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STVM01
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Do active labour market policies lead to social exclusion of non-western immigrants?

A Case Study of Denmark

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Abstract

This study analyzes how Danish policies aiming at active labour market participation aggravate the social exclusion of non-western immigrants. The study points out the necessity of investigating the success of active labour market policies not only through focusing on reduction in the number of unemployed immigrants, but also whether they alleviate social exclusion as claimed by Danish authorities. While the study takes account of active labour market policies' positive impact on reducing unemployment, it also claims that they compound social exclusion by imposing strict obligations on immigrants and deteriorating their citizenship rights. The study concludes that although Danish universal welfare state was established to provide all citizens with high access to public services, it has been gradually turning into a workfare regime. It is suggested that Danish governments should adopt labour market policies with less demanding obligations on and develop strategies for improving higher education attainments of immigrants.

Key words: Danish welfare state, active labour market policies, citizenship, non-western immigrants, social exclusion

Words: 9.354

Table of Contents

1 Introduction	1
1.1 Research Problem.....	2
1.2 Scope of the Study	3
2 Methodology	4
2.1 Single-Case Study	4
2.1.1 Selection of the Case.....	5
2.2 Text Analysis	6
2.2.1 Selection of the Texts.....	7
3 Theoretical Framework.....	9
3.1 Interrelation between Citizenship, Employment and Social Inclusion	9
3.1.1 Rights versus Duties.....	9
3.1.2 Participation and Empowerment	11
4 Activation Policies in Denmark.....	12
4.1 Analysis of Active Labour Market Policies	12
4.2 Analysis of Social Exclusion of Non-Western Immigrants	17
5 Conclusion.....	21
6 Bibliography	23

1 Introduction

In Western Europe the welfare state was a constituent of the social structure established in the aftermath of the Second World War. It is mainly acknowledged that the European welfare states experienced their golden age from the post-war period to the first oil crisis of 1973 (Abrahamson, 2010: 63). The oil crisis in the 1970s brought the success of welfare state into question and in 1981 OECD proclaimed that the welfare state was in crisis (ibid). During the 1990s, the welfare states of European societies faced with new challenges caused by processes developing from internal reasons, such as social and economic transformations (Jensen and Pfau-Effinger, 2005: 1). Social and economic changes in Europe were aggravated through the growing rates of unemployment in and migration to the European countries. In order to sort out those new challenges, the risk of poverty and social exclusion, many European welfare states were restructured in the 1990s (ibid: 2). “While poverty refers to a situation of insufficient resources indicated by low income, social exclusion is indicated by multidimensional disadvantage in areas such as housing, health, education, social relations and participation” (Abrahamson, 2003: 282).

During the recent decades, welfare policy has moved from a passive to an active direction in European welfare states through the development of diverse forms of activation policies so as to create active societies. In the transformation process of European welfare states, the activation of social protection has become one of the most significant changes in Europe and citizenship has thus emerged as a widely debated issue. In the context of citizenship, it is important to discuss how the conception of citizenship has been reestablished in response to changes experienced by welfare states. The aim of establishing an active society is to encourage active and self-reliant citizens capable of acclimatizing themselves to external conditions to tackle poverty and social exclusion (Jensen and Pfau-Effinger, 2005: 7; Larsen, 2005: 135). The notion of self-reliance consists of a focus on the individual and on the resoluteness to work, since it requires reliance on one’s own resources rather than those of others. In this respect, there has been an increasing prominence in Europe to governing societies via activating citizens by way of labour market participation.

Although active labour market policies are not new phenomena, today there is a thorough connection between labour market policy and social policy (Larsen, 2005: 136). In most European countries, the integration ideology being situated under welfare policies has altered its accent from social rights to employment as a necessary prerequisite for social integration and citizenship (Andersen, 2002: 178). Analysis of labour market policies demonstrates that one of the new dimensions of activation measures is that they are substantially addressed to non-western immigrants (henceforth, immigrants) excluded from the labour market. It is considered that unemployment and therefore poverty and social exclusion of immigrants are brought about by labour market prejudice and restrictions on

opportunities in the labour market. As a consequence of this consideration, since 1990s, the socio-economic inclusion of immigrants has been highly discussed and driven in terms of active labour market policies (Andersen et al, 2009: 274). Concisely, European welfare states regard active citizenship as the best way of preventing social exclusion, and therefore activation policies are at the same time developed as integration policies.

1.1 Research Problem

Today, all European welfare states experience new challenges to citizenship from migration apropos of integrating old propositions of equality with the dimension of ethnic diversity (Lister et al, 2007: 100). It means that the challenges to citizenship arisen by migration need tactful handling by policy makers. In order to find solutions to problems emanated from migration, most welfare states have adopted activation measures to establish the right set of circumstances for immigrants to make them aware of their rights and to promote integration with the major community of European societies in which they live. They encourage participation and a keen intuitive awareness of affiliation, for instance by dint of labour market strategies, social protection and education. Since citizenship of immigrants does not only mean the desirable civil, political and social rights, but also their active inclusion in the labour market and society (Andersen and Guillemard, 2005: 263).

Since 1990s, as a consequence of migration, debates on the deployment of minority groups and their social integration have become ever more significant in European welfare states. Long-term unemployment, insecure and low-paid employment, long-term reliance on low incomes, coming from an ethnic minority, and low levels of education increase the risk of poverty and social exclusion (Walker, 2005: 33). Especially, the impact of labour market exclusion among the unemployed immigrants is very significant. As immigrants who face unemployment and bigotry go through a painful period by being excluded from their society's major community. In addition, social exclusion of immigrants is also accelerated through labour market bias, laws and policies limiting residence and business opportunities for employment (Gradstein and Schiff, 2004: 327-8).

This study holds that unemployment and poverty are rings of the same chain that give rise to social exclusion. On the other hand, it accentuates that in order to understand the reasons of social exclusion of ethnic minorities in welfare states, it is necessary to analyze the implications of activation policies. The study conducts the Danish case to discuss the negative impacts on the social inclusion of non-western immigrants caused by policies intended for activation in the labour market. In this context, the research question is "How do Danish activation policies aiming at the improvement of labour market participation aggravate the social exclusion of non-western immigrants?" This research is based on the assumption that active labour market policies (henceforth, ALMPs) of Denmark

make the social exclusion problems worse and more serious through putting immigrants under strict obligations that transform the universal regime of Danish welfare state into a workfare regime and deteriorate citizenship rights.

1.2 Scope of the Study

Most of the researches with regard to activation policies analyze the success of ALMPs by putting emphasis on the number of unemployed achieving to find ordinary jobs subsequent to involvement in an activation programme. The foremost argument in this study is that this emphasis is insufficient. As, it would be a trivialization to disregard the obligations imposed on immigrants via activation policies and to portray the knotty way of leaving unemployment only in the context of increase in the number of the employed. This study therefore examines the impacts of Danish ALMPs, not only by statistical data on employment rates, but also by qualitative considerations on the exacerbation of social exclusion. In short, the departure point of this study is that analysis of ALMPs must incorporate the social impact rather than concentrating barely on employment, in particular when examining individuals confronted by problems besides unemployment (Breidahl and Clement, 2010: 846).

Activation policies in Europe could be designed in accordance with a liberal and a universalistic type (Barbier, 2005: 115). Following the Second World War, a universal welfare state has been established in Denmark, which aims to reach high levels of public services for all citizens. Danish authorities consider the development of ALMPs as one of the most suitable strategy to avert social exclusion. As a result, Danish activation policy has become as an essential constituent of its integration policy (Andersen et al, 2009: 282; Nilssen, 2006: 14). Since 1990s, OECD has promoted Danish active line as “best practice” in the areas of labour market and social policies in addressing poverty and social exclusion (Larsen, 2005: 135).

Nevertheless, the implications of Danish activation policies are contentious in increasing employment rates and averting social exclusion of immigrants. In this respect, examination of Denmark leads the study to develop a critical approach on the outcomes of activation policies and to reveal the fact that the impact of ALMPs on the social integration of immigrants is not always produce the desirable results planned and expected by the authorities. It is also important to hold that although the focus is to investigate the issue within the bounds of Denmark, this research is also applicable to analyze the success of other European ALMPs intended to integrate immigrants through active labour market and social participation.

2 Methodology

The research strategy opted for the investigation is a single-case study. Yin (2009: 4) considers that the particular requisite for case studies is the expectation to perceive the nature of complex phenomena. Once the phenomenon and the case are designated, the following essential measure is the congregation of data and the selection of methods.

2.1 Single-Case Study

A single case study explores in depth an individual, a group, a nation-state, a policy, a programme, or a process (Bryman, 2001: 53; Creswell, 2009: 13; Patton, 2002: 447). The reason behind the selection of a single case study is the nature of the research question, which aims to analyze and explore a particular economic and social phenomenon. A case study is carried out to be conducive to understanding of social, political and economic phenomena (Yin, 2009: 4). The case study design chosen for the research is instrumental case study which is conducted through first concentrating on a specific issue, and then continuing with selecting one “bounded case” to explain the issue in question (Creswell, 2007: 74). While the phenomenon of this study is “the adverse impacts of active labour market policies on the social integration of immigrants” occurred after the restructuring of welfare states since 1990s, Denmark is the case of this phenomenon.

The prospects of concluding comprehensive analysis stems from the advantages provided by the research strategy. Single case study helps the researcher to attain a detailed apprehension of a phenomenon in its context. Hence, this research design is based on an embedded analysis of a single case, which is a useful and an expedient instrument for centering on a specific case by making its detailed exploration (Creswell, 2007: 75; Yin, 2009: 52). The embedded case study in this study involves a subunit analysis in which all attention is given to a particular unit of a single case (Yin, 2009: 50). While the key unit is Danish active labour market policy in its entirety, the smallest unit is immigrants who are confronted by aggravated social integration problems as a consequence of this policy. An intensive investigation basically let the researcher obtain a thorough understanding that is unfeasible by the investigation of a large number of cases. The study of multiple cases diminishes the entire attention that can be given to any one of cases and thereby overshadows the strength of the research (Wolcott, 1992).

In order to carry out an embedded analysis of the Danish ALMPs, it is necessary to establish a multidimensional approach and therefore examine these policies from various perspectives. In this respect, the study explores the intricate interrelation between activation policies and social integration of immigrants, and ergo answers whether ALMPs aggravate the social exclusion of immigrants in the Danish society. Hence, it is aimed to benefit from a holistic account that produces an in-depth understanding of the compound phenomenon consisting of different parts (Creswell, 2009: 176). In this research, this purpose requires revealing multiple perspectives, defining and establishing the connection between different aspects involved in the issue under consideration, and roughing out the larger picture that becomes apparent (ibid).

2.1.1 Selection of the Case

A general criticism of a single case study research is that it can be vulnerable to “selection bias” (George and Bennett, 2005: 80). Such a bias occurs when case study researchers on purpose choose a case that gives grounds for their ideas established in advance. However, reasons behind the selection of the case have the potential to overcome such a drawback (ibid). In the course of the past decade, most European welfare states have established an activation policy in their unemployment policy and presented new active lines in their labour market and social policies (Larsen, 2005: 137). It is important to remind the fact that Denmark is considered as the most successful European welfare state in tackling destitution and social exclusion. This consideration justifies the necessity of analyzing the Danish active line in its real life context through an investigation into social implications of the ALMPs.

Although Denmark has one of the smallest immigrant population- around 7%-compare to other Western European countries, integration of immigrants into the labour market has been an important subject matter on the agenda of Danish governments due to increasing rates of immigrant population and the high chasm between the employment rates of immigrants and natives (Liebig, 2007: 4). In order to prevent the undesirable economic and social effects of immigration, what is expected by the authorities is integrating immigrants into the labour market and the society. In this economic and social integration process, investment in human capital is important to develop chances for long-term employment opportunities and also to strengthen the capacity of becoming adjusted to new conditions in the labour market and of competing with other members of the labour force. However, while the key aim of activation policy is to return people into employment by dint of improving the human capital, Danish welfare state coerces the unemployed into working and tries to discipline them.

Ethnic minorities from non-western countries are to a considerable extent considered as “second-class citizens” in terms of redistribution in Denmark (Andersen et al, 2009: 279). The percentage of immigrants and their offspring that are excluded from the labour market and that have low-skilled and low-paid jobs is higher than of native Danes (ibid: 280). As a result, it is seen that poverty rate is higher among ethnic minority groups than among natives. The 2005 study of

Morissens and Sainsbury demonstrates that immigrants in Denmark possess less satisfactory standards of living contrary to the majority ethnic citizens (cited in Lister et al, 2007: 86). The psychological impact of the degree of wealth and material comfort is important for the improvement of social integration. However, approximately 65% per cent of unemployed people in Denmark have social and personal problems (Larsen, 2005: 142). In particular, individuals belong to ethnic minority groups feel that they are not considered as equals (Andersen et al, 2009: 281).

Although the Danish active line has established a strong interrelationship between its labour market strategies and integration policies, the outcomes are quite questionable concerning the achievement of intended objectives. In this context, it is necessary to ask whether Danish activation policy contributes to socially excluded and unemployed people in improving their employment opportunities and eliminating their social integration problems. The situation in Denmark tells that shortfalls in the Danish ALMPs create problem-ridden immigrants and cause economic and social exclusion. Concisely, consideration of the Danish active line as the best practice among the European welfare states makes this research an essential requirement. Since analysis of the Danish ALMPs and of their effects behind the aggravation of social integration problems will shed light to other welfare states, which pursue the same goals and thus follow the same policies.

2.2 Text Analysis

Following the establishment of a well-defined research aim and strategy, the next step is the selection of data and method for analysis. Research data can be acquired from various sources and analyzed by dint of various methods. It is important to bear in mind that choosing the best suitable methods and sources is an essential prerequisite for conducting a research. Since the more appropriate they are, the more potential they have to bring insight into the phenomenon under consideration (Gondo et al. 2009; May, 2001: 176). Text analysis of official government documents is chosen for this study in view of its capacity and sufficiency to carry out the research strategy. Since, the fulfillment of the single case strategy in this research requires the analysis of a “bounded system” (a case) via detailed and comprehensive data gathering, including the collection of documents as a source of information (Creswell, 2007: 73).

Text analysis in this study is conducted through the method of “qualitative content analysis”, which encompasses an exploration of key arguments in the documents related to the issue in question and therefore satisfies the concerns of the researcher (Bryman, 2008: 529). As Ericson holds, in the process of qualitative content analysis, the study pieces the appropriate data together to establish a disposition and a framework for the study so as to pave the way for analysis (May, 2001: 193). Official government documents are well-suited and helpful texts for the analysis of the matter at hand, as they have the potential to give

information about the policies and the social and economic problems introduced by the Danish state. It means that examination of government documents can acquaint us with aspirations and aims of the state concerning a particular phenomenon and a particular group of population. Since documents do not merely reveal, but also establish “social reality” and tell us many details about the societies (ibid: 183). For instance, they indicate the marginalization of specific groups of people (ibid) who are deprived of involvement in the labour market and not demanded while attempting to be re-employed (Abrahamson et al, 1986: 53).

The task of the researcher in this textually oriented analysis is to read and understand a text in its own right in terms of its own claims, adequacy and limitations and then to interpret it. This can be carried out through the contribution of secondary resources (May, 2001: 193). Even though the official government documents are the primary data materials in this study, previous academic researches and the relevant quantitative data available in the databases of OECD and Statistics Denmark are used as secondary material in a supplementary manner. Case study strategy of this research is based on more holistic method of data collection for examining the phenomenon and makes use of more quantitative approaches to gather data about the embedded unit of analysis (Yin, 2009: 63). In this investigation, secondary resources expose to what extent Danish ALMPs are successful in integrating the immigrants into Danish society and thus also increase the trustworthiness of the study that can be diminished through the biased views of the researcher. In this respect, this study necessitates the support of earlier studies for its underlying arguments. That is to say, an academic investigation must benefit from previous researches and must use them as a basis for further progress and development on the subject matter under discussion (Titscher et al, 2000: 12).

2.2.1 Selection of the Texts

The selection of documents connected to the research is definitely a time-consuming and a difficult phase. Even though states provide considerable amount of textual data that can be potential source for social researchers (Bryman, 2008: 521), finding out the right documents provides the study with the essential framework for analysis. Documents chosen for analysis are the ones, which were issued in a period after 2001 when the right-wing parties have come to power and Danish ALMPs have been reconstructed extensively. The investigation of the adverse impacts of ALMPs on the social integration of immigrants in Danish society is conducted by the key official government documents: *Danish Economy: The Danish Labour market and Labour market Policy (Ministry of Finance Autumn 2002)*; *Danish Economy: A Long-Term Projection of the Danish Economy. The role of immigration for the labour force. Integration of immigrants and their offspring (Ministry of Finance Autumn 2007)*; *Denmark's National Reform Programme (The Danish Government 2008)*.

Scott suggests four criteria for evaluating the quality of documents: authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning (cited in Bryman, 2008: 516; May, 2001: 189). The official character of the selected documents on the research

subject makes the data veritable and their aim of providing clarity in explaining the current circumstances and policies makes them easily comprehensible. Official documents can be considered as authentic in the sense of being genuine and as meaningful in the sense of being explicit and understandable to the researcher (Bryman, 2008: 521). However, the two other criteria for the assessment of documents' quality require to some extent a more careful selection.

The issue of representativeness gives rise to the question whether the documents represent the subject under consideration (ibid). The documents chosen for the analysis are in parallel with the research that relevant documents have been selected concerning the phenomenon. On the other hand, the issue of credibility leads to the question whether the selected documents are biased (ibid). A case study researcher may fall through by conducting the process of data collection under subjective set of ideas (Yin, 2009: 41). However, it is essentially significant to select documents independent of prejudices. In order to study with the documents that have the characteristics of representativeness and credibility, this research carries out the text analysis method through official viewpoints and related policies derived from the Danish state. The official nature of documents makes them considerable in their own right by reason of their own official claims and qualifications (Bryman, 2008: 521).

3 Theoretical Framework

In order to generate a methodical and an empirical research, it is imperative to construct the arguments under a theoretical framework. Since, empirical studies gain substance once they are introduced as a constituent of theory (Wendt, 1999: 5). The theoretical part intends to provide this study with empirical analysis of the nature of the phenomenon at issue by using the concept of citizenship. A theoretical approach to citizenship is invaluable to understand the implications of the active labour market policies on the deterioration of citizenship and the social exclusion of immigrants.

3.1 Interrelation between Citizenship, Employment and Social Inclusion

A conceptual framework that makes us expound and analyze the linkage between citizenship, employment, and social inclusion is necessary to understand the intertwinement between activation policy and social integration policy. This linkage is analyzed through two conceptual frameworks propounded by T. H. Marshall (social citizenship) and Jørgen Goul Andersen (active citizenship). The study investigates the changes occurred in the standpoint of Danish welfare state on citizenship in terms of rights and duties and of participation and empowerment of citizens.

3.1.1 Rights versus Duties

Citizenship is a contested concept that there is not a consensus among social scientists on the definition of citizenship. According to Marshall's theory, social citizenship inaugurates the central idea of a welfare state. He defines citizenship as "a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community" and introduces three dimensions of citizenship as civil, political and social (Marshall 1950, in Pierson and Castle, 2007: 30-4). Marshall considers welfare as an outcome of improving progress of citizenship rights. He roughed out how an equal status of citizenship was developed in the context of civil, political and social rights. He defines social rights as the basic feature of citizen rights and as the sine qua non of equal status (cited in Andersen, 2005: 76). In the opinion of Marshall, the main challenge to citizenship was the strain between class inequality

and equal status of citizens that could be regulated through widening of social rights which would make citizens closer to full citizenship (ibid: 77).

Marshall's account of citizenship considers social citizenship as a prerequisite for possessing an equal and a full membership that is gained by being associated with a community. In this sense, a welfare state can be defined as a state, which ensures the welfare of its citizens that are belonging to the same community (Abrahamson, 2009: 1). Although this community refers to "a nation state" in the past (ibid), today, it is essential to define the meaning and the nature of citizenship in line with circumstances established by globalization. Citizens in contemporary European societies belong to several ethnic minority groups. These groups' social exclusion based on their lack of belonging to the society is a significant obstacle to creating citizens who use their civic, political and social rights through active participation.

Marshall states that individuals who hold citizenship status are equal with respect to rights and duties (1950, in Pierson and Castle, 2005: 34). The social citizenship theory of Marshall promotes rights as the key instrument to consolidate integration in society. According to him, it is absolutely necessary for citizens to enjoy equal civil, political and social rights in order to fulfill integration in democratic states. Although Marshall gives place to duties in his discussion of citizenship, he attaches priority to rights rather than duties. He considers access to civil, political and social rights as a requirement for enabling individuals to carry out duties stems from their rights. However, emphasis on duties is the contemporary tendency in the integration policies of most European welfare states, which promotes active participation of immigrants though requiring rigorous obligations. Instead of considering access to rights as a prerequisite for carrying out duties attributed to citizenship, the accomplishment of duties is described as a stipulation for benefiting from rights. It means that members of welfare societies have to fulfill particular duties so as to deserve to enjoy the rights gained through citizenship.

Although Marshall's account of social citizenship is used as a framework for the analysis of citizenship, he has been criticized in many ways concerning the limitations of his theory. As Jensen and Pfau-Effinger (2005: 5) assert, rights and duties must be analyzed in relation to whether they cause a loss of citizenship, poverty, marginalization and exclusion. However, Marshall's study of citizenship development in Britain is not adequate to analyze the experiences of other European welfare societies. Since his theory lacks the analysis concerning the possibility of important changes in employment and in the profile of national communities. Marshall developed his account of social citizenship in a period when unemployment was not high and migration was not an issue that could create remarkable changes in European societies. In this sense, it is indispensable to dispute to what extent Marshall's idea of social citizenship can provide a framework for a myriad of political, social and economic transformations that have emerged over the past sixty years. That is to say, Marshall's approach to citizenship disregarded suppositions about the impact of labour market marginalization on the expansion of social marginalization (Anderson, 2005: 88).

3.1.2 Participation and Empowerment

Marshall's (1950) pioneering essay 'Citizenship and Social Class' frames the key aim of the welfare state as providing citizens with equal and full participation in all areas of civil, social and political life. However, European welfare states' move towards active citizenship has been "an emphasis on the personal responsibilities of individuals, their families and their communities for their own future well-being and upon their obligation to take active steps to secure this" (Rose, 1996: 327). As Andersen points out, although rights and duties are key features of citizenship it is also important to underline social participation which refers to integration into society, and political participation which refers to involvement in associations and tertiary groups (2005: 75-80). In this study, the lack of social participation can therefore be considered as a source of marginalization and social exclusion (Jensen and Pfau-Effinger, 2005: 5).

Andersen defines citizenship as "de facto full membership of society as citizens" (Andersen, 2005: 76). In the light of Andersen's definition of citizenship, it is important to ask this question: How equal citizenship can be fulfilled as a consequence of full membership of society? Whereas full membership refers to "empowerment and participation", citizens refer to "equal status" (ibid). In this sense, it can be argued that citizenship is about both full and equal citizenship, which emphasizes empowerment and participation. Andersen also holds that employment is a rudimentary prerequisite for empowerment and equality (ibid: 77). While empowerment denotes the ability to act independently as a citizen, equality denotes the capability to participate in social life as equal members of the society (Andersen, 2002: 179). In this context, it is necessary to ask whether unemployment prevents citizens from social participation and possession of equal social rights and thus causes social exclusion. Andersen considers employment as a significant mechanism for economic and social participation and thus the problem of unemployment as a challenge to citizenship. As a result, labour market policies are seen as fundamental instruments in increasing labour market participation and hence in tackling social exclusion and promoting integration (Mayes et al, 2001: xvi).

In addition, Roche says that the absence of equal status distinguishes society into first-class and second-class citizens (cited in Andersen, 2005: 76). Andersen sees immigration as a key challenge to full and equal citizenship and questions whether immigrants- citizens or not- become second-class members of societies (ibid: 77). According to him, the relation between labour market marginalization and social marginalization is one of the major issues in discussions on the capability of the welfare state to guarantee full citizenship (ibid: 84). In this respect, it is of the utmost importance to analyze how citizenship is deteriorated and social exclusion is worsened by Danish welfare state due to the duties imposed on immigrants through ALMPs.

4 Activation Policies in Denmark

Activation policies are interrelated with ALMPs in view of the fact that the key aim is to integrate individuals into the labour market by means of participation in activation programmes (Larsen, 2001: 6). Here, it is vital to examine whether labour market inclusion is the only instrument to provide full and equal citizenship. This research holds that social inclusion is another requirement for creating full and equal citizenship for nationals, either native or naturalized. It means that there is an inevitable interrelation between ALMPs and social integration, which has a decisive impact on ensuring full and equal membership in society.

4.1 Analysis of Active Labour Market Policies

Since the 1970s, high rates of unemployment have afflicted most Western democracies and thus, many national governments carried out ALMPs. Danish policies establish a mutual interaction between activation policies, improvement of labour market integration, and better economy. It is considered that while the active participation of immigrants leads to integration in the labour market on the one hand, their integration leads to economic sustainability on the other. The current fiscal policy planning of Denmark derives from the 2015-plan issued in 2007 (The Danish Government, 2008: 2). Denmark's National Reform Programme introduces that "higher employment"- which intends for new strategies that should increase the number of employed people by more than 20,000 until 2015- and "a sustainable public economy" are situated among the key aims of this policy (ibid: 6). The Ministry of Finance maintains that the integration of immigrants in the Danish society both assures a living standard equivalent to that of native Danes and enhances the economic sustainability (2007: 322). In this respect, it is held that attempts at expanding the labour force should focus attention on the integration of first and second generation non-western immigrants, since their labour market participation rates are below the average as a consequence of lower level of education and fewer years of work experience compare to ethnic Danes (Ministry of Finance, 2002: 13).

Migration to Denmark has a continuous increase since the Second World War and it is expected to increase more in impending years as long as globalization remains in existence. Figure 1 shows that even though the total population of immigrants and descendants is lower as opposed to native Danes, there is a higher

increase in the number of immigrants and descendants than Danes¹. In this sense, it is also important to reckon with the difference between the number of births given by the members of Danish majority and of ethnic minority groups. While the number of births given by women of Danish origin declined from 55,436 to 53,431 between 2007 and 2010, the total number for immigrants and descendants increased from 8,645 to 9,980 (Statistics Denmark, 2010). As a result, both growing migration and higher birth rates manifest itself as a gradual increase in the population of ethnic minority groups and in the number of these groups' labour market participation.

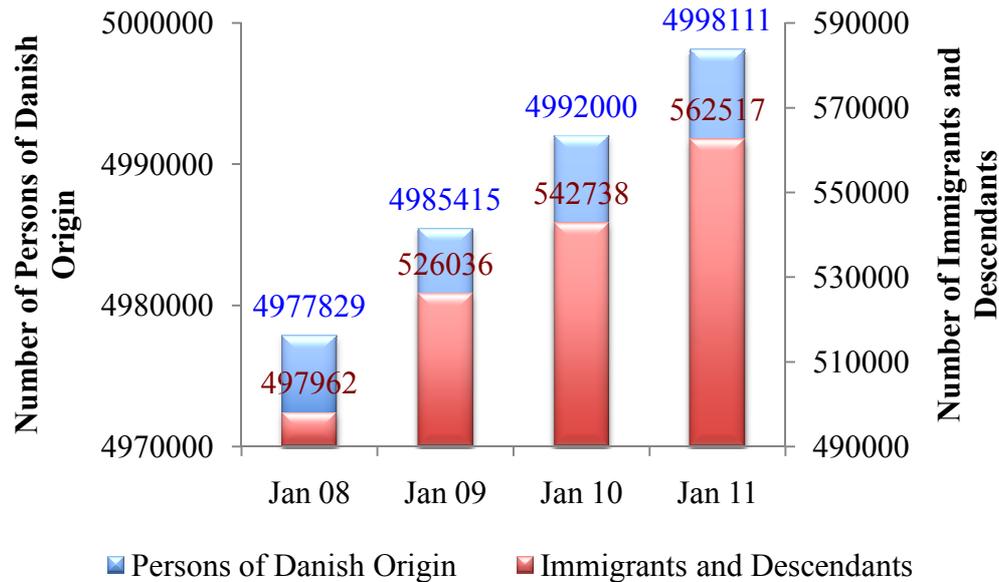


Figure 1 Number of immigrants and descendants in Denmark, Jan 2008-Jan 2011
Source: Statistics Denmark

The Danish Ministry of Finance holds that increasing number of immigrants in the labour force causes important challenges to the Danish economy (Ministry of Finance, 2007: 317). Nevertheless, it is important to bear in mind that a preventive measure can use migration as an advantage before it becomes a problem and causes challenges. This measure should be the use of immigrants' potentials and capabilities in the labour force through designing the right and effective policies, which provide economic and social integration. The Ministry of Finance pinpoints that immigration can improve the sustainability of the Danish welfare structure when structural unemployment is decreased and the higher educational capacities of immigrants contribute to high level of participation rates and of wages among immigrants (ibid: 319-20). Structural unemployment is the "unemployability of the least qualified workers under conditions of high minimum wages" that is exacerbated due to accumulation of unemployability caused by deprivation of qualifications (Andersen, 2002: 178). In this context,

¹ a) While an immigrant refers to a person born abroad whose parents are foreign citizens or were both born abroad, a descendant refer to a person born in Denmark whose parents are either immigrants or descendants with foreign citizenship (Statistics Denmark). In this study, descendants are called as immigrants as well. b) Figures and Tables were drawn by the author with the data collected from the databases of OECD Statistics and Statistics Denmark.

labour market participation of adult immigrants is a necessary strategy to prevent the expansion of structural unemployment and to integrate them into the Danish society. Since adult immigrants do not have the same opportunities of having education like their offspring. The Ministry of Finance also considers education as an essential tool in order to improve the social integration of immigrants (2007: 322).

These policies display that active labour market participation is fulfilled through activation policy, which is key to social integration policy and through education. Table 1 shows that there is an increase in the number of immigrants and descendants' educational attainment. However, it also indicates that there is not a balanced situation between native Danes and the members of ethnic minorities in terms of the highest education completed between 2006 and 2010. Danes complete higher levels of education than immigrants and descendants, and thus are qualified with higher qualifications. This data manifests that the Danish welfare states has not reach its goals about allaying the lopsidedness in educational attainment. As a result, this makes native majority group has higher prospects for better job opportunities than ethnic minority groups have.

	Persons of Danish origin				
	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Basic School 8-10 grade	393452	398779	406789	425183	435411
General Upper Secondary School	119345	120712	122073	123457	126627
Vocational Upper Secondary School	49705	48255	47123	45952	45248
Vocational Education	147852	140497	134916	130295	127331
Short-Cycle Higher Education	20718	19654	19184	18738	18034
Medium-cycle Higher Education	34861	34453	34073	33216	33196
Bachelor	25773	26088	26441	28014	29343
Long-Cycle Higher Education	15775	16481	17617	17800	18337
PhD-Degree	109	96	97	112	109
	Immigrants				
	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Basic School 8-10 grade	35618	34478	33234	34429	33001
General Upper Secondary School	11255	10378	9307	10806	9387
Vocational Upper Secondary School	1896	1979	1968	1981	2021
Vocational Education	8567	7579	6776	7143	6498
Short-Cycle Higher Education	1791	1724	1667	1852	1866
Medium-cycle Higher Education	2965	2399	2202	2665	2267
Bachelor	1133	1354	1610	1976	2475
Long-Cycle Higher Education	1807	1822	2012	2404	2454
PhD-Degree	33	33	36	33	45
	Descendants				
	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Basic School 8-10 grade	16178	17944	19823	22809	24977
General Upper Secondary School	2634	2990	3442	3879	4481
Vocational Upper Secondary School	1185	1220	1327	1449	1592
Vocational Education	1931	2015	2130	2276	2385
Short-Cycle Higher Education	355	366	393	420	465
Medium-cycle Higher Education	401	448	485	545	607
Bachelor	381	419	452	553	652
Long-Cycle Higher Education	264	293	333	341	377
PhD-Degree	2	0	1	1	0

Table 1 Attainment of the population by ancestry, highest education completed in Denmark, by year, 2006-2010
Source: Statistics Denmark

Since the mid 1980s approximately one quarter of the population in working ages have been substantiated by means of a variety of generous welfare programmes in Denmark (Abrahamson, 2009: 10). In 1994, Danish labour market was reformed to come to grips with the deficiencies of labour market programmes. The reform did not give rise to any reduction in the welfare benefits or important adjustments to the basic structure underlying the unemployment benefit system (Bredgaard, 2005: 31). It was attempted to assure the movement of more individuals from passively getting financial supports to active participation and to establish a better integration of immigrants. In this respect, eligibility period for unemployment benefits was shortened, participation in activation programmes has been pushed on in a parallel manner, availability rules and sanctions were toughened up and the right to “re-qualification for eligibility” was ended (Ministry of Finance, 2002: 5).

The most significant feature of the 1994 labour market reform was the scrapping of the rule, which enables the unemployed individuals to extend their eligibility for benefit durations, through engaging in active labour market programmes (Ministry of Finance, 2002: 5). The upper limit for receiving benefits was decreased from seven to four years. The receipt of unemployment financial aid is subject to membership of the unemployment fund (ibid: 9). When a member has been unemployed for more than four years, the right to receive unemployment benefits is adjourned up to the member has been in the condition of having job for a period (ibid). Likewise, those who become a member of the fund, have to be employed for a period prior to they gain the right to receive unemployment benefits (ibid). All in all, “availability and eligibility criteria” have been made stricter in Denmark.

Although the Danish authorities introduce activation policies as an attempt to enhance the availability and eligibility of the unemployed, active labour market programmes negatively affect the economic participation and thus the prospects of leaving unemployment. The targeted aim of the activation policies have been failed to integrate the unemployed into the labour market and to ameliorate the working possibilities of the unemployed. As a coercive measure, reduction in the benefit duration dissuades the unemployed instead of making them participate into the activation programmes as expected by Danish authorities. For instance, job search by the unemployed individuals is escalated before the period of being registered in the active labour market programmes (Ministry of Finance, 2002: 7). Since the unemployed who are the recipients of benefits and have little or no desire to be available for work generally exit from the unemployment insurance system when they are obliged to take part in active labour market programmes (ibid). As Torfing points out, lessening the period of unemployment benefits to four years was a forceful endeavor to make individuals turn back to the labour market (cited in Halvorsen and Jensen, 2004: 462). In addition, participation in active labour market programmes causes the “locking-in effect” which decreases the attempts of the unemployed to seek regular jobs (Ministry of Finance, 2002: 8). There is also an adverse “post-programme effect” which gives rise to a higher reservation wage and a more limited job search due to the overestimation of the value of qualifications by the individuals activated through labour market programmes (ibid).

The activation move in Danish labour market policy has been argued as an endangered transformation in the relationship between rights and duties. In order to achieve the labour market strategies, Danish activation programmes do not only aim to provide economic and social participation, but also discipline the unemployed. They seek to stimulate the unemployed to find and accept jobs promptly, while trying to improve their qualifications who are not capable enough to follow the right direction that takes them back to the labour market (Bredgaard, 2005: 25). Changes made on Danish labour market policy following the 1994 labour market reform have piecemeal moved the policy into a more disciplining manner. The eligibility spell for receiving unemployment benefit has been further shortened and availability requirements and sanctions were made stricter, and the skills improving measures, which are the essential component of active labour market policy, were lessened (ibid: 32). According to the Danish Ministry of Finance, changes made through the labour market reforms intend to buttress ALMPs, on the ground rule that benefit prerogatives should be subjected to participation in active labour market programmes in parallel with the “rights and obligations” criterion (2002: 5). However, when a labour market policy is adjusted with further social disciplining, it starts to aim at extending the willingness of the unemployed to seek job instead of working toward the improvement of their qualifications. In this context, Danish welfare regime has changed from a liberal into a “restrictive immigrant regime” (Lister et al, 2007: 82).

Since 2001, after right-wing parties gained political power in Denmark, individuals have been faced with more demanding obligations to gain the rights attached to Danish citizenship. Although Danish active labour market policy was restructured during the 1990s, it was not adjusted in a way focusing on economic inducements rather than human investment as it was done under the power of the Liberal-Conservative government (Breidahl and Clement, 2010: 848). Although Nordic welfare states stems from universal social rights accessible to all residents, citizen or non-citizen, Denmark disregarded its universalistic welfare state in 2002 by restricting non-citizens’ access to full and equal social benefits through a seven-year residence obligation under the rights and obligations principle (Lister et al, 2007: 86). The 2002 labour market reform, which also initiated a new social assistance scheme for immigrants, has been highly criticized since it does not only bring down the immigrants’ economic assets, but also causes inequality and social exclusion. It has diminished the skill improving side of the labour market policy and put forward short-term job applications, job search training and interviews rather than long-term activation strategies and measures (Bredgaard, 2005: 32). These changes strongly reveal the existence of a move from human investment to work-first, which aims to integrate participants into employment as early as possible by means of short-term measures without providing them with sufficient skills (Breidahl and Clement, 2010: 848)

All in all, there is a significant dissent over how to interpret the evolution of labour market policy in Denmark. It is introduced as “neoliberal workfare” or as “Social Democratic activation” (Andersen and Pedersen, 2007: 1). While the neoliberal workfare is considered as a policy that undermines the social rights of unemployed, the later empowers and activate individuals. Peck states that workfare programmes compel people to work in low-paid jobs and with scarce

opportunities of achieving new qualifications that could improve the ability to change the route to high-paid jobs (cited in Larsen, 2005: 136). In this context, it is obvious that Denmark is carrying out welfare measures that reduce the duration of benefits and limit the access to unemployment benefits by establishing over demanding availability and eligibility criterion. As a result, it is needless to say that the Danish welfare system embodies the elements of social democratic welfare policy. However, it is also impossible to blink the fact that it has been gradually getting closer to a labour market policy based on welfare system, which give rise to deterioration of the value of citizenship.

4.2 Analysis of Social Exclusion of Non-Western Immigrants

Denmark is one of the countries that expend most money on the active labour market programmes as a percentage of GDP. In point of this fact, it is worth evaluating the sufficiency and success of Danish active labour market policies in the improvement of social integration. The vital question that is necessary to be asked in this study is whether generous ALMPs of Denmark resolve social integration problems or instead marginalize people. In most Scandinavian research, including this study, the idea of marginalization is hold vis-à-vis inclusion and exclusion. Marginalization is a situation that causes a feeling between being included or excluded in society and that therefore increases the possibility of exclusion from societal aspects (Bredahl and Clement, 2010: 851). Although the phenomenon of social exclusion is not easy to be understood and analyzed and thus it is difficult to arrive at a consensus on its components, the general tendency is to examine it in the context of “education and work” (ibid: 135). The continuous isolation from the labour market and educational facilities gives rise to an *ingrained social exclusion*. As Raum et al. maintain, socially excluded individuals are in a high risk of staying outside the society in the future as well (cited in Fangen, 2010: 136).

In Denmark, ALMPs and educational measures have restructured to develop immigrants’ employment and social inclusion. However, this restructuration process is designed as a component of a carrot (rights) and stick (duties) combination. As Larsen (2005: 137) asserts, “the opportunity and sanction approach are often combined using both the carrot and the stick in making unemployed people active”. Although Danish welfare state has carried out a leading position in Europe through the so-called adequacy of its activation policies, it has limited the right and the opportunity to receive unemployment benefits and has demolished the citizenship rights. As a result, activation programmes emerged both as a right and as a duty for benefit claimants, in which failure to act in accordance with duties have been punished to some extent by restricting the financial aid (ibid: 139).

Diminishing social rights- restricted access to benefits and decreased level and duration of benefits- and increasing duties have emerged as the detrimental impacts of the Danish ALMPs. When Danish governments use activation measures as an instrument to keep a tight rein on the marginalized, activation turns into a punishment, which may discourage people from asking for help and make them socially isolated individuals. From the mid-1980s onwards, Denmark has been in a process of transformation towards a downturn of social rights and a more active strategy that gives prominence to obligations (Oorschot and Abrahamson, 2003: 301). As Kvist pinpoints, although in the 1990s the Danish unemployment benefit system was the most easily attainable system in Europe, Denmark have moved to a system, which makes pressing requirements for eligibility (cited in Larsen, 2005: 140). Today, Denmark has the most rigorous eligibility rules for receiving unemployment benefits and the duties imposed to unemployed people to make them take part in activation measures are among the most restrictive duties in Europe (ibid).

Analysis of the Danish ALMPs reveals the fact that active participation in the labour market programmes and re-employment do not ipso facto lessen social marginalization. For instance, although the number of unemployed people who took part in activation measures increased 25 per cent and the rate of unemployment decreased between 1995 and 1999, those people experienced other problems, such as social and psychological, during the period that they continued to be unemployed (Larsen, 2001: 11-3). Unfortunately, especially for immigrants, these problems may continue to exist after participating into the activation programmes and being employed. Since, immigrants are confronted by serious obstacles compare to natives, as a consequence of employers' preconceived ideas or incompetent qualifications (Fangen, 2010: 137). This situation forced immigrants and descendants to be self-employed. For immigrants, self-employment may occur as a kind of release from the domineering activation measures and from the labour market exclusion caused by both prejudices and insufficient skills. The number of self-employed immigrants from non-western countries increased from 8,765 to 10,138 and the number of self-employed non-western descendants increased from 506 to 762 between 2006-2009 (Statistics Denmark 2009). Although self-employment is an element that contributes to increase in the employment rates of immigrants, it may socially exclude the self-employed immigrants and also their assisting supposes and children.

In addition, it is also important to hold that creating a big budget on active labour market programmes do not guarantee a decline in unemployment and an increase in employment, since fallacious labour market policies hinder all efforts aiming at further economic and social integration of immigrants. Figure 2 and Table 2 illustrate that when the public expenditure on active labour market programmes was increased from 1,2 to 1,8 between 1991-1993, employment achieved only a small acceleration and increase in the number of unemployed immigrants and descendants occurred as the second highest unemployment boom between 1991-2005. In addition, in 1993, even though the public expenditure on activation programmes reached the second highest rate between 1991-2005, number of the unemployed emerged as the second highest number among those years. On the other hand, when the public expenditure on active labour market programmes decreased between 1995-1997 and also between 2001-2003, the number of

unemployed immigrants decreased and of employed immigrants made a considerable increase.

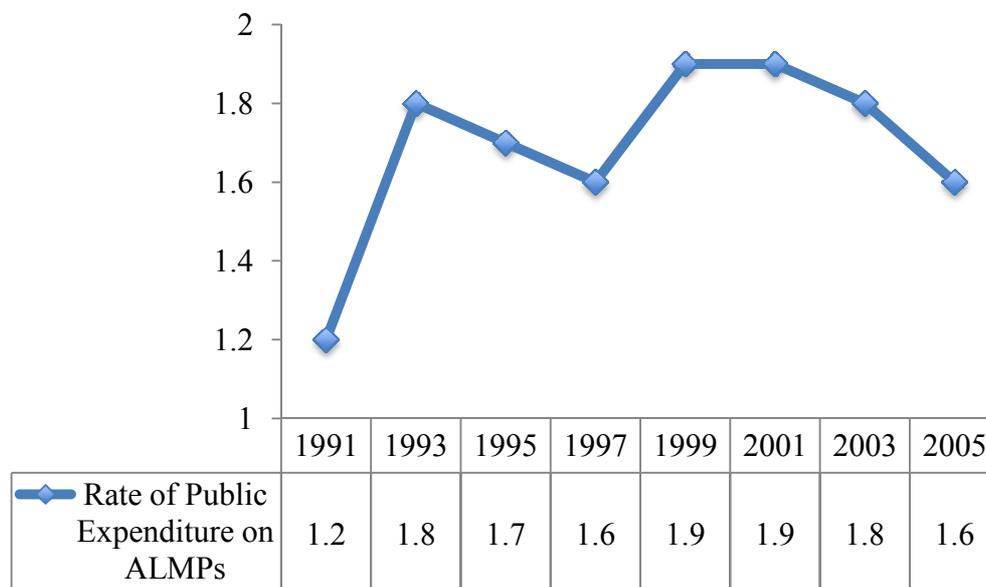


Figure 2 Public Expenditure on active labour market programmes as % of GDP in Denmark, by half year, 1991-2005

Source: OECD (2010), ‘Social Expenditure: Aggregated data’, OECD Social Expenditure Statistics (database).

	Immigrants from non-western countries							
	1991	1993	1995	1997	1999	2001	2003	2005
Employed	31151	32560	35771	46546	61817	74060	84003	90503
Unemployed	14660	19170	21693	17668	14392	12084	11499	16036
	Descendants from non-western countries							
	1991	1993	1995	1997	1999	2001	2003	2005
Employed	1299	1916	3145	4752	6618	8465	10259	12165
Unemployed	113	292	496	536	495	564	656	978

Table 2 Population of non-western immigrants and descendants by socioeconomic status, by half year, 1991-2005

Source: Statistics Denmark

On the other hand, it is also not possible to connect every employment increase with participation in activation programmes. During the 1990s a so-called “job miracle” was brought into existence in the Danish labour market and unemployment rate declined notably from 12 to 5 percent between 1993 and 2002 (Larsen, 2005: 138). However, it is important to take account of the increase in the number of people dismissed from employment, typically because of ill health. Since early retirement can be considered as labour market exclusion or as concealed unemployment (Saurama, 2005: 206). Although Denmark is one of the countries, which experienced the most remarkable decrease in unemployment in

the mid-1990s, it has been argued that this was emanated as a consequence of the move from unemployment to early retirement, or to activation where they do not officially become apparent in the unemployment statistics (Andersen, 2002: 180). The current official statistics indicates that there has been a continuous increase in the number of pensioners who belong to native majority group and to ethnic minority groups. Although the new statistics do not still give the numbers of persons moved from unemployment to early retirement and to activation, they to some extent justify Andersen's approach. According to the official data, the total number of pensioners has increased from 938,049 in 2006 to 998,483 in 2009 (Statistics Denmark 2009). It is an important data that supports the idea of seeking different factors contribute to the decline in unemployment.

In brief, existence of other facts behind the employment increase leads to doubts cast upon the success of activation policies in increasing employment rates. It also creates uncertainties about the favorable outcome of Danish policies, which has made the ALMPs as the essential component of integration policy. That is to say, if activation policies do not have a high contribution to increasing employment, then it is vain to establish a strong interrelation between ALMPs, unemployment decrease and social integration. The importance of growing labour market participation is an undeniable fact for the improvement of social integration. However, there is another fact that policies intending employment in short order and spending high amount of public expenditure on active labour market programmes cannot be sufficient enough alone to tackle social marginalization of immigrants. Multidimensional characteristic of marginalization requires analysis beyond the traditional researches of labour market exclusion and poverty. There are other facets of social exclusion caused by restrictive policies and regulations in the labour market (Gradstein and Schiff, 2006: 327-8), which also constitute the sources lie behind the problems of Danish ALMPs. The current picture shows that new measures are essential to help immigrants to succeed in dealing with the feeling of being excluded from the society. Danish authorities should do not overlook the necessity of less stringent and punitive ALMPs that promote the integration of immigrants rooted in intercultural dialogue responsive to identity problems of immigrants.

5 Conclusion

In the 1990s, European countries came up against dramatic social and economic challenges such as poverty and social exclusion compounded by increasing unemployment and immigration. Despite its developed economy and universal social rights, Denmark was influenced by critical problems based on high-level of migration from non-western countries and of unemployment during the 1990s. Denmark has a small immigrant population, but the profound difference between the employment rates of immigrants and of native Danes makes immigration as one of the prime concerns of activation policies. Even though ALMPs are not new phenomenon in Denmark, during the recent decades a close interaction has been established between labour market policy and social policy. In particular, addressing the employment and social inclusion of immigrants became the new aspect of activation policies. It has been considered that while unemployment prevents labour market integration of immigrants on the one hand, it leads to poverty and social exclusion on the other. As a consequence, labour market strategies have been transformed from a passive to an active orientation in Denmark through adopting policies so as to provide active participation of immigrants in the economic sphere and to fulfill their social inclusion process.

The Danish active line carried out a considerable move by situating active labour market policy at the center of social policy. The direction of integration policy has changed its emphasis from social rights towards employment since labour market participation is regarded as an essential requirement for providing full and equal citizenship. Hence, the social and economic restructuring process of Danish welfare state redefined the concept of citizenship and disrupted the balance between rights and duties. While activation transformation in Denmark intends to provide employment on the one hand, it aims to discipline the unemployed immigrants on the other. Danish authorities introduce the fulfillment of duties as a precondition for possessing and taking the advantage of citizenship rights. The 1994 and, in particular, the 2002 labour market reforms gave rise to strict availability and eligibility criteria for immigrants, which limited the access to benefits and decreased the duration of benefits. Briefly, the emphasis of Danish ALMPs has been changed from human capital investment to economic incentives. However, economic and social integration of immigrants can be strengthened through improving qualifications of the unemployed that leads to long-term and high-paid employment.

Members of ethnic minority groups are mostly second-class citizens in the context of social equality. Poverty is much more common among ethnic minorities compare to natives Danes due to higher level of unemployment and of employment in low-skilled and low-paid jobs. Immigrants also face serious barriers compare to natives caused by employers' prejudices or their incompetence of adapting to new labour market circumstances. Since Danish active labour market programmes compel the unemployed to work straightaway

before gaining essential skills that pave the way for better job opportunities. It indicates that Danish ALMPs seek short-term measures to improve the labour market participation of immigrants. However, this is one of the most important shortcomings of Danish activation policies, as creating qualified immigrants and addressing their social exclusion problems require long-term solutions.

In addition, Danish active line aims to integrate immigrants into society via employment achieved mostly by education. It is considered that a situation involving exposure to poverty and thus social exclusion are mainly eliminated through labour market participation and education. Nevertheless, official statistics indicate that Danish welfare state is not successful enough to achieve its goals with respect to employment and educational attainment. Statistics also indicate that a large amount of public expenditure on activation programmes does not necessarily ensure an increase in labour market participation. Furthermore, activation programmes cannot be the only reason of increase in employment when the budget on activation programmes is high in Denmark. The impact of growing early retirement on unemployment reduction should also be taken into consideration. On the other hand, it is also important to remind that an increase in the labour market participation of immigrants is not enough on its own in order to enhance the social integration of immigrants. Danish governments should focus more attention on providing further higher-education attainments among second-generation immigrants so as to equip them with adequate qualifications from the beginning- prior to labour market participation- and therefore to reduce their dependency to active labour market programmes. For immigrants who participate in the activation programmes, authorities should follow a strategy aiming at increasing the skills rather than forcing the unemployed to work right away.

It is a truism to argue that long-term unemployment, low-paid jobs, low levels of education, and belonging to a minority group are the factors that heighten the risk of poverty and social exclusion. When these grave complications are combined with the inaccurate ALMPs of Danish governments, social exclusion becomes an inextricable situation. Severe duties imposed on immigrants turn activation policies into a punishment for immigrants and lead to leaving activation programmes and also to aggravation of social exclusion. The psychological impacts of poverty and of arduous obligations are consequential obstacles to social integration. Concisely, although the Danish active line connects labour market policy and integration policy and aims to provide social inclusion with the contributions of active labour market participation, the analysis of ALMPs obviously show that they are not sufficient in relieving social exclusion of immigrants. As a result, it can be argued that while OECD has declared Danish activation line as the best actual application of ALMPs since 1990s, its deficiencies in decreasing unemployment rates and averting social exclusion does not implicitly deserve this praise.

6 Bibliography

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