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# DECENTRALISING IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION

DENMARK'S MAINSTREAMING INITIATIVES  
IN EMPLOYMENT, EDUCATION, AND  
SOCIAL AFFAIRS

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By Martin Bak Jørgensen

September 2014

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>EXECUTIVE SUMMARY</b> .....	1
<b>I. INTRODUCTION: IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION IN DENMARK</b> .....	1
<i>A. Migrants and minorities</i> .....	1
<i>B. Integration policy since 1999</i> .....	2
<i>C. Monitoring integration at the national and local levels</i> .....	4
<b>II. MAINSTREAMING: TO WHAT EXTENT AND HOW DELIBERATE?</b> .....	5
<i>A. Challenges to mainstreaming</i> .....	7
<i>B. Mainstreamed immigrant integration policies at the local level</i> .....	8
<i>C. Youth as a central focus</i> .....	11
<b>III. KEY MAINSTREAM POLICY AREAS AND THEIR IMPACT ON YOUTH OF IMMIGRANT ORIGIN</b> .....	12
<i>A. Education policy</i> .....	12
<i>B. Employment policy</i> .....	16
<i>C. Antidiscrimination policy</i> .....	18
<b>IV. CONCLUSION: WHERE TO FROM HERE?</b> .....	20
<b>WORKS CITED</b> .....	22
<b>ABOUT THE AUTHOR</b> .....	27

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report presents a study of the development of immigrant integration policies in Denmark over the past 15 years. Danish integration policies may be characterised as restrictive, their coordination for the most part centralised. That said, studies elsewhere have shown that divergences often can be identified between policy frameworks at local and national levels. This pattern can be seen in Denmark, where larger cities in particular have developed less restrictive and more accommodative policy responses to immigrant integration.

The latest shift in Denmark's national integration policy framework is toward 'mainstreaming' services (i.e., addressing the entire population instead of targeting a specific group) and decentralising their coordination. This trend can also be identified at the municipal level. In fact, efforts to mainstream services are more mature at the local level than at the national. This can be regarded as deliberate although the concept of mainstreaming nationally only is used explicitly with respect to gender. The report shows that mainstreaming at the national level still is being operationalised and faces difficulties. At the local level, the report finds efforts to mainstream immigrant integration policies are more developed and part of a deliberate strategy. Across administrative levels, the report investigates Danish mainstreaming initiatives within employment, education, and social affairs.

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## I. INTRODUCTION: IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION IN DENMARK

Denmark was among the first countries to develop and implement a comprehensive *Act of Integration*, in 1998. It was also among the first to centralise the coordination of integration efforts in one ministry, collecting competences from the various ministries and agencies previously responsible for integration efforts. The topic of integration has been highly politicized in Denmark, and been decisive for the outcome of elections. Over the past 15 years the policy trend has been towards restrictions and introduction of new sanctions, with the overarching aim of changing the composition of immigrants in Denmark. This report analyses this trend in more detail, at both the national and local levels. It first outlines the general context of immigration and integration in Denmark. Second, it discusses to what extent mainstreaming has been a strategic goal, and the obstacles faced. The third section of the report investigates mainstreaming within the policy areas of education, employment, and antidiscrimination, on the national level and in the municipalities of Aarhus and Copenhagen.

### A. *Migrants and minorities*

Of Denmark's total population, 10.4 per cent (580,461 people) were immigrants and their descendants in January 2012;<sup>1</sup> approximately 30 per cent of this share lives in the two biggest cities, Copenhagen and Aarhus. Approximately two-thirds of Denmark's immigrant-origin population is from non-Western countries (the five largest groups are people of Turkish, Polish, Iraqi, Bosnia-Herzegovinian, and Iranian origin).<sup>2</sup>

The school enrolment rates of young adults of migrant origin and their Danish-origin peers differ slightly. Among 16- to 19-year-olds, 79.6 per cent of immigrant-origin young adults are enrolled in education programs, which is approxi-

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1 Social- og Integrationsministeriet, *FAKTA OM INTEGRATION Status og udvikling* (København: Social- og Integrationsministeriet, December 2012).  
2 Danmarks Statistik, *Årbog om udlændinge* (København: Danmarks Statistik).

mately 3 percentage points lower than their Danish-origin peers. However, more than 42 per cent of 20- to 24-year-old females with non-Western immigrant backgrounds are enrolled in higher education; this is 1.5 percentage points more than their peers of Danish origin.<sup>3</sup>

Employment rates, by contrast, are more varied. Refugees—and women in particular—have the lowest rates. The next-lowest are among immigrants of non-Western origin.<sup>4</sup> As overall employment levels in Denmark peaked in 2008, 56 per cent of non-Western immigrants ages 25 to 64 were employed.<sup>5</sup> But the global economic crisis affected the employment rate of this group more deeply than that of ethnic Danes,<sup>6,7</sup> cutting it to under 50 percent. Newly arrived immigrants of non-Western origin—those with 11 years of residence or less—generally have a lower employment rate than newcomers of Western origin.

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## B. Integration policy since 1999

The first *Danish Act of Integration* came into force on 1 January 1999. Though launched by the Social-Democratic and Social Liberal political parties, the law reflects the centralised approach later taken by opposing parties. In a major political shift in 2001, the Liberal Party and Conservative Party, supported by the Danish People's Party, won power. The new government established the Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants, and Integration (INM), which centralised the national approach to integration. INM assumed responsibility for affairs previously overseen by eight separate ministries: the Ministry of the Interior (responsible for integration), Ministry of Justice (naturalisation), Ministry of Education (Danish-language education), Ministry of Financial Affairs (integration in workplaces), Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs (segregation and gentrification), Ministry of Social Affairs (social marginalisation of immigrants and refugees), Ministry of Labour (labour market initiatives targeting immigrants), and Ministry of Business (immigrants' business participation).

The Danish immigration and integration policy framework has been characterised as restrictive, and has been cited as an inspiration for the 'new' style of integration pursued by other European countries during the 2000s.<sup>8</sup> It reflects 'an ethnic model of civic integration'<sup>9</sup> with an attitude toward integration that is 'between liberalism and nationalism'.<sup>10</sup>

The main goal of Denmark's immigration and integration policy in the 2000s was to change the composition of the immigrant population through closer management of the migration system. For example, policies sought to make it more difficult to obtain family reunification and asylum (abolishing the *de facto* protection category) but easier to enter as a labour migrant or student. The rationale was that in order to prevent the problems inherent in (a lack of)

3 Integrationsbarometer, *Faktaark indvandrere og efterkommere*, 2013, <http://integrationsbarometer.dk/aktuelt/filer/faktaark-om-indvandrere-og-efterkommere>.

4 Social- og Integrationsministeriet, *FAKTA OM INTEGRATION Status og udvikling* (København: Social- og Integrationsministeriet, December 2012).

5 Ibid.

6 Ugebrevet A4, 'Hver sjette indvandrer arbejdsløs efter krisen', 25 May 2012, [www.ugebreveta4.dk/hver-sjette-indvandrer-arbejdsloes-efter-krisen\\_14306.aspx](http://www.ugebreveta4.dk/hver-sjette-indvandrer-arbejdsloes-efter-krisen_14306.aspx).

7 Dansk Arbejdsgiverforening, 'Ikke-vestlige indvandrere og arbejdsmarkedet', September 2012, [www.da.dk/bilag/ikke-vestlige%20indvandrere%20og%20arbejdsmarkedet%202012.pdf](http://www.da.dk/bilag/ikke-vestlige%20indvandrere%20og%20arbejdsmarkedet%202012.pdf).

8 Examples include Ulf Hedetoft, 'More than Kin, Less than Kind: The Danish Politics of Ethnic Consensus and the Pluricultural Challenge', in *The State of Denmark: Small States, Corporatism and the Varieties of Capitalism*, eds. John Campbell, John Hall, and Ove Pedersen (Montreal: McGill University Press, 2006); Heidi Vad Jønsson and Klaus Petersen, 'Denmark: A National Welfare State Meets the World', in *Immigration Policy and the Scandinavian Welfare State 1945-2010*, eds. Grete Brochmann and Anniken Hagelund (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 97-148; Martin Bak Jørgensen and Ruth Emerek, 'Ethnic Minorities among Other Minorities—an Underprivileged Group in Danish Society?' in *Integration and the Protection of Immigrants from a Nordic Perspective: Socio-Legal Views of Canadian and Scandinavian Arrangements* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2014, forthcoming); Martin Bak Jørgensen and Trine Lund Thomsen, 'Crises Now and Then—Comparing Integration Policy Frameworks and Immigrant Target Groups in Denmark in the 1970s and 2000s', *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 14, no. 2 (2012): 245-62; Martin Bak Jørgensen, 'The Institutional Dynamics of Integration Policy-Making on City Level', *International Migration Review* 46, no. 1 (2012).

9 Martin Bak Jørgensen, 'National and Transnational Identities: Turkish Organising Processes and Identity Construction in Denmark, Sweden and Germany' (PhD dissertation, AMID/SPIRIT, Aalborg University, 2009).

10 Per Mouritsen and Tore Vincents Olsen, 'Denmark between Liberalism and Nationalism', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 36, no. 4 (2013): 691-710.

integration of such economically and socially marginalised immigrant groups, Denmark had to restrict immigration to the country. A second goal was to promote self-sufficiency, making labour market participation both the means and the end of integration.<sup>11</sup> Third, the new policy aimed to encourage immigrants to manage their own integration, prompted by various incentives and sanctions and formalised in an integration contract. For example, sanctions for a lack of effort included limiting access to permanent residency and naturalisation.<sup>12</sup> Alongside these goals was an implicit (and sometimes explicit) demand for assimilation evident in discussions on cultural values and cultural struggles. These policy goals (and their embedded rationale) set the path for the main developments between 1999 and 2011.<sup>13</sup>

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During this time the political opposition did not take a clear stand. There was general support for the restrictive turn in policy and the 'new realism' of popular opinion. Even as it criticized the new immigration and integration policies, the opposition promised to continue existing policies. The administration changed again in 2011, and is now led by the Social Democrats, the Social Liberal Party, and the Socialist People's Party. The change in power was followed by a reversal of the centralised oversight of immigration and integration. INM was abolished and its responsibilities and competences again divided, this time across the Ministry of Justice (which controls the Danish immigration service, asylum, and naturalisation), the Ministry of Employment (dealing with the labour market integration of refugees and immigrants), the Ministry of Children and Education (dealing with integration in the educational system), and the Ministry of Social Affairs and Integration (which directs overall integration policy).

The government's stated goals for its integration policy are to:

- Better control integration and achieve greater integration for the money spent
- Strengthen the reception of newcomers
- Ensure that more immigrants find employment
- Improve the performance of immigrant children in education
- Strengthen citizenship, equal opportunities, and gender equality
- Develop vulnerable and segregated urban areas
- Prevent the marginalisation of immigrant children and youth, and associated crime.<sup>14</sup>

These goals reflect many of the goals and strategic action plans of the previous government, and point to a large degree of path dependency in policymaking. In governance structures, however, the new government has implemented marked changes.

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11 For an analysis of the labour-market-oriented integration approach, see Karen Nielsen Breidahl, 'Når staten lærer—En historisk og komparativ analyse af statslig policy læring og betydningen heraf for udviklingen i den arbejdsmarkedsrettede del af indvandrerpolitikken i Sverige, Norge og Danmark fra 1970 til 2011' (PhD-afhandling, maj 2012 CCWS, Institut for Statskundskab, Aalborg Universitet, 2012).

12 Regeringen, *En ny udlændingepolitik* (København: Statsministeriet, 2002); Ministergruppen for bedre integration, *Regeringens vision og strategi for bedre integration* (København: Regeringen, 2003); Ministeriet for Integration, *En ny chance til alle—regeringens integrationsplan* (København: Regeringen, 2005).

13 Regeringen, *Aftale mellem regeringen og Dansk Folkeparti, 15. marts 2010: Nye regler for at få permanent opholdstilladelse og serviceeftersyn af udlændinge- og integrationspolitikken* (København: Regeringen, 2010); Regeringen, *Nye tider. Nye krav* (København: Regeringen, 2010); Ny i Danmark, 'Familiesammenføring', 2012, [www.nyidanmark.dk/da-dk/Ophold/familiesammenfoering/familiesammenfoering.htm](http://www.nyidanmark.dk/da-dk/Ophold/familiesammenfoering/familiesammenfoering.htm); Ny i Danmark, 'Krav om opfyldelse af en del af de nuværende betingelser for tidsbegrænset (permanent) opholdstilladelse', 2012, [www.nyidanmark.dk/da-dk/Ophold/familiesammenfoering/aegtefaeller/betingelser-permanent-ophold.htm](http://www.nyidanmark.dk/da-dk/Ophold/familiesammenfoering/aegtefaeller/betingelser-permanent-ophold.htm); Ny i Danmark, 'Tidsbegrænset (permanent) opholdstilladelse', 2012, [www.nyidanmark.dk/da-dk/Ophold/permanent-ophold/permanent-ophold.htm](http://www.nyidanmark.dk/da-dk/Ophold/permanent-ophold/permanent-ophold.htm).

14 Regeringen, *En styrket integrationspolitik* (København: Regeringen, 2012).

### C. *Monitoring integration at the national and local levels*

In late 2012 the new administration launched a ‘national integration barometer’ to monitor its progress<sup>15</sup> toward nine specific goals that relate to employment, education, and equal treatment. Denmark’s municipalities, for their part, have access to local integration barometers,<sup>16</sup> which monitor progress toward six of the nine national goals, specifically those that involve available statistics. For smaller municipalities without extensive local-level integration policies, these barometers may be the only means to measure progress. Municipalities with more comprehensive policy frameworks (such as Copenhagen and Aarhus) may have developed additional measures.

The national integration barometer emphasises the need for balance between a mainstreamed policy approach and targeted measures. For example, one recent observation from the barometer is that immigrants of non-Western origin are three times more likely than Danes to be in early retirement (at ages 50 to 59). The recently amended reform of early retirement and flex-jobs,<sup>17</sup> a general policy, may not be sufficient to correct this variance, which may require targeted initiatives that address the specific needs of immigrants.<sup>18</sup>

A 2013 evaluation of national and local integration efforts by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Integration’s Task Force on Integration suggests that the Ministry ought to select and define a limited number of goals of particular relevance, which would make it possible to manage and evaluate the effort of individual municipalities.<sup>19</sup> At the moment, the Ministry monitors all of the national integration goals, and six at the municipal level (as mentioned above).

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The individual goals are monitored through target-specific indicators, such as immigrants’ performance in the labour market and education system, their progress in learning Danish, and perceived discrimination. The measures are only informative; the Ministry of Social Affairs has not yet drawn broader conclusions from individual outcomes, but recommends active measures if outcomes are unsatisfactory. The Head of Department in the Ministry of Social Affairs and Integration predicted that benchmarking criteria would be introduced in key areas in the future.<sup>20</sup> This goal is also mentioned in the government’s integration strategy.<sup>21</sup> At the moment, however, there is no exchange or comparison between the national and local barometers. The Task Force on Integration’s evaluation does not mention the barometers specifically but does cite demand for concrete results. The evaluation suggests that strong economic incentives ought to underpin integration goals, such as allocating funds to municipalities according to their performance.<sup>22</sup>

Currently two initiatives provide vertical links between national and local-level governance. First, the Ministry of Social Affairs and Integration finances cross-level meetings in each of the country’s five regions: three times per year among the Ministry, practitioners, and the municipalities; and three times per year among the Ministry, municipal midlevel managers, and managers. Local Government Denmark (Kommunernes Landsforening, or KL)—a Danish municipality-level interest group—also participates. Such meetings are a ‘soft’ management tool.

The second initiative is the Task Force on Integration.<sup>23</sup> Its six members come from municipalities, the private sector, and nongovernmental organisations (NGOs); they identify best practices in integration efforts. All those interviewed for this case study note that their agencies have been in contact with the task force.

15 Integrationsbarometer, ‘Der nationale integrationsbarometer’, [www.integrationsbarometer.dk/](http://www.integrationsbarometer.dk/).

16 Integrationsbarometer, ‘Lokale integrations barometre’, [www.integrationsbarometer.dk/de-9-mal#UXqEgndLcTA](http://www.integrationsbarometer.dk/de-9-mal#UXqEgndLcTA).

17 Regeringen, *En del af fællesskabet. Reform af førtidspension og fleksjob* (København: Arbejdsmarkedsstyrelsen, 2011).

18 Beskæftigelsesministeriet, ‘Reform af førtidspension og fleksjob’, [bm.dk/da/Beskaeftigelsesomraadet/Flere%20i%20arbejde/Reform%20af%20foertidspension%20og%20fleksjob.aspx](http://bm.dk/da/Beskaeftigelsesomraadet/Flere%20i%20arbejde/Reform%20af%20foertidspension%20og%20fleksjob.aspx).

19 Social- og Integrationsministeriet, *Måltrettet integration—et fælles ansvar. Anbefalinger fra Task Force om Integration* (København: Social- og Integrationsministeriet, 2013).

20 Author’s interview with Head of Department, Ministry of Social Affairs and Integration, 23 April 2013.

21 Regeringen, *En styrket integrationspolitik*, 5.

22 EVA and Oxford Research, ‘Statusnotat for 4. kvartal 2009’, [www.tosprogstaskforce.dk/om%20os/evaluering%20af%20tosprogs-taskforcen/~/\\_media/Tstf/PDF/Samarbejdskommuner/Evaluering/Statusnotat%204%20%20kvartal%202009%20ny%20version%20d%20%2025%202.ashx](http://www.tosprogstaskforce.dk/om%20os/evaluering%20af%20tosprogs-taskforcen/~/_media/Tstf/PDF/Samarbejdskommuner/Evaluering/Statusnotat%204%20%20kvartal%202009%20ny%20version%20d%20%2025%202.ashx).

23 Social-, Børne- og Integrationsministeriet, ‘Ny task force skal styrke integrationsindsatsen’, 27 November 2012, <http://sm.dk/nyheder/2012/ny-task-force-skal-styrke-integrationsindsatsen-1>.

## II. MAINSTREAMING: TO WHAT EXTENT AND HOW DELIBERATE?

Denmark may be characterised as a centralised state, though government at the regional level is responsible for a few policy domains (mainly relating to health, some education areas, employment policies, and transport). As an example of centralised oversight, on the national level, labour coordination takes place through the Committee of Ministers of Integration (comprising nine ministers) and an administrative group of civil servants from various ministries and departments.

In a marked shift, the 2010 *Act of Local Government*<sup>24</sup> set up a framework characterised by decentralisation in the adaptation, implementation, and further development of policies, and also devolved responsibility for the monitoring of some issues. This overall policy framework is designed at the central government level and implemented at the local level. Denmark's 98 municipalities have discretion and independence in managing integration policies and can adapt the policies in various directions. For example, larger cities especially have worked to accommodate diversity<sup>25</sup> and further the mainstreaming of integration policies. Other policy areas, such as employment, leave little room for variation at the municipal level.

Why the Danish administration recently closed down the Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants, and Integration and reallocated its responsibilities can be understood from several different perspectives. There is little doubt that part of the motivation was political. The parties constituting the new government, as well as the supporting party Unity List, had long been critical of the opposition parties' rhetoric on immigration and the *Foreigners Law*. The new government wanted to see changes in immigration policy—particularly asylum policies—but it did not want to break away from existing integration policies. INM was symbolic of a particularly restrictive policy direction that the parties wanted to move away from.

The restructuring of INM's immigration and integration responsibilities can also be seen as a step toward mainstreaming integration policy into different fields. Mainstreaming integration refers to an effort to reach people with a migration background through social programming and policies that also target the general population. To both improve integration and get more value for the money were set as the initial goals of the new integration strategy. The decision cannot, however, be seen as a result of evidence-based policymaking but rather one based on a conviction that specific issues of integration (such as employment and education levels) and immigration (such as access and naturalisation) are best handled by the ministries addressing similar issues across the general population. For example, immigrants' integration into the labour market is now overseen by the Ministry of Employment. While this change cannot be regarded as a deliberate mainstreaming strategy, it is a practical step in that direction.

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The restructuring points to two different dimensions of mainstreaming. The first—though still rather weak—is that of discourse, as exemplified by the new government's emphasis on the need to include all in the labour market. The second is that of policy, particularly visible in the centralisation of the integration efforts directed at the labour market, as well as in the new role of the National Labour Market Authority.

Mainstreaming is difficult at the national level, however, since integration policies—even if designed centrally—are implemented at the local level. In cities, the strategy for mainstreaming has often been more deliberate than at the national level (particularly in the case of Aarhus). This is not surprising, since municipalities implement the policies and have to face the practical problems deriving from different approaches. Moreover, and equally important, there is a larger emphasis on diversity and more striving toward inclusion on the local level—here confined to the large cities investigated

<sup>24</sup> LBK nr. 1440 af 01/11/2010 Gældende (from 2010).

<sup>25</sup> Jørgensen, 'The Institutional Dynamics'; also Rinnus Penninx, *Diversity Policy in Employment and Service Provision. Case Study: Copenhagen, Denmark* (Eurofound: Dublin, 2009); Rinnus Penninx, *Intercultural Policies and Intergroup Relations. Case Study: Copenhagen, Denmark* (Eurofound: Dublin, 2010).

in this study. In both Aarhus and Copenhagen, mainstreaming is a strong part of the discourse and is also found in policy practice—particularly in Aarhus, the first municipality to move in this direction in 2007. The driving force behind Aarhus’ new approach is the recognition that strengthening social cohesion, for instance, cannot solely be achieved through discourse; it demands change in policy practice as well.

Mainstreaming as a concept has been rarely used in the Danish context to date, except in matters of gender, and to a lesser degree, disability.<sup>26</sup> Gender mainstreaming was formally introduced to all public planning with the *Equality Act* of May 2000.<sup>27</sup> By law all new acts and reforms ought to be gender mainstreamed, although this has not been achieved in practice.<sup>28</sup> Although the term mainstreaming is not commonly used in the area of immigrant integration policy, it has been prevalent in practice. A goal for the current integration policy is to embed integration efforts into regular (economic) operation. Whereas many INM initiatives were project based and targeted specific groups, the current approach is to fold integration efforts into overall policy.

One interviewee, a special advisor to the National Labour Market Authority, assessed this as a potentially positive development. Embedding integration in normal operations (even if the word ‘mainstreaming’ is not used) ensures that these efforts are not terminated once a project stops or money runs out. According to the special advisor, this approach also offers the possibility of getting beyond the ‘us-them’ dichotomy when addressing immigrant populations.

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INM had a specialised unit aimed at building a knowledge base on integration efforts, sharing best practices, and serving as integration consultants for municipalities. The unit found that some municipalities delegated integration efforts to particular staff members known to be skilled at working with ethnic minorities. Although well intentioned, this practice risks maintaining the stigmatisation of immigrant groups, and focusing on solutions outside regular employment and education policy approaches. Mainstreaming efforts within general policy frameworks, at least in theory, will achieve the same integration goals. Another interviewee from the National Labour Market Authority, who had worked in the agency for a longer time, did not believe a clear mainstreaming strategy underlay recent reforms, but said that immigrant integration is nevertheless regarded as a crucial component of the ministry’s planning and coordination.

Overall, the absence of a clear mainstreaming strategy is not a surprise, as it has not been a deliberate strategic choice to pursue this approach. The output, however, is a mainstreaming of policy practices.

As will be detailed in the subsections below, various examples of mainstreaming immigrant integration policies can be found in both labour market and education policies. For example, while immigrant integration is not mentioned in the proposed public school reform (*Folkeskolereformen*),<sup>29</sup> the national policy framework implies that immigrants are included in the reform’s general goals. Meanwhile, the social security reform (*Kontanthjælpsreformen*), which was accepted by a broad majority of political parties in April 2013, contains specific elements addressing third-country nationals.<sup>30</sup> But the so-called integration injunction (*integrationspålæg*) stipulates that municipalities can now demand that immigrants dependent on the social assistance system must accept an offer to learn Danish or improve their ex-

26 Ruth Emerek and Martin Bak Jørgensen, *Lige rettigheder—Ligestilling i Danmark*, Rapport til det norske Ligestillingsudvalg over lovgivning om antidiskriminering og håndhævnning af ligestilling, ligestillingsministerens mål og planer, og implementering og tilsyn af ligestillingen, 2011.

27 LOV nr. 388 of 30/05/2000.

28 With the law ‘all new relevant legislation is subject to equality screening’. Although gender mainstreaming was thus formally introduced, the later Danish National Action Plans, Danish Reform programmes, and Danish policy in general have not been subject to gender mainstreaming. Gender mainstreaming is absent from the National Reform Programmes (NRPs) as well as most other Danish policies—and, when present, does not necessarily imply that an initiative will be rejected if it promises to increase inequality. All municipalities must write an equality account, i.e. a report documenting efforts to combat gender inequality/discrimination, every other year; all are aware of the inequality issues related to job advertisements, but it is often difficult to account for equality in relation to other core services. Meanwhile, some municipalities may actually be practicing gender mainstreaming without this being clearly stated. See also an evaluation of the Action Plan 2007-2011 for gender mainstreaming: Oxford Research A/S, ‘Evaluering af Handlingsplan for det tværministerielle kønsmainstreamingsprojekt 2007-2011 (København: Ministeriet for Ligestilling og Kirke’, 2012), [http://miliki.dk/fileadmin/ligestilling/PDF/Mainstreaming/Evaluering\\_af\\_handlingsplan\\_for\\_det\\_tvaerministerielle\\_koensmainstreamingsprojekt\\_29\\_02\\_12.pdf](http://miliki.dk/fileadmin/ligestilling/PDF/Mainstreaming/Evaluering_af_handlingsplan_for_det_tvaerministerielle_koensmainstreamingsprojekt_29_02_12.pdf).

29 Regeringen, *Gør en god skole bedre—et fagligt løft af folkeskolen* (København: Ministeriet for Børn og undervisning, 2012-13).

30 Regeringen, *Alle kan gøre nytte—Udspil til en kontanthjælpsreform* (København: Beskæftigelsesministeriet, 2012/2013).

isting knowledge of it. In practice, this policy will most affect female immigrants who have been unemployed long term.<sup>31</sup> Section III of this report will describe a number of specific initiatives that explicitly target immigrant populations.

## A. Challenges to mainstreaming

Interviewees in the National Labour Market Authority and the Ministry of Social Affairs and Integration all voiced the same concern: it is difficult to mainstream intelligently. Challenges include maintaining sufficient focus on integration and securing coordination. Interviewees in both Aarhus and Copenhagen raised the same concern: if integration efforts are mainstreamed into general policies, then who is ultimately responsible?<sup>32</sup>

The motivation for mainstreaming seems to differ between the national and local level. On the national level the strategy is quite recent and most probably stems from an assumption that existing ministries hold the best competences in their particular policy domains. The large cities of Aarhus and Copenhagen are also motivated to address a diverse population and promote the concept of diversity. This motivation is not found at the national level, where there are no narratives stressing ‘unity in diversity’. Nationally, the objective of mainstreaming is first and foremost to address economic concerns, and then to identify best practices.

At the time of this writing, coordination across administrative levels is structured as follows. The Transversal Committee of Ministers on integration is at the highest level. Below this is a group of civil servants with competences in a given issue. Besides permanent committees, working groups and committees are established—often by the responsible minister—on an ad hoc basis to address specific issues. As the new division of labour and responsibilities across ministries is still quite recent, interviewees cite some challenges in finding out who is responsible for what, and where specific competences have been relocated. The new structure is a work in progress that still needs time to take effect, a factor that may slow efforts to mainstream integration.

As previously noted, the key challenge is finding the right balance between a mainstreamed approach and targeted measures. As was evident from interviews, such a balance is necessarily dynamic and must change according to specific needs. While many issues relevant to integration have been, in effect, mainstreamed in national policy, specific groups requiring a targeted approach are also identified at the national level (e.g., a programme that targets unemployed immigrants supported by their spouse).<sup>33</sup> In these cases, it is assumed that general efforts will not reach the target group, and that more targeted actions are required. Meanwhile, in Aarhus and Copenhagen, municipal governments balance the general and targeted approaches. Although the discourse differs in the two municipalities, the objectives are quite similar. The assumption is that equal opportunities and parity for all citizens demand the recognition that people have different preconditions for participating, and thereby will make differing uses of equal opportunities. In Aarhus this is done strategically through the concept of service differentiation (to be elaborated below). In Copenhagen the general effort is supplemented by investigations identifying special needs and determining appropriate targeted approaches.<sup>34</sup>

31 Kasper Frandsen, ‘Indvandrere på kontanthjælp skal tvinges til at lære dansk’, *Altinget.dk*, 26 February 2013. A similar injunction on education already exists for the (municipal) job centres targeting young welfare recipients ages 18 to 24 who are able to take a language course on ordinary terms. It implies that a young person falling within this target group is obliged to find an education programme, apply for admission, and enroll. If, without reasonable cause, the young person fails to comply with the order, the municipality may stop social benefits. With the new reform, the age group is extended to cover persons ages 18 to 30.

32 The following persons were interviewed for this report: Development Consultant from Municipality of Aarhus; Chief Consultant from Mayor’s Office, Municipality of Aarhus; Consultant for Children and Youth Unit / Department of Pedagogical Issues and Integration, Aarhus; Consultant, Department of Employment, Municipality of Aarhus, interviewed 21 April 2013. Also, Head of Section, National Labour Market Authority and Special Advisor, National Labour Market Authority were interviewed 22 April 2013. International Coordinator, Center for Inclusion and Employment, Department of Employment and Integration, Municipality of Copenhagen, was interviewed 22 April 2013. Head of Department, Ministry of Social Affairs and Integration, was interviewed 23 April 2013. Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Aalborg University, interviewed 29 April 2013. All interviews on file with author.

33 Arbejdsmarkedsstyrelsen, ‘Indsats for ledige, ægtefælleforsørgede nydanskere’, [ams.dk/da/Udbud-og-puljer/Puljer/Information%20til%20ansoegere/Afsluttede-puljer/indsats-for-ledige-aegtefaelleforsorgede-nydanskere.aspx](https://ams.dk/da/Udbud-og-puljer/Puljer/Information%20til%20ansoegere/Afsluttede-puljer/indsats-for-ledige-aegtefaelleforsorgede-nydanskere.aspx).

34 In an interview conducted for another project with the Head of Department, Københavns Kommune Beskæftigelses- og Integrationsforvaltningen, Kontor for Politik, 26 April 2011, the interviewee discussed confronting stereotypes. One example given was of a possible investigation of the claim that taxi drivers, among whom ethnic minorities are over-represented, are overqualified for their job and otherwise unable to make use of their formal skills. If such a mismatch could indeed be confirmed, a targeted initiative would need to be developed to combat this. While discussed, there is no evidence of such an investigation being conducted.

As the over-representation of immigrants in early retirement and flex-jobs is obvious, targeted policy initiatives and instruments may still be needed. Although the recent reforms set up general goals for all, specific needs, challenges, and problems may spur targeted policy action(s). None of the interviewees at the national and municipal levels said they believed that it would be possible to move beyond the use of targeted policy instruments.

A last challenge mentioned by interviewees is the difficulty of evaluating policies. Although it is feasible to evaluate the effects of individual projects according to decided criteria, it can become more difficult to evaluate specific integration outcomes once integration has been mainstreamed into general operations. Outcomes are likely affected by many factors (growth in the economy, for instance).

## B. *Mainstreamed immigrant integration policies at the local level*

### 1. Copenhagen

In 2011, Copenhagen launched a new integration policy entitled Engage in PH Citizenship + Inclusion, in effect until 2014.<sup>35</sup> The overarching mission was to make Copenhagen the most inclusive metropolis in Europe by 2015. It sought to achieve this by promoting equal opportunity for all citizens living in the city. With the rationale that citizens are most likely to enjoy equal opportunities when their individual needs are addressed,<sup>36</sup> the initiative promoted three main messages: diversity is a strength, everyone has the opportunity to get involved, and citizenship is for everyone. While the concept of mainstreaming is not explicitly mentioned, it can be seen in the content and practice of policy in Copenhagen. Integration goals are embedded in general employment and education policies, and these policy areas are interlinked: satisfactory completion of primary school is a factor for entering secondary education and later finding apprenticeships, entering higher education, and ultimately finding a job. As stated in the action plan from Copenhagen's Children and Youth Administration, the goal is 'that all of the city's children and youth, regardless of ethnic and social backgrounds, achieve prerequisites to complete a secondary education and get access to the labour market'.<sup>37</sup>

In other words, immigrant integration is not only addressed by integration/inclusion policy; the general action plan on employment targets all citizens, including immigrants.<sup>38</sup> The action plan contains a strategy on how to improve employment rates among a socially stratified population, and outlines how the municipality will deal with the ministerial goals on employment in targeted areas.<sup>39</sup> A 2011-12 goal of reducing the number of unemployed non-Western immigrants and immigrant descendants is therefore integrated into the general employment policy alongside the other goals.

In terms of organisation, the municipality of Copenhagen has seven executive departments, including the Department of Employment and Integration.<sup>40</sup> This department is responsible for the municipal tasks relating to employment and integration, as stipulated in the operation regulations of the city council.<sup>41</sup> The core operation is managed by the different administrations. The department is also responsible for ensuring transversal and horizontal coordination (necessary for mainstreaming integration policy) and follow-up in the area of integration.

Besides integration policy and related action plans, the department employs a number of management/governance tools. These include the communication of challenges, an annual cycle of work, a yearly status report,<sup>42</sup> and annual monitoring through a municipal integration barometer. This last instrument needs some elaboration. While Copenha-

35 Københavns Kommune, *Bland dig i byen—medborgerskab og inklusion. Integrationspolitikken 2011-14* (København: Beskæftigelses- og Integrationsforvaltningen, 2011).

36 Ibid; Beskæftigelse- og Integrationsudvalget, *Handleplan for Bland dig i byen—Medborgerskab + inklusion Københavns Integrationspolitik 2011-14* (København: Kontor for Integrationspolitik, 2011).

37 Børne- og Ungdomsforvaltningen, *BUU's handleplan til Inklusionspolitikken 2011-14* (Copenhagen: Københavns Kommune, 2011).

38 Københavns Kommune, *Beskæftigelsesplan 2012* (København: Beskæftigelse- og integrationsforvaltningen, 2012).

39 The 2011-12 goals are listed at [www.jobindsats.dk/sw7281.asp](http://www.jobindsats.dk/sw7281.asp).

40 The organisational structure and other information on the department can be found at: Københavns Kommune, 'Beskæftigelses- og Integrationsforvaltningens organisation', [www.kk.dk/da/om-kommunen/forvaltninger/beskaeftigelses-og-integrationsforvaltningen/organisation](http://www.kk.dk/da/om-kommunen/forvaltninger/beskaeftigelses-og-integrationsforvaltningen/organisation).

41 Københavns Kommune, 'Styrelsesvedtægt for Københavns Kommune af 12. juni 1997 Senest ændret den 20. september 2012 (2012)', <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:yPBvOTcjpHIJ:https://www.kk.dk/~//media/C0192DD8A725432191ED87CED296208A.ashx+&cd=1&hl=da&ct=clnk&gl=dk&client=firefox-a>.

42 Københavns Kommune, *2012 Status Inklusionspolitikken* (København: Beskæftigelse- og integrationsforvaltningen, 2012).

gen, like Denmark's other 97 municipalities, is measured through the local integration barometer mentioned earlier in this report, the municipality has developed its own instrument as well. While the municipal integration policy refers to it as an 'integration barometer', the website refers to it as an 'inclusion barometer'—thus emphasising inclusion rather than integration.<sup>43</sup> Copenhagen's barometer measures efforts to reach eight goals. These goals reflect a focus on inclusion and a mainstreamed, nondifferentiating approach.

The total budget for Copenhagen's inclusion efforts amounted to approximately 78.7 million euros (or 587 million DKK) in 2012.<sup>44</sup> It should also be mentioned that Copenhagen has participated in the European network of cities for local integration policies for migrants (CLIP), a network of cities and research institutes with a strong focus on research on integration policies.<sup>45</sup>

In sum, Copenhagen has a mainstreamed approach to immigrant integration—in practice, if not on paper. As is done at the national level, the city government balances a general (mainstreamed) approach *and* targeted efforts. In the words of the international coordinator at the Department of Employment and Integration, mainstreaming is a 'double-edged sword'. Copenhagen obviously has made efforts to mainstream immigrant integration policies strategically and practically, but there remains some concern that mainstreaming can become an excuse for shirking responsibility for integration and avoiding the efforts needed to address concrete problems.

Context-specific problems may require targeted responses. The international coordinator interviewed expressed the concern that specific groups may face problems not addressed by the mainstreamed approach. Targeting may be avoided for political reasons—e.g., not wanting to stigmatise groups by singling them out—or for economic reasons like insufficient resources for 'hand-held' approaches. (The economic rationale was also noted by some interviewees in the municipality of Aarhus.) In the international coordinator's assessment, it might be too early to undertake comprehensive mainstreaming. She also cited concerns about coordination and focus that were addressed at the national level, but underlined the strong coordination structures already in place at the municipal level in Copenhagen.

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*Copenhagen has a mainstreamed approach to immigrant integration—in practice, if not on paper.*

## 2. Aarhus

Aarhus has explicitly mainstreamed immigrant integration into the general policy framework. As can be argued for Copenhagen, Aarhus has chosen this strategy to improve its integration efforts. Underlying this is a belief that integration can only be achieved if it is integrated into all aspects of governance. In large municipalities such as Aarhus, this belief may be founded on staff members' experience interacting with citizens on a daily basis. It is reflected in policy documents published by the city, as well as in interviews with municipality representatives.<sup>46</sup>

Aarhus developed an integration policy in 1996—the first municipality to do so, and in advance of national policy development. The policy was subject to ongoing revision until 2004, when efforts were made to draft a completely new policy framework. This process involved commissioning an expert think tank, study trips to England, and citizen participation. The new policy was decided and implemented in 2007.<sup>47</sup> Today the main objective is to 'strengthen cohesion' and facilitate the participation of everyone in society and promote respect for fundamental values. Current integration policy focuses on four target areas—social citizenship, antidiscrimination, education, and employment and housing—which are pursued through strategies of mainstreaming, civic participation in decision-making processes, and service differentiation:

43 Inklusionsbarometret, 'Viden om inklusion og mangfoldighed i København', [193.169.154.149/bif/integrationsbarometer/sider/default.aspx](http://193.169.154.149/bif/integrationsbarometer/sider/default.aspx).

44 Københavns Kommune, *2012 Status Inklusionspolitikken*, 25.

45 Eurofound, 'European Network of Cities for Local Integration Policies for Migrants', [www.compas.ox.ac.uk/fileadmin/files/Publications/Briefings/B-08-19\\_CLIP%20briefing.pdf](http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/fileadmin/files/Publications/Briefings/B-08-19_CLIP%20briefing.pdf).

46 See footnote 29 for a list of interviewees.

47 Aarhus Kommune, *Integrationspolitik—Medborgerskab skaber sammenhængskraft* (Aarhus: Aarhus Kommune, 2007); interview with city official.

*‘To strengthen cohesion in the local community of Aarhus and ensure that everybody—regardless of ethnic or cultural background—participates as active citizens with respect for fundamental democratic values. Ethnic minorities must have the same opportunities, rights and duties as other citizens of the city’.*<sup>48</sup>

Two concepts are important here. First, Aarhus defines mainstreaming integration policy as ‘[a strategy] to integrate integration in any task solution effectively creating equal opportunities for all in the existing general approach. As a result, integration should be a natural focus for all employees and managers in Aarhus Municipality’.<sup>49</sup> The individual departments are responsible for assessing their general efforts and determining whether these contribute to the creation of effective equal opportunities. Such efforts are also discussed in evaluation reports,<sup>50</sup> whose frequency may reflect shifts in political context.

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### *Aarhus developed an integration policy in 1996—the first municipality to do so, and in advance of national policy development.*

A second important concept is that of service differentiation. This is the municipality’s term for the concept that different groups of citizens have different preconditions and needs. These differences must be addressed to be able to create parity and equal opportunities. Consequently, it is necessary to target the service provided. It should be emphasised that this does not imply that the level of service differs but that the service itself does (an idea inspired by Aarhus’s participation in the Urbact programme).<sup>51</sup> To identify particular needs, the notion of civic participation comes into play. This is inspired by lessons from the United Kingdom. Creating platforms for dialogue between the municipality and immigrant actors is one such lesson. Civic participation is encouraged through formal and informal networks, through meetings and hearings, and by welcoming citizen involvement in policy formulation and implementation.

Hence, mainstreaming and service differentiation efforts are interrelated. Municipalities seek to achieve parity between citizens and equal opportunities by integrating special needs (that require targeted efforts) into the general policy framework (i.e., service differentiation). They rely on the participation of citizens and, during the process, ensure that unintended discrimination does not occur. In sum, Aarhus has developed a very deliberate approach to mainstreaming immigrant integration.

The integration policy specifies goals and effects across the four mentioned target areas. Those of employment and education must align with each other, and coordinate with national policies and goals. Like Copenhagen, Aarhus measures performance using both the municipal-level barometer used across Denmark as well as its own, customized to the city’s unique circumstances.<sup>52</sup> These barometers provide an overview of progress that informs and supports increasing civic participation.

Integration policy is overseen by the Department of the Mayor, which is also responsible for coordination and implementation.<sup>53</sup> The municipality is divided between different municipal authorities. The Authority on Social Relations and Employment (Magistratsafdelingen for Sociale Forhold og Beskæftigelse, or MSB)<sup>54</sup> includes the Employment Department. Citizens receive services in job centres that are divided into a number of subsections, of which one focuses on integration.<sup>55</sup> The target area of education is dealt with by the Department of Pedagogical Issues and Integration.<sup>56</sup>

Interviews with personnel from various departments reveal some of the same assessments of mainstreaming that were found at the national level and in Copenhagen. Aarhus is an interesting case, however, because it has explicitly chosen

48 Ibid., 5.

49 Ibid., 7.

50 Aarhus Kommune, *Medborgerskab skaber sammenhængskraft Aarhus Kommunes Integrationspolitik Evaluering 2011/2012* (Aarhus: Aarhus Kommune, 2011-12). The evaluation also provides a large number of smaller and larger initiatives that are listed as best practices in mainstreaming immigrant integration in several target areas.

51 Aarhus participated in the Citiz@move, a network of 20 cities working to promote citizen participation with a focus on integration and diversity (under the URBACT—a European programme funded by the European Regional Development Fund [ERDF]). See also Jørgensen, ‘The Institutional Dynamics’.

52 Aarhus Kommune, ‘Integrationsbarometer’, [www.aarhus.dk/da/politik/Politikker-og-planer/Mangfoldighed/Integrationspolitik/Integrationsbarometer.aspx](http://www.aarhus.dk/da/politik/Politikker-og-planer/Mangfoldighed/Integrationspolitik/Integrationsbarometer.aspx).

53 Aarhus Kommune, ‘Borgmesterens Afdeling’, [www.aarhus.dk/da/omkommunen/organisation/BorgmesterensAfdeling.aspx](http://www.aarhus.dk/da/omkommunen/organisation/BorgmesterensAfdeling.aspx).

54 Aarhus Kommune, ‘Sociale Forhold og Beskæftigelse’, [www.aarhus.dk/da/omkommunen/organisation/Sociale-Forhold-og-Beskaeftigelse.aspx](http://www.aarhus.dk/da/omkommunen/organisation/Sociale-Forhold-og-Beskaeftigelse.aspx).

55 Jobcenter Aarhus, *Beskæftigelsesplan 2012 for Jobcenter Aarhus* (Aarhus: Aarhus Kommune, 2012).

56 Aarhus Kommune, ‘Pædagogik og Integration’, [www.aarhus.dk/da/omkommunen/organisation/Boern-og-Unge/PA/PI.aspx](http://www.aarhus.dk/da/omkommunen/organisation/Boern-og-Unge/PA/PI.aspx).

a strategy of mainstreaming. Local officials regard this as a potentially powerful strategic tool that can make a difference. The problems cited again relate to coordination, responsibility, and maintaining focus. It is important to have strong coordination to make the responsibility for each task transparent.

As previously noted, it is difficult to identify the effects of a mainstreaming strategy, since results can be explained by any number of factors and circumstances. While the Aarhus City Council unanimously decided to launch a mainstreaming approach, the interviewees cite obstacles to communicating this approach across all municipal units and levels. They point to mainstreaming as being both a normative point of departure and a practical tool.

As in Copenhagen, they regard the choice between having one general approach and smaller, targeted approaches as a balancing act. A fully mainstreamed approach—i.e., one that employs no targeted initiatives—would make it impossible to create parity and equal opportunities for the simple reason that all citizens are not alike.

A development consultant from the municipality of Arhus and other interviewees regard efforts to mainstream immigrant integration as connected to a general focus on inclusion (not only of immigrants and ethnic minorities but, for instance, of children with special needs within the regular school system).<sup>57</sup> This trend is seen at the national level, in both economic and inclusion-related goals. One practical benefit is that costs may be downsized by integrating special groups within the regular framework. From an ideological perspective, special groups may be best serviced within the broader policy framework, and this approach may lead to a more inclusive society. For example, placing children diagnosed as having an attention deficit disorder in regular classes instead of in special classes reflects this philosophy. Mainstreaming is further motivated by a belief that targeted efforts in themselves can be exclusionary, and that they remove the ‘diversity that benefits all’ within the mainstream system.

A consultant from the Department of Pedagogical Issues and Integration discussed interesting dynamics relevant to integration, education, and mainstreaming. She regards the work as a combination of bottom-up and top-down approaches. Some initiatives now mainstreamed broadly within the education policy framework grew out of smaller, targeted initiatives (based on service differentiation). One example is an initiative to ensure that all teachers and pedagogues are competent in teaching Danish as a second language.<sup>58</sup> While this initiative has obvious benefits for bilingual children, an intensified focus on language benefits all children, regardless of mother tongue. A movement from specific to general policy was also cited by a chief consultant from Aarhus, who mentioned that the antiradicalisation strategy developed in Aarhus has now been partly transposed to a national level.

Aarhus’s approach to immigrant integration is thus a combination of national policies adapted to the local context, and the city’s own initiatives.

### C. Youth as a central focus

The government and the Ministry of Children and Education have launched a so-called 95 per cent target<sup>59</sup> aimed to equip Denmark to leverage the opportunities afforded by the global economy. The annual, recurring goal is that 95 per cent of all eligible people complete their secondary education. This target is embedded—or mainstreamed—into the education and employment policy frameworks; e.g., if a young adult who has not completed a secondary education is dependent on social benefits, then the goal is to prepare that person to complete it. The aforementioned social security reform is an example of how the focus on youth is given priority (again in relation to employment and education).

In both Copenhagen and Aarhus, youth are specifically addressed by several policy goals. As on the national level, integration within the school system (and in acquiring language competences) is believed to be essential for citizenship, participation, and (future) employment. An ongoing gap between the school completion rates of immigrants and their Danish-origin remains a prevailing concern.<sup>60</sup> Preparing youth for jobs has been a policy priority since the early 1990s; since, related initiatives have grown to target immigrants and their descendants. The general focus on youth, and its relevance to young immigrants, will be discussed further in the next section.<sup>61</sup>

57 In Danish the word *rummelighed* is used to describe this tendency, e.g., the reconfiguration of the labour market to accommodate persons with special needs, disabilities, etc. The word is difficult to translate but refers to a broad definition of inclusiveness across categories of differentiation (gender, class, ethnicity, religion, etc.).

58 The initiative is also outlined in the status evaluation of 2011-12: Aarhus Kommune, *Medborgerskab skaber sammenhængskraft Aarhus Kommunes Integrationspolitik Evaluering 2011/2012*.

59 Undervisningsministeriet, ‘95-procent-målsætning’, [www.uvm.dk/i-fokus/95-procent-maalsaetning](http://www.uvm.dk/i-fokus/95-procent-maalsaetning).

60 Social- og Integrationsministeriet, *FAKTA OM INTEGRATION Status og udvikling*, chapter 3.

61 It should also be mentioned that youth are given special attention in social cohesion policies (outside the scope of this study) at a national and local level.

### III. KEY MAINSTREAM POLICY AREAS AND THEIR IMPACT ON YOUTH OF IMMIGRANT ORIGIN

#### A. Education policy

The Ministry of Children and Education is responsible for designing Denmark's overall policy framework for early childhood, primary, and secondary education. (The Ministry of Science, Innovation, and Higher Education is—as the name indicates—responsible for higher education, an area outside the scope of this study.) Denmark's five regions have relatively little jurisdiction in the general area of education,<sup>62</sup> though policies are implemented at the local level. Municipalities have a large degree of independence in creating and implementing policies within the larger framework designed and set by the national government.

The Ministry of Children and Education issues recommended curriculum guidelines for each subject; most schools follow these, although they are not mandatory. Schools are permitted to prepare their own curricula as long as they meet the targets set by the ministry, and they have autonomy in adjusting curricula and textbooks to the needs and interests of a diverse population.

Immigrant integration is, first and foremost, related to learning Danish as a second language so that each pupil acquires the necessary competence to complete primary and secondary education.<sup>63</sup> There is a strong focus on this issue, from early childhood to the completion of secondary school.<sup>64</sup> Pupils who need support upon admission to public school but are able to participate in mainstream education receive supplementary instruction in Danish as a second language.<sup>65</sup> The Ministry of Children and Education developed new material in 2009 to strengthen the teaching of Danish as a second language.<sup>66</sup> In 2008, the so-called Bilingual Task Force (*Tosprogs-Taskforce*) was established.<sup>67</sup> This initiative, headed by the Education Support Authority under the Ministry of Children and Education, offers instruments, knowledge, and guidance to schools and municipalities that want consultation and help in language instruction. The funding was prolonged in 2012 so that the initiative would continue until 2015.

The Ministry recently launched a new experiment—the 'reintroduction' of mother-tongue education to first- and fourth-grade pupils in more than 200 schools across the country—under the heading 'common language understanding' (*almen sprogforståelse*).<sup>68</sup> Schools where bilingual students make up more than 10 per cent of the total population can participate in the experiment. The initiative addresses Turkish and Arabic speakers only. The Ministry does not make use of the existing research literature to explain or legitimise the initiative, but seeks to understand how mother-tongue instruction can affect the learning of mathematics and other topics. The hope is that mother-tongue instruction will promote inclusion, student motivation, and self-esteem, and the joy of going to school. From a mainstreaming perspective the rationale is to integrate mother-tongue instruction into regular classes by providing more teachers.

The goal of ensuring that 95 per cent of those eligible complete secondary education every year can also be regarded

62 They are responsible for the area of 'special education', i.e., education of the speech, hearing, and sight impaired. See Danske Regioner, 'Specialundervisning', [www.regioner.dk/Social/Specialundervisning.aspx](http://www.regioner.dk/Social/Specialundervisning.aspx).

63 Undervisningsministeriet, 'Sprogvrdering af børn', [www.uvm.dk/Uddannelser/Folkeskolen/Fakta-om-folkeskolen/Skolestart/Sprogvrdering-i-boernehaveklassen](http://www.uvm.dk/Uddannelser/Folkeskolen/Fakta-om-folkeskolen/Skolestart/Sprogvrdering-i-boernehaveklassen); BEK nr 31 af 20/01/2006 Gældende, Bekendtgørelse om folkeskolens undervisning i dansk som andetsprog, 31-01-2006.

64 As noted earlier, the social security reform illustrates a general policy focus on Danish-language competence that goes beyond children.

65 For more on the educational support of immigrant children, see European Commission, *Study on Educational Support for Newly Arrived Migrant Children: Case Study Report Denmark*, written by Public Policy and Management Institute (PPMI) case author Martin Bak Jørgensen (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2013).

66 Undervisningsministeriet, *Fælles Mål 2009: Dansk som andetsprog*, Faghæfte 19 (København: Undervisningsministeriet, 2009).

67 Tosprogs-taskforce, 'Styrk sproget—og løft fagligheden for tosprogede børn og unge', [www.tosprogs-taskforce.dk](http://www.tosprogs-taskforce.dk).

68 Undervisningsministeriet, 'Nyt forsøgsprogram med modersmålsbaseret undervisning', [www.uvm.dk/~UVM-DK/Content/News/Udd/Folke/2013/Jan/130125-Nyt-forsoesprogram-med-modersmaalsbaseret-undervisning](http://www.uvm.dk/~UVM-DK/Content/News/Udd/Folke/2013/Jan/130125-Nyt-forsoesprogram-med-modersmaalsbaseret-undervisning). Alongside this project, another directly targeted Turkish- and Arabic-speaking pupils in first grade; mother-tongue instruction was coupled with classes in math, etc.

as a mainstreaming of integration efforts and part of the nation's overall integration strategy.<sup>69</sup> The 95 per cent goal seeks to combat structural unemployment and inequality. Statistics show that school leavers never catch up with their peers' wage level. Structural changes in the globalised labour market likewise have led to a decline in unskilled jobs, implying that a person without a formal education will face difficulties finding employment—and risk becoming dependent on welfare benefits in the long term.

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*Denmark's overall labour market policy aims to reduce the recipients of social benefits, hence the 95 per cent goal is a central political aim shared by all political parties.*

Denmark's overall labour market policy aims to reduce the recipients of social benefits, hence the 95 per cent goal is a central political aim shared by all political parties. Yet it must be adapted, and implemented, at the municipal level. In 2012, a ministerial committee was responsible for developing a strategy on how to reach this goal.<sup>70</sup> The committee placed special focus on reducing the dropout rates at vocational schools, where male ethnic-minority youth had particularly high dropout rates compared with their Danish peers (see below).<sup>71</sup> This gap has been persistent over the years and is therefore of particular concern at both the national and municipal level. The ministry has developed a number of initiatives to strengthen integration within the vocational education system.<sup>72</sup> Some of the initiatives address all youth and some target bilingual students specifically.

## 1. Professional orientation, career counselling

Youth and regional guidance centres help students transition from one educational level to another. These may be designed differently in different municipalities. In vocational education, mandatory individual education plans signed by the student, a parent, and a guidance counsellor are used to support students in making more conscious and well-founded educational choices.

## 2. Internships and apprenticeships

There have been some studies on ethnic minorities' access to internships and apprenticeships. Line Vikkelsø Slot has studied discrimination in apprenticeship agreements between consultants from vocational schools and actors in the private market.<sup>73</sup> Such apprenticeships are required by vocational schools, and thereby to enter the labour market in a given trade profession. The dropout rate among students with an ethnic minority background is almost 60 per cent<sup>74</sup>, which has been explained by the fact that they have particular difficulty finding apprenticeships. This situation has been only compounded by the global economic downturn. In December 2008 one out of two ethnic Danes got an apprenticeship, compared to an apprenticeship for almost all in 2007.<sup>75</sup> For immigrants, the odds were worse. In 2008, only one in six got an apprenticeship, compared to one in five in 2007.<sup>76</sup> These numbers may imply a degree of hidden discrimination affecting those of minority ethnicity.<sup>77</sup> Overall, the high dropout rate in vocational schools explains why

69 Regeringen, *En styrket integrationspolitik*, 8.

70 Ministeriet for Børn og Undervisning, 'Kommissorium for ministerudvalget for ungdomsuddannelser', 2012, [www.uvm.dk/Aktuelt/~/\\_UVM-DK/Content/News/Udd/Gym/2012/Feb/~/\\_media/UVM/Filer/Udd/Gym/PDF12/120216%20kommissorium%20for%20ministerudvalg.ashx](http://www.uvm.dk/Aktuelt/~/_UVM-DK/Content/News/Udd/Gym/2012/Feb/~/_media/UVM/Filer/Udd/Gym/PDF12/120216%20kommissorium%20for%20ministerudvalg.ashx).

71 Undervisningsministeriet, 'Integration i erhvervsuddannelserne', [www.uvm.dk/Uddannelser-og-dagtilbud/Erhvervsuddannelser/I-fokus-paa-erhvervsuddannelsesomraadet/Integration-i-erhvervsuddannelserne](http://www.uvm.dk/Uddannelser-og-dagtilbud/Erhvervsuddannelser/I-fokus-paa-erhvervsuddannelsesomraadet/Integration-i-erhvervsuddannelserne).

72 Undervisningsministeriet, 'Hold fast!—Initiativer til fastholdelse af tosprogede og praktisk orienterede unge i erhvervsuddannelserne', Undervisningsministeriets temahæfteserie nr. 10 (2006), København, Undervisningsministeriet.

73 Line Vikkelsø Slot, 'Barrierer ved anvisning af praktikpladser', in *Indvandrerne og det danske uddannelsessystem*, ed. Torben Tranæs (København: Rockwoolfondens Forskningsenhed/Gyldendal, 2008). Also Ruth Emerek and Martin Bak Jørgensen, *Country Report 2 2010 on Employment, Ethnicity and Migrants Denmark* (Brussels: European Commission, Network for Socio-Economic Experts in the Anti-Discrimination Field, 2010).

74 EMU Danmarks Undervisningsportal, 'Mere om Brug for alle unge', *Brug For Alle Unge*, 2007.

75 Line Vikkelsø Slot, 'Barrierer ved anvisning af praktikpladser', in *Indvandrerne og det danske uddannelsessystem*, ed. Torben Tranæs (København: Rockwoolfondens Forskningsenhed/Gyldendal, 2008).

76 Ibid.

77 Vikkelsø Slot's study is based on a concrete case: a student discovered that the list of companies seeking students for apprenticeships had a number of companies marked with the note 'do not want P'. The P stands for *perker*—a derogative and

many integration initiatives target vocational education.<sup>78</sup> The Ministry of Children and Education and other authorities have developed tools and informational materials to support both apprenticeship seekers and the institutions that hire them.<sup>79</sup>

### 3. Promoting school completion

The two main initiatives that support school completion are the Need for All Youth<sup>80</sup> (*Brug for alle unge*) and the Retention Caravan<sup>81</sup> (*Fastholdelseskaravanen*) campaigns. The first has the aim of encouraging more young people with immigrant backgrounds to start and complete a vocational education. The second was funded by the European Social Fund and based on collaboration between the former Ministry of Integration and the Ministry of Children and Education, but has now been terminated. The campaign worked with selected business schools to improve their retention of bilingual students by enhancing staff qualifications and increasing students' motivation. The instruments used included support for upgrading teacher competence, homework assistance, mentoring, co-operation with parents, the development of pedagogy, intensive learning, and more. The two campaigns developed materials and tools for promoting both school completion and return.

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*Embedding integration within education is one of four target areas in Copenhagen's inclusion policy.*

### 4. Parent participation in the school system

The Ministry of Children and Education provides funding to facilitate school-home cooperation in various ways. One is part of the initiative 'Stronger involvement of immigrant parents in primary schools' (*Styrket forældreinddragelse af nydanske forældre i grundskolen*), and its funding can be used to develop and test new approaches to school-home collaboration in order to strengthen bilingual students' academic and social skills.<sup>82</sup> In this area, the municipalities can also design tailored approaches.

### 5. Municipal approaches

Detailed accounts of how municipalities promote integration within the education field are outside the scope of this report. However, a few examples can be mentioned.

Embedding integration within education is one of four target areas in Copenhagen's inclusion policy. The point of departure is a belief that all children should have equal opportunity to participate. Again, this is linked to the goals of future employment and self-sufficiency, as education is seen as a prerequisite for entering the labour market.<sup>83</sup> The Children and Youth Department and Social Committee are responsible for carrying out this policy. Such integration

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prejudiced if not racist term used for immigrants from the Middle East and sometimes more broadly. The case was taken up by the Complaints Committee for Ethnic Equal Treatment (still functional at the time) and was found to be against the law. Related cases have been found in municipal employment agencies where job consultants have agreed to send only candidates with an ethnic Danish background.

78 In a study done by the Danish Institute of Governmental Research (Christophe Kolodziejczyk and Hans Hummelgaard, *Indvandreres og efterkommeres vej gennem de erhvervsfaglige uddannelser* [København: AKF, 2012]), the authors provide three explanations for (especially) ethnic-minority male youth not completing vocational school: their school competences are too weak, they do not receive the necessary support from their parents, and they have difficulties in finding an apprenticeship (necessary for completing their education).

79 EMU, 'Flygtninge og indvandrere'; Undervisningsministeriet, 'Integration i erhvervsuddannelserne'.

80 Brug for alle unge, 'Brug for alle unge', [www.brugforalleunge.dk](http://www.brugforalleunge.dk).

81 Brug for alle unge, 'Fastholdelseskaravanen', [www.brugforalleunge.dk/FastholdelsesTaskforce/Fastholdelseskaravanen](http://www.brugforalleunge.dk/FastholdelsesTaskforce/Fastholdelseskaravanen).

82 Ny i Danmark, 'Styrket forældreinddragelse af nydanske forældre i grundskolen', 2010, [www.nyidanmark.dk/da-dk/Integration/puljer/puljebeskrivelser/styrket\\_inddragelse\\_af\\_nydanske\\_foraeldre/styrket\\_foraeldreinddragelse\\_af\\_nydanske\\_foraeldre\\_i\\_grundskolen.htm](http://www.nyidanmark.dk/da-dk/Integration/puljer/puljebeskrivelser/styrket_inddragelse_af_nydanske_foraeldre/styrket_foraeldreinddragelse_af_nydanske_foraeldre_i_grundskolen.htm).

83 Beskæftigelse- og Integrationsudvalget, *Handleplan for Bland dig i byen*, 9.

efforts have two goals.<sup>84</sup> The first is to improve the level of academic competence and include children with special needs. The second is to be achieved through the so-called *Københavnmodel 2.0*, aimed at creating day-care institutions and public schools that reflect the ethnic and social composition of the city. Instruments include reserved spaces for bilingual children in institutions with few other bilingual children.

A new youth strategy came into force in 2013.<sup>85</sup> The subtitle of the strategy is ‘education and employment for all young Copenhageners’ and illustrates how integration, education, and employment are interrelated. The strategy draws on interdepartmental experience, the recommendations of a Youth Commission—commissioned by the Children and Youth Department in 2011—and the recommendations of a network of the six largest cities in Denmark.<sup>86</sup>

It is notable that *Københavnmodel 2.0* targets all children with linguistic challenges and not only those with ethnic minority backgrounds. The project manager describes it as follows: ‘The new model is not about ethnicity, or whether the child is bilingual. The interesting thing is that the children with the greatest linguistic challenges are offered a place in a class where there is a more linguistically sophisticated level than at the nearest school’.<sup>87</sup>

Aarhus, meanwhile, has a comprehensive system, dating back to 1977, for dealing with integration in the education system, and has developed a number of approaches and tools over the years.<sup>88</sup> The city launched an action plan in 1991-92 (*Handleplan for modtagelsesklasser*) with new principles and modes for distributing non-Danish speakers (*modtagelsesklasser*) across schools, responding to an increase in immigrant children. In addition to a policy on ‘recipient classes’—i.e., special classes for students learning Danish as a second language—Aarhus has used a system of referring such students to schools around the city since 2006.<sup>89</sup> Based on a decision by the city council and the *Act on Primary Education*, the municipality has decided that no more than 20 per cent of students in each school can require Danish linguistic support in any year. Thus, a school that is nearing this percentage must move pupils to another school qualified as a receiving school. The policy was evaluated in 2010, and it appeared to have led to improvements in language skills. Until third grade 77 per cent of children had a marked improvement, 14 per cent had expected improvement, and 9 per cent showed no improvement.<sup>90</sup> The evaluation also showed improvement in children’s overall academic skills, social skills, and well-being. What is also important is that the parents took part in the decision-making process, and evaluations showed that, in general, parents were very satisfied with the initiative.

In 2011 Aarhus created an action plan for how to meet the national 95 per cent goal.<sup>91</sup> The plan’s operation and organisation was located in the Authority on Social Relations and Employment and Department of Children and Youth. The action plan contains 23 concrete initiatives, including increased public-private partnerships, career counselling, mentor arrangements, role-model programmes, etc. Some of these initiatives are also outlined in the evaluation of the integration policy and described as best practices in mainstreaming immigrant integration.<sup>92</sup> During an interview, a consultant from the Department of Pedagogical Issues and Integration highlighted several successful initiatives, including ‘Suitcase Efforts’ (*Kuffertindsatsen*)<sup>93</sup> and ‘Read and Learn’ (*Læs og lær*).<sup>94</sup> The latter is interesting as an example of a bottom-up initiative, having started as a pilot project that was mainstreamed into a general approach. It targets all children, regardless of their mother tongue.

84 Børne- og Ungdomsforvaltningen, *BUU's handleplan til Inklusionspolitikken 2011-14*.

85 Københavns Kommune, *Ungestrategi 2013-15—Uddannelse og beskæftigelse til unge københavnere* (Københavns Kommune draft version, 2012), <https://subsite.kk.dk/~media/9D6D376C12484B2FA91C6573CC38B1CA.ashx>.

86 Consisting of experts, organisational representatives, business managers, and more, it had the mandate to examine and suggest how Copenhagen can fulfill the national 95 per cent goal.

87 Interview with Carsten Dahlerup, ‘Københavnmodel 2.0: Skeler ikke til etnicitet’, *Folkeskolen*, 15 August 2011.

88 A detailed account of both the municipal approach and an example of how the work is organised at the individual school level can be found in: European Commission, *Study on Educational Support for Newly Arrived Migrant Children*.

89 Aarhus Kommune, ‘Fordeling styrker elever sprog og trivsel’, Pressemeddelelse fra Børn og unge, 18 May 2010.

90 Brøndum and Fliess, ‘Evaluering af model for henvisning af skolebegyndere med dansk som andetsprog—baggrundsrapport’, 12 May 2010, [www.aarhus.dk/~media/Dokumenter/MBU/VI/6-18-aar/Skole/Evaluering-af-modtagerskoler/Baggrundsrapport.ashx](http://www.aarhus.dk/~media/Dokumenter/MBU/VI/6-18-aar/Skole/Evaluering-af-modtagerskoler/Baggrundsrapport.ashx).

91 Aarhus Kommune, *Sammen om uddannelse til alle unge—Aarhus Kommunes Handlingsplan for 95% målsætningen* (Aarhus Kommune, 2013).

92 Aarhus Kommune, *Medborgerskab skaber sammenhængskraft Aarhus Kommunes Integrationspolitik Evaluering 2011/2012*.

93 A project promoting language stimulation at home: Aarhus Kommune, ‘Forskningsprojekt: Eksperimentel undersøgelse af forstærkede indsatser over for børn med dansk som andetsprog i alderen 3-6 år’, [www.aarhus.dk/da/omkommunen/organisation/Boern-og-Unge/PA/PI/Indsatser-for-0-6-aarige-boern/Forskning-paragraf-11.aspx](http://www.aarhus.dk/da/omkommunen/organisation/Boern-og-Unge/PA/PI/Indsatser-for-0-6-aarige-boern/Forskning-paragraf-11.aspx). This project is among the initiatives to meet the 95 per cent goal.

94 One of the 23 initiatives of the action plan. The aim is to improve the ability of reading professional texts and thereby improving the competences for completing, for instance, vocational school training. See Aarhus Kommune, ‘Læs and Lær’, [www.aarhus.dk/da/omkommunen/organisation/Boern-og-Unge/PA/PI/Redskaber-og-inspiration/Sprog-og-laesning/Laes-og-Laer.aspx](http://www.aarhus.dk/da/omkommunen/organisation/Boern-og-Unge/PA/PI/Redskaber-og-inspiration/Sprog-og-laesning/Laes-og-Laer.aspx). See also the quality assessment report: Aarhus Kommune, *Kvalitetsrapport, Hovedrapport: Kvalitet og Sammenhængskraft i Børn og Unge* (Aarhus Kommune, 2012).

## B. Employment policy

Integration through employment has been a key priority for the past 15 years. Karen Nielsen Breidahl points to no less than 51 employment-directed initiatives targeting immigrants, initiated at the national level since the 1970s.<sup>95</sup> Twenty-nine of these were begun during the 2000s. Several of these initiatives can be regarded as mainstream since they target the general population, including immigrants and descendants of immigrants. Some target the general population but *de facto* affect immigrants, such as the so-called poverty benefits (including the starting allowance, a ceiling on social benefits, the 300-hour rule, and the introduction benefit).<sup>96</sup> In Nielsen Breidahl's assessment, immigrant integration through employment can be characterised as a balance between a general and a targeted set of policies. This has been the situation for the past few years.<sup>97</sup> She does not use the word 'mainstreaming', however, but makes a distinction between 'direct' and 'indirect' immigration policies when assessing employment initiatives, asking whether they target immigrants directly or indirectly. She points to a similar dynamic as that observed in Aarhus: a general employment policy was inspired and influenced by targeted efforts designed by INM to bring immigrants and immigrant descendants into employment, which were then transposed (and arguably mainstreamed) to the general employment approach at the time.<sup>98</sup>

In 2010 a new four-part agreement was made between the government, municipalities, and social partners to strengthen employment-directed integration.<sup>99</sup> This agreement is a framework law, meaning that it is up to the different actors to implement it at the local level. The Ministry of Integration launched a 'quality project' for Danish education, which included upgrading teachers' competences and developing new pedagogical tools and materials. A special pool for 'labour-market Danish' was established (approximately 3.5 million euros between 2010 and 2012), meant for people in or outside the labour market who had difficulties in maintaining their jobs due to language obstacles. Language courses were tailored to the needs of a specific workplace and could be applied for by the employer, the municipality, or the language provider.

The four-part agreement contains initiatives to strengthen the capacity of immigrants and their descendants to begin and complete their education, efforts to strengthen the employment rate of those arriving through family reunification channels, efforts to strengthen the competence assessment of the newly arrived, and efforts to focus on the quality of Danish instruction. The goal is, of course, to reduce the proportion of immigrants and descendants left outside the labour market, and reduce the gap between the employment levels of natives and immigrants. Employment is also believed to be a means for empowerment and an improved quality of life.

These goals are also pursued through recent initiatives of the Ministry of Employment (*Brug for alle*, 'Use for All') and of the Ministry of Children and Education (the 95 per cent goal). The efforts balance a general approach and differentiated/targeted approaches. A social security reform and integration injunction (both applicable to municipalities) illustrate how integration is mainstreamed into employment policies. Of ongoing initiatives, 'Use for All', managed by the National Labour Market Authority,<sup>100</sup> targets citizens in the match-3 category ('currently passive').<sup>101</sup> (It should be mentioned that a just-accepted social security reform will abolish these match-group categories. As the reform was passed in late April, it is not possible to include the changes in this study.) The restructuring of the match categories does not imply that the 'Use for All' initiative will terminate.

In short, the initiative brings together the resources from the previous rate-adjustment pool and new funding, and sets up a funding structure that the municipal job centres can apply for. 'Use for All' involves an introductory dialogue process, an interdisciplinary assessment, and the drawing up of individual plans for each citizen. The budget for the initiative is 15.4 million euros. The job centres are eligible for funding depending on their share of match-3-category

95 Breidahl, Når staten lærer; see chapter 4.3. For a list of political agreements within the area of employment from 2002-13, see the list at the Ministry of Employment: Beskæftigelsesministeriet, 'Politiske aftaler', [bm.dk/da/Aktuelt/Politiske%20aftaler.aspx](http://bm.dk/da/Aktuelt/Politiske%20aftaler.aspx).

96 The 300-hour rule stipulates that in order to receive social benefits, both partners in a family must have worked for at least 300 hours for the past two years. The number of hours itself has been subject to adjustment periodically. For more on 'poverty benefits' in general, see, for instance, an analysis of the (biased) effects on immigrants of the poverty benefits: Mette Blauenfeldt, Henning Hansen, and Adam Johansen, *Flygtninge på starthjælp* (København: CASAs forlag, 2006); Henning Bach and Brian Larsen Bjerregård, *300-timers-reglen: Betydningen af 300-timers-reglen for gifte kontanthjælpsmodtagere* (København: SFI, 2008).

97 Interview with Karen Nielsen Breidahl, 29 April 2013.

98 This was evident from the interviews she conducted in different ministries. She mentions in particular the impact on the broad agreement 'More People in Jobs' (Flere i arbejde) from 2002. See Beskæftigelsesministeriet, 'Aftale om Flere i arbejde', [bm.dk/Aktuelt/Politiske%20aftaler/Flere%20i%20arbejde.aspx](http://bm.dk/Aktuelt/Politiske%20aftaler/Flere%20i%20arbejde.aspx).

99 Dansk Arbejdsgiverforening, LO, Kommunernes Landsforening, Beskæftigelsesministeriet, Ministeriet for Flygtninge, *Indvandrere og Integration 4-partsaftale 2010 om styrkelsen af den beskæftigelsesrettede integration* (2010). København, Regeringen.

100 Styrelsen for Arbejdsmarked og Rekruttering, 'Brug for Alle', 23 April 2014, <http://ams.dk/Udbud-og-puljer/Puljer/Information%20til%20ansoegere/Puljer-med-ansoegningsrunde/Brug%20for%20alle.aspx>.

101 This category is defined as citizens deemed to have serious problems that imply they cannot work or participate in an employment-oriented effort.

citizens.<sup>102</sup> The centres must apply for the funding, however, which is different from the former structure, under INM, by which a number of smaller or larger funding pools were up for competition.

The main initiative targets all citizens, regardless of nationality and ethnicity, and solely depends on the match-group category. However, it is supplemented by initiatives that target immigrants. A strengthened employment-directed effort for unemployed and family-reunified immigrants (*En forstærket beskæftigelsesrettet indsats for ledige, ægtefælleforsørgede nydanskere*) is one such initiative.<sup>103</sup> This initiative had a budget of approximately 1.5 million euros and could be applied for by municipal as well as other actors, such as housing associations. Competences and funding from the pools administrated by the former Ministry of Integration have been transposed to this particular initiative.

The Ministry of Employment also launched a smaller effort (running from 2012 to 2015, with an initial budget of 1.2 million euros and approximately 2 million euros in subsequent years) that targets immigrants outside the social security system who are not employed.<sup>104</sup> The funding is to be used to identify members of this group, and to support language learning. The goal is to empower the target group and reduce the isolation they may be experiencing.

Meanwhile, the social security reform and early retirement and flex-job reforms are important instruments for increasing the employment rate of immigrants.<sup>105</sup> The social security reform addresses people under age 30 who are outside the labour market, and will have a particular effect on young immigrant men, as they are overrepresented in this group. Likewise, the early retirement and flex-job reform is believed to have a potential impact on immigrant integration; 20 per cent of all allocated early retirement pensions currently go to non-Western immigrants.<sup>106</sup> The reform stipulates that people below age 40 must attend a ‘resource course’ that maps their competences and qualifications before they are eligible to apply for early retirement.

The Danish regions are not responsible for implementing employment policies designed and set at the national level. They support special regional development initiatives.<sup>107</sup>

Instead, employment policies are implemented at the local level. In Copenhagen integration and employment are interlinked. This is due to a recent restructuring of governance. The international coordinator interviewed for this study explained that since many integration initiatives address the labour market, combining the two areas makes it easier to coordinate and develop an integration approach.

The goal of inclusion is also to be achieved in the labour market. As noted earlier, the overall goal is to reach ‘full engagement in the city and make Copenhagen the most-inclusive city with the world’s best job service’. Efforts toward labour market integration are managed by the Committee of Employment and Integration<sup>108</sup> under the Department of Employment and Integration. Improving integration through employment is one of the goals set out in the inclusion policy. Specific initiatives designed to meet the overall goal include: combating direct and indirect discrimination in companies, and strengthening the language skills of ethnic minorities in need of this. The Committee for Employment and Integration also has its own action plan to support relevant parts of the Inclusion Plan.<sup>109</sup> The initiatives supporting the labour market integration of immigrants can be characterised as a balance between a mainstreamed and targeted approach, as elsewhere.

The labour market integration of immigrants is also part of the general employment and social policy in Aarhus.<sup>110</sup> A strategy paper for employment, passed by the city council in 2012,<sup>111</sup> outlines four main target areas: promoting faster reintegration into the labour market; supporting the unemployed at the edge of the labour market (marginalised, excluded, and vulnerable groups); encouraging youth to enrol in education or employment; and ensuring more immigrants and descendants of immigrants enter employment. These goals also correspond to the ministerial goals stipulated for job centres, as mentioned previously. Both the written strategy plan and the interviewed officials from the

102 Information on the maximum funding can be found here: Arbejdsmarkedstyrelsen, ‘Tilskud til Brug for alle’, 6 June 2012, [ams.dk/Udbud-og-puljer/Puljer/Information%20til%20ansoegere/Puljer-med-ansogningsrunde/~/\\_media/AMS/Dokumenter/Puljer/Brug%20for%20alle/Bilag%201%20%20Tilskud%20til%20Brug%20for%20alle.pdf](http://ams.dk/Udbud-og-puljer/Puljer/Information%20til%20ansoegere/Puljer-med-ansogningsrunde/~/_media/AMS/Dokumenter/Puljer/Brug%20for%20alle/Bilag%201%20%20Tilskud%20til%20Brug%20for%20alle.pdf).

103 Styrelsen for Arbejdsmarked og Rekruttering, ‘Pulje for forstærket beskæftigelsesrettet indsats for ledige, ægtefælleforsørgede nydanskere’, [www.star.dk/sitecore/content/AMS/AMS/Udbud-og-puljer/Puljer/ledige-aegtefaelleforsoergede-nydanskere.aspx?sc\\_lang=da](http://www.star.dk/sitecore/content/AMS/AMS/Udbud-og-puljer/Puljer/ledige-aegtefaelleforsoergede-nydanskere.aspx?sc_lang=da).

104 Ibid.

105 Regeringen, En styrket integrationspolitik, 7.

106 Beskæftigelsesministeriet, ‘Reform af førtidspension og fleksjob’, <http://bm.dk/da/Beskaeftigelsesomraadet/Flere%20i%20arbejde/Reform%20af%20foertidspension%20og%20fleksjob.aspx>.

107 Danske Regioner, ‘Regionernes opgaver’, [www.regioner.dk/Om+Regionerne/Regionernes+opgaver.aspx](http://www.regioner.dk/Om+Regionerne/Regionernes+opgaver.aspx).

108 Københavns Kommune, ‘Beskæftigelses- og Integrationsudvalget’, [www.kk.dk/da/om-kommunen/politisk-organisation/politiske-udvalg/beskaeftigelses-og-integrationsudvalget](http://www.kk.dk/da/om-kommunen/politisk-organisation/politiske-udvalg/beskaeftigelses-og-integrationsudvalget).

109 Københavns Kommune, *Beskæftigelses- og Integrationsudvalgets handleplan for Københavns Integrationspolitik 2011-14* (København, 2011-12).

110 Aarhus Kommune, ‘Sociale Forhold og Beskæftigelse’.

111 Jobcenter Aarhus, *Beskæftigelsesplan 2012 for Jobcenter Aarhus*.

municipality of Aarhus emphasised that the goals are interrelated and overlap target groups. For example, it is possible to be a young, non-Western immigrant with a potential risk of falling out of the labour market.

The aim of reducing the number of immigrants on social benefits is ‘an integrated part of the other aims in the area of employment in the municipality of Aarhus, i.e., initiatives which support achieving the goals are targeted at citizens regardless of ethnicity’.<sup>112</sup> This is another example of how policies that affect immigrants are mainstreamed into the general policy framework. A main ambition is to empower citizens to be responsible for the course taken. In terms of mainstreaming it is stated that ‘efforts should take place as close as possible to the ordinary labour market and ordinary education system’.<sup>113</sup> Public-private partnerships are seen as promoting this aim. The national 95 per cent goal for secondary education is integrated into the overall strategy, and initiatives and instruments outlined in the 2011 action plan are integrated with employment efforts.<sup>114</sup>

### C. *Antidiscrimination policy*

Discrimination is not a strong focus at the national level.<sup>115</sup> Interviewees from the National Labour Market Authority, for example, stated that they did not have a particular focus on discrimination when designing labour market policies. This can be explained in different ways. The Danish labour market traditionally leaves its regulation to social partners. The rationale is that the actors closest to day-to-day ‘problems’ are those most suited to solving them. There is consensus among all political parties on this issue, and during the transposition of the European Union (EU) directives to national law, there was common agreement that it should be interpreted in a way that respected the Danish model of labour market regulation and the autonomy of social partners.<sup>116</sup> Meanwhile, even as the Danish development of an antidiscrimination framework has been driven forward by EU obligations, the government has been reluctant.

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#### *The Danish labour market traditionally leaves its regulation to social partners.*

The lack of a general prohibition against discrimination in the Danish constitution allows the state to promote the majority culture in specific areas such as religion (Denmark has a Lutheran state church). The constitution does, however, provide full political and civil rights regardless of faith and descent; personal liberty; and free and equal access to employment and business. Danish administrative law protects against discrimination according to the principle that equal treatment should be given in equal/identical cases and by the principle of proportionality. Denmark introduced acts prohibiting differential treatment in 1971 and 1996, and has implemented the two EU antidiscrimination directives (the Employment Directive and the Race Equality Directive) and an act leading to the establishment of the Board of Equal Treatment.<sup>117</sup> The establishment of the equality board did not change the legal architecture; Danish antidiscrimination legislation is still split into several acts, which have preserved a complex hierarchy of protection offered to different groups. Subsequently, differences in gender, race, colour, religion or belief, political views, sexual orientation, age, disability, and national, social, or ethnic origin are protected inside the labour market, whereas only gender and ethnic origin are addressed outside.<sup>118</sup>

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., 21.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>114</sup> Aarhus Kommune, *Sammen om uddannelse til alle unge*.

<sup>115</sup> See also the scores and explanation in the Migration Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), ‘Denmark’, [www.mipex.eu/denmark](http://www.mipex.eu/denmark). Karen Nielsen Breidahl analysed all employment initiatives from the 1970s till 2011 in her PhD thesis, and likewise come to the conclusion that discrimination gains little attention in these programmes and initiatives. Breidahl, *Når staten lærer*.

<sup>116</sup> *The Equal Treatment Directives of the European Union*. These directives prohibit discrimination, harassment, and victimisation on the grounds of racial or ethnic origin within and outside of working life (Council Directive 2000/43/EC); on the grounds of religion or belief, age, disability, and sexual orientation within working life (Council Directive 2000/78/EC); and on the grounds of gender or sex within and outside working life (Council Directive 2004/113/EC and the recast Council Directive 2006/54/EC). The Member States also have to establish or designate a body or bodies for the promotion of equal treatment on the grounds of racial or ethnic origin and gender or sex. See also Jørgensen and Emerek, ‘Ethnic Minorities among Other Minorities?’

<sup>117</sup> The Employment Directive (Council Directive 2000/78/EC); The Race Equality Directive (Council Directive 2000/43/EC); and Board of Equal Treatment (LOV nr 387 af 27/05/2008 Gældende). The antidiscrimination laws pertaining specifically to ethnic minorities include the law on ethnic equality and the law against differential treatment in the labour market. For more information see Ligebehandlingsnævnets, ‘Lovområder’, [www.ligebehandlingsnaevnet.dk/artikler/default.aspx?page=1166](http://www.ligebehandlingsnaevnet.dk/artikler/default.aspx?page=1166).

<sup>118</sup> Jørgensen and Emerek, ‘Ethnic Minorities among Other Minorities?’

There has traditionally been little room for NGOs and agencies working on antidiscrimination. Before the Board of Equal Treatment was established, the Complaints Committee for Ethnic Equal Treatment handled individual complaints of differential treatment on the basis of race or ethnic origin. It wound up at the end of 2008 when the Board of Equal Treatment was established by law.

An analysis of the four-part agreement of 2006 (between the government, employers in the municipalities, the regional level, and the private sector and labour unions) by Jørgen Goul Andersen and Karen Nielsen Breidahl illustrates that a lack of prioritized focus on discrimination poses a barrier to employment.<sup>119</sup> The issue at stake is low employment rates among immigrants.<sup>120</sup> Reasons often cited include a lack of education and language skills, of basic understanding of Danish working culture, and motivation to work. In other words, the barriers most often cited have been intrinsic rather than extrinsic (e.g., discrimination). That said, the fact that immigrants' enrolment in activation programmes exceeds their employment rates might point to problems in the employment system itself, such as statistical discrimination, etc. In the government's Integration Strategy from 2012, equal treatment is specified as one of nine priority areas.<sup>121</sup> The latest Action Plan for Equal Treatment discusses discrimination but frames the issue as a methodological rather than a pivotal societal problem.<sup>122</sup>

The problem of differential treatment is pressing, however. A recent study completed by LG Insight claims that job centres assess unemployed immigrants as weaker (in terms of competences and qualifications) than native Danes and provide them with poorer activation offers.<sup>123</sup> The job centres reject this conclusion, while labour market researchers confronted with the data confirm that discrimination may be a real problem. One conclusion that can be drawn from the discussion is that vulnerable and marginalised groups (including immigrants) may need a targeted approach to enter employment.

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### *There has traditionally been little room for NGOs and agencies working on antidiscrimination.*

Compared to the national level, combating discrimination is a key concern in the large cities of Copenhagen and Aarhus. In Copenhagen the international coordinator highlighted a shift in the terms of focus: in 2006 it was *discrimination*, then *equal treatment*. As in Aarhus, *inclusion* seems to be the current aim. To this end Copenhagen has several targeted initiatives to combat exclusion and discrimination,<sup>124</sup> and is, among other things, developing tools under the action plan of the Committee on Employment and Integration.<sup>125</sup> The efforts undertaken thus far are characterised by decentralised coordination, including cooperation with civil society organisations.

In Aarhus antidiscrimination is regarded as a prerequisite for a successful integration process, social cohesion, and citizenship. The focus area 'citizenship and antidiscrimination' is mainstreamed into all actions undertaken by employees and managers in the municipality.<sup>126</sup> As with the mainstreaming of immigrant integration, the point of departure is that people with different preconditions may face different barriers to so-called equal opportunities. To help them access these opportunities, municipalities may need to offer differentiated services and/or different channels of information. In other cases, services need not be differentiated.

Tools to combat discrimination, meanwhile, may be difficult to implement. Although the official word is that diversity is a resource, this may not be the widespread opinion of midlevel managers. To raise awareness, Copenhagen and Aarhus

119 Goul Andersen and Nielsen Breidahl, 'In-Depth Case study Denmark', in Bram Frouws and Bert-Jan Buiskool, *Migrants to Work Innovative Approaches toward Successful Integration of Third Country Migrants into the Labour Market: Final Report* (Zoetemeer, the Netherlands: Research voor Beleid, 2010), 199–211. The four-part agreement was introduced in continuation of several other initiatives targeted at immigrant employment during the mid-2000s (e.g., the introduction of the introduction allowance in 2002 and the integration policy 'A New Chance for Everyone' [*En ny chance til alle*] from 2005) (cf. Section 1 in this study).

120 Regeringen, DA, LO, KL, AC, FA, FTF, LH, SALA og Danske Regioner 'Firepartsaftale 2006 mellem regeringen, DA, LO, KL, AC, FA, FTF, LH, SALA og Danske Regioner (2006)', [www.nyidanmark.dk/resources.ashx/Resources/Publikationer/Andet/2006/aftaletekst\\_firepart.pdf](http://www.nyidanmark.dk/resources.ashx/Resources/Publikationer/Andet/2006/aftaletekst_firepart.pdf).

121 Regeringen, *En styrket integrationspolitik*.

122 Regeringen, *Handlingsplan om etnisk ligebehandling og respekt for den enkelte* (København: Regeringen, 2010). For a broader analysis of the Danish approach on antidiscrimination, see also Tore Vincents Olsen, *Discrimination and Anti-Discrimination in Denmark—Analysis of the Legal Challenges* (Hamilton: IST Press, 2008).

123 Ugebrevet A4, 'Jobcentre parkerer indvandrere bagest i køen', 4 February 2013, [www.ugebreveta4.dk/da/2013/201306/Mandag/forskelsbehandling\\_af\\_ledige.aspx](http://www.ugebreveta4.dk/da/2013/201306/Mandag/forskelsbehandling_af_ledige.aspx).

124 Københavns Kommune, *Bland dig i byen*.

125 Københavns Kommune, *Beskæftigelsesplan 2012*.

126 Aarhus Kommune, *Integrationspolitik—Medborgerskab skaber sammenhængskraft*.

hus have initiated various initiatives to increase intercultural competences among the staff in different areas. One example is the initiative ‘Solidarity for All’ (*Fællesskaber for alle*), a development project aimed at increasing competences for fostering inclusion in institutions, schools, and day-care facilities.<sup>127</sup>

## IV. CONCLUSION: WHERE TO FROM HERE?

The *European Handbook on Integration* recommends that (1) the perspective of immigrant groups should be incorporated into all policies at all levels of governance, (2) the institutions responsible for addressing the needs of the general population should ensure equal access to their services, and (3) government agencies should learn how to balance mainstreamed approaches with targeted measures when specific needs become evident. These three principles were reflected time and again in the interviews conducted for this study, both at the national and municipal level.<sup>128</sup>

At the national level, immigrant integration policy has been restructured away from centralised oversight. Both the responsibility and competences for policy coordination are now spread across various ministries and government levels, in recognition that immigrant integration is a multidimensional policy issue. The efforts are interlinked, however, in particular between the areas of education and employment. Although the term *mainstreaming* is not used, efforts relevant to integration are embedded within general operations and mainstream policy portfolios.

Efforts are ongoing, and the interviewees at the National Labour Market Authority emphasised the need for developing knowledge about successful policy instruments. Learning what works, how, and why is a slow process. A major challenge is maintaining focus and coordination, a concern expressed both at the national and local levels.

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*At the national level, immigrant integration policy has been restructured away from centralised oversight.*

Another challenge is ensuring harmonisation. At the moment there is an independent *Act of Integration*<sup>129</sup> and *Act on Active Employment Efforts*.<sup>130</sup> In the first of these, chapter 4 and 4a stipulate how municipalities should enforce integration programmes and introduction programmes for newcomers.<sup>131</sup> The *Act on Active Employment Efforts* likewise stipulates what municipalities should do to help citizens gain employment. Thus, two different acts have the same basic goal, but target different groups. This opens up various possibilities for the future, such as removing the targeted efforts and harmonising the relevant chapters of the two acts into one. Currently there is no intention to harmonise the acts, and targeted efforts remain in place. Changing this would be a political decision requiring parliamentary action.

The large cities of Aarhus and Copenhagen have undertaken a more deliberate approach to mainstreaming than found at the national level. One possible reason is that adapting national policies to the city level inspires a mainstreaming approach, as the multidimensional character of immigrant integration becomes evident when implemented. Daily interventions and public service provision for different groups of citizens makes it apparent that, if the aim is to create parity and equal access and opportunities, then citizens should not be treated alike. In sum, mainstreaming is to be found in both word and action in Copenhagen and Aarhus, the two municipalities covered by this study.

127 Aarhus Kommune, ‘Fællesskaber for Alle’, [www.aarhus.dk/ffa](http://www.aarhus.dk/ffa); Aarhus Kommune Børn og unge, *Kompetenceprojektet Fællesskaber for Alle... når pædagogik defineres som 'et møde mellem mennesker'...* (Aarhus kommune: Børn og Unge, 2013).

128 Jan Niessen and Yongmi Schibel, *The Second European Handbook on Integration for Policy-Makers and Practitioners* (Brussels: European Commission, 2007).

129 LBK nr 1071 af 16/11/2012 Gældende (Integrationsloven).

130 LBK nr 706 af 28/06/2012 Gældende.

131 The integration programme targets refugees and immigrants who came through family reunification channels, and consists of education in the Danish language; courses on Danish society, culture, and history; and— important for the discussion on harmonisation—employment-directed offers in the form of supervision, upgrading of skills, apprenticeships, and employment with salary support and mentor support. The integration programme is compulsory, and implemented through an integration contract. If the contract is breached, the immigrant may lose social benefits in part or in full. This contract is in force until the immigrant receives permanent residency. Meanwhile, the introduction programme is directed at labour migrants from outside the European Union, and at accompanying spouses, students, au pairs, and EU citizens coming to the country to either work or live. It consists of the same elements as the integration programme; however, the crucial difference is that the person has the right to participate (partly or fully) in the programme, but is not obliged to do so.

It may be difficult to evaluate the effects of a mainstreamed approach. While progress toward specific goals—e.g., lower immigrant unemployment rates—can be measured, it is difficult to assess which initiatives were responsible. In Aarhus, officials identify the best practices of mainstreaming, civic participation, and service differentiation as ways to enhance knowledge of what works.

Measuring outcomes is only one aspect of evaluating—and improving—the overall policy framework. As of now there is no formal internal evaluation of how mainstreaming processes are coordinated at the national level in Denmark; evaluating such efforts would be a valuable step.

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