent in public transport (16%), shops (10%), institutions of education (6%) or by the council (5%).¹⁸

A similar survey among the whole population of Denmark and not just Copenhagen was conducted by Catinét Research in 2000 and again in 2009. These surveys also show a small decrease in discrimination against immigrants and descendants experienced at work over time. On the other hand, the surveys show that the experience of discrimination by politicians and the media has increased significantly, from 4% and 8% in 2000 to 11% and 17% in 2009, respectively.¹⁹

¹⁵ Catinét, 2010.

¹⁶ Catinét, 2010.

¹⁷ Catinét, 2010.

¹⁸ Catinét, 2010.

¹⁹ Bræmer, 2010.

The results from the 2009 survey resulted in a call for a debate about the discourse and the rhetoric of the political and public debate²⁰, a wish which had earlier been expressed by minority institutions and organisations. The Danish Institute for Human Rights (DIHR) holds that there is an aversion to discussing discrimination in politics and in the media in Denmark. The DIHR explains that minorities' lack of equality is typically seen as a result of lack of integration, including lack of knowledge of the Danish language and lack of ability or will to adjust to Danish norms and expectations. When presented this way, discrimination is not addressed as a barrier to integration but as a result of an insufficient integration process. Furthermore, the responsibility of ensuring equal opportunities is to a larger extent placed with the minority individual than with society in general. The DIHR has therefore stressed the need for a change of viewpoint in order to ensure that discrimination is not legitimised as a result of insufficient integration, but addressed with the aim of ensuring equal opportunities of all.²¹

The results of the surveys, both from 2009 and 2010, has also led to a debate about the relationship between experienced discrimination, as shown in the surveys, and actual discrimination, i.e. differential treatment. It has been stressed that there is a pressing need for a better scientific understanding of what causes the feeling of discrimination.²²

While the experienced discrimination is relatively easy to assess, as done in the Catinét surveys, data about actual discrimination is more difficult to obtain. Dahl/Jakobsen (2005) and Skovgaard/Rosdahl (2006) have shown that many immigrants and descendants believe that Danish employers are more inclined to hire persons of Danish origin than immigrant or descendants and that immigrants and descendants need to be better qualified than their competitors of Danish origin in order to be given a job. However, Dahl/Jakobsen and Skovgaard/Rosdahl also acknowledge the difficulty of documenting the actuality of the perceived discrimination.²³

One of the reasons why it is so difficult to document actual discrimination is that very few of the experienced cases of discrimination are reported to the police. The survey from Copenhagen from 2010 shows that 93% of the immigrants and descendants and 98% of the persons of Danish origin that had experienced discrimination chose not to report it to the police. The reason for not reporting the incidents were most often that the incidents were not severe enough, but 27% of the immigrants and descendants also felt that the police would not be able or willing to do anything about the case.²⁴ In 2008 only 10 convictions for discrimination and one conviction for a hate crime were given in the Municipality of Copenhagen.²⁵

To sum up, there is a need for more research and documentation of the actual extent of discrimination in Denmark as well as a need for a better understanding of what determines the experience of being discriminated against. However, surveys and reports so far indicate that discrimination is a serious issue that create barriers to immigrants and their descendants' full and unproblematic integration and to the assurance of equal opportunities to all.

²⁰ Bræmer, 2010.

²¹ DIHR, 2005.

²² Bræmer, 2010.

²³ Dahl/Jakobsen (2005) and Skovgaard/Rosdahl (2006)

²⁴ Catinét, 2010.

²⁵ DIHR, 2008.

2.3. Special groups at risk

In Denmark, as in most other EU countries, immigrants and their descendants come from a myriad of different countries and regions. This means that the social inclusion challenges of ethnic minorities are variable and multiple according to the group in focus. Section 3.1 and 3.2 of this report presented some general tendencies and patterns that form challenges in relation to the social inclusion of ethnic minorities. For this section we have selected two groups that in their own way form special risk groups in terms of social exclusion of ethnic minorities: Somalis and migrants from Eastern Europe.

2.3.1. Somalis

Somalis form one of the larger ethnic minority groups in Denmark with around 10,000 individuals descending from Somalia currently living in the country.²⁶ Including their descendants, the Somali minority counts around 17,000 individuals. Most Somalis came to Denmark as refugees during the 1990s, as civil war and border struggles with neighbouring countries took place in Somalia. In later years Denmark has seen a slight decrease in the number of resident Somalis, but due to the group's socially disadvantaged position in Danish society along with increased awareness in public discourse on radicalised Islamic movements, Somalis still draw vast attention in terms of integration of ethnic minorities.

It is often stated that Somalis form the most socially disadvantaged ethnic minority in Denmark due to low levels of education and vocational training, low employment rates and discrimination and mistrust towards the group from Danish society.²⁷

A 2010 report from the Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration Affairs gives insight to the social situation of Somalis living in Denmark. One of the most notable results from the report is that 85% of the Somalis in Denmark live in social housing compared to 16% among the Danish population as a whole.²⁸ This dramatic overrepresentation of the Somalis in the social housing sector surpasses any other ethnic groups, while it is also an indicator of the financial and social resources of the Somalis. Another interesting result from the report is in relation to the employment status of Somalis in Denmark. Somalis living in Denmark have an employment rate of 38.5% (2009) compared to 77.8% among persons with Danish descent.²⁹ As specified in section 3.2, the employment rate is generally lower among immigrants, yet the Somalis (along with immigrants from Iraq and Lebanon) have the lowest employment rates. In terms of gender, there is a significant difference between the employment rate for men and women in the Somali group. While 43% Somali men were employed in 2009, the equivalent share of women was only at 33%. These data show that there is a significant gender gap between the employment rates among Somalis in Denmark, which is not found among people with Danish descent. In the media discourse, Somali women have often been named "the least probable to gain employment" due to their low levels of education and professional skills. To support this argument data shows that 30% of Somali women are so-called "passive recipients of cash benefits", which means that they receive benefits and are currently not able to work due to physical or mental disabilities or lack of

²⁶ Statistics Denmark, 2011.

²⁷ <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1951906,00.html>

²⁸ Ministeriet for Flygtninge, Indvandrere og Integration, 2010: *Tal og fakta om integration, Befolkning, uddannelse, beskæftigelse, Tema om børn.*

²⁹ Ministeriet for Flygtninge, Indvandrere og Integration: *Tal og fakta om integration, Befolkning, uddannelse, beskæftigelse, Tema om børn,* 2010.

resources.³⁰ Furthermore, and somewhat undocumented the low employment rate among Somali women is also supposedly caused by cultural differences in terms of resistance against women working in the Somali community. Somali women were also given attention in the on-going public and political debates on religious head scarves and handshakes between men and women. There are still no laws prohibiting religious head scarves, but several employers are against employees wearing head scarves in jobs with customer contact. On a more scientific basis, research shows that the low degree of employment among Somalis is partially explained by the fact that almost all of the Somali immigrants came as refugees. Refugees generally have a lower employment rate than other immigrants, e.g. work migrants.³¹ However, the employment data on Somalis also show some uplifting results. Despite the very low employment rates for men and, particularly, women there was a significant increase from 2004 to 2008 for both genders. So, the employment rate of Somali men increased by 28% while that of Somali women increased by 22% in the period.³²

Somalis living in Denmark are also socially disadvantaged in other fields. In terms of income, only 14% of Somali men in the age group of 40-49 years are in the top half income group, while the equivalent share of women is as low as 5%.³³ In comparison, almost 30% of Chinese female immigrants belong to the top half income group. These data indicate that Somali immigrants are financially disadvantaged in comparison with other immigrant groups and people of Danish descent. Crime rates are also higher for immigrants from Somalia. 40% of Somali men have been convicted of a crime, which is the highest of all ethnic groups included in the analysis.³⁴

To sum up, Somalis in Denmark are among the most socially vulnerable ethnic groups. Data shows that Somalis have a high share of social housing residencies, low employment, low share in the top half income group, and high crime conviction rates. Especially Somali women are disadvantaged in terms of employment and income, which are two related indicators.

Furthermore, Somalis also experience high degree of discrimination in Danish society according to a recent report from the European Union Agency of Fundamental Rights (FRA). A survey conducted by the Agency shows that 61% of Somalis in Denmark found discrimination based on ethnic or immigrant origin as being 'very' or 'fairly' widespread.³⁵ Somalis were thus the ethnic group that, according to the survey, experienced the highest degree of discrimination.

2.3.2. *Socially disadvantaged Eastern Europeans*

"Eastern Europeans" as a term is very broad, thus it is important to clarify what we mean by naming this – or rather these – group(s) a special risk group in terms of social inclusion. Eastern Europeans simply means people from the former communist republics and hence different from the West. In this report, however, the scope is solely on social inclusion and we therefore focus on the limited number of socially disadvantaged people from Eastern Europe, who have migrated (temporarily or permanently) to Denmark. As this group of people cannot be narrowly defined, we will not make use of statistical indicators to describe their social situation. Rather we will focus on qualitative descriptions of some of the challenges that have arisen in later years in relation to

³⁰ Danmarks Statistik: *Indvandrere i Danmark*, 2009.

³¹ Danmarks Statistik: *Indvandrere i Danmark*, 2009.

³² Ministeriet for Flygtninge, Indvandrere og Integration: *Tal og fakta om integration, Befolkning, uddannelse, beskæftigelse, Tema om børn*, 2010.

³³ Danmarks Statistik: *Indvandrere i Danmark*, 2009.

³⁴ Danmarks Statistik: *Indvandrere i Danmark*, 2009.

³⁵ European Union Agency of Fundamental Rights (FRA): *Data in Focus Report: Multiple Discrimination*, 2011.

socially disadvantaged people from Eastern Europe coming to Denmark. This section will to some degree overlap with the chapter on Roma, as some Roma are also socially disadvantaged people from Eastern Europe and vice versa.

The challenge of socially disadvantaged people from Eastern Europe coming to Denmark stems from shelters and other facilities in Copenhagen that are experiencing a growing number of homeless people seeking shelter and food services. As explained in chapter 1, shelters with public funding are by law limited to accommodate only Danish citizens and/or individuals with a residence permit. Although citizens from the EU can legally stay in Denmark they cannot claim benefits or any other financial assistance without permanent residency. The source of the problem concerning socially disadvantaged Eastern Europeans in Denmark can be summoned to that an increasing number of people with very limited resources migrates to the country, and the country's social system is not able to help them due to legal and financial restraints. To be more specific, the countries mentioned by NGOs and other agents in the field, where the Eastern European socially disadvantaged people come from, are primarily Romania, Bulgaria and Poland. The migrants are however not limited to these countries.

It is very difficult to estimate the number of homeless³⁶ Eastern Europeans in Denmark, as there is no central register. In Copenhagen, where the challenge seems to be most severe, there were in 2008 according to a count compiled by the Municipality only 3% of Eastern European nationality among the users of public funded shelters.³⁷ This indicates that the challenge of socially disadvantaged Eastern Europeans in Copenhagen is limited. It is although worth mentioning that the count was compiled in January (more migrants normally arrive in the summer) and that most Eastern Europeans usually leave the shelters, when they are asked for their basis of stay. The privately funded shelters tell a different story. In the Municipality's count from 2008, the day shelters reported that 10-25% of their users are of Eastern European nationality. In the night shelters the share is even more higher, as 63% of the users were recorded as Eastern European nationals.³⁸ This indicates that the challenge of socially disadvantaged Eastern Europeans is mainly a concern of the privately funded night shelters.

The socially disadvantaged Eastern Europeans that are seen in the night shelters and on streets are somewhat different from the Danish users of shelters. Whereas the Danish users sleep in shelters due to drug and alcohol abuse, mental illnesses and other social problems that make it difficult for them to sustain their own home, the story told from social workers is that the Eastern European users migrate because of financial hardship. People from Eastern Europe, who find it difficult to make ends meet in their home countries, enter Denmark with hopes of employment and a better income. For a lot of these people, reality is that it is difficult to find jobs and their only source of income is collection of bottles, begging and other small-income generating activities. As a result of the potential letdown migrants face, more social problems such as substance abuse can arise, also as a consequence of the hard environment of the shelters.³⁹

The challenge of socially disadvantaged Eastern Europeans is presumably growing (according to reports from several NGOs in the social service field), which calls for action from Danish authorities. However, there are no easy solutions, as Denmark is not legally obligated to help or assist EU citizens (and other immigrants), who cannot support themselves. The assistance of

³⁶ We use homelessness as an indicator since 'socially disadvantaged' is difficult to operationalize more precisely.

³⁷ Københavns Kommune: *Opfølgning på undersøgelse om østeuropæere med hjemløshed*, 2008.

³⁸ Københavns Kommune: *Opfølgning på undersøgelse om østeuropæere med hjemløshed*, 2008.

³⁹ *Korshæren (Kirkens Korshær): "Socialt udsatte østeuropæere. Et dansk problem?"*, 2009:9.

these vulnerable migrants thus depends on privately funded NGOs which are facing difficulties in solving the challenge singlehandedly.

2.4. Assessment of existing policies and governance framework

In this section we will point to a number of relevant existing policies and the governance framework that are influencing the social inclusion/exclusion of ethnic minorities. As integration and welfare policies are very extensive, we have selected some of the newest policies that affect ethnic minorities most severely in both negative and positive sense. The first part of the section presents the targets and initiatives described in Denmark's National Reform Programme (NRP) 2011 aiming at promoting social inclusion. The linkages between the NRP (2011) and the situation of ethnic minorities are assessed in the following parts of the section. Existing policies, initiatives and regulations affecting the situation of ethnic minorities are presented and analysed, and the section concludes by a discussion of the accumulative effects of the different policies, initiatives and regulations.

2.4.1. Denmark's National Reform Programme 2011

The national 2020 targets, as discussed in the first 2011 independent expert report, within the areas of social inclusion, employment and education as outlined in the Danish NRP 2011 are presented below. These targets are especially relevant in terms of meeting the challenges of ethnic minorities in Denmark, although this is not made explicit in the NRP.

National targets for 2020:

- Social inclusion: Reduce the number of people in households with low work intensity by 22,000.
- Employment: 80% structural employment rate for the age group 20-64 year olds.
- Education: Less than 10% school dropout rates of the population aged 18-24 and at least 40% of the population aged 30-34 having completed tertiary or equivalent education.

Within the framework of social inclusion, the NRP focuses on people belonging to households with low work intensity. On the basis of the assumption that a firm affiliation to the labour market is the single most important factor when battling social exclusion and poverty, the Government has decided to make its target within the social inclusion frame to reduce the number of people in households with low work intensity by 22,000 towards 2020.

In 2008, 347,000 people belonged to households with low work intensity. Of these, 60% were children, students or people on early retirements.

The social inclusion target is planned to be reached mainly through structural measures within the education and employment areas. The measures include the agreement on more practical training places for young people and the proposal of a new anticipatory pension and flex-job reform. The initiatives within the education and employment areas are to be supplemented by initiatives in the social policy, health and integration areas, including the ghetto strategy and the national action plan for better prevention of long-term illness.

Besides the target to reduce the number of people in households with low work intensity, the Danish NRP (2011) also states that Denmark should continue to be one of the countries in Europe with the lowest income inequality and the most equal opportunities for its residents. As we will see in the following section, a number of policies that are specifically aimed towards ethnic minorities or affect ethnic minorities to a great extent are counter-productive in terms of maintaining low levels of income equality, and hence in some critics' opinion, equal opportunities.

2.4.2. Existing policies, initiatives and regulations affecting the situation of ethnic minorities in Denmark

In the following section the most recent and important policies, initiatives and regulations affecting the situation of ethnic minorities in Denmark will be described.

Anti-ghettoisation strategy: In 2010, the government launched a strategy to fight what it termed "ghettoisation" and to bring down the numbers of "ghettos" in Denmark. The strategy had the subtitle *A Stand against Parallel Societies in Denmark (Et opgør med parallelsamfund i Danmark)*. The government has ascribed a central role to the strategy in relation the national efforts to support the integration of ethnic minorities. The background for this ascription is the belief that the ghettos⁴⁰ are isolated from the rest of society, which hinders the integration of its residents in the wider society. The main initiatives in the strategy are 1) to improve the physical character of the ghetto areas, in some places by demolishing existing dwellings, and thereby try to attract more businesses and people with more social capital, 2) to change the praxis of the allocation of social housing so as to reduce the proportion of residents with immigrant backgrounds in the deprived areas, 3) to initiate programs focusing on children and young people – especially focusing on improving the children's and the youth's abilities in school, 4) to increase employment and finally 5) to enhance the presence of the police in the areas.

The strategy is yet too new to be evaluated with regards to its effects. However, the strategy has been criticised for further stigmatising the deprived areas and its residents, for placing the responsibility of the support for the disadvantaged families and individuals on the areas themselves instead of on the wider society and for ignoring the fundamental issue of poverty.⁴¹

A need for all young people: The campaign *A need for all young people* ("Brug for alle unge") started under the Ministry of Integration in 2002 and is still running. The focus of the campaign is to ensure that more young people with a minority background attend and complete vocational training in order to achieve a long-lasting affiliation with the labour market. The campaign is especially focusing on setting up systems of role models, attitude campaigns, educational and business bazar and vocational schools. The campaign has been evaluated twice, both times with positive results: The campaign promotes innovative initiatives and puts a much needed focus on the integration of ethnic minorities in the education system and labour market. Furthermore, the evaluations indicate that the initiatives within the campaign have helped to encourage and enable young people with minority backgrounds to start and complete vocational training.⁴²

⁴⁰ In the strategy, a ghetto is defined on the basis of three main characteristic: A high proportion of people without affiliation to the labour market or education system, a high proportion of immigrants and descendants, and a high proportion of people with a criminal record (Socialministeriet, 2010. *Ghettoen tilbage til samfundet: Et opgør med parallelsamfund i Danmark.*)

⁴¹ Thorsen, 2010; Vildby, 2010 and Danish Architects' Association, 2010.

⁴² <http://www.brugforalleunge.dk>; <http://www.nyidanmark.dk>; and LXP Consulting, 2007.

A new chance for everyone: The government's integration plan from 2005 ("En ny chance til alle"), running in effect from 2006 to 2008. The plan was aimed specifically at unemployed people with immigrant backgrounds. The plan allocated extra resources to the employment initiatives run by the municipalities. Initiatives included counselling, job training and subsidised wages. Evaluations show that the focused effort did have a positive effect on the employment rate of previously unemployed people with immigrant background, on the degree of self-sufficiency and on the percentage of unemployed people in job training. However, the effects were not quite as large as anticipated and the specific targets in the plan in relation to employment rate, self-sufficiency and job training were not reached.⁴³

Initial benefit: Unemployed immigrants who are not from the Nordic Countries or EU are eligible of initial benefit if they have lived in Denmark less than 7 out of the last 8 years. This also includes Danish citizens, who have lived in a country outside Europe. The initial benefit is a reduced cash benefit that was introduced with the aim of increasing the employment among non-western migrants. A study from 2009 shows that a large number of immigrant families face difficulties in making ends meet when receiving initial benefits.⁴⁴

The 300-hour rule: Married couples, where both spouses have received cash benefit for a minimum of two years must be able to certify that both spouses has worked for at least 300 hours during the last two years. If failing to meet this requirement, the monthly allowance to one of the spouses will be withdrawn.

The cash benefit limit: All cash benefit claimants, singles as well as married or cohabiting couples, will, after six months of consecutive support be subject to a maximum limit of the total amount of benefits received (known as "kontanthjælpsloftet").

Reduction of benefits after 6 months: Married couples (older than 25 years), where one or both spouses have received benefits during six consecutive months will get a reduction in their monthly allowance.

Reduced child benefit: Families cannot receive more than 35,000 DKK yearly in child benefits, as a result of the 2010 Fiscal Consolidation Agreement. The Council for Socially Marginalised People has spoken out against this measure, as it according to the Council will increase child poverty substantially and in effect produce socially disadvantaged adults⁴⁵. Calculations indicate that the measure in its current form will produce 6,000 more persons living in poverty in 2013 using the 50% median income threshold⁴⁶. The political left has raised a critique of the reduced child benefit based on the argument that the measure is directed at families of foreign descent, whom is generally believed to have more children than ethnic Danish families, and also lower incomes.

2.4.3. Discussion: The NRP, existing policies and the situation of ethnic minorities

The integration policies in Denmark focus on increasing ethnic minorities' presence on the labour market and in the education systems, which is in line with the framework set out in Denmark's National Reform Programme 2011. As Section 3 – *Status on social inclusion of ethnic minorities*

⁴³ Rambøll Management Consulting, 2008; and Arbejderbevægelsens Erhvervsråd, 2008.

⁴⁴ CASA: *Personer og familier med de laveste ydelser som forsørgelsesgrundlag - en registerundersøgelse*, 2009.

⁴⁵ http://www.sm.dk/data/Lists/Publikationer/Attachments/489/Råd-socialtudsatte-årsrapport2010_32-online.pdf

⁴⁶ http://www.sm.dk/data/Lists/Publikationer/Attachments/489/Råd-socialtudsatte-årsrapport2010_32-online.pdf

in Denmark showed, the employment rate of people with immigrant backgrounds are lower than that of people of Danish origin, and people with immigrant backgrounds are also underrepresented in the higher sections of the education system. As such, improved situations on the labour market and in the education systems are much needed in order to improve the social inclusion of ethnic minorities in the Danish society. Evaluations show that initiatives focusing on immigrants' and descendants' entry to and affiliation with the labour market and the education system – including training of language skills, counselling in relation to employment and education, job training, practical job placements and attitude campaigns – have had positive effects on education and employment rates and on self-sufficiency of the people involved in the initiatives. However, the very strong focus on employment and education in integration policies means that elements of more traditional social policies are scarce and that the ambition in the NRP to maintain a high degree of equality in society may be challenged.

A cornerstone in the present employment-integration policy is to increase the incentive to work. But when the incentives are strengthened by reductions in social benefits, immigrants and immigrant families are affected more heavily than the people of Danish descent. Initiatives such as the 300-hour rule, the cash benefit limit, the reduction of benefits after 6 months and the reduction of child benefit are not explicitly directed towards immigrants, but due to their structure they will in effect affect immigrants more heavily on a collective scale. The central argument is that immigrants make more use of cash benefits than people of Danish descent and thus especially immigrants will experience the consequences of the initiatives.

The initiatives have to a small degree succeeded in increasing employment incentives⁴⁷, however, the initiatives at the same time – and especially combined – put large numbers of immigrants at risk of social exclusion and poverty.

Due to the limited knowledge on Roma in Denmark it is unfortunately not possible to assess how the measures of the NRP and the existing policies and governance framework affect the Danish Roma population. Roma at risk of social exclusion will of course experience the same effects of the various integration policies and other initiatives that are aimed towards ethnic minorities and people outside the labour market.

2.5. Key challenges and future recommendations

The social inclusion of ethnic minorities in Denmark is an area that requires continuous attention. The number of people with immigrant backgrounds is increasing and the policy instruments and practical initiatives will have to keep up with an increasing demand for action.

The focus on immigrants and descendants' needs in order to enter and maintain an affiliation with the labour market and the education systems has had a positive effect on the immigrants and descendants' employment and education rates. The good work should be continued and new, innovative solutions should be developed.

However, discrimination against ethnic minorities still needs to be addressed, and so does the situation of the most marginalised minority members. Special attention should be given to the introduction of the initial benefit and the other reductions in social benefits' effects on the economic and social situation of ethnic minorities. Furthermore, the new ghetto strategy from 2010 should be evaluated with particular attention to its ability to break down social and

⁴⁷ CASA: *Personer og familier med de laveste ydelser som forsørgelsesgrundlag - en registerundersøgelse*, 2009.

geographical barriers in the cities, its ability to increase the integration of the residents of the deprived areas and its potential stigmatising effect.

Another key challenge, as pointed out in this report, is the legal and social status of poverty migrants from especially Eastern Europe. These migrants have very few possibilities in terms of support in the Danish social system, as Denmark is not legally obligated to assist the migrants with social services and healthcare (aside from emergency medical aid). Obviously, offering these services to non-legal immigrants and migrants who are not able to support themselves would strain the Danish social and health system.

Therefore it is our recommendation to call for international and bilateral solutions to solve the challenge of social and medical needs of especially poverty migrants from countries within the EU, who are not covered by the services of their host country's welfare system.

3. References

Publications

Arbejderbevægelsens Erhvervsråd: *"Ny chance til alle" kom ikke i mål*, 2008.

Bræmer, Michael: Politikere og medier holder diskriminationen i kog. In: *Ugebladet A4*, 15.02.2010.

CASA: *Personer og familier med de laveste ydelser som forsørgelsesgrundlag - en registerundersøgelse*, 2009.

Catinét Research: *Bilag 2: Rapport 2010 – Diskriminationsomfanget i Københavns Kommune*. Catinét, 2010.

Dahl, Karen Margrethe and Jakobsen, Vibeke: *Køn, etnicitet og barrierer for integration*. The Danish National Centre for Social Research, 2005.

Danish Architects' Association: *Det mener Arkitektforeningen om regeringens ghettostrategi*, 2010. <http://www.arkitektforeningen.dk/artikel/nyheder/det-mener-arkitektforeningen-om-regeringens-ghetto-strategi>

Danmarks Statistik: *Indvandrere i Danmark*, 2009.

European Union Agency of Fundamental Rights (FRA): *Data in Focus Report: Multiple Discrimination*, 2011.

Frello, Birgitta: Romaerne på fælled. Om at krydse globale fortællinger, in: *Akademisk kvarter, tidsskrift for humanistisk forskning, Academic quarter, journal for humanistic research*. Aalborg Universitet, 2011.

Fenger-Grøndahl, Marlene and Carsten: *Sigøjnere: 1000 år på kanten af Europa*. Århus, Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2006.

Korshæren (Kirkens Korshær): "Socialt udsatte østeuropæere. Et dansk problem?", 2009:9.

Københavns Kommune: *Opfølgning på undersøgelse om østeuropæere med hjemløseadfærd*, 2008.

LXP Consulting: *Brug for alle unge I*, 2007.

Ministeriet for Flygtninge, Indvandrere og Integration: *Tal og fakta om integration, Befolkning, uddannelse, beskæftigelse, Tema om børn*, 2010.

Møller, Simon Skovgaard and Rosdahl, Anders: *Indvandrere i job*. The Danish National Centre for Social Research, 2006.

Rambøll Management Consulting: *Evaluering af Ny chance til alle*, 2008.

Rasmussen, Kristin Storck; Andersen, Lotte Langgaard and Sørensen, Mathilde Nygaard: *Projekt- & På rejse efter anerkendelse et studie i hjemløse romaer i Danmark*. Projekt- &

Karrierevejledningen, Det Samfundsvidenskabelige Fakultet, Københavns Universitet Nr. 257/2009.

Statistics Denmark: *Indvandrere I Danmark 2009*. Statistics Denmark, 2009.

The Danish Immigration Service 2010

The Danish Institute for Human Rights (DIHR): *Ligebehandling – Status og fremtidsperspektiver*. The Danish Institut for Human Rights, 2005.

The Danish Institute for Human Rights: Rapport om omfanget af discrimination og hadforbrydelser i Københavns Kommune 2008 (DIHR). The Danish Institut for Human Rights, 2009.

Thorsen, Birgitte: *Ghettostrategi ude af proportioner*, 2010.

<http://www.fsb.dk/Beboer/Nyheder/Ghettostrategi%20ude%20af%20proportioner.aspx>

Vildby, Knud: Ghettostrategier uden et ord om fattigdom. In: *Arbejderen*, 2010.

<http://arbejderen.dk/artikel/2010-11-06/ghettostrategier-uden-et-ord-om-fattigdom>

Websites

http://www.akademiskkvarter.hum.aau.dk/pdf/vol2/Birgitta_F_V2.pdf

<http://www.brugforalleunge.dk>

<http://www.dr.dk/P3/P3Nyheder/2011/04/18/060314.htm>

<http://www.information.dk/238472>

http://www.kl.dk/ImageVault/Images/id_45799/ImageVaultHandler.aspx

<http://www.kristeligt-dagblad.dk/artikel/50883:Danmark--Efternavnet-sorterer-romaer-fra-i-Helsingoer-Kommune>

New in Denmark – The Official Portal For Foreigners and Integration:

[http://www.nyidanmark.dk/en-](http://www.nyidanmark.dk/en-us/citizenship/citizen_in_denmark/3%20entry%20and%20residence%20in%20denmark.html#)

[us/citizenship/citizen_in_denmark/3%20entry%20and%20residence%20in%20denmark.html#](http://www.nyidanmark.dk/en-us/citizenship/citizen_in_denmark/3%20entry%20and%20residence%20in%20denmark.html#)

http://www.nyidanmark.dk/da-dk/Integration/uddannelse/kampagnen_brug_for_alle_unge/

Statistics Denmark: StatBank Denmark: <http://www.statbank.dk/statbank5a/default.asp?w=1280>. Visited June 2011.

Debate on Roma bottle collectors in Roskilde (several articles on Politiken.dk):

<http://ibyen.dk/fokus/roskildefestival/ECE1320065/romaer-paa-roskilde-hvorfor-elsker-de-vores-musik-men-hader-os/>

<http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1951906,00.html>