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An expert stakeholder's view on European integration challenges

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Discussion Papers

An Expert Stakeholder’s View on European Integration Challenges

Amelie F. Constant • Martin Kahanec • Klaus F. Zimmermann

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An Expert Stakeholder’s View on European Integration Challenges

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**ABSTRACT**

The standard approach of analysing gaps in social and labor market outcomes of different ethnic groups relies on analysis of statistical data about the affected groups. In this paper we go beyond this approach by measuring the views of expert stakeholders involved in minority integration. This enables us to better understand the risk of minority exclusion; the inner nature of discrimination, negative attitudes and internal barriers; as well as the ethnic minorities’ desires and perceptions about which approaches are better than others in dealing with integration challenges. Main findings are that ethnic minorities do want to change their situation, especially in terms of employment, education, housing and attitudes towards them. Insufficient knowledge of the official language, insufficient education, discriminatory attitudes and behavior towards ethnic minorities as well as institutional barriers, such as citizenship or legal restrictions, seem to constitute the key barriers to their social and labor market integration.

**JEL Classification:** J15, J71, J78

**Keywords:** Attitudes, opinions, immigrants, ethnic minorities, labor market

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Introduction

The framing of minority integration both in the policy arena and the academic discourse has typically imposed several normative assumptions about what is good and what is bad for the immigrants, the ethnic groups, and other minorities involved. Yet the intriguing issue of how the relevant experts and representatives of ethnic minorities themselves perceive their labor market situation and the roles of various internal and external integration barriers has not been answered, and in most debates has not even been considered. However, what policy proposals and analyses need to scrutinize are the needs of minorities and how to respond to these needs.

In this paper we go beyond the standard approach of analysing gaps in social and labor market outcomes of different ethnic groups.\(^1\) The novel feature we employ is that we take into consideration the views of expert stakeholders who are involved in minority integration. This way we obtain a better understanding of the risk of minority exclusion; of the inner nature of discrimination, negative attitudes and internal barriers; as well as of the ethnic minorities’ desires and perceptions about which approaches are better than others when dealing with integration challenges.\(^2\) We tackle these issues with the IZA Expert

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1 This paper draws on Zimmermann et al. (2008); see also Constant, Kahanec and Zimmermann (2009) and European Commission (2007). It is related to a research project entitled ‘Study on the Social and Labor Market Integration of Ethnic Minorities’ conducted by IZA and funded by the European Commission during 2006 to 2008 under the reference number VC/2006/0309.

2 Concerning the role of attitudes, several authors have studied which factors determine attitudes towards ethnic minorities: see for example Bauer, Loefstrom and Zimmermann (2000); Gang, Rivera-Batiz and Yun (2002); O’Rourke and Sinnott (2006); Zimmermann et al. (2008) and Hainmueller and Hiscox (2007). That attitudes and perceptions matter for social and labor market integration of ethnic minorities has been
Opinion Survey, a unique survey conducted in 2007. The survey covers the entire European Union (EU) and contains the responses of 215 expert stakeholders who represent the public. In particular, these experts work with non-governmental organizations that are involved in ethnic minority integration. A substantial share of these organizations is led by the ethnic minorities themselves (Zimmermann et al., 2008).

There are three broad sets of questions that the 2007 IZA Expert Opinion survey is designed to tackle. First, the questionnaire design focuses on measuring perceptions and concerns held by the experts regarding the labor market integration of ethnic minorities. Second, a number of questions are formulated to elicit the experts’ thoughts on how ethnic minorities perceive the wide range of issues pertaining to their labor market integration and to integration policy initiatives. For example, the experts are asked to report on the integration policy principles, which they believe are most favorably received by the ethnic minority groups. Additional questions reveal information on who should best intervene to reduce integration barriers in the labor market and which initiatives would be most efficacious. Third, experts were asked to identify successful businesses and non-governmental and public initiatives whose goal is the labor market integration of ethnic minorities, as well as they are asked to evaluate their success. In addition to engaging in these three broader issues, the 2007 IZA Expert Opinion Survey provides for the ‘Policy documented by Kahanec and Tosun (2009), among others. They show that negative attitudes, whether perceived by the minorities themselves or reported by the host population, negatively affect the immigrants’ integration aspirations in terms of citizenship ascension.
Matrix,’ a scaling mechanism and a comparative method of evaluating the degrees and prospects of integration for various ethnic groups across the EU.

**The Data**

Our analysis relies on the IZA Expert Opinion Survey that was conducted in 2007. Between May and July 2007, IZA contacted all relevant organizations in the EU of 27. The aim of this survey is to gain insights from both the stakeholders involved and the ethnic minorities themselves. More than a thousand organizations were invited to participate in the survey questionnaire, which was provided online on IZA’s homepage. The participating organizations operate in areas related to the social and labor market integration of ethnic minorities across the EU; they comprise governmental institutions, employer and employee associations, as well as non-governmental institutions. The survey was conducted in the official languages of the respective EU member states. The survey design permitted no more than one response per organization.

Responses came from each of the 27 EU countries; and in the end as many as 215 experts completed the survey questionnaire. A histogram of the respondents by country is shown in Figure 1. The respondents represent a total of 215 organizations, of which 33.8 per cent have a specific focus on ethnic minorities and 29.1 per cent are run by those who are themselves members of an ethnic minority group. Clearly the multifaceted nature of immigrant inclusion and the multitude of contexts in which integration processes are embedded across the 27 EU member states make it impossible to cover all aspects of minority integration in one study. Nevertheless with all countries represented and a broad
range of organizations covered, we believe the survey provides invaluable evidence and unique insights into the nature of integration of ethnic minorities.

<Figure 1>

**Results**

Besides presenting the results based on the entire sample of 215 surveyed expert stakeholders, we also examine two comparative dimensions of the results that can elucidate the present analysis. First, we concentrate on a sub-sample of experts who represent organizations run by members of ethnic minorities. A comparative evaluation of this analysis enables us to tackle the question of what minorities want more directly. Second, we analyse the responses for all minorities in general and of the minorities reported at greatest risk of labor market exclusion in particular. This yields yet another comparative perspective. This informs us on whether the observed results are sensitive with respect to the degree of social and labor market exclusion of the minorities under study.

The view that ethnic minorities are exposed to a ‘high’ or ‘very high’ risk of labor market exclusion is held by the majority of experts from the organizations surveyed. In addition Figure 2 reveals that experts from organizations that are run by members of ethnic minorities perceive a greater risk of exclusion. This indicates that the internal perception within ethnic communities of their integration situation may be worse than the external perspective, which may well receive more attention.

<Figure 2>

Figure 3 suggests a rather worrisome trend in the situation of ethnic minorities. More than 80 per cent of the experts perceive the exclusion risk of ethnic minorities to be constant or
increasing over time. Similarly, regarding the level of risk, it is once again experts from organizations run by members of ethnic minorities who are more likely to perceive this trend in exclusion risk more negatively than other organizations in general.

<Figure 3>

Which ethnic minorities are perceived to be at greatest risk of labor market exclusion in the experts’ respective countries? As it is evident from Figure 4, Roma and Africans are the most frequently cited ethnic minorities facing the greatest risk of exclusion from labor market opportunities. This point is reiterated in Table 2.1, which presents the minorities at greatest risk by country. The relatively low score of Muslims may be somewhat surprising given the heated public debate about their integration in the EU. One should note however that the reported ethnic groups at greatest exclusion risk mix the religious, ethnic and country of origin dimensions, and so they may hide the importance of race or religion in the risk of exclusion. This might be especially true for Muslims: it is reasonable to assume that many of those in the category ‘Bangladeshi,’ ‘Turk,’ ‘Middle Eastern,’ ‘African’ and ‘Former Yugoslav or Balkan’ are Muslims. If this is indeed the case, then Muslims feature prominently among those minorities at greatest risk. Moreover the ethnic minorities reported to be at greater risk have generally darker skin, which may well indicate that visibility or appearances are an important driver of exclusion risk.

<Figure 4>

<Table 1>

For the policy discourse the issue of how the relevant experts perceive the wishes of ethnic minorities is of key importance. In this context we asked the expert stakeholders whether members of the ethnic minority regard improving the social and labor market integration of
minorities as a priority. Figure 5 provides a clear message: almost all respondents, and especially those representing organizations run by ethnic minorities, replied that ethnic minorities desire some change. A similar pattern is observed in Figure 6, which looks at minorities at the greatest exclusion risk in each expert’s country.

Figure 5

Figure 6

Figure 7 displays the responses given with regards to the areas in which change is most desirable. Four areas received the greatest response: paid employment (hiring, promotion, laying-off and pay); education; housing; and attitudes (acceptance by society). However other areas also received a significant response from the experts questioned about where improvements need to be made: social insurance and benefits; cultural, social and religious life; and political representation, including the right to vote and be elected. National and international mobility and self-employment are not considered to be pressing areas for improvement. Health care lies somewhere in between these other areas in terms of importance. Moreover similar patterns exist for both minorities in general and those at greatest labor market risk.

Figure 7

Figure 8 illustrates the institutions and other legal entities that are the most responsible for promoting and initiating the desired changes, according to the expert stakeholders. There is very little difference in opinion between minorities in general and minorities at greatest risk: both groups regard national and local government as being the most responsible. Other important bodies include the European Commission and institutions of the EU, non-
governmental organizations, representatives of the ethnic minority itself, and representatives of ethnic minorities in general.

Understanding which policy principle the experts deem as being the most preferred by ethnic minority members is crucial. It is remarkable that equal treatment with no regard to ethnic origin is by far the most preferred policy principle. Figure 9 displays this view. Compared to the general results, the responses given by the experts from the organizations run by members of ethnic minorities exhibit a slight tendency towards the belief that ethnic minorities hold a somewhat higher preference for specific provisions such as language courses to help ethnic minorities not fluent in the majority language. With respect to minorities at risk, Figure 10 shows a very similar pattern to the one reported for minorities in general.

Another area in great need of improvement is negative attitudes about ethnic minorities (see Figure 7). As Figures 11 and 12 show, this negative perception is held by both the general public and businesses. With regards to the general public, around 70 per cent of respondents report ‘negative’ or ‘very negative’ public attitudes towards ethnic minorities in general. However for ethnic minorities at greatest risk this figure rises to an incredible 88 per cent, with most respondents reporting ‘very negative.’ It is surprising that the business world reports holding such strong negative attitudes about ethnic minorities. In theory, competition and free markets would make practicing such attitudes costly, thus employers would abolish such practices. At the very least, one could argue that holding negative
attitudes should be less common among managers, businessmen and businesswomen, and entrepreneurs. Indeed it is of little comfort that the negative perception in the world of business is reported to be slightly less extreme than the view of the general public. One has to note however that reporting negative attitudes is not identical to pursuing them in everyday business.

<Figure 11>

<Figure 12>

Figure 13 portrays the barriers to integration, as perceived by the expert stakeholders. The most significant barriers are insufficient knowledge of the official language; inadequate education; lack of information about employment opportunities; social, cultural and religious norms originating from within the ethnic minority; and institutional barriers such as citizenship or legal restrictions. In the eyes of the expert stakeholders, discrimination remains the most serious barrier to the social and labor market integration of ethnic minorities, consistent with the extremely negative attitudes perceived by the experts, reported in Figures 11 and 12.

<Figure 13>

When it comes to forms of intervention, the majority of the experts advocate general public policies and initiatives, such as anti-discrimination laws, or specific ones, such as targeted pre-school education and information campaigns. Figure 14 also highlights the importance of initiatives from business and non-governmental organizations (including religious bodies) when overcoming integration barriers.

<Figure 14>
All in all, the view firmly held by all experts, both those who deal with minorities and those who are members of minority groups themselves, is that minorities in each of the 27 EU countries are at great risk of exclusion. Moreover the belief is that this risk is either constant or increasing. Some of the most vulnerable groups affected are Roma and Africans, who are regarded as a group at great risk of exclusion in almost every European country. Needless to say, other immigrant groups also find themselves at risk. Minorities want to see changes in their labor market exclusion; and they generally want change to come by way of policies which follow principles of fair and equal treatment. This is in line with the observation that negative perceptions and discrimination are the primary obstacles to further integration. The immigrant groups mostly affected look towards local and national governments for help in making improvements in the area of discrimination at the workplace as well as other areas that require attention, such as education and housing.

The group reported to face the greatest risk of labor market exclusion in the EU is Roma. Prolific media coverage has increased the prominence of their plight. The European public has formed opinions and ideas about the Roma people that are often completely inaccurate. Hence we pay particular attention to the responses given by the surveyed experts reporting on the situation of Roma in their country as a group at greatest risk of exclusion. Figure 15 shows that public opinion about Roma having little interest in wanting to change their lot is unjustified according to experts: 80 per cent of the respondents who perceive Roma as the minority at greatest risk of labor market exclusion are of the opinion that Roma do indeed want to change their integration situation. Of those respondents who are themselves members of an ethnic minority, this number rises to more than 95 per cent.
As before, areas where change is mostly desired are examined in Figure 16. Similarly to minorities in general, the four areas of change most desired by Roma are paid employment, education, housing and attitudes. The only difference is that, unlike minorities in general, the four areas hold a more or less equal regard by the expert stakeholders. Education ranks the highest, hinting at the notion that it is well understood among Roma that education is one of the most important vehicles of overcoming their severe social and labor market exclusion. Interestingly, social insurance and self-employment rank higher for the Roma than for the minorities at greatest risk in general.

The surveyed experts were asked whom they thought Roma hold most accountable for promoting and initiating such changes. Their responses are illustrated in Figure 17. Similar to minorities at greatest risk, Roma regard national and local government as being the most responsible for change, with local government bearing the greatest responsibility for change; unlike minorities in general, who place the most emphasis on national governments. However the experts’ opinion is that Roma place far more importance on the European Commission, EU institutions and representatives of their own ethnic group and a little less emphasis on national governments and non-governmental organizations. This may be a reflection of past government performance in what has been perceived as government failings by the Roma minority.

Finally we examine in Figure 18 the initiatives aimed at the labor market integration of ethnic minorities to elicit the policy principles preferred by Roma. The view held by the
experts is that Roma generally want to be treated equally; although fewer of the respondents believe this when compared to other minorities. It would appear that Roma favor the principle of positive discrimination and affirmative action more, whereby applicants of an ethnic minority origin receive preferential treatment. On the other hand the principle of specific provision is viewed less favorably, compared to ethnic minorities at greatest risk.

<Figure 18>

A multiple-choice questionnaire somewhat restricts the ability of the respondents to reply fully to the questions posed. Therefore we provided them with an additional opportunity for a more thoroughly written answer to capture a comprehensive account of the views held by the expert stakeholders. This supplementary information, discussed below, provides invaluable information to complement the analysis.

In addition to the areas listed in Figure 7, the black market economy is cited as an area where change is mostly desired by both ethnic minorities at greatest risk and those at risk in general. An additional institution that does not appear in Figure 8, but is suggested by several experts is the media. Respondents hold the view that the media is an important actor responsible for initiating and promoting changes in the integration situation faced by ethnic minorities. Regarding the principles which should be used in initiating such changes, some experts are of the opinion that the balance between equal treatment and positive discrimination should depend on the circumstances. Further barriers that play a significant role in preventing the full participation of ethnic minorities in the labor market, but are not listed in Figure 13, include regional underdevelopment, poverty, lack of legal documents,
lack of self-confidence to apply for jobs, non-recognition of foreign certificates of education, unwillingness to work, trauma after spells in refugee camps, lack of experience in the host country social context, lack of interest in integration, and competition from intra-EU migrants.

Measures suggested by the surveyed experts that could improve integration include a host of proposals not provided in the questionnaire. They include training to improve self-confidence, active lobbying, cultural diversity education, immigration law changes, elimination of institutional barriers (for example the recognition of foreign certificates of education), legalization of (illegal) immigrants, public attitudes and media management (promoting benefits of immigrants on national media, challenging racism in the media). The additional responses given by the experts demonstrate the need for versatile and custom-made policy action.

**The Policy Matrix**

The rich information provided by the IZA Expert Opinion Survey can also be used to develop tools to guide policy efforts. In a world of scarce resources, one issue that often remains unresolved and is prone to interest group wrestling rather than careful scrutiny is the prioritization and calibration of policy efforts across various ethnic groups at risk. We suggest a policy matrix as an effective and straightforward tool for solving this policy problem (Figure 19).\(^3\) The specific policy interventions together with the intensity with which those interventions are pursued should ideally depend on the situation and prospects

\[^3\text{We thank Don DeVoretz for proposing this idea.}\]
of specific groups in specific countries. Hence our policy matrix provides comparative scaling of the quantitative results about the situation of ethnic minorities in Europe and its trends reported in Figures 2 and 3.

The crux of this matrix is to characterize degrees of interaction between the perceived risk of labor market disadvantage and the efficiency of policy intervention for any one ethnic group in a given country, as measured by the perceived trend in the situation of the respective ethnic minority. The division of the matrix into four quadrants – LL, HL, LH, and LL – represents the four possible combinations of low and high current risk and its trend. For example, quadrant LL, which is characterized by both low levels of risk of disadvantage and decreasing exclusion risk, could represent the situation of Asians in France. Quadrant HL depicts a high degree of risk of being disadvantaged but a decreasing risk of exclusion; it could refer to Russians residing in Finland. The northeast corner (HH) representing high and increasing risk, could describe the plight of Roma in almost any country. The matrix highlights some important policy implications in a world with limited resources for integration initiatives. In short, integration efforts should be most intense for cases farthest from the origin in the northeast corner.

Data from the IZA Expert Opinion Survey of 2007 on the measures of risk and its trend help us produce the policy matrices in Figure 20. We include 23 EU countries for which there are a sufficient number of observations. For each country the four largest minorities are taken, and the risk the minority group faces is plotted against the trend, as an average of the evaluations given by the experts in the respective countries.
The main essence of the policy matrix is that it captures how risk levels and trends vary within ethnic groups and across countries. For example it shows that those from the former Yugoslavia seem to be doing relatively well in Sweden, but are reported as a group at risk in Germany. Ireland might be quite welcoming to Russians, but relatively inhospitable to North Africans. Generally speaking, the matrices indicate that most minorities in Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxemburg, Malta and the UK and Roma in Bulgaria, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, as well as in the Czech Republic (where the situation is improving slightly), require particular attention with regard to their labor market integration. These intra-group and intra-national heterogeneities and similarities are an important insight in terms of forming policy action. The policy matrix presents a versatile, comparative tool thus enabling local, national and supranational organizations to evaluate the situation of ethnic minorities in their respective regional and functional contexts.

**Policy Lessons and Conclusions**

The IZA Expert Opinion Survey of 2007 provides a rarely considered view on European minorities, that seen through the eyes of expert stakeholders who are deeply involved in the continual integration of these groups. Naturally the results need to be interpreted with caution, since the experts may have their own particular intentions in mind.

Nonetheless several distinct findings emerge: ethnic minorities in Europe face a high and increasing risk of labor market exclusion. Roma and Africans are the most frequently cited ethnic minorities facing the greatest threat of exclusion from labor market opportunities.
Contrary to some of the often reported views, ethnic minorities generally want to improve their labor market situation, especially with respect to paid employment opportunities, education, housing and the general public’s attitude towards them.

Among those considered to be mostly responsible for the initiation and promotion of these changes, local and national governments lead the list. EU institutions, together with non-governmental organizations, and minority representatives are often cited as those who are considered to bear a significant responsibility. Further insights gained by the survey suggest that according to the responses from the experts, ethnic minorities mostly favor the principle of equal treatment rather than being treated as a special case helped by specific provisions and positive discrimination. Based on our background analysis, it should be noted that the results are quite independent of the nature of the respondent’s environment (governmental versus non-governmental organization) or location (east versus west).

Attitudes and perceptions of ethnic minorities rank high on the list of desirable changes. Thus it is all the more disturbing that ethnic minorities are perceived rather negatively by both the general public and the business world. Furthermore public attitudes are seen as a strong negative force by those experts who represent organizations run by members of an ethnic minority. In light of this belief, it comes as no surprise that discrimination is perceived to be the single most important integration barrier. Needless to say, a number of other barriers were also listed by the experts, including linguistic, educational, internal and institutional factors.
The Roma ethnic minority is often the victim of uninformed policy debate and action. The results here show that preconceptions of Roma ‘not wanting to work or change their situation’ are myths and stereotypes unsupported by the findings of this survey. The responses given by the experts show little difference between the concerns about Roma and other minorities. In particular, Roma have a desire to change their situation, which is at least as strong as any other ethnic minority. Our experts’ assessments differ however when comparing the attitudes and aspirations of Roma to other minorities. Although national and local governments are the bodies most frequently cited as being responsible for initiating and promoting changes, Roma still appear to have relatively lower expectations of what national governments can achieve. On the other hand, they have higher expectations of what the European Commission, EU institutions and representatives of their own ethnic group can achieve.

Although the opinions of the expert stakeholders, many of whom are not Roma, should be interpreted with caution, they are at least consistent with the Roma’s often fraught history with local and national governments. The idea that Roma’s own representatives are involved in the decision-making process is most welcome. It takes a certain degree of self-reliance to solve one’s problems, and the Roma certainly reflect this.

Of course it may also be a conditioned response based on the distrust of non-Roma government actors. The greater emphasis Roma place on education, housing and social insurance, compared to other minorities, and their relative willingness to rely on positive
discrimination may all be indicative of the Roma history and discrimination in Europe, which has spanned centuries.

In addition to the multiple choice answers, the participating experts made a number of interesting suggestions when they were given the option of open answers. Some of the responses given by the surveyed experts focus on the decisive role the media can play in shaping public perceptions. Many of their suggestions favor active communication programs that could promote the advantages of ethnic diversity in society; benefits that often go unnoticed by the general public. Other suggestions concern changes to policy with regards to the institutional and legal obstacles to integration.

Besides this rich array of information about the integration situation of ethnic minorities in the EU, the IZA Expert Opinion Survey of 2007 enables scaling the relative need of ethnic minorities for policy action by using the proposed policy matrix. In a world of limited resources that needs to act on behalf of those at risk, the policy matrix is a powerful tool; it has the potential to assist in the efficient implementation of integration efforts.

In sum, in this paper we took a closer look at the viewpoint of the experts who are part of or represent minorities in Europe. Their answers offer valuable insights in what minorities deem as important issues and in the integration measures that they welcome. It is against this backdrop that policy analyses and proposals should be evaluated and interpreted.
References


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<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
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<td>Austria</td>
<td>Turks (45%)</td>
<td>Muslims (wearing Muslim clothes) (33%)</td>
<td>Arabs (22%)</td>
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<td>Belgium</td>
<td>Sub-Saharan Africans (60%)</td>
<td>Moroccans (40%)</td>
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<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>Roma (100%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Czech Republic</td>
<td>Roma (77%)</td>
<td>People from the ex-Soviet Union (23%)</td>
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<td>Denmark</td>
<td>Somalis (67%)</td>
<td>Lebanese (25%)</td>
<td>Iraqis (8%)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Byelorussians (50%)</td>
<td>Roma (50%)</td>
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<td>Iraqis (33%)</td>
<td>Roma (17%)</td>
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<td>Blacks and Black Africans (75%)</td>
<td>Algerians (25%)</td>
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<td>Africans (56%)</td>
<td>Roma and Sinti (25%)</td>
<td>Turks (19%)</td>
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<td>Greece</td>
<td>Albanians (100%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>Roma (89%)</td>
<td>Africans (11%)</td>
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<td>Africans (50%)</td>
<td>Russians (50%)</td>
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<td>Albanians (67%)</td>
<td>Roma (33%)</td>
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<td>Roma (100%)</td>
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<td>Antilleans (100%)</td>
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<td>Eastern Europeans (20%)</td>
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<td>Romania</td>
<td>Roma (100%)</td>
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Table 1. Minorities at Risk, by Country

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Minorities at Risk</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Slovakia</td>
<td>Roma (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovenia</td>
<td>Albanians and Kosovars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Africans (53%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Roma (47%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>Iraqis (100%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>The United Kingdom</td>
<td>Bangladeshis (64%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Refugees (27%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Africans (9%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: There are no minorities at greatest risk reported for Cyprus and Lithuania. For Portugal 15% of experts reported immigrants from Sao Tome, 10% reported Angolans and 5% reported immigrants from Capo Verde as the minorities at greatest exclusion risk (not in the table). The percentages are a share of the individual country experts reporting the ethnic minority at greatest risk of exclusion.

Figure 1. Number of Responses by Country

Figure 2. Minorities at Risk

![Bar chart showing the risk levels for different categories of respondents.]

Notes: Replies to the question: ‘Below we list some of the largest ethnic minorities in your country [the four largest minorities in the country and “all minorities in general” listed]. Please evaluate the risk of them being excluded from the labor market and thus employment opportunities for each of these minorities separately and all minorities in your country in general [very high risk; high risk; medium risk; low risk; no or very low risk]. In general this risk is: [increasing; constant; decreasing].’

Figure 3. The Trend of Being at Risk

![Bar chart showing the trend of risk for different categories of respondents.]

Notes: Replies to the question asked for Figure
**Figure 4.** Minorities at the Greatest Risk of Exclusion

![Bar chart showing percentages of minorities at risk](image)

Notes: Replies to the question: ‘Please indicate which one of the ethnic minorities listed in question [see Figure 2] faces the greatest risk of being excluded.

**Figure 5.** Changing the Integration Situation: Minorities in General

![Bar chart showing percent of respondents](image)

Notes: Replies to the question: ‘As a generalization, in your opinion, do ethnic minorities in your country want any changes with respect to their social and labor market integration?’ [No, in general ethnic minorities in my country have priorities in other areas than their social and labor market integration; Yes].
Figure 6. Changing the Integration Situation: Minorities at Greatest Risk

![Chart showing the percentage of All respondents and Minority respondents who desire changes in their integration.](chart)

Notes: Replies to the question: ‘For this ethnic minority [minority indicated as facing greatest risk of exclusion, see Figure 4], please tell us whether, in your opinion, this minority demands any changes concerning its social and labor market integration.’ [No, this ethnic minority has priorities in areas other than its social and labor market integration; Yes].

Figure 7. Areas Where Changes Are Most Desirable

![Bar chart showing the percentage of minorities in general and at greatest risk for various areas.](chart)

Notes: Replies to the question: ‘Please indicate in which three of the following areas such changes are most desired by members of this ethnic minority’ [minority at greatest risk, see Figure 4; minorities in general]. [Paid employment, including hiring, promotion, laying off, and remuneration (Paid empl.); self-employment, including licensing (Self-empl.); education; social insurance and benefits (Soc. insurance); health care; housing; national and international mobility (Mobility); cultural, social, and religious life (Cultural life); political participation and representation, such as the right to vote and be elected (Polit. participation); representation in employees’ organizations, such as trade unions (Representation); attitudes of and acceptance by society (Attitudes); other].
Figure 8. Responsible for Changes

Notes: Replies to the question: ‘Please indicate which three of the following entities members of this ethnic minority [minority at greatest risk, see Figure 4; minorities in general] consider as the most responsible to initiate and promote such changes.’ [European Commission and the European Union in general (EC and EU); national government (National GVT); local governments and authorities (Local GVT); non-governmental organizations (NGOs); the representatives of their own ethnic minority (Own rep.); the representatives of ethnic minorities in general (Minor rep.); religious organizations and churches (Church); trade unions and other employees’ associations (Unions); employers’ associations (Employers); other]. Source: IZA Expert Opinion Survey 2007.

Figure 9. Policy Principles: Minorities in General

Notes: Replies to the question: ‘Please indicate which one of the policy principles listed below is the most preferred by members of these ethnic minorities [minorities in general].’ [The principle of equal treatment with no regard to ethnic origin (Equal treatment); the principle of specific provisions, such as language courses for ethnic minorities not fluent in the majority language (Specific provisions); positive discrimination or affirmative action, i.e. preferential treatment of applicants of ethnic minority origin (Positive discrim.); other]. Source: IZA Expert Opinion Survey 2007.
Figure 10. Policy Principles: Minorities at Greatest Risk

![Policy Principles Chart]

Notes: Replies to the question: ‘Please indicate which one of the policy principles listed below is the most preferred by members of this ethnic minority [minority at greatest risk, see Figure 4].’ [The principle of equal treatment with no regard to ethnic origin (Equal treatment); the principle of specific provisions, such as language courses for ethnic minorities not fluent in the majority language (Specific provisions); positive discrimination or affirmative action, i.e. preferential treatment of applicants of ethnic minority origin (Positive discrim.); other].

Figure 11. Public Attitudes

![Public Attitudes Chart]

Notes: Replies to the question: ‘How would you describe the general public opinion and attitudes towards the following ethnic minorities [minority at greatest risk, see Figure 4; minorities in general]?’ [very negative; negative; neutral; positive; very positive].
Figure 12. Business Attitudes

Notes: Replies to the question: ‘How would you describe the perception of the following ethnic minorities [minority at greatest risk, see Figure 4; minorities in general] as employees and business partners in the business world, i.e. among managers, businessmen and businesswomen, and entrepreneurs?’ [Minority at greatest risk, see Figure 4; minorities in general] [very negative; negative; neutral; positive; very positive]. Source: IZA Expert Opinion Survey 2007.

Figure 13. Integration Barriers

Notes: Replies to the question: ‘What are the most significant barriers preventing ethnic minorities [minority at greatest risk, see Figure 4; minorities in general] from fully participating in the labor market? Multiple answers possible.’ [No barriers (None); insufficient knowledge of the official language(s) (Language); insufficient education (Education); lack of information about employment opportunities (Information); discriminatory attitudes and behavior towards ethnic minorities (Discrimination); social, cultural and religious norms originating from within these ethnic minorities (Internal); institutional barriers, such as citizenship, or legal restrictions (Institutional); other]. Source: IZA Expert Opinion Survey 2007.
Notes: Replies to the question: ‘In your opinion, what are, in general, the best ways to overcome the aforementioned barriers and facilitate the social and labor market integration of ethnic minorities [minority at greatest risk, see Figure 4; minorities in general]? Multiple answers possible.’ [No intervention at all (None); general public policies, e.g. anti-discrimination laws (General public); specific public initiatives, e.g. targeted pre-school education and information campaigns (Specific public); business initiatives (Business); non-governmental initiatives, including church initiatives (NGOs); other].

Notes: Replies to the question: ‘For this ethnic minority [Roma, as the minority indicated as facing greatest risk of exclusion], please tell us whether, in your opinion, this minority demands any changes concerning its social and labor market integration.’ [No, this ethnic minority has priorities in areas other than its social and labor market integration; Yes].
Notes: Replies to the question: ‘Please indicate in which three of the following areas such changes are most desired by members of this ethnic minority [Roma, as the minority indicated as facing greatest risk of exclusion].’ [Paid employment, including hiring, promotion, laying off, and remuneration (Paid empl.); self-employment, including licensing (Self-empl.); education; social insurance and benefits (Soc. insurance); health care; housing; national and international mobility (Mobility); cultural, social, and religious life (Cultural life); political participation and representation, such as the right to vote and be elected (Polit. participation); representation in employees’ organizations, such as trade unions (Representation); attitudes of and acceptance by society (Attitudes); other].
Figure 17. Responsible for Changes (Roma)

Notes: Replies to the question: ‘Please indicate which three of the following entities members of this ethnic minority [Roma, as the minority indicated as facing greatest risk of exclusion] consider as the most responsible to initiate and promote such changes:’ [European Commission and the European Union in general (EC and EU); national government (National GVT); local governments and authorities (Local GVT); non-governmental organizations (NGOs); the representatives of their own ethnic minority (Own rep.); the representatives of ethnic minorities in general (Minor rep.); religious organizations and churches (Church); trade unions and other employees’ associations (Unions); employers’ associations (Employers); other].
Figure 18. Policy Principles (Roma)

Notes: Replies to the question: ‘Please indicate which one of the policy principles listed below is the most preferred by members of these ethnic minorities [Roma, as the minority indicated as facing greatest risk of exclusion].’ [The principle of equal treatment with no regard to ethnic origin (Equal treatment); the principle of specific provisions, such as language courses for ethnic minorities not fluent in the majority language (Specific provisions); positive discrimination or affirmative action, i.e. preferential treatment of applicants of ethnic minority origin (Positive discrim.); other].

Figure 19. Policy Matrix
Figure 20. Policy Matrix by Country
Notes: Based on the IZA Expert Opinion Survey 2007. No or insufficient data were available for Cyprus, Lithuania, Slovenia and Latvia.
Source: Zimmermann et al. (2008).