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Migrants' work environment in the Danish construction sector

Main report in English

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Migrants' work environment in the Danish construction sector

Main report in English

Charlotte Hooper Overgård, Magnus Jespersen, Laust Høgedahl, Trine Lund Thomsen, Lærke Busk Sørensen & Nicoline Bisgaard Møller



Center for Labor Market Research, Aalborg University, Aalborg 2023

Foreword

In 2023, Danish employment hit a record high of 3 million employees. Employment has been constantly increasing in the period 2013 to 2023, apart from a slight dip during the Covid-19 pandemic. The high employment is partly due to more Danish employees have entered the labor market during the period (Statistics Denmark, 2023). However, the increase in employment is also due to an increase in the number of migrant workers finding their way into the Danish labor market.

From 2013 to 2023, the number of migrant workers in the Danish labor market doubled, reaching more than 310,000 full-time employees in August 2023 (Jobindsats, 2023). This means that migrant workers now make up a significant portion of employment. The increase is particularly large in the construction sector, where the number of migrant workers has increased from 8,782 to 25,014 full-time employees in the last ten years (Jobindsats, 2023). The majority come from the newest EU countries which with the EU enlargements in 2004 and 2007 are afforded free movement. In Denmark, migrants from the following three countries make up the largest groups in construction: Poland (11,585 people, July 2023), Romania (4,024) and Lithuania (2,741) (Jobindsats, 2023). In addition, migrant workers from third countries, i.e. outside the EU, are gaining access to the Danish labor market, in growing albeit smaller numbers.

Despite such a large increase in the number of migrant workers in the Danish labor market and in the construction sector in particular, research detailing the working environment of migrant workers is relatively limited. This is especially true of empirical research that attempts to uncover the conditions for migrant workers, even though we know that many migrants work in the most dangerous industries, including in construction.

The research project therefore aims to investigate the working environment and safety situation of migrant workers in the Danish construction industry. The project seeks scientific answers to whether there are differences between the working environment for Danish construction workers and migrant workers, and which factors influence these differences. The project examines in detail which industries and sub-industries primarily use migrant labor and whether these industries are particularly dangerous to work in. Finally, the project aims to shed light on accidents among migrant workers, underreporting of accidents and investigate reasons for underreporting.

Driven by the migrant workers' own statements, as well as the insights of those who work closely with migrant workers, a major finding is that migrant workers are being offered a work environment which is very different to Danish workers' work environment. While some migrant workers are satisfied with their working life in Denmark, the overall report points to working lives characterized by lack of fundamental rights as human beings and as workers. The report points to a lack of

security in both employment and at work, where only the labor, but not the person behind the labor, has value.

We hope that the results of the research project can contribute to an informed debate about an ever-growing, but under researched, group of workers in the Danish labor market and that we with this English version of the Danish report can spread the findings beyond the borders of Denmark and to migrants in Denmark who do not speak Danish.

On behalf of the research team, Dr Charlotte Overgaard

Table of contents

1	Introduction: migrant workers and health and safety in construction	18
1.1	Purpose	19
1.2	Theoretical frameworks.....	20
	Decent work.....	20
	Determinants of worker safety and health (DWSH).....	20
	Safety culture.....	22
1.3	Methodology, in brief.....	23
1.4	Reading guide and short introduction to all chapters.....	24
2	Mixed methods for assessing the occupational health and safety of foreign workers	27
2.1	Data and Methodology, Quantitative analysis	30
	Administrative data registers used in this study.....	30
	Use of registers.....	32
	Population.....	33
	Statistical tools.....	33
2.2	Data management	34
2.3	Data processing before tagging	34
2.4	Merging and post-processing of data sets.....	36
2.5	Analysis of quantitative data	37
	Hazardous industries	37
	Logistic regressions on workplace accidents.....	37
2.6	About qualitative analysis	38
2.7	Recruitment of migrants.....	40
	More about convenience sampling.....	42
	More about flyer recruitment as an inclusion strategy	43
	More about online recruitment as an inclusion strategy.....	44

More on recruitment from construction sites as an inclusion strategy.....	45
More on recruiting through key people as an inclusion and targeting strategy.....	45
More on recruiting through and working with the union as an inclusion and targeting strategy.....	46
More about snowballing	46
Lessons learned from recruiting migrant workers	46
2.8 Conducting interviews with migrants	47
2.9 Overview of all migrants in the project	49
2.10 Analysis of interview material from migrants	63
2.11 More about the analysis in Chapter 9, decent Work.....	64
2.12 More about the analysis in chapter 11, categorization.....	65
Procedure for the qualitative analysis in chapter 11	67
Procedure for the quantitative analysis in chapter 11	68
2.13 Professional informants	69
Recruitment	71
Conducting the interviews	72
Analysis of interview material from professional informants	72
2.14 Site visits	72
2.15 Literature review, Scoping study method	73
Determining the research question (Phase 1)	73
Identification of relevant literature (Phase 2)	74
Inclusion and Exclusion (Phase 3)	74
Coding and thematic analysis (Phase 4).....	75
Summarizing and reporting data (Phase 5).....	75
Consultation (Phase 6)	75
3 Existing research: OHS, migrant workers in the construction industry in Denmark.....	76
3.1 Overview of publications included in the literature review	76
3.2 Existing knowledge, thematically presented.....	77
The extent of occupational injuries.....	77

Migrants' knowledge and risk appetite	79
Everyday life at work: lower wages, language barriers, poor treatment and fraud	80
Migrants are subject to different expectations than Danish workers	82
Work organization creates risks for migrants.....	83
Migrants are hard to protect.....	84
Mobility between unequal labor markets causes problems.....	85
Summary and discussion	85
4 Everyday life and safety measures on Danish construction sites	87
4.1 What are migrants most concerned about?.....	88
4.2 What is everyday life like?	89
Work pace.....	90
Working hours.....	93
Salary vs. working hours and pace	95
Assigning the worst tasks.....	96
Instruction in the execution of the work	98
Language challenges in everyday life	99
The absence of collegiality with Danes	101
A tough environment among the migrants.....	103
Allocated housing	105
Comparisons with other countries	108
Summary and discussion, everyday life at work.....	110
4.3 Experience of cultural encounters and own professional skills?	113
About culture, norms, habits and mentality	113
Willingness to work	116
Qualifications	117
Summary and discussion, cultural encounter and professional skills	120
4.4 How are different security measures perceived?.....	122
Introductory courses	122

	Safety meetings, Safety courses, Toolbox.....	123
	On-site supervision/inspections.....	124
	Safety equipment, personal protective equipment, welfare measures.....	126
	Work environment cooperation (AMO).....	130
	Meeting with the Danish Working Environment Authority	133
	Summary and discussion, security measures	137
5	First and foremost, a human being?.....	139
5.1	What kind of attitudes do migrants experience?.....	139
	Laborers without human value	139
	Discrimination	140
	Employer vs. own attitudes towards health and safety	143
	When the employer cheats	144
	Summary and discussion, discrimination and disregard for people behind the labor	148
5.2	How do migrants experience work life in general?	149
	Interchangeable - the threat of being dismissed.....	149
	Good jobs and language issues	152
	Summary and discussion, precarious work.....	156
6	Workplace accidents and underreporting.....	158
6.1	Literature review	159
	Existing knowledge on the extent of accidents for migrant workers in Denmark.....	159
	Existing knowledge about underreporting in Denmark	160
	Existing knowledge on the extent of accidents among migrant workers, focus on Europe....	161
6.2	Quantitative analysis.....	163
	Underreporting of accidents	163
6.3	Estimates, underreporting.....	170
6.4	What happens following and accident? Explanations for underreporting.....	173
	Dismissal or redundancy as a result of an accident at work	175
	Continuation of working, even after an accident.....	177

Repatriation	183
Lack of medical treatment in Denmark	184
Fabrication of lies.....	186
Asymmetric knowledge and masking as cross-cutting themes	188
6.5 Conflicting incentives in the industry	188
6.6 Summary and discussion, accidents and underreporting	190
7 Focus on physical conditions and the organization of work	193
7.1 Physical conditions: migrants work in the most dangerous industries	195
7.2 Migrants get the dirty, dangerous and demanding jobs on construction sites	197
Working in unskilled, dangerous sub-industries.....	198
Migrant workers are assigned 3D jobs on the sites	198
7.3 Themes related to the organization of work and psychosocial impacts	200
Employer's lack of instruction.....	200
Transfer of responsibility (risk shift).....	202
Segregation and isolation.....	204
B-team	207
Exploiting willingness to work, unequal power positions and knowledge asymmetry.....	208
Labor crime.....	211
7.4 Summary and discussion	212
8 Focus on the culture, knowledge and experience migrants bring with them, as well as health and safety efforts and the industry	215
8.1 Characteristics of the migrant worker.....	215
Demographic profile.....	215
Balancing reward and risk.....	216
Other norms and habits (safety culture)	219
Lack of knowledge	221
Summary and reflection , characteristics of the migrant worker.....	223
8.2 Focus on safety and occupational health initiatives.....	225

Difficulties faced by health and safety professionals	226
Language challenges in occupational health and safety	228
Exclusion from health and safety organization	230
Formalities, rather than real safety	234
The work of the Danish Working Environment Authority is made more difficult.....	236
Summary and reflection , safety and health efforts.....	239
8.3 Themes on industry organization and characteristics.....	240
Economy and schedules are the main priority.....	241
Subcontracting.....	245
Job insecurity discourages long-term efforts	247
Generalized fear and distrust.....	249
Summary and reflection , industry organization and characteristics	252
9 A decent working life.....	254
9.1 The satisfied migrant and a decent working life.....	254
Company, including recruitment and national composition of employees	255
Leaders signal the importance of safety.....	256
Allies	257
Education is less important, but professional experience is.....	257
No issues with pay and working hours	258
Language skills are important	258
Stable housing and family relationships	259
Responsible mentality of migrant workers.....	260
Experiences that satisfied migrants don't share	260
Summary and discussion, the satisfied migrant and a decent working life	261
10 Ukrainian refugees' work environment.....	263
10.1 Vasyl.....	263
10.2 Boris	265
10.3 Boryslav.....	267

10.4	Summary and discussion, Ukrainian refugees' experience of working life	268
11	Theorizing and categorizing the occupational health and safety problems of different migrant groups.....	270
11.1	Matrix for developing categories	270
11.2	What do each category care about the most?	272
11.3	Presentation of the typical work environment situation for each category.....	274
	Careerist, working for a Danish company (Category A).....	275
	Nomad, working for a Danish company (B).....	277
	Opportunist, working for a Danish company (C).....	280
	Careerist, working a foreign company (D).....	282
	Nomad, working in a foreign company (E)	282
	Opportunist, working in a foreign company (F).....	285
	Careerist, working as a temp (G)	287
	Nomad, working as a temp (H).....	289
	Opportunist, working as a temp (I)	292
11.4	Shared experiences across categories, focus on experiences	292
11.5	Summary and discussion, company affiliation and background.	295
12	Conclusion	300
12.1	What is the working environment and safety of migrants in the Danish construction industry?.....	300
12.2	Are migrants particularly vulnerable to accidents?	303
12.3	What are the reasons for the high unreported and underreported figures?	303
12.4	Do migrants work in particularly dangerous industries?	304
12.5	Does it matter if the company is Danish or foreign?	304
12.6	How does the safety and working environment of migrants differ from that of Danes?..	305
12.7	What about social dumping?.....	306
12.8	Does it spread to Danes in the industry?.....	307
12.9	Why are there differences?	308

12.10	Is poorer health and safety due to cultural differences?	310
12.11	Are no migrants satisfied?	312
12.12	Who is particularly vulnerable?	312
13	Measures to improve the working environment and safety of migrants	314
13.1	General information, migrants	314
13.2	Occupational health and safety training, migrants	315
13.3	Other measures in relation to migrants	315
13.4	Efforts in relation to employers	315
13.5	Engaging with public/regulatory authorities	316
13.6	Initiatives in relation to occupational health and safety employees	317
13.7	Increased demands from the client	317
13.8	Knowledge and evidence bank	317
13.9	Concluding remarks on actions to improve conditions	318
14	Appendix 1: Annotated overview of existing research	319
15	References	334

Definitions

<p>AMO is short for arbejdsmiljøorganisation which means Occupational health and safety cooperation</p>	<p>In Denmark, it is mandatory to have AMO in companies of a certain size. The legal rules on health and safety organization can be found in the Working Environment Act (LBK no. 2062 of 16/11/2021). According to section 6 of the Act, in companies with 1-9 employees, cooperation on health and safety must take place through ongoing direct contact and dialogue between the employer, employees and supervisors. In companies with 10-34 employees, cooperation on health and safety must be organized in a health and safety organization consisting of 1 or more supervisors and 1 or more elected health and safety representatives (AMO) with the employer or a representative of the employer as chairman. In companies with 35 or more employees, the cooperation must be organized in such a way that a health and safety organization is established with the following two levels: 1) the daily tasks, and 2) the overall tasks regarding safety and health.</p>
<p>AMP is short for Arbejdsmiljørepræsentant which means health and safety representative</p>	<p>According to section 6a of the Working Environment Act (LBK no. 2062 of 16/11/2021), companies with at least 10 employees must have a health and safety organization consisting of 1 or more elected health and safety representatives (AMP) and 1 or more supervisors, see above. The AMP is a chosen among laborers.</p>
<p>CPR register</p>	<p>CPR is short for Danish Civil Registration Numbers. In Denmark, this number is routinely referred to as CPR. In this project, CPR numbers are used to link various registers to each other.</p>
<p>Danish Working Environment Authority (WEA) [in Danish, Arbejdstilsynet (AT)]</p>	<p>The Danish Working Environment Authority (WEA) is an agency under the auspices of the Ministry of Employment. The Danish Working Environment Authority contributes to the</p>

	<p>creation of safe and healthy working conditions at Danish workplaces. This is done by (Arbejdstilsynet, n/d):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carrying out inspections at companies • Drawing up rules on health and safety at work • Providing information on health and safety at work
<p>Determinants of worker safety and health (DWSH)</p>	<p>Determinants of worker safety and health (DWSH) is a title we use to refer to an analytical framework developed by Sorensen et al. (Sorensen et al., 2016, 2019, 2021). DWSH points to the different causal ways in which work affects people. The analytical model was developed by the Center for Work, Health and Wellbeing at the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health.</p>
<p>Decent work</p>	<p>We use the concept of decent work as a framework for analysis, especially in chapter 10. The concept of decent work was originally coined and developed by the International Labor Organization (ILO) in 1999. Decent work summarizes people's aspirations and desires for and about their working life (Pereira et al., 2019).</p>
<p>Health and safety coordinator</p>	<p>According to section 37 of the Working Environment Act (LBK no. 2062 of 16/11/2021), the client/owner of a construction site must plan, define and coordinate measures to promote the health and safety of employees. In this context, health and safety coordinators are appointed. The health and safety coordinators are responsible for ensuring cooperation between employers on health and safety issues and for ensuring that employers apply general prevention principles (Ajslev & Møller, 2023). The health and safety coordinator must coordinate the work environment where more than one employer is present. The coordinator can be employed by the client, contractor or as an external health and safety advisor. Legally, the health and safety coordinator must act on behalf of the client.</p>

Informants	An informant is a person who has contributed to the raw data in this project, typically through interviews, but also with written information, images or emails. There are two main types of informants: migrants and professional informants.
Introduction course	Introduction courses refer to the courses that many medium and large construction sites hold for new employees.
Instruction	According to section 17(2) of the Working Environment Act (LBK no. 2062 of 16/11/2021), the employer must ensure that employees receive the necessary training and instruction to perform work in a hazard-free manner. When we use the word instruction or duty to instruct in this report, we are referring to the employer's duty.
Labor crime	Labor crime involves various acts that violate Danish laws regarding wages and working conditions, social security, taxes and more. The crimes are often carried out in an organized manner and in ways that exploit workers or have the effect of distorting competition and undermining social structures.
Migrant worker	<p>In the project, migrant worker refers to a person who does not have a Danish citizenship and who performs or has performed work in Denmark.</p> <p>They may be employed in permanent or temporary positions (for example, seasonal workers, temporary workers, or seconded by a foreign company). We use this term regardless of whether the person has arrived to work or has arrived for other reasons and later found work. Our definition is in line with “The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families”, which defines a migrant worker as follows: "The term Migrant worker refers to a person who is to be engaged, is engaged or has</p>

	<p>been engaged in a remunerated activity in a State of which he or she is not a national”.</p>
<p>OHS employee/ OHS professionals</p>	<p>We use the term OHS employee/professional as a collective term for staff who are either employed as occupational health and safety coordinators, occupational health and safety consultants or have another title which includes the word occupational health and safety (work environment), such as occupational health and safety manager or project manager for occupational health and safety, see also the explanation of these terms.</p> <p>It is therefore a shared term for all informants - i.e. people who have been interviewed - whose employment specify that a responsibility is to oversee or in other ways work towards securing a good working environment as evidenced by their job title. In Denmark (as abroad), there has been a rise in OHS professionals, but in a Danish context there is no common agreement on titles.</p> <p>We also use this umbrella term to allow informants to talk freely about their work without being identified.</p> <p>The term occupational health and safety employee is not used for health and safety representatives among migrants whose primary responsibility is as a laborer. Nor is it used for public employees, such as supervisory authorities.</p>
<p>Occupational health and safety consultants</p>	<p>In the project, health and safety consultants refer to advisors whose jobs are to promote good health and safety practices to construction sites and to construction companies and their employees across more than one workplace. They have no fixed place of employment and are not affiliated with specific construction sites or companies.</p>

Professional informants	In the project, we use the term professional informants as a collective term for all informants who are not migrant workers. Professional informants are all those informants who have contributed, primarily through interviews, because they have a professional interest and knowledge of the working environment and/or migrants. They are employed in construction companies, temporary employment agencies, public companies, interest groups, and trade unions.
RAS register	The Labor Force Statistics Register (In Danish and shortened, RAS) calculate the population's primary attachment to the labor market.
RUT register	The Register for Foreign Service Providers (In Denmark, routinely referred to as RUT) is the Danish government's official register for registering foreign services. Foreign service providers who temporarily perform work in Denmark must register in RUT. This also applies to companies that have no activities in their home country. In the building and construction industry, self-employed persons without employees must also register in RUT.
Safety culture	Safety culture is a contested, abstract and normative concept with many different definitions. Most scholars agree on one part of the definition which is that culture is shared and safety culture is part of organizational culture (Guldenmund, 2000).
Social dumping	Social dumping is a term that doesn't have just one definition. The Ministry of Employment defines social dumping as conditions where foreign employees have pay and other working conditions which are below the usual Danish level (FAOS, n/d).

	<p>In the public authorities' efforts, social dumping is now closely linked to and includes the working environment, too. The government's "Agreement on future-proofing the working environment and efforts against social dumping" cements social dumping as linked to the working environment in the political and public effort (The Ministry of Employment, 2023).</p> <p>In academic literature, a motive is attached to the word. Social dumping is used to denote a strategy to lower wages or other standards in order to increase competitiveness according to Bernaciak (cited in Grillis & Dyreborg, 2015, p. 15).</p> <p>Previous studies that specifically focus on social dumping have tended to focus on wages (Andersen & Pedersen, 2010, 2010; Grillis & Dyreborg, 2015), rather than health and safety.</p>
<p>Tillidsrepræsentant / Trade union representative</p>	<p>The trade union representative is elected by the employees at the workplace and must look after colleagues' interests vis-à-vis management.</p>
<p>Work environment/ Occupational health and safety (OHS)</p>	<p>Working environment is the sum of all the influences a person is exposed to at work. These include physical, psychological, chemical, biological and social influences. In this project, we focus primarily on social and physical factors, only slightly on psychological factors and we do not focus on chemical and biological factors.</p> <p>Working environment and occupational health and safety (OHS) are used interchangeably in this project.</p>

1 Introduction: migrant workers and health and safety in construction

In Denmark, foreign labor is increasingly being used to complete tasks within the construction industry. This increase is due to an increase in demand due to rising economic activity and the enlargement of the EU in 2004 and 2007. The enlargement meant that the new member states became part of the EU's single market, allowing workers and companies from these countries to move across borders and reach Western European labor markets (Andersen & Felbo-Kolding, 2013).

It is well known that working in the construction industry is dangerous (Nielsen, 2007). It is so dangerous that construction along with agriculture is the number one industry for fatal accidents in Denmark (Arbejdstilsynet, 2020b). One in ten reported accident occurs on a construction site (Arbejdstilsynet, 2020a). In addition, the Danish Working Environment Authority's inspections show that there are serious violations in companies employing migrant workers (COWI, 2016). The authorities' report on examples of outdated working methods, more physically straining work and the use of less technological equipment among migrants than is customary in the Danish labor market (Arbejdstilsynet et al., 2020). This picture is not isolated to Denmark. Migrants across the world are vulnerable when it comes to occupational health and safety (Ahonen et al., 2007; Isusi et al., 2020; Sterud et al., 2018). Therefore, there are ample reasons to be concerned about the safety of migrants at this intersection of migrant status and a dangerous industry.

At the same time, there is political focus on the working environment of migrants, not least because stories regularly appear in the media about unfair treatment of migrants, such as the Filipino and Sri Lankan truck drivers in a well-known case (the Padborg case), who lived in slum-like conditions (DR, 2018). In recognition of the problem and political focus on social dumping, political parties across both sides of politics agreed in March 2023 to future-proof the working environment efforts and ensure a strong effort against social dumping, labor crime and illegal labor. A total of DKK 673.2 million was allocated in the period 2023-2026 at the same time to continue and further develop the efforts (Ministry of Employment, 2023). During the collective bargaining in the construction sector in the spring of 2023, the three parts to the agreement also signed off on provisions of a special housing supplement of DKK 25 per hour for newly arrived foreign construction workers (DR, 2023).

Despite the media attention and the political and professional recognition of the problems, there is a lack of clarity on key questions, such as whether migrants have more accidents and a poorer working environment than Danes, whether the cases in the media are just isolated incidents, and how migrants themselves experience their working environment.

The overarching research question is: *What is the working environment and safety of foreign workers in the Danish construction industry, and are there differences between the working environment for Danes and foreign workers?*

As part of answering this overarching question, the research project answers the following sub-questions:

1. How is migrants' work environment in the Danish construction industry?
2. How do migrants' work environment and safety differ from that of Danes?
3. In which sub-industries do migrant workers take up employment? And do these industries pose the highest occupational health and safety risks?
4. What is the accident profile of migrants?
5. What are the reasons for underreporting of occupational accidents in the construction industry?
6. Are there differences in the safety culture of Danes and migrant workers?
7. Do Danish companies and foreign companies offer different work environments?
8. Does the working environment for migrant workers "spread" to Danish workers?
9. Is there a link to social dumping?

1.1 Purpose

The purpose of the research project is to shed light on the working environment of migrant workers and to create more knowledge about this group of workers. The report contributes with research that can help improve the occupational health and safety for migrants on construction sites. The intention is that stakeholders will use the report's findings to create knowledge-based initiatives based on the migrants' own experiences and self-assessed needs. The report is therefore a step towards creating a better knowledge base, which - in the next step - can help inform and motivate further initiatives to improve the working environment for migrants on Danish construction sites; initiatives which are centered on the migrants' needs, wishes and own visions of a good working life. This better working life is referred to as decent work in the report. "Decent work" forms a vision; it should be decent for everyone, including migrants, to go to work (Rantanen et al., 2020).

In line with the report's primary purpose of strengthening the working environment and safety of migrants, migrant workers are deliberately placed at the center of the study. This is in recognition of migrant workers being the main experts when it comes to their own working lives. No one else

can reasonably know as much about migrant experiences as migrants themselves. Therefore, the report is based on a curiosity and openness towards migrant experiences. It is crucial to understanding and improving the conditions of migrants that migrants themselves are allowed to tell their stories and report on experiences. It is about migrants' agency and control over their own lives and a recognition that migrants are competent, knowledgeable and decision-making individuals.

1.2 Theoretical frameworks

The report is primarily data-driven. This means that data drives the interpretation, not pre-acquired preconceptions, including academic theories. However, parts of the analysis are anchored in specific analytical frameworks that have guided, enriched and qualified the analysis. In our view, theories are not right or wrong, but rather useful or not useful (Hakim, 2004). Two theoretical frameworks have been very useful in the analysis. They are: "decent work" (Rantanen et al., 2020) and "determinants of worker safety and health" (Sorensen et al., 2016). In addition, safety culture theory (Bisbey et al., 2021) is included to answer the question of migrants' safety culture.

Decent work

The report uses the concept that the International Labor Organization (ILO) has coined decent work. The concept of decent work is originally a vision and agenda used by the ILO from 1999. Decent work is a vision, but is also used in theory, practice and research (Pereira et al., 2019; Rantanen et al., 2020).

Decent work summarizes people's aspirations and desires for and about their working life (Pereira et al., 2019). Broadly speaking, decent work can be understood as a work-related ambition at the personal level and a policy goal at the macro level (Su & Chan, 2023). The ILO defines decent work as productive work that generates an adequate income, where rights are protected and where there is adequate social protection. In other words, it refers to a situation that promotes opportunities for men and women to work productively with freedom, equality, security and human dignity (European Commission, n.d.). Decent work is a global agenda that seeks to promote social justice (Bellace, 2011; Brill, 2021). A good working environment and safety at work is a fundamental principle of decent work: "Decent work must be safe work" (Rantanen et al., 2020).

Determinants of worker safety and health (DWSH)

In addition, the report uses an analytical framework that can be used to map how work affects people. The framework was developed by Sorensen et al. (Sorensen et al., 2016, 2019, 2021) at the Center for Work, Health and Wellbeing at the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health.

Although the authors do not give the framework a title, in the following, the report will refer to the framework as "Determinants of worker safety and health" (DWSH).

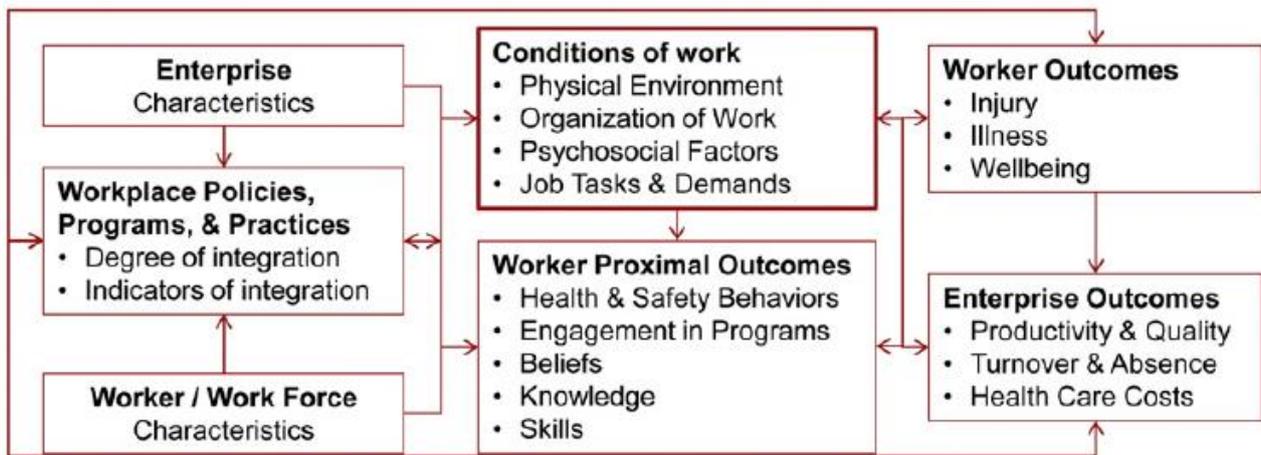
The model specifies the causal ways in which workplaces and work more generally affect the safety and health of workers. In general, the model belongs to the genre of health research known as social determinants of health. Therefore, the model focuses on social factors, not, for example, biological (such as obesity), ergonomic (such as posture) or other factors.

The model (Figure 1 Conceptual model for integrated approaches to the protection and promotion of worker health and safety (DWSH analysis framework)

) is used analytically in the report to think in a structured way about the total number of factors that influence migrants' safety and well-being at work. The model assumes that there are conditions at work that produce certain outcomes, such as more accidents. It is these influences that are of interest in the analysis.

The model was used in the analysis because there was a good match between the data and the model. The model has therefore been useful to organize the very large data set. Specifically, we have used the analysis model in the literature review in chapter 3, a study that has also been published in a scientific journal (Overgaard et al., 2023). The framework has also been used to explore the many different reasons why migrants have different health and safety outcomes than Danes (see chapters 7 and 8).

Figure 1 Conceptual model for integrated approaches to the protection and promotion of worker health and safety (DWSH analysis framework)



Source: Sorensen et al., 2016, p. 189

The primary influences according to the model are the conditions of work. These include the physical aspects of work (e.g., whether the work is heavy or dangerous), the organization of work (e.g., assignment of tasks), the psychosocial factors (e.g., inclusion and treatment at work) and job tasks and demands (e.g., the use of technical devices and working hours).

We also focus on the three boxes on the left (enterprise characteristics, worker characteristics and workplace health and safety initiatives and intentions). These three boxes show that the job itself is influenced by industry conditions, health and safety measures, but also the migrants' characteristics (Sorensen et al., 2016). Workplace policies signifies all OHS initiatives inside each organisation and at industry level. Worker characteristics include, for example, education and professional knowledge. As the model shows, it can be used to include both worker and company outcomes. However, this project only focuses on worker outcomes, not company outcomes.

Safety culture

The above framework is complemented by safety culture theory. However, safety culture is a contested concept and there are many different definitions. In addition, the concept of safety culture is abstract (Bisbey et al., 2021). It remains a challenge to determine not only how safety culture affects accidents, but also how safety culture emerges and becomes so 'fixed' that it can be called a culture.

The key takeaway from most cultural theory is that culture emerges in social contexts. Culture is shared and most definitions of safety culture point to shared perceptions and values as the definition of culture (Bisbey et al., 2021). It is also important to highlight that the vast majority of definitions of safety culture point to the fact that safety culture belongs *in* the organization. Safety culture is part of the organizational culture (Guldenmund, 2000), it does not belong to individuals. This also means that migrant safety culture is an oxymoron when applied to individuals, a compound of two words that contain contradictory statements. Individuals cannot *have* safety culture because, according to safety culture theories, culture belongs in the organization. The organization can be the individual construction site og company.

It is also important to highlight the distinction between culture and behavior. Culture is deeply rooted patterns that emerge slowly over time, not snapshots (Denison, 1996). Behavior is a result of culture, but it is not the culture. Thus, it is conceivable that a single person's failure to comply with specific rules may be an expression of that person's contradictory *behavior* in an organization where there are otherwise shared values about the importance of complying with rules, because there is a consensus in both management and among employees about the importance of e.g. ensuring rest periods to avoid accidents. Conversely, a lack of rest period compliance may be

indicative of a shared, poor safety culture in the organization, where rest is not collectively valued and recognized as important to safety. In relation to empirical data, it can be difficult to assess whether an action is simply behavior or whether the action is an expression of a specific and shared work culture in a company or workplace.

There is also something normative about the word safety culture (Guldenmund, 2010), which makes it difficult to use the analytical framework in a study where we want to understand how safety is right now, not how it should be. Safety culture is normative in the sense that it is desirable to have a good safety culture where everyone, management and workers alike, feel responsible for and pursue the goal of avoiding accidents. How to achieve a good safety culture is much more uncertain. And in this context, there is a distinction between the factors that influence culture, such as the provision of health and safety training (Bisbey et al., 2021), and the culture itself. The loose definition and lack of common understanding of the concept has made it difficult to apply safety culture theory to the study of migrant work environment.

Furthermore, safety culture, as stakeholders and informants use the word, does not necessarily mean the same thing as it means in the analytical apparatus. Finally, culture plays very little role in migrants' own experiences of what happens on construction sites. For example, when migrants report a lack of instruction, it is difficult to fit this into a cultural analysis. In other words, there is not a very good match between empirical data and cultural theory. We will return to the analytical framework at selected points, but overall, we must note that it has not been possible or sufficient to analyze the issues solely as a cultural analysis, because there are so many elements in the migrants' experiences that are clearly not related to culture. Where relevant, we have used the concept as an analytical device.

1.3 Methodology, in brief

This study uses mixed methods (Creswell, 2003; Creswell & Clark, 2018; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004) in a combination of quantitative register analysis and qualitative methods in the form of a literature review, a large number of interviews and site visits. The purpose of using qualitative and quantitative methods in combination is to answer separate but also interrelated questions about occupational health and safety.

In summary, the research project relies on these methods:

- Analysis of administrative data registers in which the following registers are linked: the Danish Civil Registration System (CPR), the Register-based Labor Force Statistics (RAS), which calculates the population's primary attachment to the labor market, the Employment for Salaried Employees Register (BFL), which is a statistic that illustrates the employment of

salaried employees on a quarterly and monthly basis; the National Patient Register (LPR), which is a comprehensive register with information on contact with hospitals; the EASY register, which contains information on the primarily employer-reported, statutory occupational injury reports.

- Interviews with 84 migrant workers from 13 different countries, primarily from Eastern and Southern Europe
- Interviews with 37 professional informants, including health and safety consultants, coordinators and project managers employed by employers, as well as regulators, client representatives, employer representatives and union officials.
- A smaller number of site visits
- A scoping study

A mixed methods design is chosen because it offers the opportunity to combine the strengths of both qualitative and quantitative research while also compensating for the weaknesses of these methods (Creswell, 2003; Creswell & Clark, 2018; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Mixed methods also provide a broad overview and the opportunity to view migrants' occupational health and safety from different perspectives. The next chapter contains a detailed methodology description.

1.4 Reading guide and short introduction to all chapters

This reading guide guides the reader to all chapters of this, the main report, allowing you to drill down on specific topics of interest.

Introductory chapters	Chapter 1 contains the preface, purpose of the report and research questions. Chapter 2 contains a detailed methodology overview providing a thorough and transparent insight into the procedures, choices and methods used in the design phases as well as during data collection and analysis.
Literature study, prior research on the topic	Chapter 3 contains a literature study of preexisting research about migrants' occupational health and safety in the construction industry. The literature study takes the form of a scoping study, and is also published elsewhere (Overgaard et al., 2023).

Migrant workers' experiences in the construction industry in Denmark

Chapter 4 examines how migrants experience their working environment and safety in the Danish construction industry. The chapter begins with a review of the themes that relate to daily life at work, including work pace, work hours, work allocation, etc. In Chapter 4, we then focus on the migrants' experiences with various safety measures on the sites and explore the migrants' experiences of safety instructions, safety equipment and physical work environment.

Chapter 5 focuses on how migrants experience discrimination and poor attitudes towards migrants, attitudes which migrants believe underlie their poor treatment.

Accidents and underreporting

Chapter 6 deals with accidents and underreporting of accidents. First, a brief description is given of existing Danish and international research, detailing the extent of accidents for migrant workers in Denmark and beyond. This is followed by a quantitative register analysis which shed light on the proportions of migrant workers in construction and subsequent probabilities of occupational accidents based on a comprehensive register dataset. The qualitative analysis is used to understand the surprising results of the register survey and explore reasons for underreporting.

Causal relationships:
Reasons for differences

Chapters 7 and 8 assess the key question of why there are differences in outcomes between migrant and domestic workers.

Chapter 7 addresses the causal relationships that have to do with working conditions. We therefore delve into the conditions at work, including the nature of work, psychosocial influences and demands that affect migrants' performance.

Chapter 8 covers other influences, including the characteristics of the migrants themselves, the health and safety measures in place at the workplace, and the conditions of the industry.

Variations in migrants' experiences

Chapter 9 examines what characterizes a decent working life. The analysis to answer this question is based on a thematic analysis of nine satisfied workers.

Chapter 10 focuses on the working lives of Ukrainian refugees.

Chapter 11 is a theorization and categorization of groups of migrants. The chapter examines whether experience and employment as a temporary worker, in Danish and foreign companies, respectively, have an impact on the experiences of migrants.

Conclusion and actions for improvement

Chapter 12 contains a conclusion based on the researchers' overall analysis.

Chapter 13 contains a catalog of suggestions on how to improve the occupational health and safety of migrants.

Attachments

Annotated overview of literature included in the literature review in chapter 3.

Each section or chapter concludes with a summary and discussion where our findings are assessed in relation to other research. Although it is possible to read the individual chapters of the report in isolation, we ask that individual points are not read in isolation and without assessing the report as a whole.

2 Mixed methods for assessing the occupational health and safety of foreign workers

This study uses mixed methods (Creswell, 2003; Creswell & Clark, 2018; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004) in a combination of quantitative register analysis and qualitative methods in the form of literature reviews, interviews and site visits. The purpose of using qualitative and quantitative methods is to answer separate but also interrelated questions about occupational health and safety.

In summary, the research project relies on these methods:

- Administrative data analysis (hereafter referred to as register analysis)
- Interviews with 84 migrant workers from 13 different countries, primarily Eastern and Southern Europe
- Interviews with 37 professional informants, including occupational health and safety consultants, -coordinators and project managers employed by employers, as well as regulators, client representatives, employer representatives and union officials.
- A smaller number of site visits
- A scoping study

Many argue that a mixed methods design offers the best chance of answering complex research questions because mixed methods combine the strengths of both qualitative and quantitative research while compensating for the weaknesses of these methods (Creswell, 2003; Creswell & Clark, 2018; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

This is because quantitative and qualitative research have different strengths. Overall, the quantitative part of the study is suitable for answering questions about prevalence (how often) and size (how many), such as the number of accidents and the number of employees in different industries. The quantitative part of the survey thus provides breadth to the survey.

But knowing the size of the numbers is not enough, because knowing the size of numbers does not equate to understanding why the numbers are the way they are. It is equally important to understand the mechanisms, reasons, and actions behind numbers. Such questions are better explored using qualitative methods. In other words, a mixed methods study combines the best of both quantitative and qualitative research because the study achieves both breadth and depth and gains greater validity due to the ability to triangulate (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

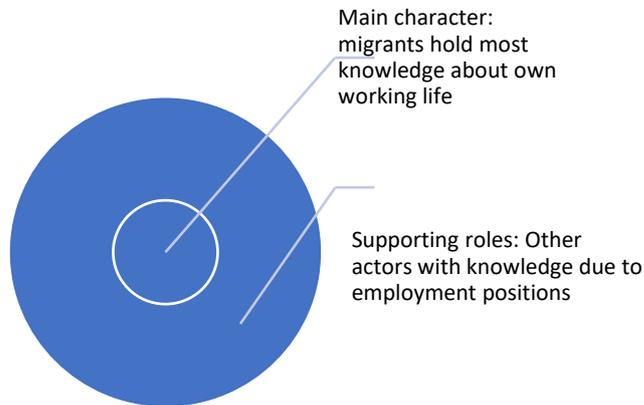
Triangulation involves the simultaneous use of multiple methods and data sources to develop a comprehensive understanding of the research problem. Triangulation is particularly useful in areas where it can be difficult to generate good, valid data. This is especially true in areas where it is undesirable to report and in investigating shady activities. Using only a single source of data in an area where data is hard to come by can lead to misleading results. An example is judging the working environment of migrants by looking only at reported workplace accidents without understanding that the records provide misleading data - an insight that can only be gained by comparing with qualitative data. When using multiple data sources, it is possible to generate more valid data because the issue is approached from multiple angles (Creswell, 2003; Tracy, 2010).

It has been a priority in this study to provide a voice to migrant workers. No one else can reasonably be assumed to know as much about migrants' working life, working environment and safety as the migrants themselves. Consequently, the researchers have entered into the process with an interest in the individual migrant's experiences and stories where lived experiences cannot be reduced to questions of prevalence and percentages alone. Of course, the prevalence of potential problems matters for the reputation of the industry, for access to recruitment to the industry and probably also for productivity, but for the individual, it matters *every* time working life affects individuals' safety, welfare and health, regardless of how many others share that experience. In relation to the individual experience, we therefore seek not only to quantify how widespread the problems are, but also to understand motivations, experiences, mechanisms, attitudes, causes and consequences. When we understand this, we are also able to understand where to intervene and how to improve conditions. A qualitative study, on the other hand, is not able to substantiate claims about percentages of the population, no matter how many people we interview. However, in conjunction with quantitative data, it is possible to understand *both the scale* and the reasons for the scale.

While the main spotlight is on migrants, we have also conducted interviews with professional informants who, through their work, have insight into the migrants' work environment. This is because some employees are in contact with so many migrant workers and visit so many construction sites that they are able to talk about experiences that cut across migrant workers or have perspectives that may be difficult for individual migrant workers to see. For example, a specific migrant worker may not necessarily know what happens to other migrant workers who have been in accidents or know anything about what happens on the other side of the country.

However, as we have described, the overall focus of the qualitative part of the project is how migrant workers experience and assess their own work environment and safety. Figure 2 outlines this line of thinking.

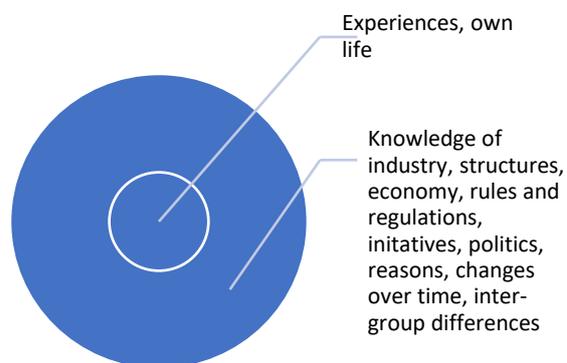
Figure 2: Main characters and supporting roles



In addition, it can be difficult for individual migrants to recognize the structures, laws and regulations that shape migrants' individual experiences. In addition, informants are often better at identifying causal relationships than the migrants themselves. In other words, there are questions that cannot be answered by asking migrant workers. For example, health and safety advisors have talked about the lack of health and safety cooperation (AMO), something that the individual migrant finds it difficult to point to due to being excluded. Another example is that recruiters have insight into how the recruitment process influences migrants' perceptions of their own work environment. Finally, with yet another example, employers' occupational health and safety staff can provide insights into the mechanisms and motivations that influence the underreporting of accidents.

These are just examples. The main point is that only migrant workers know what it is like to be a migrant worker. But other stakeholders may have knowledge about what shapes that experience. This thinking is illustrated in figure 3.

Figure 3: The kind of knowledge groups of respondents hold



Throughout the process, we have taken every opportunity to give presentations and communicate preliminary results. We have given presentations to authorities, clients, trade unions, migrant workers and occupational health and safety professionals. A special focus has been on communicating to migrants themselves, even though it has been difficult to identify suitable forums. The many presentations have meant that the results have been tested on both migrant workers and others with an interest in and from the industry. This increases the validity of our findings (Tracy, 2010; Tracy & Hinrichs, 2017).

2.1 Data and Methodology, Quantitative analysis

The data in this report is based on both descriptive and inferential quantitative analyses to illustrate the extent of hazardous work and accidents. Data, data processing and methods are presented below.

Administrative data registers used in this study

All Danes' contact with the public sector is registered and stored. This data is managed by Statistics Denmark and is hereafter referred to as register data. In this report, a number of these registers are linked together to find answers to the research questions. The registers are as follows:

The Danish Civil Registration System (in Danish and shortened to CPR) is a comprehensive register. We have a partial extract. This extract contains information about gender, date of birth, citizenship and marital status. The extract is made in 2023, and there is no history of citizenship. Therefore, it is possible that the citizenship variable may underestimate the number of foreigners, especially in the earlier years of the survey. Our extract from the CPR register includes everyone who was 18 or over in the period 2007 to 2021. This includes people who have died during the

period. Therefore, there is a need to delimit this data set. This is solved during merging, where we use the RAS datasets as a delimiting modification.

The Labor Force Statistics Register (In Danish and shortened to RAS) calculate the population's primary attachment to the labor market. It includes everyone in the labor force, both those who belong to the population, but also migrant workers with an administrative CPR number. There is a variable that can identify these in the dataset, as well as one that indicates the primary industry that people have been in during the year. These are both important for the analysis.

The Employment of Employees Register (In Danish and shortened to BFL), which is statistics that highlight the employment on a quarterly and monthly basis. Among other things, we find information on how many days people have worked in the construction industry. We will use this information as a covariate in our inferential analyses to investigate whether nationality plays a role in the extent to which people report occupational accidents.

The National Patient Register (In Danish and shortened, LPR) is a comprehensive register with information about contact with hospitals. The LPR is the healthcare system's most central register and contains detailed information about occupational injuries, including the industry in which the injury occurred. On the Danish Health Data Authority's website, you can read about the National Patient Register:

Every time a person has been in contact with the Danish hospital system in connection with e.g. examinations or treatments, the hospitals report a range of information. All this information is collected as data in the National Patient Registry, which is administered by the Danish Health Data Authority. The information may, for example, describe when and where the patient was admitted to hospital, or may describe the patient's diagnoses, examinations, treatments, operations, etc.

The National Patient Registry is thus a comprehensive registry, which makes data from the registry useful in many different contexts. For example, data from the LPR is used:

- As the data basis for several of the national health registries
- In the context of healthcare research
- For monitoring diseases and treatments
- To track activity at individual hospitals
- To calculate the total hospital spend for regions and municipalities

However, for the purposes of this report, we are only interested in information about workplace accidents and when they happened.

The EASY register, which contains information about statutory occupational injury reports. Unlike the LPR register, employers are responsible for reporting accidents. As with the LPR register, we are interested in whether an accident has occurred and when it occurred.

Use of registers

Everyone with a Danish CPR number is registered every time they are in contact with a public body. Therefore, the registers can be linked by using the CPR number as a marker to ensure that the data is linked to the right person. As a starting point, everyone who works in a Danish company must at least have a tax number (SKAT, 2022). This works like a regular CPR number. All employees in Danish companies should therefore be covered if they meet the statutory registration requirements. For employees in RUT-registered companies, they are not liable to pay tax until they have stayed 183 days in the country within 12 months, cf. the Withholding Tax Act §2 (14) (Retsinformation, 2022). Therefore, once they have stayed and worked in Denmark for 183 days within 12 months, they must also have a tax number.

As the analysis requires a valid CPR number, migrants without a CPR number are not included in the data. This means that migrant workers in RUT-registered companies who have stayed less than 183 days within 12 months are not included in the survey to the same extent. The same, of course, applies to people who are illegally staying and working in Denmark and therefore do not have CPR numbers. This means that our quantitative survey does not cover people who work for short periods in foreign-registered companies and illegal migrant workers¹. This may prevent us from including some of those who have the very worst conditions in the industry. If this is the case, it could influence our results in a direction that makes the numbers represent a slightly more accurate picture than they actually are.

To enable comparison with previous research in this area, we divide nationalities into the same four categories as a previous Danish study (Biering et al., 2017), 1) Danes, 2) citizens from old EU countries/Western countries², 3) citizens from new EU countries³, and 4) citizens from other countries⁴. Gender, age, ethnicity, industry and work accidents are variables in the survey. People who have had at least one accident at work during a given year are included in the analysis as accident victims in that year. We focus on the active workforce, i.e. those aged 18 to 64, divided

¹ We emphasize that this only applies to the quantitative part of the survey, not the entire research project. The qualitative part of the survey includes several people who have only worked in Denmark for a short period of time.

² Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom, Iceland, Norway, Switzerland, North America, Australia and New Zealand

³ Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia

⁴ Asia, Africa, Middle East and South America

into four age categories: 18-30, 31-40, 41-50 and 51-64. Industries are coded based on Statistics Denmark's six-digit industry code nomenclature, DB07. This nomenclature is detailed, making it possible to examine the sub-industries of construction and other industries.

Population

The population includes all people who have a CPR number, regardless of whether they reside in Denmark. This means that people who have an administrative CPR number or a so-called tax number but who have a permanent residence abroad are included in the study. In our analysis, we choose to limit the population so that it only includes 18 to 64-year-olds. In addition, we are limited to using data that exists in the data sets we have. We have tried to work around this limitation by linking several datasets that contain data on the construction industry. These are the Labor Force Statistics Register and BFL, which are used to include more observations related to construction. In the Labor Force Statistics Register, it is crucial where the primary employment has taken place, while in BFL it is possible to create a measurement variable that tells how many days you have been in construction. We choose to use both options by first of all including everyone who is primarily employed in construction and then everyone who has been employed for more than six months within a given year.

Statistical tools

Our analysis consists partly of descriptive, annual cross-sectional surveys for the years 2008 to 2018, both inclusive. The cross-sections consist of descriptive statistical accounts (Mehmetoglu & Jakobsen, 2017) for the different background variables in the dataset. The analysis is based on cross-tabulations over the years 2008 to 2018 with age, ethnicity and industry. By cross-tabulating, it is possible to divide the population into groups (Mehmetoglu & Jakobsen, 2017) based on different affiliations and get an overview of how many people are employed in different industries by nationality grouping, for example.

The inferential method consists of logistic regression models with multiple independent variables. Regression models have the advantage of taking into account different background variables such as gender and age when examining the relationship between the main independent variable(s) and the dependent variable (Mehmetoglu & Jakobsen, 2017). For this reason, among others, multiple logistic regressions are widely used in research of various kinds, including both health science and social science research (Peng & So, 2002).

In the logistic regressions, the *independent variables*⁵ are gender, age, marital status, and ethnicity in four categories. For the analyses that only deal with construction, days in the industry are also

⁵ The factors that determine the probability of the outcome of an event. This will typically include variables such as gender, age, education and ethnicity.

included in the models. The *dependent variable*⁶ is workplace accident each year. We analyze the total population and the construction industry in the year series. We use reporting in probabilities (we use "predicted probabilities"), as this is better suited for visualizing the developments than the usual output in the type of analysis we do. This means that the reporting reflects, for example, the probability that a citizen of a certain nationality will report an accident at work to the emergency department, adjusted for various other variables. We analyze the development over time for the total population and for the building and construction industry.

2.2 Data management

The five different raw datasets may be set up in ways that diverge from the desired setup. Therefore, it is necessary to perform various recoding, cropping and similar procedures before the datasets are assembled and put into use. This process is described in this section. We will go through what actions have been taken on the individual raw datasets and what actions have been taken after the data has been merged.

2.3 Data processing before tagging

The CPR register contains a number of tables (datasets) that must first be processed and compiled individually before we have our final CPR dataset. These are the registers *t_person*, *t_civil*, *t_statsborger*. In these, some recoding has been done. Date of birth is recoded to *age* and gender is recoded to a dummy variable with the values 0 for male and 1 for female. Marital status is also recoded to a dummy, *married partner*, with the value 0 as unmarried and the value 1 as married or civil partnership. From *t_citizen*, the country code variable is recoded to *country code*. This variable divides people into four categories:

- Danes
- Citizens from old EU countries as well as other Western countries such as USA, Canada, Australia
- Citizens from new EU countries consisting of the new Eastern European member states
- Other countries, including primarily countries in Africa and Asia

In the case of RAS, this is a relatively simple intervention on the raw data. Only the social security number is of interest, so we can identify the individuals and follow them in other datasets, the primary industry affiliation of the individuals and whether they are in the population. In practical terms, this means that we keep the observations that have a value of 1 in the variable

⁶ The variable that determines whether the event happens. For example, whether you have experienced an accident at work in a given year.

primary_status_code. Next, we discard all variables that we don't need and keep the variables *pnr*, *arb_hoved_bra_db07* and *i_befolkningen_kode*, which are social security number, industry code and whether they are part of the Danish population, respectively. For the years 2019 and onwards, it has been necessary to remove duplicates of a small number of observations, as some appear more than once. However, this is a negligible part (1-3 observations), so it has no impact on the survey results.

In the EASY register, it has been necessary to split the data so that, like the other registers, there is a data set for each year. In practice, this means that we must first sort out unwanted observations. The unwanted observations are those who, for example, do not have a social security number. We have to disregard them. We don't know if they represent foreigners more than observations with a social security number, so this is a possible source of error, but again, this does not concern many observations. We have also sorted out observations that do not have a time stamp. Next, we have recoded the *date of notification* so that the year of notification is left alone. The same procedure is followed for the variable *accident date time*, which is recoded to *accident year*. The data sets are then cut according to the latter variable so that, for example, the data set for 2011 contains all the observations that have the value 2011 in the variable *accident year*.

After cutting, a count variable and a dummy variable are generated in relation to whether a person has had accidents at work and how many during the year. These two variables and the social security number are the only ones stored from the EASY register.

The BFL register, as is the case with RAS, holds information about industry affiliation. However, this is calculated in a slightly different way, and it has been possible to create a variable that counts the days in which people have been associated with the construction industry. In practice, this was done by first generating a variable that counts the working days in each observation and then adding up all the days belonging to the same CPR number where the industry affiliation is construction. To make this counting variable clearer, we created a new variable with five categories. For the 2008 dataset, the variable is called *byg_08* and has the values: *0=not in the industry*, *1=less than one month*, *2=1 to 3 months*, *3=3 to 6 months* and *4=primary employment*. In addition, a dummy variable is coded to show whether you have days in the industry in the year in question, it is called *byg_08dummy* in 2008 these two and *bygdays_08*, which counts the number of days a person has been in the industry and the social security number is retained for further use. The same procedure is repeated for all years up to and including 2021.

The LPR register consists of several tables that must be merged using an LPR identification number specified in the variable *RECNUM*. The first part of the data processing consists of

identifying codes for occupational accidents in the variable *C_ULYK* in the dataset *accident2008*. All observations with values *EUA0* to *EUA19* are retained, while the rest are discarded, as we are only interested in occupational accidents. The second part of the data processing here is to collapse the observations over *RECNUM* while creating a count variable for the number of accidents. Next, the two datasets *ulyk2008* and *lpradm2008* are merged to link the observations to a personal number. The same procedure is repeated for the years up to and including 2021.

2.4 Merging and post-processing of data sets

After preparing the different datasets, they are merged. The CPR register is our main register and is therefore the dataset into which the others are merged. The first register we connect to is the labor force statistic register. This register is an annual cross-section conducted at the end of November each year. Therefore, the labor force statistic register can be used to delimit the CPR register so that the population does not include, for example, people who have died or moved away from Denmark. The first datasets to be merged in are all BFL datasets for the years 2008-2021. All variables to be used from this register are coded in the step before merging.

Next, all the Labor Force Statistics Register datasets from 2008 to 2021 are merged into our CPR+BFL dataset and variables are generated that indicate which year the different observations belong to, so that these variables can later be used to cut the dataset according to the year we are examining. In addition, for each year, variables are generated that indicate whether the primary industry affiliation has been building and construction each year. Next, another dummy variable (*hazardous industry*) is coded to indicate whether you are associated with one of the six most hazardous industries in a given year. These are water, sewage and waste, construction and demolition of buildings, large projects, police emergency response and prisons, slaughterhouses and construction completion. This will be used to explain whether there is a difference between ethnic Danish and other origins when employed in a more hazardous industry. Next, a variable indicating whether you are employed in the most dangerous industries within construction (*dangerous construction*) is coded in the same way. Next, all age variables are coded so that you have the correct age for the given year being worked with.

The next steps are to merge EASY and LPR into the dataset that already contains CPR and RAS for the years 2008 to 2021. We have access to EASY from 2011 to 2021, while we have access to LPR for the years 2008 to 2018. Unfortunately, LPR after 2018 is not available at the time of writing, and our comparative analysis between the two registers' accident reports will therefore have a three-year gap at both ends. This should of course be considered where relevant. The two registers are merged, and the relevant variables are recoded so that there are no missing values. These are recoded to zero (0).

There is now a data set based on CPR, RAS, BFL, LPR and EASY. This data set is coded to consider whether the number of days worked in construction has an impact on whether you have an accident during the year. This is because many foreigners do not work in the industry for the whole year, but only for a few months. Therefore, they are less likely to have an accident in the construction industry than their Danish colleagues, who are typically employed all year round. Therefore, we want to include these variables in our inferential models in the same way as other variables that may influence the propensity to report an accident at work, so that our results isolate the effect of being, for example, a citizen from new EU countries as far as possible. Here, as with the previous dataset, we recode to ensure that there are no missing values on important variables (missing is recoded to 0). An age variable is coded for each individual year based on the age variable that was coded during the initial data management of the CPR register.

Next, a number of variables are recoded so that they do not contain *missing values*. These are the variables that indicate which data set an observation is included in, as well as variables regarding work accidents and industry affiliation. Finally, the variable *construction final* is coded, which indicates whether a person has a primary connection to the construction industry or has been employed for more than six months in the industry. Now there are four large and relatively complex data sets, making it easy to make different cuts to examine one year at a time.

2.5 Analysis of quantitative data

In this section, we describe our approach to each analysis.

Hazardous industries

A first step is cross-tabulations of hazardous industries both in general, but also in construction. We have already coded the seven most dangerous industries and the three most dangerous in construction, and now we simply cross-tabulate them with the nationality variable (*country code*) for the years 2008 to 2021. We do this to investigate whether there has been a development over time, where some nationalities may have more dangerous work than others. The cross-tabulations are used to create tables and graphs of the development over the years.

Logistic regressions on workplace accidents

The last two steps in the analysis deal with occupational accidents and the propensity of different nationalities to have them reported to the hospital system (LPR) and the EASY register, respectively. To correct for different factors that influence whether a person has accidents at work, we have chosen to use several different variables in our models. This applies to gender, age and working days in the construction industry (where relevant) and, of course, nationality, as the dependent variable we have the reporting of occupational accidents to LPR and EASY,

respectively. The sets of LPR accidents and EASY accidents are divided into two - one for the labor market in general and one for the construction industry. Thus, we have 4 sets, ranging in pairs from 2008 to 2018 (LPR) and 2011 to 2021 (EASY). We run regressions for each year of the period and report the nationalities' propensity to have accidents reported in *predicted probabilities*. This means that the reporting reflects the probability a person has (based on nationality) of having at least one accident reported in a given year, disregarding age, gender and days in the construction industry. We use the results for the years to create graphics and tables that show the development in the years, but also the differences in levels among the different national categories.

2.6 About qualitative analysis

Much of our analysis relies on qualitative data. Qualitative research is an "epistemological tradition that stands in contrast to objectifying, positivist and quantifying approaches to research" (Brinkmann & Tanggaard, 2020, p. 17). Without going into too much detail, this means that most qualitative researchers see the world as socially constructed, and perceive knowledge as produced (you create knowledge, you don't find it) and value-laden to some extent (Brinkmann & Tanggaard, 2020; Tracy, 2010; Tracy & Hinrichs, 2017). The goal of qualitative research is not to generalize to populations and thus cannot be used to investigate scale. Instead, the purpose is to interpret and understand how actors, based on knowledge and experience, attribute meaning to things (Kristiansen, 2017). The purpose is also to create useful research (Tracy & Hinrichs, 2017) that helps give voice to the population whose life situation is the focus of the study, in this case migrants.

In line with this way of thinking about qualitative research, our participants are not necessarily the "typical" migrant worker, the "typical" construction site, or the "typical" interpreter, "typical" health and safety professional, etc. Most qualitative researchers do not argue for representative selection of respondents and cases, but instead argue for purposive selection of interview participants because the purpose is to achieve depth and transferability, not generalizability (Creswell, 2003; Flyvbjerg, 2001). The purpose is thus not to be able to say something general about how many people experience a certain thing or how widespread certain problems are. Qualitative researchers therefore argue in favor of selecting participants selectively in order to interview the people who can provide the necessary insight into an issue. For example, it is assumed that migrants themselves know best how they experience their own working life.

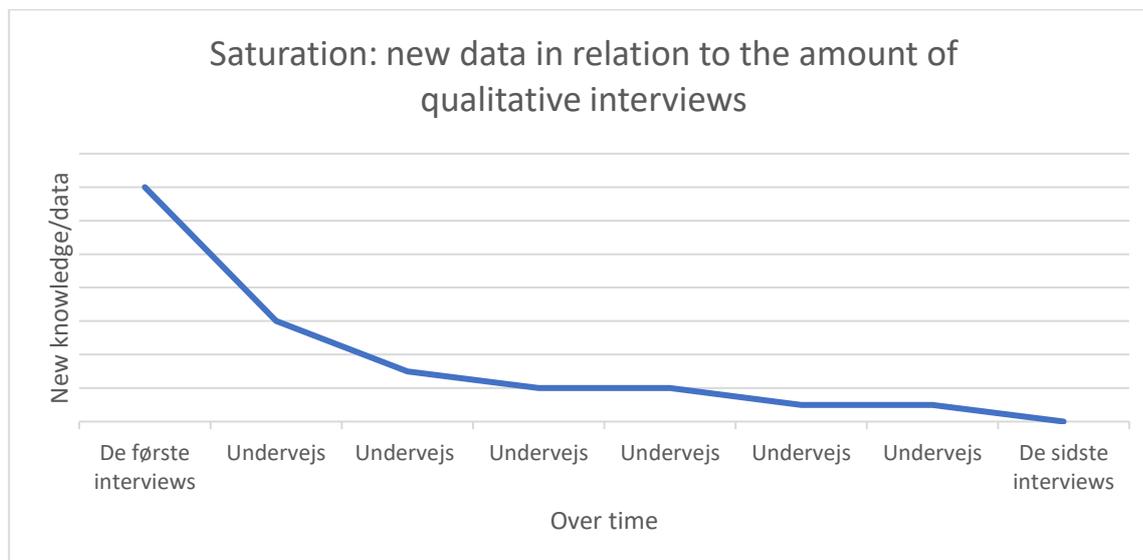
Also, in line with qualitative methods, it is often not decided in advance who or how many people will be interviewed. If, for example, it is assumed during the process that temporary workers have special challenges, part of the data collection must focus on finding those particular temporary

workers. Qualitative research emphasizes few participants (rather than many) and focuses on depth and context rather than percentages. The selection of participants is determined by how well they are able to shed light on the area of interest. It does not aim to be representative of everyone in the industry as discussed above (Creswell, 2003; Creswell & Clark, 2018).

At the same time, it was a goal to obtain enough interviews to ensure that we covered a broad range of issues and that we were able to shed light on the problems from many angles. It was also a consideration that we had enough people who represented a particular focus of the project, such as migrants who had been in accidents (see Chapter 6) and migrants who are satisfied with their working life (see Chapter 9). It was also a consideration that the study should be perceived as valid by those who do not normally favor qualitative research.

The result is that the project's analysis is based on significantly more interviews than necessary if the criterion were to be what is known as "*saturation*" (Saunders et al., 2018). Saturation is achieved when new data adds nothing new to the understanding (Saunders et al., 2018). The saturation point can be illustrated graphically. At the start of the project, a lot of new material is collected. In the first interview, everything is new knowledge. Gradually, however, information saturates, and very little new knowledge is added. Saturation is achieved when new information is no longer gained. New interviews may convince the reader more about the interpretation of the data and thus increase the perception of validity, but do not add new knowledge as such, see Figure 4.

Figure 4: Illustration of the saturation point in relation to interviews



2.7 Recruitment of migrants

We used three main strategies for recruitment. Through the three strategies, we interviewed a total of 84 migrant workers. The strategies are as follows:

1. Convenience sampling strategy
2. Inclusion strategy
3. Targeted strategy

In our first strategy, a convenience strategy, we came into contact with 31 migrants who participated in a union training course. We used this method because we assumed from the start that recruitment would be difficult. This assumption was based on previous research that reported problems recruiting migrants in the construction industry (Guldenmund et al., 2013; Pedersen & Thomsen, 2011), which the literature attributes to mistrust, fear and surveillance. The course participation therefore provided a unique opportunity to meet a large group of migrants in the same place, outside working hours and with the opportunity to build trust over the many days of the courses. We return to convenience sampling immediately below.

There is reason to believe that organized migrants represent a stronger and more established workforce than other segments of migrant workers, see below. We therefore wanted to reach this broader group of migrants. We therefore chose the next strategy, inclusion. The concern was that we wanted to determine whether the results we had found through convenience sampling were specific to this group of organized participants. We wanted to connect with migrants who are not organized. We were also interested in reaching nationalities other than Polish and Romanian. The

inclusion strategy initially consisted of recruitment via flyers (see section below on flyer recruitment) and then, as we didn't get much response to this strategy, recruitment via online websites (see section below on online recruitment) and finally visits to construction sites (see section below on recruitment from construction sites).

Although the second strategy provided a much broader basis for the analysis, there were still segments of the workforce that were difficult to reach. This was especially true for migrants who had been involved in accidents. Although we sometimes came across these, it was random, and we hadn't reached a number of respondents that made us confident that we had reached saturation point for this particular group. In addition, we noticed that we did not have contact with the particularly vulnerable (Spanger & Hvalkof, 2020), including the homeless and those staying in Denmark illegally. During the overall data collection, we also had reason to believe that there is a special basis for treating temporary workers as vulnerable. We therefore engaged in the third strategy, targeted sampling, to specifically target these three groups that we did not capture in the inclusion strategy. This strategy involved working with trade unionists, other key people and snowballing to get in touch with specific individuals with personal experiences of accidents. We will return to snowballing, recruitment through key people and recruitment through the union below.

We've had a lot of practical considerations about how to approach the task. Our strategy has always been practical. This is mainly because it's so difficult to recruit migrant workers that we could not afford to be picky. At the same time, we had to be resourceful. Along the way, many people have offered advice on where and how we could recruit. Almost all these suggestions have been pursued in addition to the above-mentioned overall strategy. In other words, we have not excluded any recruitment methods. Concrete suggestions and actions have included specific construction sites, specific holiday home areas, RUT registered companies, clubs, social events, professional events, aid organizations, contacts through professionals, specific construction companies found online, specific temp agencies found online, contacts through key people/opinion makers, websites for specific nationalities, social media, etc. In cases where we have given presentations, we have gained new respondents who have been encouraged by the belief that their own voice matters in the big picture.

We have never turned away a migrant. Everyone who contacted us was interviewed, except for a few who, due to misunderstandings, did not meet the requirements because, for example, they were looking for a job in Denmark. This means that we were unable to assess the quality of the data or whether the interview would add anything new pre interview (see *saturation* above).

More about convenience sampling

The first 31 informants were recruited at a trade union course. All of them are members of a trade union. It is difficult to determine if migrant workers who are member of a trade union are different to other migrant workers. However, another current project (pers. comm. with Andrea Borello, 2022), as well as existing research (Arnholtz & Hansen, 2013; Berntsen, 2016; Refslund, 2021), suggests that it is those with the most resources who become involved in trade unions. The vulnerable, the ignorant and those with the shortest stay in Denmark are less likely to be members.

In relation to this first recruitment strategy, this has meant that we have interviewed a certain segment among the workforce (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Halkier, 2020), because workers who are members of trade unions are generally considered less vulnerable than workers who are not organized. This also means that we can assume that we have predominantly reached the workers who are best off on Danish construction sites. It follows that we can assume that these resourceful workers give a more optimistic picture of the working environment among migrants than less resourceful workers. All of the migrant workers we met during course participation are from Poland and Romania.

Not all 31 stayed on the course long enough to take part in the interviews. One became sick, and two were ordered back to work against their will. Even though these three did not participate in the group interview, I had already gained a lot of knowledge about their situations during the course. The interviews obtained through convenience sampling were primarily conducted as group interviews with the use of an interpreter, while one person was interviewed alone and in English. Two people were later re-interviewed by phone and in writing about their workplace accidents.

In the first interview, we started with predefined questions about migrant workers' knowledge, education, skills and language. However, it was clear from the reception that the interviewees felt that we had misunderstood the problem. Concretely, the researcher was accused of assuming that migrant workers are the problem. We then decided to use narrative interview techniques (Bo & Thomsen, 2016), such as "tell me about health and safety on Danish construction sites".

It goes without saying that a group interview doesn't give much speaking time to the individual. On the other hand, the data becomes "shared", in the sense that the groups internally discuss and supplement each other's information. One of the advantages of group interviews is also that it is possible to assess when a statement is collectively perceived as unusual. For example, one migrant argued that Poles are particularly careful in the workplace and therefore don't have many accidents. However, the rest of the group disagreed, believing that Poles are more vulnerable than Danes because they are offered worse conditions.

More about flyer recruitment as an inclusion strategy

The inclusion strategy involved national recruitment through flyers across the country with the aid of unions. It may seem a bit contradictory to use the union to reach non-union participation. But the strategy makes sense because the union has the ability to reach far geographically due to local branches across the country. Thus, it was not the intention to recruit union members. The individual offices were asked to distribute widely. Specifically, on “notice boards, common areas in/entrances to workplaces, in sheds, on public notice boards in the workplace, distribution to both members and non-members, supermarkets/collection points (the sky's the limit)”.

We used the same material when we entered the phase of targeting the particularly vulnerable, those who have been in accidents, temporary workers and commuters. The material was used as a way for these migrants to indicate their willingness to participate in interviews.

The recruitment material consists of a flyer in major languages with a QR code that can be scanned. This QR code takes the worker to a short questionnaire in Survey Exact. We chose this method because Survey Exact protects the individual's identity. This means that no traces are stored that can be traced back to the sender.



Once the QR code is scanned, potential participants are asked to answer two questions. The questions have no purpose beyond being an *ice breaker* for the interview and ensuring serious inquiries. Potential participants were asked to indicate if they prefer F2F, online or written interviews or if they do not wish to participate. Finally, they were asked for contact information (phone, email), but not names or other personal details.

The questionnaire was available in many languages. The individual languages were selected according to the largest groupings of workers in Denmark. We used Jobindsats' data for May 2022 (last measurement without the influence of summer vacation) to make a list of the largest

groupings of foreign workers in construction. We have used "total country of residence" in Jobindsats, which means that we have also taken commuters into account. Languages relating to the following countries are included: Poland (11028 people in May 2022), Romania (3600), Lithuania (2615), Germany (2023), Latvia (924), Italy (791), Bulgaria (784), Netherlands (626), Portugal (419), Hungary (320), Ireland (311), Spain (297), Croatia (295), Turkey (526), United Kingdom (486). "Neighboring" languages were also included: Sweden (646), Iceland (277), Norway (177). Finnish was not included due to the very small number of workers (45 people). The survey was also available in Danish. According to Jobindsat, there is a fairly large number of people from Syria (534). Unfortunately, Arabic is not available in Survey Exact by default. We asked for it to be added, but it was not possible to make it work appropriately.

44 respondents indicated a willingness to participate in interviews via flyers. However, about 1/3 never responded to emails and phone calls and others failed to show up for interviews. To the 2 *icebreaker* questions, 19 responded that they were "satisfied" with the safety of their workplace and 12 responded that they were "not satisfied", the rest indicated that they were "neutral". When asked about their overall satisfaction with their job, 22 responded that they were "satisfied", 10 that they were "not satisfied" and the rest indicated "neutral".

More about online recruitment as an inclusion strategy

In January 2023, we started recruiting aggressively through social media in national languages, including Lithuanian, Latvian, German, Romanian, German, Polish, Bulgarian, Hungarian, Italian, Portuguese and Ukrainian. On various websites, for the first time, we enticed people with gift cards (as opposed to just giving them after the interview). This was because the flyer strategy had not attracted as many respondents as we had hoped for. Recruiting via websites has provided the widest reach and connected us with people who would otherwise have been hard to reach, including the most vulnerable.

We have made a major effort to reach workers who are not members of a trade union. We did this because we assume - based on the literature - that non-members are particularly vulnerable because they do not have the opportunity to get help or advice (Spanger & Hvalkof, 2020, p. 31). Because we wanted to reach migrant workers who are not union members, we used a number of other methods to reach the more vulnerable workers. However, these informants, who we have reached by other means than through the union, also often turned out to be members when we asked this question at the end of the interview. We assume that this is because union members feel safer and therefore more willing to share experiences, but also because they have a closer connection to the Danish labor market.

More on recruitment from construction sites as an inclusion strategy

At the start of the project, we imagined that it would be possible to gain access to construction sites and observe construction sites for longer periods of time in order to obtain informants. As an initial maneuver, we requested visits to two sites. During the visits, we were unable to recruit participants for interviews due to the format of the visits, which consisted primarily of tours and conversations with health and safety professionals. On request, during one visit, we met with a single migrant who was appointed by the site's Health and Safety Coordinator. Later, the same person told us that "I knew he would say something good". We therefore gave up recruiting in this way because of the gatekeeper function of the site management, in this case, the Health & Safety Coordinator.

Later in the project, we attempted to recruit from construction sites again, this time unaccompanied by site management. Although we were optimistic about the possibility of recruiting at construction sites, we were also not very successful this time. We visited a total of 22 construction sites in Zealand, the Greater Copenhagen area, Funen and Jutland and spoke personally with over 80 people, primarily with the help of interpreters in person or over the phone. Despite the large number of visits and the personal contact, we only managed to complete four interviews as a result of the visits, and three of the interviews are characterized by fear and short answers as the supervisor was nearby. The vast majority refused point blank when we asked. Others agreed but could not be tracked down later despite repeated attempts.

While some people wanted to talk to us during the recruitment visits, it was clear that our recruitment visits caused fear in others. We observed that many left the sites when we showed up. This generalized fear was confirmed by a site manager who stuck his head out of his office and informed us that "they'll shit themselves if you go up there". Due to the very time-consuming workload and wasted expenses on interpretation and driving with no corresponding recruitment success, we abandoned this strategy.

More on recruiting through key people as an inclusion and targeting strategy

There are several people who have been particularly helpful in the recruitment phase. These are people, including migrants, who have a large network within their own populations. Some are used as interpreters in hospitals and courts and have built up a following there, others have large followings on Instagram or Facebook, and still others have private businesses where they have made a living or volunteer to help fellow countrymen. Without knowing the exact number (because the promise of confidentiality makes it impossible), we sense that a few people have helped recruit several migrants through direct invitations to participate.

More on recruiting through and working with the union as an inclusion and targeting strategy

Trade unionists know many workers and have extensive contacts, including with migrants. These trade unionists have been instrumental in connecting with some migrants. Many in the union have been eager to help us recruit migrant workers in the hope of helping to improve the working environment for migrants. In this process, it seems to be easiest for union officials to connect with members, although there has been a strong desire from the union leadership to target non-members.

In cases where the migrants already have a connection to certain employees in the union, which is especially the case in the targeted approach, we have used these employees as interpreters. We did this because the migrants themselves often suggest this interview situation. We have assessed that this is based on a relationship of trust, and that the relationship of trust is more important for the quality of the interview than having an external interpreter participate in the interview. During the interviews themselves, the union employee has sometimes contributed with background knowledge or explained how the case has progressed. We must therefore consider that the information as it is passed on is to some extent colored by the presence and interpretation of the interpreter, where the interpreters already know the cases well.

More about snowballing

We have used *snowballing* where possible. We have used all existing contacts to get in touch with workers. This means that we ask everyone who has already participated in an interview to point to others. We have also asked participants at various presentations to encourage their own contacts to participate in interviews. This *snowballing* has been ongoing and has required a lot of effort, with repeated and/or ongoing contact with previous respondents, often via social media, text messages or other means. In contrast to our *snowballing* strategy in relation to professional informants, we have not succeeded in recruiting many in this way.

Lessons learned from recruiting migrant workers

Recruitment for the project has been difficult. And we suspect this is partly due to mistrust and anxiety. In many cases, it has taken a lot of persuasion to get workers to participate in interviews. The many visits to construction sites, where only a few agreed to participate in interviews, give an insight into how difficult it has been to recruit the large number of migrant workers.

In addition, there are many cases where participants simply did not show up. There may be good reasons for this, but it is striking how many informants have simply "disappeared" - and have not reported their absence. Perhaps the most glaring example of this is four Ukrainians that the

researcher bumps into by chance at a construction site. When asked for an interview, they agree. They would like to, they say, but not until 3:30 pm, when they are off duty. By 3.30 pm they have disappeared and the Danish colleagues on site say they left earlier than usual. Two days later - this time a little earlier in the day - the team is approached again. They are finishing a job that cannot wait, they say. But they agree to conduct the interview during their lunch break the next day. The next day, they have disappeared again. The Danes on site say that they should have been at work and that they usually eat lunch in the site trailer. On the deserted country road leading to the site, an area completely devoid of habitation and where the shoulder of the road is blocked by large piles of snow, a large, black-windowed BMW is parked in the middle of the road. It's easy to imagine that the BMW belongs to an inspector of some kind, sent to keep an eye on them. The interview is abandoned out of concern for the consequences for the four Ukrainians.

2.8 Conducting interviews with migrants

The interviews themselves started with a presentation of the project, the interviewer and the purpose of the project. It was explained that the purpose is to understand and improve the working environment of foreign workers in the construction industry. It was explained that the data is confidential and that it is not possible to identify individuals, construction sites, employers or areas in Denmark.

The interviews were conducted as semi-structured interviews where we had some focus points, but the interviews moved fluidly between topics. The overall aim is to get the migrant to relax and talk openly and freely about their work. We often started with: "Would you tell me about your work here in Denmark?". Other times, the conversation started in a completely different place because the interviewee started there. We were interested in hearing about the type of work, how long the migrants have been here, etc. Other topics revolve around being new to Denmark, first jobs, first experiences, etc. We were also interested in hearing about everyday life at work, including management, colleagues, language, pace of work, personal protective equipment, and use of machinery. We also asked about training, upskilling and education, including induction courses and instruction, health and safety organization. We didn't ask about salaries, but many did talk about their salary anyway. In cases where the person had been in an accident themselves, we also asked about accidents. Several of our questions focus on comparisons, including with the home country, Danes, other nationalities, etc. We also asked about the migrants' wishes for their working life.

Fear and mistrust have been conditions in the interview situation. Even after the migrants have shown up for the interview and indicated that they were willing to talk to us, open communication

could be difficult. For example, on the way into the interview room, an interviewee tells us that he has a lot to say. But when the recorder is turned on, he no longer wants to talk about his experiences. Only when the recorder is turned off again at the end of the interview does he talk about his experiences.

The research team's lack of language skills has presented some challenges. Using an interpreter adds an extra layer to the conversation and the conversation never flows as freely as it does without an interpreter. Therefore, we've had great success conducting interviews in English whenever possible. However, sometimes we have been led to believe that the interviewees are better at English than they actually are. We have therefore had a few experiences with participants communicating with gestures, monosyllables, etc.

There have also been many other practical difficulties. It is difficult to organize the interviews themselves. Migrants often don't know when they have to work even a week ahead. Each individual interview can therefore take a long time to arrange. For example, we have traveled to Copenhagen from Jutland to interview, where we have arranged rooms and interpreters. On a particular day, we had arranged interviews at 2pm, 3.30pm and 5pm. The person to be interviewed at 3.30pm calls at 2.38pm and tells us that he has been ordered to the outskirts of the capital to do some work. He will try to make the interview, but will probably not be able to make it until 16:30. At 15:56, the third interviewee calls. He was supposed to get off work at 16:00pm but has been ordered to work overtime. He cancels. Previous research with migrants has also faced similar challenges (Pedersen & Thomsen, 2011).

Others have long working days and many also work on weekends. Many migrants have told us that they only have 20 minutes available during the week and therefore request interviews late Saturday afternoons or on Sundays. A large number of interviews were therefore conducted on Saturdays and Sundays. This has led to additional challenges in terms of interpreting services.

There have also been inappropriate mix-ups of roles. Very early one morning, the interviewer received a series of messages from a Polish worker who had been interviewed many months earlier. He writes "Hi Charlotte. Sorry to talk to you about my problems so early in the morning. I'm looking for help in terms of seeking help at work". At the same time, the person sends a series of screenshots of the exchange with their workplace. Others have asked for help applying for a job in Denmark, logged on to the computer thinking it was a job interview, asked for help collecting a deposit, being driven to treatment, or otherwise asked for help in dealing with their life situation or moving to Denmark. These examples raise questions about whether it is appropriate to ask so much of migrants, who may be a risk due to participation, without repaying appropriately. Also, it can be difficult to deliver what migrants expect.

2.9 Overview of all migrants in the project

The following is a descriptive review of the demographic information of the interviewed informants to give a picture of the type of people in the study's sample. A total of 84 migrant workers were interviewed in the material, the vast majority of whom are men (82), while there are few women (2). The informants are of different nationalities, of which: 1 is from Spain, 1 is from the Czech Republic, 1 is from Slovakia, 2 are from Latvia, 1 is from Portugal, 3 are from Guinea-Bissau, 1 is from Syria, 2 are from Italy, 4 are from Ukraine, 2 are from Germany, 6 are from Lithuania, while there is a significant number of informants from Romania (22) and Poland (38).

In the following, we list some information about the informants to create a holistic picture of migrant workers. It is important to point out that this is a general picture without considering individual, minor deviations and details:

- The informants have an average of 12 years of experience in construction.
- The average age of migrants is 42 years, while the median is 40 years.
- On average, they have stayed in Denmark for 6 years, a stay that can range from 1 month to 20 years.
- About half of the informants live in their own home and about half live in a home provided by the company.
- Approximately 3/10 of all migrants are not members of a trade union, while 7/10 are members. Excluding the migrants interviewed while attending courses under the auspices of a trade union, the distribution is approximately 50/50.
- 3/5 do not have family in Denmark. 2/5 have family in Denmark.
- Approximately 1/2 of the informants have a vocational education, while 1/2 have either no education or no relevant education within the tradesperson's profession.
- Approx. 3/5 of the informants are employed by a Danish-owned company and approx. 3/10 are employed by a foreign company.
- Approx. 1/5 are employed as temporary workers.
- 3 are self-employed
- About 1/2 of the informants say that they primarily work with other migrant workers. About 1/4 say that they work with both Danes and other migrant workers, and about 1/5 say that they primarily work with Danes.
- Approximately 3/5 of the informants say that they have been involved in, witnessed or have knowledge of an accident at work to some extent. About 2/5 have not.

- About 10-12 migrants have been in an accident themselves⁷ .

It is important to point out that we have less demographic information about the migrant workers interviewed in groups. This is mainly due to the method of interviewing several people at the same time, which means that many people must speak during the limited time of the interview, and the time is spent talking about the topic rather than talking about the informants' backgrounds.

However, we do have some demographic information about this group of informants, but also a significant amount of missing values, which means that some of the above information is uncertain. Others have refused to provide us with information, while others have terminated the interview before we had the opportunity to collect demographic information. However, the information does give us an idea of who we have interviewed.

It is also important to keep in mind that our indication of “types of companies” are the companies they are employed in at the time of the interview. As migrant workers often change jobs, it is important to remember that many of them have probably changed jobs since then. Also, since migrant workers often change jobs, many of their stories also relate to previous employment. The above calculations are thus a snapshot of the informants' work situation. The same is true when migrant workers report whether they primarily work with Danes or other migrant workers.

As stated above, it is important that the individual migrants are not reduced to numbers and percentages. We therefore introduce the reader to all 84 migrant workers. They are not homogeneous: some migrants live in their own homes with families, have orderly conditions and are largely happy with their working life in Denmark, while other migrants are trafficked, live in confinement or isolation from the outside world, and have been exposed to life-changing work accidents.

All names are pseudonyms. Where the person has been particularly nervous about revealing their identity, we have included less information.

1. Andrei has been in Denmark for four years. He is in his mid-thirties. He has lived in many parts of Europe, and although he is originally from Romania, he feels more connected to Spain. His first job in Denmark was in demolition, but now he works as a metal presser. He wants to stay in Denmark and would like to learn Danish. He has a Danish girlfriend who he lives with. He has lived in a number of different European countries and has worked both in the construction industry and as a waiter. I get to know Andrei well and he is eager to help. Andrei speaks English well but not Danish. He is a member of a trade union.
2. Herbert is from the Czech Republic. He speaks good English, is in his mid-30s and is a good communicator. At the time of the interview, he works on a large construction site as a

⁷ The uncertainty is due to the fact that some people don't want to acknowledge whether their visible injuries are work-related and refuse to talk about it.

handyman and has previously worked in demolition. He is a trained chef and has no trades training. He lives with his wife and child in his own home. At the time of the interview, he is having problems at his current workplace, and he expects to be fired soon, even though (and perhaps because) he is employed as a health and safety representative. He is not a member of a union. He has had an accident at work.

3. Sergei is from Slovakia. He is 41 years old. He has primarily worked on large construction sites, where most workers are foreigners. He is a trained surveyor and has an engineering degree as well. In Denmark, he has worked for 3 years as a concreter, and he is a *tillidsrepræsentant* at the time of the interview. He has worked in Denmark for 11 years in total. Although he had expressed that he had information about accidents that he wants to share during the interview, he gets cold feet during the interview and refuses to talk about these accidents.
4. Jānis is from Latvia. He is 29 years old and has lived and worked in Denmark for 3 years. He works as a painter. He has changed jobs four times in three years. He is worried about whether there will continue to be work in construction, so he is looking into further education in logistics and transportation, which is the field he worked in in Latvia. During the interview, he is happy because he has secured a job in a Danish-owned company where he works exclusively with Danes. He sees this as important in terms of getting good conditions. He is a member of the painters' union.
5. Kārlis is from Latvia. He is 29 years old. He has lived and worked in Denmark for 5 years. He is an accountant. Kārlis works with laying concrete floors in Denmark. He works for a Danish company with Danish management. He has been injured at work. He has damaged his knees from working many hours every day on his knees. He has had an operation, but may need another one. He lives in rented accommodation. He is a member of a trade union, and he tells us that he is pursuing a case against his employer at the time of the interview. He would like to learn Danish and is considering switching to the transportation industry to save his knees.
6. Estevo is from Portugal. He is 54 years old. He is trained in the wood industry. He works as a concreter/carpenter and has done so for 19 years. He is employed by a large Portuguese-owned company with Portuguese management and a Danish CVR number. He is an AMR and a member of the trade union. He has lived in Denmark for over 8 years. He has also worked in three other European countries. He wants to stay in Denmark and his family is also eager to move to Denmark. He has clearly had an accident at work, but despite repeated promises not to reveal the details, he refuses to disclose his work accident for fear of being recognized in the material.
7. Fabio is a smiling and content 48-year-old man from Guinea-Bissau. He dreams of retiring to a farm in his home country and believes his current job will be his last in the construction industry. He works for a Portuguese-owned, Danish CVR-registered company, in a team that mainly consists of other workers from his home country. He is a man of faith and answers many questions with reference to God's intervention. He has worked in the construction industry since 2004, including 16 years as an ironworker. He has also worked in other European countries. It is unclear whether he is a member of a trade union.
8. Gian is from Guinea-Bissau and works and lives with other compatriots in housing provided by the company. He is very critical of the accommodation. He is difficult to interview because he

answers a number of phone calls during the conversation and otherwise answers questions without much thought and without being able to explain his views and insights. We abandon the interview after 15-20 minutes. He is a concrete worker but is trained to work in the security and safety industry. He says he is a union member, but the union interpreter later tells us that he is not a member.

9. Fernando is from Guinea-Bissau/Portugal. He is originally a civil servant but has been working as a tradesperson for over 15 years. He is 62 but looks 40. He is eloquent and considered in his answers. He works as an ironworker on a large construction site for a Portuguese-owned company with a Danish CVR number. He dreams of a job in a Danish company. Fernando says he has been a member of the union for less than a week, but he has not paid yet.
10. Kawa is a refugee from Syria. He is 29 years old. Compared to the other stories, Kawa's is very different. As young, he gets in touch with a Danish man who volunteers to help him with Danish lessons. The man then asks Kawa if he wants to help with some demolition work. When Kawa is offered an internship in the municipality, Kawa gets it redirected so he can continue working with the man. Later, they build the man's own house together. Later again, he gets a job in the man's company. This central person also helps Kawa buy a house. When I speak to Kawa, he is living with his girlfriend. He is very satisfied with his working life. He is not a member of a trade union.
11. Angelo is from Italy. He is self-employed and part of a highly specialized team that primarily makes marble floors and vertical surfaces. He refers to his work as "artisan". He stays in a hotel. He is extremely happy working in Denmark and believes that safety in Denmark is better than any other country he has worked in. Despite this, he shows up for the interview with an injury sustained in a work accident in Denmark. He has worked in many countries and mentions almost every capital city in Europe and some in the Middle East. He joins the union the day before the interview as a result of the possible impending major strike in early 2023.
12. Alberto is from Italy. He is about 40 years old and has been working as a tradesperson since he was 15. He wants to stay in Denmark and hopes to find a better job in a Danish-owned company where he imagines he will not be cheated. He works for a Danish company owned by an Italian. He lives with three other Italians in rented accommodation provided by the company. He is a member of the trade union 3F and a *tillidsmand*.
13. Boryslav is a refugee from Ukraine. He is approximately 40 years old. Despite a disability, he sought - and found - work in the construction industry relatively soon after arriving in Denmark. But he starts having problems with numbness in his fingers, which he attributes to his diabetes. He sees a doctor, who determines that it is a work-related accident. The documentation (which he presents at the interview) states that he should be on sick leave. But at the urging of his municipal caseworker in the regional province where he first lives, he quits his job and returns to the province. At the time of the interview in January 2023, he has lost his right to his public support benefits and is unable to figure out how to navigate the systems to get help. In particular, he is under pressure because he can't afford to buy insulin. He has sought help from the union in his local branch, but he is not a member of the union.
14. Boris is a refugee from Ukraine. He is 44 years old and has been working in the construction industry for 26 years. He has no formal education, but his practical experience includes carpentry, bricklaying, concreting and more. At the time of the interview, he had just quit his job

at a Danish-owned company due to extensive wage fraud. It was a job he had been referred to by the job center. He lives in what he explains is a kind of dormitory for Ukrainian war refugees. He has been forced to carry excessively heavy elements and has back problems as a result. He has not reported the injuries as an accident at work. He has just joined the trade union.

15. Vasyl is from Ukraine. It takes several attempts to get Vasyl to participate in an interview. He changes the arrangements, fails to show, and when we finally get him to talk, we spend most of the interview reassuring him that he can feel safe even if he tells his story. Vasyl has been lured to Denmark from Ukraine with the promise of a good job. When he arrives, he is led to believe that he is illegal (despite the fact that Ukrainians are covered by a special law that gives them legal residency). He therefore goes into hiding and only during the interview does he find out that he can apply for asylum and work legally in Denmark. He has had an accident at work. He does not have a job but has previously worked in the construction industry. He is not a member of a trade union
16. Igor is from Ukraine. He went on vacation in Denmark in early 2022 just before the war broke out and decided to stay in Denmark. He has been working as a tradesperson for 4 months at a small Danish-owned construction site. He is not trained as a tradesperson. He speaks English fairly well and is learning Danish. He is not a member of a trade union.
17. Ramunas is from Lithuania. He is 48 years old. He has worked as a tradesperson for his entire adult life, so almost 30 years. He can lay concrete, pour concrete and lay tiles. He is employed by a Lithuanian company. He is pleased to hear that there are people who are interested in the well-being of foreigners. He has a wife in Lithuania. He has only been in Denmark for a month this time, but he has been in Denmark twice before. He only works with Lithuanians in private accommodation and lives with his team in accommodation provided by his employer. He is not a member of a trade union and does not understand the question when we ask it.
18. Nojus is from Lithuania. He is 50 years old. He has attended technical university. He is currently renovating a house. He is employed by a Lithuanian company and describes what he does as *Apdaila*, a profession that the interpreter has difficulty translating, but which another interpreter says includes work with gyprock, painting, doors and the like. He would like to work in a Danish company. Based on his own experience and the stories of others, he believes that it is always best to work for a company that is native to the country where you work. Then you get the best conditions and work safety is in order. He has worked 10 years in the Netherlands and almost 2 years in Denmark in total. He has a wife, two children and five grandchildren in Lithuania. He has been a tradesperson for about 26 years. In his team, they work from 7 am to 6 pm every day. He is not a member of a trade union.
19. Moze is from Lithuania. He has worked in a number of countries, including Sweden, Norway, Russia, Germany and the UK. He is 52 years old and has worked as a tradesperson for 25 years. In all jobs, he has primarily worked with other Lithuanians, but has noticed the differences between migrants and Swedes while working in Sweden. He lives in a home provided by the company, a home that the whole team is driven to and from in the mornings and evenings. We don't have time to ask about his union membership
20. Daina is from Lithuania. She has been in Denmark *on and off* for about 4 years but has now decided to stay in Denmark for the time being. She has traveled to Denmark with her husband and three children to gain new knowledge about plastering and painting techniques. She is

well-educated and thoughtful in her answers. Although she has a long-term education as an engineer, she has worked as a painter for 15 years in her own country. In that industry, she worked her way up to a middle management position (a kind of group leader). Now she works as a painter in a Danish-owned company in Denmark with primarily Danish colleagues. Both she and her husband had an accident at their previous workplace. After her husband's accident, she joined the trade union. She wants to learn Danish and get better opportunities to use her engineering degree.

21. Edita is from Lithuania. She has worked in Denmark for a year and a half as a *solar panel* installer. She has no vocational training but a bachelor's degree in biochemistry. She contacts us because she - and some of the people she works with - have been trying to improve safety in their workplace for some time without success. She speaks some English, so the interview is conducted in English, although a few details are lost. She is employed by a small Danish subsidiary of a large Lithuanian company but has recently resigned. She is not a member of a trade union. She lives in rented accommodation.
22. Aiko is from Lithuania. He works for a Danish company with a Lithuanian owner. He lives and works exclusively with other Lithuanians. He works long hours, 62 hours every week. Therefore, he is very tired when he returns to the house, he shares with 10 other Lithuanians. Aiko has had an accident at work. He would like to join a trade union, but he can't afford it.
23. Helmut is from Germany. Unfortunately, he interrupts the written interview before we learn much about him. Thus, it is unclear where he is employed, what he does and whether he is a member of a trade union. However, we do know that he communicates almost flawlessly in Danish.
24. Ernst is from Germany. He is from the border region and speaks fluent Danish. Therefore, the interview is conducted in Danish. He has worked in Denmark for 10 to 15 years. He is employed by a company that is now German-owned, but was previously Danish-owned. He works with concrete. Over the years, he has seen a gradual replacement of first Danes for Germans, and later - and ongoing - Germans for Poles, Romanians and workers from other countries. Ernst lives in Germany and commutes daily. Ernst has previously been a health and safety representative (AMR). He is a member of a Danish trade union.
25. Razvan is from Romania. He is 40 years old. He speaks Danish very well, and the interview is therefore conducted without an interpreter. He is employed in a Danish-owned company with a Danish boss. He works with other Romanians, some Poles and a few Danes. He is a trained mechanic, but he has never used the training. He has also worked in Italy and Spain. He has two children and a girlfriend in Denmark. Razvan is very happy with his work situation. He is a member of a yellow union⁸.
26. We only communicate with Cornel via email and in English. He is from Romania. He is 30 years old. He is a trained carpenter. He works for a Danish temp agency as a carpenter and with concrete. He has worked in several European countries, including Spain, Germany and in his own country. He works long hours on weekdays (9 to 10 hours) with both Danes and

⁸ They differ from traditional unions by not recognizing a fundamental conflict of interest between employer and employee and by having no or very few collective agreements.

migrant workers. His family also lives in Denmark. He is not a member of a trade union.

27. Bogden is from Romania. He is 37 years old. Although he has no tradesperson training, but instead a long-term university degree, he has been working as a tradesperson since his early 20s. He has previously worked in France. Bogden is very satisfied with his current employment as a carpenter in a small Danish-owned company, where he is virtually the only non-Danish employee. Bogden is not a member of a trade union. His wife and child live in Romania.
28. Cosmin is from Romania, is 34 years old and is currently studying to become a Danish carpenter. He originally started a different vocational education, but switched because the language made it too difficult. He speaks Danish almost fluently, has three children and a wife in Denmark. He works primarily with Poles and Romanians in a Danish-owned multi-company. He knows a lot about the working environment from his studies, and he is very critical of his Danish colleagues' ability to follow the rules he learns in his studies. He is not a member of a trade union.
29. Nicu is from Romania. He is 34 years old. Although he is a trained dental technician, he works as a tradesperson in a Danish-owned company. He has worked as a tradesperson for 8 years and has worked in Denmark for 10. He is a member of a trade union, he has his own home, but his wife and children live in Romania.
30. Paul is Romanian and at the time of the phone interview he was working for a Danish-owned temp agency. In his previous employment, which was also a temp agency, he was cheated. He is 47 years old. He has more than 20 years of experience as a tradesperson. At the time of the interview, he works on a large construction site in Jutland, where he estimates there are over 100 workers. He is a trained electrician from Romania, and he also has a higher education degree. He has previously worked in Norway and Italy. He is not a member of a trade union. He lives in temporary accommodation.
31. Rafal is from Romania. I hear about Rafal through some Romanian interpreters who are trying to help Rafal. We never meet in person, so his story is based on the information provided by the interpreters. He has only been working for 9 days in Denmark when he is injured with a paint gun. The Danish temp agency fired him immediately. Since the accident, Rafal has had four operations in Denmark. I have been in constant contact with interpreters about his situation. He returns to Romania fairly quickly, but is unable to work when I last hear from the interpreters. He is not a member of a trade union, but the interpreters, who are also affiliated with the trade union movement, are trying to help him - mainly with interpreting assistance.
32. Viorel is from Romania. He is 42 years old. He is self-employed for the second time in Denmark. On his first attempt, he was cheated by his Danish business partner. Paul has both experience and education as a carpenter. He has worked as a carpenter for two years in Denmark and 17 years in Romania. He works between 35 and 45 hours a week. He has a wife and children in Romania. He is not a member of a trade union.
33. Marian is from Romania. Marian is 28 years old. He has suffered an accident at work because he was forced to carry things that are too heavy. He has probably suffered a back injury and

has numbness in his toes as a result. He has been in Denmark for only 8 months and is on sick leave when I meet him. He lives in accommodation provided by his employer. We get to know Marian well because he is willing to share his story about the poor conditions at work. We are in constant contact throughout the project. He is a member of a trade union.

34. Ioan is from Romania. He is very satisfied with his working life and wants to stay in Denmark. He works under decent conditions in a Danish company with a Lithuanian owner. He believes there are 9 in the company, but he works in a larger site where he estimates there are over 80 employees. He has his own home in Denmark. He has worked 15 as a tradesperson, including in France and Italy. He has lived in Denmark for three years. He is a member of a trade union.
35. Daniel is from Romania. He has been in Denmark for 7 years. The first 4 years he worked on the Metro project in Copenhagen. Now he works in a small company. He has a wife and child in Romania. He believes that the child will have a better future in Romania and therefore he does not want to move the family. His wife also has a good job in Romania. Daniel is an academic in his own country. Daniel would like to go back to Romania to stay, but he sacrifices himself for the sake of his family. Daniel is about 50. I am not told if Daniel has his own home. He is a member of a trade union.
36. Florin is from Romania. He is about 60 years old. He has only worked in Denmark for 8 months and he is on his way out of the country again. He is angry and very dissatisfied with his stay in Denmark. His family lives in Italy. He has also worked in a number of other European countries. Florin works on a large construction site, mainly with drywall work. He lives in accommodation provided by the company. He is a member of a trade union.
37. Ionut is from Romania. I only meet him briefly during course attendance because he is was threatened to return to work. He is 24 years old and has a number of problems at work, including threats, poor diet, wages theft, etc. He says he has to do all sorts of work. He lives in accommodation provided by his employer. He is a member of a trade union.
38. Leonard is from Romania. He is 46 years old. He speaks Danish almost fluently. Leonard has an abundance of education. He is a trained auto mechanic from Romania, and he also has a carpentry degree and a building constructor degree from Denmark, while he is also a landscape architect. He is employed in a medium-sized Danish company at the time of the interview, where he works a carpenter. He says that he is practically the only foreigner in the company. Overall, he is quite satisfied with both his working life and life in Denmark. He is a member of the trade union 3F. He is married and has one child. He lives in his own home.
39. Roland is from Romania and responds to our recruitment material even though he has not worked in the construction industry in Denmark, but has only worked in the construction industry in the UK. He has just been made redundant from a large Danish-owned manufacturing company. He has many good insights into why Romanians are generally excluded in working life, what mechanisms keep workers in what he calls a bubble, and we therefore choose to include the interview even though he does not meet our criteria for working in the construction industry. He is 41 years old. Roland speaks English well, but not Danish. He has a wife and child in Denmark and has bought a house. He is not a member of a trade union.

40. George is from Romania. He is 55 years old. He has more than 30 years of experience as an electrician; 30 years in Romania and three in Denmark. He moved to Denmark to be with his family, not to work. But he does work, although he says he is not short of money as he used to run his own business. He lives with his wife in a rented house and has a very long commute to work every day. He would like a permanent job in a Danish company but is rejected because he does not speak Danish. He is a member of a yellow trade union.
41. Alex is from Romania. He speaks Danish. Alex has not worked on a construction site himself, but he has worked for a Danish-owned temp agency with a Danish CVR number that hires foreign workers. He has a lot to say about the temp agency, and it is clear during the interview that he is very influenced by the things he experienced there. He has both a tradesperson's education and a university education. He is nervous as he has been threatened by the company. We therefore do not disclose anything else here that can lead the company in the direction of Alex. He is a member of a trade union.
42. Marius is from Romania. He is only 19 years old. He has been here for about months when I meet him. We only meet him fleetingly as he is being threatened to resume work while attending the course where we meet him. He therefore does not participate in a formal interview. He lives in accommodation provided by the employer.
43. Stefan is 28 years old. He is from Romania. He has been in Denmark for two years and has worked as a tradesperson for 18 months. He is employed as a laborer in a temporary employment agency. Before coming to Denmark, he also worked as a laborer. He is eloquent and deliberate. He lives in a hostel because it is difficult to find accommodation in Copenhagen. He has no family in Denmark. He is not a member of a trade union.
44. Armin is 32 years old. He is from Romania. He has worked as a carpenter for 13 years, including 3 years in Denmark. He first worked for a temp agency but is now self-employed. He answers mostly in monosyllables, and it is difficult to get information from him. The interview is therefore only 20 minutes long. He is a single father. He rents his own home. He is not a member of a trade union.
45. Mihai is from Romania. He is taciturn and doesn't say much. He has a Danish girlfriend and is expecting a child. We stay in touch throughout the project, and when I last heard from him, he had a child and was still living with his girlfriend. He works in demolition. He is about 30 years old. He is a member of a trade union.
46. Alexandru is from Romania. He has been in Denmark for 9 years. He is about 50 years old. He works with metal in a factory, but he has done other things. He lives in the outskirts of Denmark. He would like to improve his Danish and change his line of work to something that is not so hard. He lives in his own house with his son, who is currently studying. Alexandru speaks broken English and very little Danish. He is a member of a trade union. We are in regular contact, and when we last contact him, he had married a Romanian woman.
47. Adrian is from Romania. He is a specialist worker at a large Danish company on the outskirts of Denmark. He has a girlfriend who is also Romanian. She does not live in Denmark, but in

another Western European country. He has been in his current position for 5 years. He has also worked as a farmer. He was supposed to stay in Denmark long enough to buy a car, then it turned into 3 years and now he has been here for 10 years. Adrian is smart, committed and young. He speaks Danish and wants to stay in Denmark. He lives in his own home. He is a member of a trade union.

48. Amadei is from Poland. He is 28 years old. He works on a large Danish construction site. Amadei is a trained mechanic. He has worked on Polish construction sites for 8 years. He has a wife and children who live in Poland. He works as a carpenter and has been in Denmark for 5 years. He lives in a home facilitated by the workplace. He has been at his current workplace for about 6 months. He does not speak Danish. He is a member of a trade union.
49. Jerzy is from Poland. He has lived in Denmark for 8 years and would like to take a language course to improve his Danish. He speaks a little English. He lives with his Polish girlfriend, who speaks Danish and translates for us during the interview. He is trained to do large-scale landscaping but works as a crane operator for a large Danish-owned company in Denmark. He took the crane course in Poland, where he also worked for two years before moving to Denmark. He is not a member of a trade union.
50. Darek (Beard) is not being interviewed by us. Instead, he has been interviewed by an interpreter from BJMF, who has posted the interview on YouTube and sent us the link. We didn't want to interview him again with the same questions about the accident, so we refer to the published interview instead. Beard has lived in Denmark for 18 years. He has a wife and five children. He has had a very bad accident at work when he was employed by a Danish company. He is a member of a trade union. The interview is available here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yhQzonQC5s0>
51. Jurek is not interviewed by us but by an interpreter from BJMF. The video is available for everyone to watch. As is the case with Darek, we didn't think it was necessary to interview Jurek again about the details of the accident, as the interview would not bring any new information about what we are interested in. Jurek is from Poland. Jurek has had an accident at work. The video is available here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yzRW7XmVxHk>
52. Armand is from Poland. He is 30 years old. He is a trained mechanic, but now works with concrete. He has been in Denmark for a year. He has a wife in Poland. He is an AMP on the construction site. He lives in housing facilitated by the workplace. He does not speak Danish.
53. Artur is from Poland. He is 26 years old. He has attended high school, but no schooling past that. He has worked in ventilation, now in concrete. He has a wife, a child and one on the way in Poland. He lives in housing facilitated by the workplace.
54. Bastian is from Poland. He is 32 years old. Bastian has a higher education but has worked 8 years in the construction industry. He is a concreter. He has a girlfriend in Poland. He is *tillidsrepræsentant* for 300 colleagues. He does not speak Danish and says he has no contact with Danish workers at all. He lives in accommodation facilitated by the workplace.

55. Mikolaj is from Poland. We communicate with him in Polish and use Google Translate. He is 37 years old and originally trained in economics. It's clear that Mikolaj is used to communicating in writing. He writes long and detailed answers. He works at a construction site with mostly Danes but also 5 Poles. He has worked in Denmark for 9 years in demolition for a Danish temp agency with a Polish boss. He has a wife and three children in his home country, and he works in a 3+1 scheme that allows him to go home one week a month. He is not a member of a trade union.
56. Bolek is from Poland. He is 36 years old. He attended technical school, but without specialization. He has worked in all Scandinavian countries. He has been in his current position for 3 months but has already been elected as a *tillidsrepræsentant* for 300 colleagues. He is a concreter. He lives in accommodation facilitated by the workplace.
57. Jan is 47 years old and from Poland. He has a degree in civil engineering but works as a painter. He communicates fluently and elegantly and has told his story in a long, detailed and well-written document. He has had a very rocky start to his working life in Denmark. Although he has only been in Denmark for half a year, he has already changed jobs several times, been cheated repeatedly and been evicted from his home during a short vacation to Poland. The last we heard from him, he has been employed by a Danish company with Danish management and is confident that things are getting better. Jan is not a member of a trade union.
58. Borys is from Poland. He does not speak much. He is a trained mechanic. It's his first time in Denmark and he's been here for four months. He works on a large construction site, working as a concreter. He has two children, is divorced and has a girlfriend in Poland. He lives in accommodation facilitated by the workplace. He is a member of a trade union.
59. Cibor is from Poland. He is 47 years old. He is a team leader. He has previously worked on a large construction site and is now working on another large construction site. He has lived in another Western European country for 17 years. He has two children and a wife and his own house in Poland. He is the AMR for everyone on the construction site. At least he thinks so, but he's not sure. He is a member of a trade union.
60. Dawid is from Poland. He is 51 years old. He has a vocational education in construction. He has children in another European country and a wife in Poland. He used to work as a paver, but now works with concrete. He is AMR on the construction site. He is a member of a trade union.
61. Django is from Poland. He is 58 years old. He works as a carpenter and with concrete. He has been in Denmark for five years. He has worked illegally, been self-employed and worked for others. He lives in accommodation facilitated by his workplace, but also has a room in another city where he has many friends. I am in constant contact with Django as he contacts me after the first interview because he had an accident at work.
62. Dragan is from Poland. He is 55 years old and trained as an electrician and metal turner. Now he works with concrete. He has been in Denmark for 4 years and has worked for various

companies. He has his family in Poland; his wife and two adult children. He lives in accommodation facilitated by the workplace. He is an AMR.

63. Franciszek is from Poland. He is 44 years old. He is a trained pastry chef and baker, but has been working with concrete for 20 years. He has a wife and 2 children in Poland. He stopped working as a baker because he couldn't earn as much money as in construction.
64. Frodo is from Poland. He is 59 years old and a trained electronics technician. He now does concrete work. He has been in Denmark since 2016 and has worked in several companies. He has a wife and two children in Poland. He lives in a home provided by the company.
65. Frydryk is 65 years old. He has worked in construction for 40 years. He is a qualified construction technician. He has worked in different countries since 1990. He does concrete work. He has three grown-up children. He has only been in Denmark for 3 months, but he has already worked in several smaller companies.
66. Adam is from Poland. He is 57 years old. He has been in Denmark for 6 years. After his children left home, he sold the house in Poland and moved to Denmark. He is a trained chef and plumber. He has worked on Polish construction sites, but he has also worked many years in the military. He is employed as a caretaker in a company that rents out apartments without a collective agreement. He is on the warpath because the company does not have a collective agreement and calls the workers caretakers, even though they do manual labor. This is work that is primarily done by foreign workers.
67. Jakub is from Poland. He is 38 years old. He is a trained forestry technician but has worked in the construction industry for 16 years. He has been in Denmark for 5 years, both in Jutland and Copenhagen. He does carpentry and works with concrete. He has a partner and two children. He does not speak Danish. He lives in accommodation facilitated by the workplace. He is a member of a trade union.
68. Antoni is from Poland. He is 44 years old. He has been in Denmark for 11 years. Right now he works on a large construction site and he moved to take that job. He is a trained welder and machine mechanic. He is currently working as a crane operator and has a number of qualifications for that, which he brought with him from Poland. His family is here. He speaks Danish with a heavy accent.
69. Szymon is from Poland. He is 40 years old. He has lived in Denmark for 12 years. He is educated in mechanical technologies. He has only worked for a very short time in Poland and has had a wide range of jobs in Denmark from wine import to the wind turbine industry. When we meet him, he works for a temporary employment agency and has been working in construction for three years. He has only been on his current construction site, where he puts up protection but also does formwork concrete. He has rented an apartment close to his work. He speaks a little Danish.
70. Michal is from Poland. He is 40 years old. He has only been in Denmark for 8 months. He works for a temporary employment agency on a large construction site. He is a trained plumber

but works with concrete and formwork. He also sets up protection. The company provides accommodation. He has family in Poland.

71. Filip is from Poland. He is 62 years old. He has been in Denmark for 4 years. He has worked in a number of other countries. He works for one of the big construction companies. He recently joined the trade union because he would have been fired from his previous job if he had joined. He is trained as a toolmaker but hasn't worked as one. Instead, he works with concrete. He lives in what he calls a "camp". He thinks the conditions are fine. He is TR on the construction site.
72. Kolek is from Poland. He is 32 years old. He speaks English, so we do not need an interpreter. On the day of the interview, he has just started a new job in a large Danish company where his working hours are only 37 hours as opposed to the 55 hours a week he worked in his old job. He joined the union the day before the interview. He has been a crane operator for 9 years, including 2 years in Denmark. He would like to stay in Denmark. He has therefore rented an apartment and lives with his girlfriend.
73. Pawel is from Poland. He is 38 years old. He works as a crane operator in a large Danish-owned company and on a large construction site. He is a trained journalist and talks extensively about his experiences on both Danish and Norwegian construction sites. He supplements this with written explanations, which he sends both before and after the interview. He speaks and writes English well. He would like to buy a home in Denmark. He has been involved in an accident at work. He is a member of a yellow union.
74. Aleksander is from Poland. He is 53 years old. He is a trained bricklayer from Poland. He has worked as a bricklayer for his entire working life, except for a 6-year break where he built roads in Poland. In Denmark, however, he has not been able to find work as a bricklayer, but instead works as a carpenter and with formwork concrete. He has been in Denmark for 3 years, first in Jutland, now in Zealand. In Jutland, he built for a farmer and lived on one of the farmer's properties.
75. Oktawian is from Poland. He is 39 years old. He is a trained painter and paving contractor and is self-employed in Poland, but salaried in Denmark. He works on various small construction sites. He has only been in Denmark for a short time. He lives in rented accommodation.
76. Walenty is from Poland. He is 62 years old. He is on sick leave when we meet him. He has worked in Denmark for a long time, both as a general worker and as a team leader. In fact, his stay goes back as far as before the EU enlargement. In the 90s, he stayed illegally in Denmark for 4 years. He is a trained mechanic and welder and has upskilled as a bricklayer. He has 11 certificates to drive all kinds of machines. He started in renovation and has worked his way up the hierarchy over time. He speaks some Danish. We meet Walenty several times throughout the project and he is always eager to tell his story.
77. Sorin is from Poland. He is 29 years old. We get in touch with Sorin through *snowballing*. He has done all sorts of things in the 10 years he has been in Denmark. At the time of our interview, he works more than 50 hours a week for Wolt, but he still gets excited about the gift

cards because he hasn't been able to afford cigarettes. He has previously worked in demolition, but is originally trained as an automotive electrician. He has previously worked in Germany and the Netherlands. He speaks English poorly and almost no Danish. He is a member of a trade union.

78. Georg is from Poland. We are interested in talking to Georg because he has been in an accident. We hear about Georg through our network. As a result of the accident, he is unemployed at the time of the interview. Georg is in his late 50s. He was originally trained in the green sector. He only managed to work 3 months as a handyman in the construction industry when he had an accident. Before that, he worked briefly as a painter. He has also worked in other European countries before coming to Denmark, where he has now been for 13 years. He speaks only broken Danish, so the interview is with an interpreter. He is a member of a trade union.
79. Romuald is from Poland. He is 59 years old and a qualified electrician. He has worked as an electrician both in Denmark for 5 years and in Poland for 10 years. He has also worked in Italy. Romuald is considered to be well integrated, and he says, for example, that he is employed by a Danish-owned company where he is the only foreigner at his workplace. He has a wife in Poland who has been persuaded to move to Denmark because Romuald wants to stay. Overall, Romuald is very satisfied with both life in Denmark and his current workplace. Romuald is a member of a trade union and has positive experiences with it.
80. Alan is from Poland. He works for a painting company with Polish owners. We would like to talk to Alan because we have been told through contacts that he has had an accident. He has been employed in a number of different foreign companies where conditions have not been proper. Alan is a trained industrial technician but has worked on construction sites for 5 years, including two years in Denmark. Previously, he has also worked in England and Spain. He lives in his own rented accommodation and has a wife and two children in Poland. He is a member of a trade union.
81. The contact with Gilbert starts in writing, but he ends up giving up on the answers and initiates a verbal interview instead. He works at a large construction site in the metropolitan area, where he is a crane operator for a major Italian-owned company. Gilbert is from Poland and is 31 years old. He lives with his Polish wife in rented accommodation in Denmark, but together they are saving up to buy real estate. Gilbert is a *tillidsrepræsentant* and a member of the trade union.
82. Ryszard is from Poland. He has a degree in civil engineering, but he struggles to find a job even though he has applied for more than 100 positions. Therefore, he works with concrete. He answers all questions in flawless written English. At the time of the interview, he has just secured a job with a large international company. He is generally satisfied with his working life but frustrated that he cannot use his skills and that it is difficult to find permanent work, relying instead on temporary work. Ryszard is a member of a trade union.
83. Julian is from Poland. He is about 40 years old. He is on sick leave at the time of the interview. He is stressed and mentally affected by work. He is employed by a Danish temporary agency.

He has worked on more than 200 different construction sites in Denmark. He has worked as a tradesperson for 14 years. He lives with other Poles in a rented apartment. Julian is a member of a trade union.

84. Juliusz is from Poland. He is 61 years old. He is employed by a Danish temp agency. He is trained as a machine mechanic, but he has difficulty finding a job in his field. He attributes this to language difficulties. He has worked as a tradesperson for 7 years, three years in Denmark and four years in Poland. He is a member of a trade union. He lives with other Poles in a rented apartment. He is worried that his age means he won't be able to keep finding work.

2.10 Analysis of interview material from migrants

We have used thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) as a way of finding, analyzing and reporting on the content of the interviews. This means that the starting point is the interview data. Specifically, each part of the material is assigned a "code". A code is a word or short phrase that summarizes what the interview participant says.

We have taken different approaches in the different sections. As stated earlier, it was important for us to give voice to the migrants. In this first part of the analysis (as reported in chapter 4 and chapter 5), we have therefore also adopted a purely inductive method of analysis. We did this because we felt it was important that the migrant workers were allowed to talk about their experiences at workplaces in Denmark without a filter, without preconceived attitudes and without knowledge of what else has been presented in terms of attitudes and perspectives on migrants' working lives. In other words, it was important that the migrants themselves had a voice that had not been filtered through an analytical apparatus or subjected to theorization. The analysis here is also not filtered through the sometimes-contradictory perspectives we have encountered from professional informants such as occupational health and safety employees, trade unions or supervisory authorities.

To ensure a form of pureness, we therefore asked a student assistant with no prior knowledge of migrants or the working environment to code all interview material collected about migrants in order to describe the migrants' experiences on Danish construction sites. We did this to get as clean a picture as possible of what migrants experience. It is these experiences that we have reported on in chapter 4 and chapter 5.

In Chapter 6, we have taken the original open coding as a starting point, and then re-coded to understand the question that the quantitative analysis pointed towards, primarily the question of how it is possible to understand the large unreported numbers. In this chapter, the migrants have been given this primary voice, with an emphasis on those migrants who have experienced an

accident themselves. In chapters 7 and 8, we have coded against the theoretical framework, DWSH.

2.11 More about the analysis in Chapter 9, decent Work

In chapter 9, we present an analysis of the good working life, which is based on an independent analysis of the nine migrants in our sample who express overall satisfaction with their working life. The nine migrants are presented here.

1. Polish Romuald is 59 years old, is a trained electrician and has worked as an electrician for 8 years in Denmark. Romuald is selected to the group of satisfied migrant workers, as he expresses overall satisfaction with working in Denmark. He finds that safety and working conditions in Denmark are good. Romuald describes himself as "working in a good company", and when asked about problems with being a foreigner and working in Denmark, he replies that "I have no problems at all at the moment, even if I lose my job".
2. Bogden is 37 years old and from Romania. Bogden has worked as a carpenter in Denmark for 9 years. During these years, Bogden has had mostly good experiences with the safety and working environment in Denmark, including working hours and pay, which is why he has chosen to continue working here. He says: "[I] am very satisfied and that is also why I have chosen to stay here. Otherwise, I would have gone back to Romania". This satisfaction is also reflected in his future desire to persuade his family to move to Denmark. Bogden is therefore selected to the group of satisfied migrant workers.
3. Razvan is from Romania. He is 40 years old and a trained mechanic, but has not used the training. He has many years of tradesperson experience and has worked in many different areas in Denmark for a total of 9 years. Bogden moved to Denmark with his two children in connection with a divorce. At the time of the interview, Razvan works with concrete and has also worked in the demolition industry. Razvan is dissatisfied with the lower wages for migrants, but overall satisfied. When asked if he is happy to be here, he says: "Yes. After 10 years. I think I'm in a nice place now". By extension, Razvan wants to stay in Denmark. To this, he also points out how Denmark gives his children the best possible future. Therefore, Razvan is selected to be part of the group of satisfied migrant workers.
4. Ioan is 40 years old and also comes from Romania. Ioan is a trained mechanic, but has 15 years of experience working with concrete in France and Italy, among other countries. Ioan has only lived and worked in Denmark for 3 years, but despite this, he is very satisfied with the Danish labor market and wants to stay. This is expressed when asked if he is satisfied where he is now, he answers: "Very much". In addition to colleagues and management, Ioan also expresses satisfaction with the Danish systems and the service he has been met with in these: "I have met very friendly people". Ioan is therefore selected to the group of satisfied migrant workers.
5. Nicu is also from Romania, is 34 years old and is a trained dental technician. However, he has worked as a tradesperson for 8 years and has worked in Denmark for 10 years in total. Nicu expresses a sense of satisfaction. For example, he articulates the role of colleagues in light of his positive experiences as a migrant worker in Denmark. Furthermore, when asked about his

satisfaction, he describes himself as a "work-a-holic" with a smile on his face. For the above reasons, he is selected for the group of satisfied migrant workers.

6. Leonard comes from Romania, is 46 years old and has worked in Denmark for 18 years. He has taken a number of different courses in Denmark. Leonard is generally satisfied with working in Denmark and would like to stay. He says: "I haven't had any bad experiences; I can tell you that". For this reason, Leonard is selected to the group of satisfied migrants.
7. Kawa is one of the few informants who is not from an EU country. He is only 29 years old and has worked in Denmark for 9 years. He has 6 years of experience as a tradesperson. Kawa's process is characterized by a particularly pronounced sense of satisfaction, which Kawa himself attributes to his initial and ongoing positive relationship with a Danish man. Among other things, the man helps Kawa learn Danish and takes Kawa to work in his company. His satisfaction is expressed in several places in the interview, as he answers "I am" when asked about both satisfaction and being happy with his working life. Kawa is therefore selected for the group of satisfied migrant workers, as his distinctive trajectory contains many success experiences with Danish colleagues, Danish systems and the Danish labor market in general.
8. Jānis comes from Latvia, is 29 years old and has lived and worked in Denmark for 3 years. He has a degree in Logistics and Transportation from Latvia, but has worked as a painter throughout his time in Denmark. Jānis speaks positively about having Danish colleagues as a key factor in his satisfaction in the Danish labor market. He also directly expresses satisfaction with his current job in Denmark: "*But where I work now, I am very happy*". Jānis is also selected to be included in the group of categorized satisfied migrant workers.
9. Angelo is 56 years old, comes from Italy and has worked the shortest time in Denmark. He has worked in the country for 1.5 to 2 years. He is self-employed working with marble and tiles. He describes this as "artisan". Angelo has 12 years of experience in this field, despite having no formal education. Angelo is extremely satisfied with the safety on Danish construction sites. Furthermore, Angelo expresses satisfaction with the treatment he has received on Danish construction sites: "I think I am treated properly". Therefore, Angelo is selected to be part of the group of satisfied migrant workers.

2.12 More about the analysis in chapter 11, categorization

A key finding of the qualitative part of the study is that not all migrant workers share all experiences. Therefore, it was also important to differentiate the migrant workers in the project to map and create an overview of who encounters which risks on construction sites in Denmark. In Chapter 11, we therefore present nine categories based on the project's informants. The analysis aims to capture the essence of the differences and variations that exist among migrant workers. They are developed as a categorization of migrants in relation to their own experience and their places of employment.

The individual categories provide insight into the working life of migrants and reveal the typical working environment situation for each category, as well as the working environment problems that migrants experience in their work.

The categories are constructed via a matrix. In the matrix, we intersect two types of information about the migrant workers. We have selected this information based on the distinction presented in table 2 in chapter 4 on comparisons with other countries. Here we identified three categories of migrant workers based on their accumulated experience in the construction industry.

We also rely on the distinction between foreign and Danish companies because this distinction is presented as meaningful in the literature (Arnholtz, 2021; Arnholtz & Andersen, 2016). The literature thus indicates that migrant workers' working environment situation depends on the type of workplace, including Danish or foreign. This distinction between Danish and foreign companies is also often presented as a meaningful distinction by both trade unions and other stakeholders in the industry when we have heard presentations at various events. In addition, we have added employment as agency workers (among our informants, these are employees of temporary work agencies), as the data collection gives us a basis for treating agency workers as a special category of workers. The intersections are thus based on the following categories in relation to experience:

- 1) The migrant has worked as a tradesperson before Denmark in their home country (Careerists)
- 2) The migrant has worked in other countries besides Denmark and home country (Nomads)
- 3) The migrant has never worked in the industry before coming to Denmark, neither in their home country nor in other countries (Opportunists)

The crossing is based on the following categories in relation to employment:

- 1) The migrant is employed in a Danish company
- 2) The migrant is employed by a foreign company
- 3) The migrant is employed by one company but hired by another company. Among the migrants in the study, this typically means employment with a temporary agency.

This gives us 9 categories. This is illustrated in the table below (Table 1):

Table 1 1Matrix, Migrants' background vs. attachment to companies

Background and experience → Attachment	Career craftsmen	Nomads	The opportunists
↓ Danish company	A	B	C

Foreign company	D	E	F
Vikar	G	H	I

Chapter 11 contains both a qualitative and quantitative content analysis. We present the approach for both analyses below.

Procedure for the qualitative analysis in chapter 11

Not all migrants are included in the qualitative analysis in chapter 11. They are selected or excluded based on certain criteria. These criteria include the fact that we have only included informants from individual interviews, as group interviews do not give much speaking time to the individual person. In the matrix, we aim to be able to say as much as possible about each category, and therefore the informants are selected who have also had the most speaking time and have therefore been able to give us more in-depth insight into their life situation and typical work environment situations.

We have also selected informants who primarily talk about the company they are employed by at the time of the interview. It would give misleading data if we included statements from informants who, for example, had just changed jobs/companies and thus moved from, for example, category F to category A. Thus, the stories would be linked to the time when the person was category F, but in our characterization would be updated as category A. And this would make it impossible to create an adequate profile and a distinction between the different categories, and thus a distinction between the migrant workers. Thus, it would not be possible to differentiate between migrant workers and their working environment situation and clarify which groups face which risks.

For some categories, there were not enough informants to select according to the above criteria. For category H, it was only possible to create a profile of category H by including one person from a group interview. In category D, there were no informants corresponding to the characteristic, and category I only one person from a group interview. Thus, it has not been possible to construct a category D and category I profile based on the project's empirical data.

There are also considerations related to company affiliation. Some say they are employed in Danish companies, but may later explain that the owners are foreign. Where we have been able to make an assessment, we have only included companies where both the CVR number and the owners are Danish. Thus, we have not included hybrids where the main company is, for example, Dutch or Italian, but the work is carried out through a company registered in Denmark.

Procedure for the quantitative analysis in chapter 11

In addition, we have conducted a quantitative analysis in chapter 11. For the analysis, we have narrowed down the data to three random informants representing each category. We have selected a maximum and minimum of three so that there are the same number of people in each group.

For the analysis, using the qualitative data analysis software program Nvivo, we have constructed a matrix that, in a simplified explanation, combines categories with codes. This crosses the categories in a matrix with the existing codes that were constructed when the full data set was coded. This allows us to see what takes up more or less space for each category. Categories D and I are not included in the Nvivo matrix for the reasons stated above.

The analysis is specifically constructed by dividing the selected 3 informants for each category into a "file classification". This means that the total of 21 selected informants are classified into different groups, so that the 3 selected for categories A, B, C, E, F, G, H are gathered in one group.

The matrix in Nvivo is illustrated in the following model (Table 2). The model is for illustration purposes only with a few selected codes and *not* the actual model. Red indicates what the informants talk about a lot. Orange indicates what the informants talk about mostly a lot. Yellow indicates what the informants talk about to a lesser extent. Blue indicates what the informants do not talk about at all:

Table 2 Matrix, people vs. codes

Categories → Codes ↓	A	B	C	E	F	G	H
Accidents and handling	Yellow	Red	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow
Firing and threats of firing	Red	Red	Blue	Yellow	Yellow	Blue	Yellow
Fraud	Yellow	Yellow	Blue	Red	Blue	Blue	Blue
Language challenges	Yellow	Red	Yellow	Red	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow
High work pace	Red	Red	Yellow	Red	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow
Work pace vs. Safety	Yellow	Red	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow
Safety equipment and physical work environment	Yellow	Yellow	Red	Yellow	Red	Yellow	Red
Safety instructions	Yellow	Yellow	Red	Yellow	Red	Yellow	Yellow
Comparisons with Danes	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Red	Red	Red	Red
The homes attached to the businesses	Yellow	Blue	Blue	Red	Yellow	Blue	Yellow

Based on the matrix, it has thus been possible to quantitatively derive patterns and trends in which groups of migrant workers encounter which risks and problems in the workplace. The results can be found in chapter 11.

Please note that the analysis is based on qualitative interviews, which do not offer the same generalization possibilities as quantitative data. We also note that three people in each category is a relatively small number, which makes it harder to generalize. Therefore, it would be ideal to test the categories quantitatively using much larger data sets at a later date.

2.13 Professional informants

We have interviewed 37 professional informants. The complete list of the professional informants follows below.

Public authorities (n=9)

- Danish Working Environment Authority (n=3). The Danish Working Environment Authority is central to ensuring a good working environment. We have sought out people in the Danish Working Environment Authority with experience and/or people employed with a focus on foreign workers.
- Employees of public (supervisory) authorities other than the Danish Working Environment Authority (n=6). This group includes people from other public bodies involved in the supervision of construction sites and in the efforts against social dumping. These include the Danish Tax Agency, state and municipal supervisory authorities and the Danish Center against Human Trafficking. These individuals have primarily been identified through *snowballing* internally between public authorities, as these share common initiatives.

Independent health and safety consultants without a permanent workplace (n=2)

- Independent health and safety advisors (n=2). These health and safety advisors have a wide range of contacts and visit many construction sites.

Client, strategic (n=2)

- Representatives of a large public client and the interest organization for clients (n=2). These are both individuals who primarily have strategic experience and focus on occupational health and safety.

Occupational health and safety, client (n=3)

- Project manager for a large public construction project, where he is employed directly by the client to manage the client's responsibility for occupational health and safety (n=1).
- Senior Health and Safety Consultant/HSE Coordinator (n=2), both of whom have many years of experience in the construction industry. Both are employed by Danish construction companies and employed to handle client responsibility. Both have their current day-to-day work on very large public construction sites with many foreign employees. One of them speaks an Eastern European language.

Employers, including temp agencies, and supervisor, (n=5)

- Lithuanian business owner who has been self-employed in Denmark for twelve years. For the first 8 years he operated as a Lithuanian company, but he now has a Danish CVR number. He has between 15 and 20 employees and employs only Lithuanian people as carpenters and unskilled workers.
- Production manager in a medium-sized Danish company. The company has around 100 employees. The company only hires foreign workers because they have difficulty finding Danish tradespeople. The company's strategy is to create a stable workforce.
- Employees of temporary employment agencies recruiting for the construction industry (n=3). All are from Eastern European countries themselves.

Employers' health and safety professionals (n=4)

- Working Environment Manager/Project Manager Working Environment (n=3) who work for large Danish companies. They are currently employed by companies that both employ their own people and outsource to Danish CVR-registered companies that almost exclusively employ primarily Polish but also other foreign workers. All three have many years of experience and have worked in other positions. They draw on their combined experience as coordinators for clients and from the Danish Working Environment Authority, the trade union movement and as independent consultants. All three also have a vocational education.
- Self-employed health and safety consultant working almost exclusively for a company that is partly owned by foreign nationals. The company is a Danish CVR-registered company. The company hires exclusively Polish workers, primarily directly, but also hires temporary workers. The company has up to 150 Polish employees.

Trade union (n=9)

- Trade union employees with a special focus on foreign workers (n=5). The five people have similar work tasks but are responsible for different areas in Denmark. As their tasks are similar, they have been interviewed together.
- Interpreters and professionals (n=4). Professionals who were not born in Denmark have insight into occupational health and safety issues due to their dual role as migrant workers and their broad contact with other migrants. They therefore have a unique insight into the conditions for migrant workers.

Trade union, Work environment (n=3)

- Trade union employees supervising the working environment on construction sites (n=3). Data was collected while driving to work sites. Individuals have experience both from supervising the migrants, but also from their own manual work on the sites. One of these individuals has also previously been employed by a public client to manage occupational health and safety and supervise a large project with many foreign employees.

What the professional informants have in common is that they come into contact with and therefore gain insight into aspects of foreign workers' everyday lives, working environment and safety through their daily work. Initially, we thought it would be appropriate to only interview people who have knowledge about both foreign workers *and the* working environment. However, we quickly realized that such a job description do not exist in large numbers. Professional informants are either employed to focus on the working environment or focus on migrants. There are only a few people in Denmark who are specifically employed to take care of the working environment *for* migrants. However, we realised that they are good respondents regardless. Experience showed that those who work in areas other than health and safety often know a lot about health and safety. Professionals who speak several languages are a good example of this. Similarly, those who intend to manage health and safety, such as independent health and safety consultants, also come into broad contact with migrant worker issues.

Recruitment

While recruiting migrants has been challenging, recruiting professional informants has been easier. We have taken this as an expression of a great interest in migrants' OHS, as well as a strong desire among many to improve the situation for migrants. Some professional informants were found through an online search. These were mainly occupational health and safety professionals and employees of temporary employment agencies. Other respondents were identified using a *snowball* method, where each respondent was asked to identify others with knowledge of the issue. We did not exclude specific groups or individuals beforehand. If a specific person has been identified that person has been asked for an interview. We have thus relied on what people in the industry know about others who also work in the industry. In line with our *snowballing* strategy, we contacted two representatives of the central employers' and business organization (DI) for an interview and help identifying possible subjects for data collection from employers. One request

was declined and the other ignored. In addition, we unsuccessfully sought contact with six smaller construction companies in the provinces and nine temporary employment agencies.

Conducting the interviews

About half of the interviews were conducted in person, while the rest were conducted by phone. Professional informants were asked to respond to some general questions, namely "what is the goal (of the effort)?", "what methods are available (in the work)?", "how is the problem being addressed", "what are and where do the problems occur?" and "what does it take (to improve the conditions)?". The vast majority were interviewed alone, however, five people with the same job description within the union were interviewed as a group. Most interviews took approximately one hour.

Analysis of interview material from professional informants

The analysis was carried out in Nvivo in the same way as described above. For the presentation in chapters 7 and 8, which are the chapters where the professional informants' data is primarily used, we have coded deductively in accordance with the analytical apparatus of Sorensen et al. (Sorensen et al., 2016, 2019, 2021). The model specifies the causal ways in which workplaces and work more generally impact workers' safety and health, and we have therefore coded systematically in accordance with this analytical framework in order to understand the totality of impacts.

2.14 Site visits

Our original design primarily involved longer stays at construction sites for ethnographic purposes. Thus, the original project formulation described that "It [answering questions] is concretely ensured by observing 4-6 large construction sites over a period of time that employ both Danes and migrants." However, it turned out to be very difficult to gain access to construction sites. Various contacts by the trade union movement and the researchers themselves, were refused. We were offered a guided tour but were not be allowed to walk around unaccompanied - or stay for longer periods of time on the construction sites.

At the start of the project, we made a small number of site visits (tours) accompanied by health and safety professionals. Two of the visits were planned and were accompanied by health and safety professionals employed on site. Three of the visits were unannounced and were accompanied by health and safety officers from the union. The visits provided a good insight into the initiatives implemented and valued by the construction management and health and safety staff. For the most part, the working environment was highly valued on the sites visited by the researcher, and all

five sites had launched a number of initiatives to ensure the working environment. The relatively short visits did not provide much insight into where the problems occur.

In addition, over time, we also began to question the appropriateness of spending many hours observing on construction sites. This is because interviews revealed that it is far from possible to see everything: what happened 5 minutes ago and what happens in 5 minutes cannot be observed. We had also come to realize that it can be incredibly difficult to get accurate observations on the actual construction sites. For example, the first two migrants on the very first visit to a construction site claimed that "we don't work here, we only drink coffee", even though it was blatantly clear that they were working.

Secondly, the Danish Working Environment Authority works in this manner; by observing and inspecting construction sites. The kind of data that comes from observation is therefore already available to some extent. What does not arise from observation is the understanding of the mechanisms that underlie certain actions. For example, researchers have experienced and seen images of dangerous behavior (e.g. people standing on roofs without harnesses) or inadequate clothing (e.g. wrong shoes). But what we're focusing on here are the underlying mechanisms, reasons, actions and possibly orders that have driven this inappropriate behavior. Therefore, the aim is not only to understand *what happens* on construction sites, but also *why* it happens.

2.15 Literature review, Scoping study method

In the literature review, which can be found in Chapter 3, we have used a *scoping study* method developed by Arksey and O'Malley (2005) and previously used in research on migrants (Overgaard et al., 2022). This method is suitable for mapping an area of interest that has not yet been mapped (Arksey & O'Malley, 2005), in this case the working environment of migrant workers in the Danish construction sector. The literature search, mapping and further processing of the literature follows six delimited phases. The method is also described in English in the published study (Overgaard et al., 2023).

Determining the research question (Phase 1)

The research question that we used to guide our search, reading and coding of the literature is:

1. What do we know from the existing literature about the work environment of migrants working in the construction sector in Denmark?

Overall, the purpose is to investigate how much research exists. Interest focuses on the amount of research activity, as well as who, where and how the topic is being written about. Of course, it is also key to find out what is already known about the topic.

Identification of relevant literature (Phase 2)

The aim of the *scoping study* is to be as comprehensive as possible in the effort to identify material suitable for answering the central research question (Arksey and O'Malley, 2005). The searches were filtered to broadly cover all topics relevant to migrant work. All material published after 2004 is included, as this was the year when relevant migration changes were introduced, i.e. the enlargement of the EU (Andersen and Arnholtz Hansen, 2008).

To ensure we obtained all relevant literature, we used a systematic approach in November and December 2021. A first step was to identify the "easy" matches by searching for "migrants in Denmark" (in Danish and English) in Google and Google Scholar. The next step involved an extensive database search using relevant search terms. The library's own search functions (MultiSearch) and Academic Search Premier and Sociological Abstracts were identified as suitable for this task. A catalog was created with Danish and English search terms such as (*Migra*), (*Foreign*), Foreign, "AND/OR" (*Occupation*), (*Work*), Sick, Language. (*Health*), (*Communicat*), Work "AND/OR" (*Bygge*), Construction, building, high risk "AND" Denmark, Danish, Danmark, Dansk. Third, we reviewed the websites of selected researchers. Fourthly, we reviewed all the reference lists of identified articles. Finally, we also set out to investigate whether a work has been cited after its publication. In total, we found approximately 90 different publications.

Inclusion and Exclusion (Phase 3)

In phase 3, we decided *post hoc* on the additional inclusion and exclusion criteria in the research group. Initially, it was assumed that it would be possible to learn about the occupational health and safety of workers in Denmark by looking at research from other countries similar to Denmark. However, a closer reading of the literature suggests that results from other countries, even those we usually consider similar such as Norway and Sweden, have experiences that are different from the Danish. In addition, we found a recent literature study (Hvid & Buch, 2020) that has extensively covered the very area we had in mind.

The research team also discussed to what extent studies from other sectors, especially high-risk sectors such as industry and agriculture, could be transferred to the construction sector. In the end, we decided against such an inclusion due to the different actors and ways of organizing work. The construction sector union is considered to be a particularly strong union with higher union density than the other sectors.

We have also included reports that have not undergone the quality assurance inherent in peer review. We made this choice because most of the reports are written by Danish academics and the

same academics often publish the same results as both journal articles and reports. However, we have also included two COWI reports and one Ramboll report.

Coding and thematic analysis (Phase 4)

We have coded the literature according to some predetermined themes (Bazeley, 2009; Braun & Clarke, 2006; Saldaña, 2009). These themes correspond to the analytical framework, DWSH, presented earlier (Sorensen et al., 2016, 2021). The analytical framework draws attention to the individual worker, conditions at work, how the work or sector is organized, and macro conditions.

Summarizing and reporting data (Phase 5)

In the next phase, we took the large amount of coded material (32 pages of raw literature) and organized it into categories (Nowell et al., 2017), which were then compressed and summarized.

Consultation (Phase 6)

An important component of the methodology is consultation with key experts in the field (Arksey & O'Malley, 2005). We deliberately selected and invited academic experts with (a) experience in occupational health and safety and/or (b) knowledge of migration to read and provide feedback on a draft of the thematic analysis and methodology.

3 Existing research: OHS, migrant workers in the construction industry in Denmark

This chapter presents the results of the first step in the project, a literature review. The purpose of the literature review, which was conducted in late 2021 and early 2022, was to map the existing literature on migrants' occupational health and safety. Publications published no later than January 2022 are included. The study was also published in the Nordic Journal of Working Life Studies (Overgaard et al., 2023).

3.1 Overview of publications included in the literature review

In this section, we first provide a brief alphabetical overview of the publications included in the literature review. Table 3 provides an overview of the included literature. An annotated overview can be found in Appendix 1.

Table 3: Publications included in the literature review

Authors	Year of publication	Denmark	Other countries	Migrants	Non-migrants	Work environment	Building and	Agriculture	Industries	Cleaning &	Quantitative	Qualitative	Magazine and	Rappor (R) Bog (B)	Peer reviewed	New data
1. Andersen & Arnholtz (2008)	2008	√	-	√	-	-	√	-	-	-	-	√	-	KB	?	√
2. Andersen & Felbo-Kolding (2013)	2013	√	-	√	-	-	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	B	-	√
3. Arnholtz (2021)****	2021	√	-	√	-	-	√	-	-	-	√	√	√	-	√	√
4. Arnholtz & Andersen (2016)****	2016	√	-	√	-	-	√	-	-	-	√	√	-	B	-	√
5. Arnholtz & Hansen (2009)*	2009	√	-	√	-	-	√	-	√	√	√	-	-	R	-	√
6. Arnholtz & Hansen (2012)*	2012	√	-	√	√	-	√	-	√	√	√	-	√	-	√	√
7. Arnholtz & Refslund (2019)**	2019	√	-	√	-	-	√	-	-	-	-	√	√	-	√	√
8. Biering et al (2017)***	2017	√	-	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	-	√	√
9. COWI (2012)	2012	√	-	√	-	√	√	√	-	-	-	√	-	R	-	√
10. COWI (2016)	2016	√	-	√	-	√	√	-	-	-	√	√	-	R	-	√
11. Guldenmund et al (2013)	2013	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√	√	-	√	√
12. Grillis & Dyreborg (2015)	2015	√	-	√	-	-	√	-	-	-	-	√	√	-	√	√
13. Nielsen & Sandberg (2014)	2014	√	-	√	-	-	√	-	-	-	-	√	√	-	√	√
14. Pedersen & Thomsen (2020)	2020	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	-	-	-	√	-	KB	?	√
15. Rambøll (2016)***	2016	√	-	√	-	-	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	R	-	√

16. Rasmussen et al (2016)**	2016	√	-	√	-	-	√	-	√	√	√	√	√	-	R	-	√
17. Rasmussen & Biering (2020)***	2020	√	-	√	-√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	KB	?	√
18. Refslund (2021)**	2021	√	-	√	-	-	√	-	√	-	-	√	√	-		√	√
19. Refslund & Sippola (2020)**	2020	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	√	-	-	√	√	-		√	√
20. Simkunas & Thomsen (2018)	2018	√	-	√	-	-	√	-	-	√	-	√	√	-		√	√
21. Spanger & Hvalkof (2020)	2020	√	-	√	-	-	√	√	-	√	-	√	√	B		√	√

Notes.

* The study of 500 Poles is reported in several outputs.

** These outputs relate to the same data set.

*** It is impossible to separate construction from other sectors in this project, which is reported in several places

**** This project on posted workers is reported in two outputs.

B = Book, KB = Book chapter, R = Report.

The vast majority of publications are written by Danes, in Danish and for a Danish audience. In fact, we were unable to find a single article by academics in the migrants' home countries. There are also a limited number of authors researching the topic, with Jens Arnholtz being the most active. It is also worth noting that consultants, rather than independent academics, are the authors of some of the most extensive research projects (COWI, 2012, 2016; Rambøll, 2016).

There seems to have been a fairly constant attention to the topic in research circles since 2008, but with an increase in 2016, while there was little interest in the topic in the first years after EU enlargement.

We should note that in addition to these studies, which all relate to new empirical research, there is also another recent Danish literature review (Hvid & Buch, 2020), which in some areas overlaps with our own study, but has a broader focus because it also includes literature from abroad and does not focus solely on the construction industry. There is also a more recent paper from the National Center for Working Environment (NFA) that focuses on vulnerable workers and includes a literature review (Møller et al., 2020). These other literature reviews also provide a good insight into the issues surrounding migrant workers.

3.2 Existing knowledge, thematically presented

In this section, we summarize the existing knowledge on the working environment of migrants in Denmark. This knowledge is organized thematically, i.e. across the individual studies.

The extent of occupational injuries

When looking at migrant workers' occupational accidents in isolation, it is the absence of research that stands out the most. In fact, there is only one purely Danish published study, which has been published as both an article (Biering et al., 2017) and a book chapter (Rasmussen & Biering,

2020), as well as a study comparing Denmark with two other countries (Guldenmund et al., 2013). The Danish-only study (Biering et al., 2017) used data from three different sources: emergency room visits, reported injuries to the Danish Working Environment Authority and data from Statistics Denmark from 2003 to 2013. The comparative study used interviews, a survey (questionnaire) and register data to a lesser extent.

Both studies (Biering et al., 2017; Guldenmund et al., 2013) generally confirm the suspicion that migrant workers are particularly vulnerable in the labor market compared to Danes. Both studies show that migrants generally have more accidents than Danes. Guldenmund et al (2013) find that migrants (217) have more accidents per 10,000 workers than Danes (181). Similarly, Biering et al (2017) found that both migrants from the new EU and the rest of the world (see later for a list of these countries) had more workplace accidents than Danes and citizens from the old EU countries. Both studies therefore confirm research from other countries (Mucci et al., 2019; Sterud et al., 2018) and the results are therefore consistent with international experience.

However, the Danish-only study (Biering et al., 2017; Rasmussen & Biering, 2020) paints a very different picture for migrant workers in high-risk jobs, which includes the construction industry (Biering et al., 2017). Surprisingly, the Biering et al (2017) study shows that all migrants under the age of 30 and working in high-risk sectors have *fewer occupational* injuries than Danish workers. Migrant workers over the age of 30 and those from the new EU countries also have a lower accident rate than Danish workers. Equally surprising is that young people from the new EU member states in particular are underrepresented in the number of accidents at work, having only about a third as many accidents as the comparison group according to the study (Biering et al., 2017). Biering et al (2017) point to several reasons for this somewhat surprising result, including healthy worker bias, i.e., migrants are a healthy group who decide to migrate, and the efforts of the Danish Working Environment Authority. They also mention underreporting.

Overall, however, the study concludes:

[I]t is our overall impression that the working environment we in general offer the migrant workers from the EU countries is good and comparable to conditions offered to the native Danish workers (Rasmussen & Biering, 2020, p. 162).

We find it difficult to agree with the authors' overall conclusion that migrant workers are offered an equal working environment that is similar to that of Danes. Our skepticism about the conclusion is not due to the design as such, because the design is ambitious. It is the interpretation that we disagree with. We agree with the authors (Biering et al., 2017; Rasmussen & Biering, 2020) when they draw attention to possible underreporting. However, we do not believe it is possible to point to underreporting and at the same time come to the above conclusion.

Overall, the results of the Danish study are also problematic because they do not point in the same direction as the majority of studies from other countries (Mucci et al., 2019; Sterud et al., 2018). Thus, we have good reason to assume that underreporting plays a role when occupational accidents are taken as an expression of migrants' risk profile and thus be skeptical of the results. In particular, we point to a study by Arnholtz & Hansen (2009) which finds large discrepancies between migrants' self-reported occupational injuries and official statistics. In summary, we have very little valid, academic knowledge about both the nature and extent of the problem in Denmark prior to our study.

Migrants' knowledge and risk appetite

Lack of education, especially literacy, is often cited in public debate and by Danish authorities and employers as a cause of problems (COWI, 2012; Rambøll, 2016). However, an older study of Poles in Copenhagen (Arnholtz & Hansen, 2009) finds that Poles in Copenhagen are better educated than the general population in both Poland and Denmark. Another argument that often comes up is the lack of qualifications of migrant workers, which, according to this argument, puts migrants at risk. Thus, informants from construction sector organizations describe migrants as having a lack of experience or as "generalists" without the specific sub-sector skills normally used in Denmark or with qualifications that are not directly comparable (COWI, 2012; Guldenmund et al., 2013).

However, the workers themselves in the same study by COWI (2012) are of the opinion that their skills are not significantly different from those of their Danish colleagues (COWI, 2012). This is supported by other researchers (Arnholtz & Hansen, 2009), who found that Poles working in construction have a high degree of skill match: some have educational qualifications, some have experience, and many have both (Arnholtz & Hansen, 2009). Overall, the literature suggests that individual factors are not good explanations for why Poles are paid wages and working conditions that are far below those of their Danish colleagues (Arnholtz & Hansen, 2013).

It is questionable whether the workers bring with them a certain culture, a safety culture that is inferior to that of Danish workers. The evidence for such a culture is sparse and disputed. In fact, we have only been able to find one report that claims to demonstrate such a culture (COWI, 2012). This report (COWI, 2012) reports a "Polish mentality", a word they use to describe workers who will put themselves at risk in exchange for profit. Another study finds no clear evidence of such a different culture (Guldenmund et al., 2013). Another study argues differently, namely that migrants brand themselves as particularly willing to work and that this 'Polishness' gives migrants an advantage in the distribution of work (Nielsen, 2007).

There is more agreement that various work incentives lead migrants to accept poor conditions in exchange for financial gain (Guldenmund et al., 2013). It is argued that migrant workers are willing to accept (even much) lower safety standards if there is sufficient financial benefit, and that they sometimes take risks in order not to delay or stop work (COWI, 2012; Guldenmund et al., 2013). This research points out that it can be difficult to say no when migrants with little knowledge of the Danish labor market and with language barriers face demands from the employer (Pedersen & Thomsen, 2020; Refslund, 2021). Although migrant workers may know about safety, they ignore the issues to please employers or to prove themselves as efficient workers (COWI, 2012). Others point out that there are costs associated with buying the right safety equipment and that individual workers make a trade-off between safety and profit (Refslund & Sippola, 2020).

At the same time, some literature suggests that migrants are mainly oriented towards their home countries. It follows that when there is a lower standard of safety in the home countries, this will lead to a lower standard of workplace safety in Denmark (COWI, 2012; Guldenmund et al., 2013; Refslund & Sippola, 2020).

Everyday life at work: lower wages, language barriers, poor treatment and fraud

Having a good working environment doesn't just mean the absence of risks. It's not just about not getting hurt, it's also about daily well-being. This section reviews the most dominant daily issues that migrant workers face in the workplace that have an impact on the work environment.

Language issues are one of the biggest problems (Guldenmund et al., 2013; COWI, 2012) even in cases where bilingual supervisors are used (Guldenmund et al., 2013) or interpreters are used (Rambøll, 2016). Due to language barriers, migrants may not understand the safety instructions sufficiently and rely instead on their experience and the standards of the country they come from (Guldenmund et al., 2013: 98).

In particular, it is employers who point to language as a safety issue. For example, Andersen and Felbo-Kolding (2013) found that between 51% and 60% of employers believe that Eastern European workers lack knowledge about occupational health and safety. Some employers even cite these issues as justification for paying lower wages to migrant workers to cover the cost of interpreting (Andersen & Arnholtz, 2008; Nielsen, 2007). Faced with a deduction in wages, it can be assumed that workers would rather pretend to understand instructions than be paid less.

The migrant workers themselves seem to perceive language as less of an issue. This is because migrants mainly work closely with other migrants only. Only in special situations, for example when handing over work, do migrant workers perceive language as a problem (COWI, 2012). However, it

should be noted that only this one study by COWI (2012) asked about the migrant workers' own perception of this problem.

Poor treatment of migrant workers is a dominant theme with much of the literature detailing widespread discrimination and poor treatment (Arnholtz & Hansen, 2009; COWI, 2012). As examples of more 'mild' forms of discrimination, migrants report a lack of recognition of their skills and being seen as second-class EU citizens (Arnholtz & Hansen, 2009). Poor treatment also manifests itself in more serious forms. Around a third of Polish workers in one study have been threatened with dismissal and almost one in five have been threatened with violence at their workplace (Arnholtz & Hansen, 2009). Poor treatment also includes being asked to do dangerous work. This is especially the case for those working for foreign companies, according to a slightly older study (Arnholtz & Hansen, 2009).

In general, many migrants have very little to do with Danish workers and the literature points to strong segregation (COWI, 2012; Refslund and Arnholtz, 2021), where migrant workers and Danish workers have little to do with each other. This leads to a lack of shared identity as workers. Sometimes employers even actively encourage this separation (Refslund and Sippola, 2020) because the lack of interaction reduces the potential for collectivism and unity across ethnic groups. As COWI (2012) points out, polarization can be assumed to have consequences for safety, but we have no concrete evidence that this is the case (COWI, 2012).

Wages feature heavily in the literature. One study estimates that Danish workers earn 16-19% more than migrant workers (Andersen & Felbo-Kolding, 2013) and only slightly more than the minimum wage according to the collective agreement (Andersen & Felbo-Kolding, 2013; Arnholtz, 2021; Arnholtz & Hansen, 2009). The lower wages are made possible by a system where some employers, against their intentions, use the collective agreement as a minimum standard (Rasmussen, 2016; Simkunas & Thomsen, 2018). Even if not illegal, the much lower wages have the potential to affect wellbeing in the workplace (Simkunas & Thomsen, 2018). In relation to Danish workers, a particular concern is that migrants put pressure on wages and conditions for all (Arnholtz & Hansen, 2009), referred to as social dumping (Grillis & Dyreborg, 2015). We will return to this issue later.

Financial fraud against migrant workers is widespread. Such fraud can involve migrants not being paid the correct wages (COWI, 2012), a common and widespread practice (Arnholtz & Hansen, 2009; Refslund, 2021). Arnholtz (2021) points to dozens of arbitration and labor court cases as evidence that the use of fake payslips is common practice among some companies. Another practice is to insert false wage deductions or to only pay wages for 37 hours, while the actual number of hours worked is much higher (Refslund & Arnholtz, 2021). Workers who stand up for

their rights risk being threatened with deportation, firing and physical violence (Refslund, 2021). Some also point to debt slavery and human trafficking (Grillis & Dyreborg, 2015), but there is currently no Danish research that can directly prove such practices in construction.

In general, there is a lack of training and upskilling in the workplace. For example, Andersen and Felbo-Kolding (2013) found that only a minority of employers offer language training. Instead, employers rely on bilingual workers or use translators (Rambøll, 2016). Furthermore, compared to other sectors, the construction sector does little to upskill migrants on the job. Where initiatives exist, employers are more likely to provide safety and health training than other forms of training and upskilling, but uptake is still lower than in other sectors (Andersen & Felbo-Kolding, 2013). The lack of training, including health and safety training, means that migrant workers may not understand the dangers (COWI, 2012).

Migrants are subject to different expectations than Danish workers

Social dumping runs as an underlying theme throughout much of the literature. Social dumping is used to refer to a strategy of lowering wages or other standards in order to increase competitiveness (Bernaciak, cited in Grillis & Dyreborg, 2015: 15).

The studies that specifically talk about social dumping tend to focus on wages (Arnholtz & Hansen, 2012; Andersen & Felbo-Kolding, 2014) rather than health and safety. However, social dumping can possibly relate to health and safety, as business benefits can be gained by circumventing health and safety regulations (Grillis & Dyreborg, 2015). At the same time, companies may have good reasons for maintaining a good working environment, such as attracting workers, increasing productivity and ensuring less sick leave (Rambøll, 2016).

A specific focus has been on working hours. There is a consensus in the literature that labor migrants work long hours (Arnholtz and Andersen, 2016) and that migrants may have an interest in being able to work long hours. This is especially the case for those migrants who are in the country for a relatively short stay and who want high economic gain (COWI, 2012; Arnholtz & Hansen, 2009). While it is agreed that long working hours can be mutually beneficial, some migrant workers may feel that the work is their responsibility and therefore feel pressured to take on overtime and weekend work to avoid being dismissed (Simkunas & Thomsen, 2018).

Migrants perceive long working days as a risk factor (COWI, 2012). The long working days are made possible because there is no legislation stipulating the length of the working day. Instead, this issue is left to collective agreements. This is a case of collective agreements not necessarily being violated, but rather stretched to the limit (Arnholtz, 2021).

Another related aspect is the pace at which the work is done. In order to increase their salary, or even just a decent wage, some migrant workers take risks and hope for the best (COWI, 2012). For example, it can take time to get the right safety equipment (COWI, 2012). The trade-off of risk must also be seen in relation to workers' employment insecurity, such as the fear of being fired (Simkunas and Thomsen, 2018). At the same time, migrant workers report that they want to be seen as skilled and that working quickly is an expression of competence (COWI, 2012). All in all, a picture is emerging of a situation where employers are able to exploit migrants' motivation to make money for their own gain, which is likely to have consequences for the working environment more generally, and for safety in particular.

Work organization creates risks for migrants

Much of the literature documents how the organization of work channels migrants into bad jobs. These are the jobs referred to in the international literature as 3D jobs (dirty, dangerous, demanding or alternatively, degrading or demeaning) (Moyce & Schenker, 2018). In general, and in line with findings from other countries, there is a consensus that migrant workers in Denmark have the lowest paid jobs and jobs with worse working conditions (Arnholtz and Hansen, 2009; COWI, 2012; Refslund, 2021). Such less attractive jobs involve hard physical work, often performed at high work rates, and are most often performed by the unskilled (Arnholtz and Hansen, 2009). Migrants also explain that they are assigned the more dangerous tasks, the tasks that Danes do not want to take on, but which migrants accept because they are afraid of losing their jobs (COWI, 2012).

Migrant employment is precarious. Although migrants may enjoy some protection by working in a growing sector, they are a vulnerable group. Their working lives are precarious (Pedersen & Thomsen, 2020; Spanger & Hvalkof, 2020). Migrants report the fear of losing their jobs and general insecurity (Simkunas & Thomsen, 2018). For example, Poles report feeling less job secure and lacking income security when comparing working here with working in their own country (Arnholtz and Hansen, 2009). This helps to explain why migrants are more likely to engage in excessive overtime, put up with poor treatment and engage in risky behavior at work (Simkunas & Thomsen, 2018; Spanger & Hvalkof, 2020).

Not all migrants are equally exposed to insecurity and poor conditions in 3D jobs. In particular, those who are not employed on standard terms and conditions are most at risk. However, the majority of employers in the sector are members of an employers' organization (such as the Confederation of Danish Industry), which is assumed to provide some protection to workers (Andersen & Felbo-Kolding, 2013; Arnholtz and Hansen, 2013) but see the section on wages above. The worst problems are assumed to exist for those migrants working for foreign companies

(Arnholtz & Andersen, 2016; Arnholtz, 2021) but another recent literature review finds that there is a lack of evidence for such claims (Hvid & Buch, 2020). The worst problems also fall on those who are self-employed (Andersen & Felbo-Kolding, 2013; Arnholtz & Hansen, 2009), especially the so-called arms and legs companies (Arnholtz & Hansen, 2009). The problems are greater in smaller companies and on smaller construction sites (Rasmussen et al., 2015). There is also a consensus that conditions for the individual worsen in a system with widespread use of subcontractors (Andersen & Felbo-Kolding, 2013). Migrants employed without a contract are also particularly vulnerable to accidents and illness (COWI, 2012).

The overall message is that problems in the construction sector are not related to a few bad apples who exploit migrant workers maliciously and willingly, although such people probably do exist. Instead, it points to a system that enables the systematic exploitation of migrant workers. In particular, it points to the lack of statutory regulation and the voluntary nature of the organization of the Danish system, which leaves some major loopholes for employers to exploit (Arnholtz, 2021).

Migrants are hard to protect

Another set of themes in the literature focuses on the difficulties of protecting migrants (Guldenmund et al., 2013). Concrete actions include the introduction and monitoring of the Register of Foreign Service Providers (RUT) and control visits (Grillis & Dyreborg, 2015; Refslund & Arnholtz, 2021). While these are effective to some extent (Biering et al., 2017), such protection has limited reach because many migrants have a distrust of state bodies such as the Labor Inspectorate, which is considered to be the strong arm of the law, rather than a protection of workers' rights (Guldenmund et al., 2013).

Trade unions have also taken a strong and leading role in protecting workers. Such union strategies include workplace labor representatives and 48-hour meetings (Rasmussen et al., 2016). However, the task is complicated by the fact that only a small percentage are organized in trade unions (Arnholtz & Hansen, 2009). Migrants are particularly difficult to organize due to the temporary existence of migrant workers in Denmark and their lack of recognition of the necessity of unions (Arnholtz & Hansen, 2013). Indeed, unions are met with general distrust (Arnholtz & Hansen, 2009; Rasmussen, 2016; Refslund, 2021) and in the worst cases, workers are threatened with dismissal if they speak to union organizers (Arnholtz & Refslund, 2019). Finally, only a very small percentage have access to any form of unemployment protection (unemployment insurance or cash benefits) (Arnholtz & Hansen, 2009). Evidence suggests that contractual obligations, specifically labor clauses, can have a positive impact on overall working conditions in the construction industry (COWI, 2016; Rasmussen et al., 2015). However, it is not common practice to include safety requirements in labor clauses (COWI, 2016).

Mobility between unequal labor markets causes problems

In the Danish literature, little attention is paid to how conditions that cannot be directly observed in the workplace affect the work environment. The exception is the way unequal economic markets between the home country and Denmark motivate individual workers (Arnholtz & Hansen, 2009; Andersen & Felbo-Kolding, 2013). There is a consensus that wage differentials are the main reason why migrants seek work in Denmark (Andersen & Felbo-Kolding, 2013; COWI, 2012). Migrant workers' responsibility for their families can also affect the working environment. An older study (Andersen & Felbo-Kolding, 2013) found that the average migrant worker is only slightly younger (35 years) than Danish construction workers (39 years) (Andersen & Felbo-Kolding, 2013: 53). Working across projects and countries creates a specific work-life balance and encourages male migrants to take the primary breadwinner role in the family, providing a stable family structure (Simkunas & Thomsen, 2018). Therefore, the unstable existence for the worker is not necessarily matched by an unstable existence for their family and the "typical" expatriate worker is a middle-aged family man (Arnholtz & Andersen, 2016). Worker mobility and the differences between potential wage incomes, combined with responsibilities to families and dependents, mean that migrants have a lot to lose, which is thought to make migrant workers more likely to live with a poor working environment and generally worse working conditions than their Danish counterparts.

Summary and discussion

Some topics have been thoroughly explored in existing research, as detailed above. These include problems with wages (Arnholtz, 2021; Arnholtz & Hansen, 2009; Rasmussen et al., 2012; Simkunas & Thomsen, 2018), discrimination and poor treatment (Arnholtz & Andersen, 2016; Grillis & Dyreborg, 2015; Refslund & Arnholtz, 2021) and problems with working hours (Arnholtz & Andersen, 2016; COWI, 2012). Certain actors have received more research attention than others, such as posted workers (Arnholtz & Andersen, 2016) and employers (Andersen & Felbo-Kolding, 2013; Arnholtz & Andersen, 2016).

The overall picture, however, is that there is little existing research that documents and focuses specifically on the working environment of migrant workers in Denmark, including safety. This short report provides an overview of the research that does exist. This is particularly surprising given that we know from foreign literature studies that migrant workers are vulnerable due to their poorer labor market attachment and migrant status (Ahonen et al., 2007; Hvid & Buch, 2020; Isusi et al., 2020; Sterud et al., 2018). It is also surprising when we know how dangerous it is to work in the construction industry, so dangerous that construction is tied with agriculture as the number one sector for fatal accidents, with one in ten reported workplace accidents occurring on a construction site (Arbejdstilsynet, 2020a, 2020a).

4 Everyday life and safety measures on Danish construction sites

The study is driven by a desire to give a voice to migrant workers themselves. In doing so, we recognize that migrant workers are the main characters in their own lives. No one else can reasonably be expected to know nearly as much about migrants' experience on construction sites. We are therefore interested in migrants' experiences and narratives. These experiences cannot be reduced to questions of prevalence and percentages.

This first part of the analysis is therefore based on a purely inductive method of analysis. Here, migrant voices are presented without a filter, without preconceived attitudes and without being filtered through existing knowledge. In other words, it was important that the migrants themselves had a voice, a voice that had not been filtered through an analytical apparatus or subjected to theorization. The analysis here is also not filtered through the—sometimes contradictory—perspectives of the professional informants in our study.

Therefore, a student assistant, with no prior knowledge of migrants or the working environment, coded all interview material as collected from the migrants themselves to describe the migrants' experiences on Danish construction sites. This ensures as clean a picture as possible of the migrant experience. It is these experiences that are reported here in chapter 4 and in chapter 5. Only then, in the summary, are these experiences assessed in the context of previous research. Consideration for the individual informant and in recognition that no two stories are exactly the same means that some stories are reported to a significant extent and detailed. For the individual person, it matters *every* time their work life takes a toll on their safety, welfare and health, regardless of how many others feel the same way.

This chapter is structured as follows: First, we provide an overview of the themes that relate to daily life at work, including work pace, working hours, work allocation, etc. In the second section, we focus on various safety measures in the workplace and explore migrants' experiences of safety instructions, safety equipment and physical work environment. Chapter 5 is a continuation of chapter 4. In chapter 5, we focus on the human views and attitudes that migrants encounter and that migrants themselves believe underlie their treatment on the sites.

Most of the themes identified in the analysis work with the migrants themselves are addressed in this and the next chapter. However, some themes are included in other chapters where it makes more sense in terms of content. We have thus weighed up how best to tell a coherent story. Thus,

all accident data is covered in chapter 6, and hazardous work is primarily covered in chapter 7. All interview material relating to "comparisons with Danes" is coded separately, but the presentation is woven into other themes.

4.1 What are migrants most concerned about?

This first section provides an overview of the themes covered by the migrant workers in the interviews, as well as an overview of how dominant these themes are in relation to each other. The overview is motivated by a desire to show not only what the migrants talk about, but also to *what extent*.

In assessing the scope, we have used a simple methodology, using the assigned codes in Nvivo (see first column in Figure 5). Nvivo is a widely used software program that makes it possible to add a code to all interview material, which in this case amounts to more than 800 pages of raw interview material. Codes are similar to a topic or a kind of headline. For example, if the migrant talks about the housing provided by the company, all interview material about the housing is coded to the code "housing provided".

We present the topics from most talked about to least talked about. The coding is exhaustive in the sense that all interview material has been coded to one of these 26 codes. All material has been coded unless it is clearly irrelevant.

Figure 5: Codes and the occurrence of coding

Codes in Nvivo (topics), exhaustive	Instances, number of codes
Safety instructions and communication	99
(High) work pace vs. health and safety	98
Safety equipment and physical work environment	85
Comparisons with Danes	77
Fraud	72
Attitudes towards work safety	71
Salary and working hours	61
Accidents and handling	58
Language challenges	49
Dismissal and threats of dismissal	45
Other health and safety measures (e.g. inspections)	40
Occupational health and safety in other countries vs. Denmark	33

Housing	32
The Danish Working Environment Authority	31
Communication	29
Relationships with Danish colleagues	28
Culture, norms, habits, mentality	25
Inferiority	21
Tasks vs. qualifications	21
Hazardous work	19
Threats and violence	17
Discrimination	13
Willingness to work	12
Hierarchy	9

Some topics on the list are not surprising. For example, we asked extensively about various management initiatives aimed at improving AM and safety, including instruction and training. It's therefore not surprising that safety topics are at the top of the list of topics. Similarly, we also asked the migrants to make comparisons, so it is also not surprising that there are so many instances of comparisons with Danes. What is perhaps more surprising is that so few make comparisons with their home country and other countries. We'll come back to the reason for this.

It's worth noting that work pace is mentioned 98 times. In other words, work pace is mentioned as the predominant experience when asked about everyday life at work.

What is most surprising is that fraud is the 5th most mentioned topic. We did not ask questions about fraud (although cause for attention in relation to the registration of accidents). It is also worth noting that there are 17 codes for threats and violence. Finally, it is surprising that the migrants are so insistent on talking about salary, considering that we did not ask questions about salary and were reminded that the study is about OHS, not salaries. We were not interested in salary issues because salary is not perceived traditionally as a health and safety issue.

4.2 What is everyday life like?

Here, the focus is on themes that relate to everyday life at work. These are migrant workers' stories about what it is like to go to work every day. This includes accounts of daily work pressure with high expectations in terms of pace and working hours, often from the perspective of whether pay is commensurate with effort. Everyday experiences also include a lack of instruction, language issues, collegiality and housing. We present each theme one by one.

Work pace

Almost all migrant workers report a pressure to work fast. Many report that they must work "fast, fast, fast". Thus, the migrants talk about work pressures which are significant and difficult to withstand. Polish Jan expresses that "first of all, I noticed that there was very little time for everything" and Mikolaj has the same experience in that "often management uses Poles to exert silent pressure to try to do something quickly". Lithuanian Aiko similarly reports on work pressures and lack of breaks:

We don't have a break where you go out for a smoke or something like that, as they say. We just have to do it. (Aiko from Lithuania)

Compared to the many who experience high and often unreasonable demands to work fast, only a few share other experiences, including Georg, who shares his story:

No, it was the other way around. There was no pressure or bullying: "come on, come on". (Georg from Poland)

Georg's statement shows that he knows that other migrant workers face different pressures than he does.

Alexander provides one of the most concrete, yet glaring examples of how work pressure increases over time.

When I worked in Jutland, there was constant pressure to produce more. Fast, fast, fast. There were different people: either directly the boss or someone close to the boss who said "faster, faster". I would say that the employer has put so much pressure on the worker that we have built three pigsties. One by one. The first one, we built in 14 days. The second, we built in a week and a half. And the third, we built in just one week. Same size, same work (Aleksander from Poland)

In other words, Aleksander feels that he is not being rewarded, but rather punished for his efforts. As the team gets faster at getting the job done, the demands on the process changes.

Seniority in the workplace, in the company and in Denmark seems to have a positive effect on work pressures. With time, workers become better at standing up to unreasonable demands:

Now I have experience. If they say "faster, faster", I say "I'm not your robot". "I am not your slave". (Sorin from Poland)

Migrants often compare a previous job where they had to work "fast, fast, fast" with a current, better job, where there are more reasonable demands.

Middle managers are sometimes blamed for this focus on speed over focusing on good work processes:

They have very little technical knowledge, so they just maintain their position by shouting very loudly. You need to be careful with tools. Don't go to break too early. (Filip from Poland)

A few others point out that this work pressure doesn't necessarily come from the outside, but is an internal pressure motivated by the desire to appear efficient, a good worker. Razvan talks about this (what some call) Eastern European mentality:

They want to work faster and show the boss that "I can work faster. I can do more". And that mentality, it's not so good. (Razvan from Romania)

But this so-called internal pressure doesn't arise out of context. The pressure must be seen in the context of perceived risks or actual threats of being fired. Sergei explains that migrants speed up because they expect to lose their jobs "if they produce too little or are too slow", while Razvan says that "[the employer] told me to work faster so I don't lose my job". Many also share a sense that their own wellbeing does not play a role in the process and schedules, or as Andrei puts it, "they try to do it fast. They don't care how dangerous it is for you".

Migrant workers believe that this work pressure is a risk. The high pace of work can have negative consequences because it exposes workers to an increased risk of accidents:

And in general, my experience is that the accidents that do happen, they happen because a high work pace is imposed. And when you must do something fast, things go wrong quickly. (Dawid from Poland)

There is overwhelming agreement among migrant workers that the high pace of work poses the greatest risk in terms of accidents:

There's a lot of risk involved when we must apply a lot of pressure. And we work, and we feel that risk. If someone is constantly shouting at you to "do this" and "you need to hurry up" and "you need to do this faster". Then there is a greater and greater risk of an accident at work. (Fernando from Guinea-Bissau/Portugal)

The dangerous situations do not necessarily occur in the situation itself, but can also emerge later in the process due to a failure to clean up and secure the workplace:

The Polish colleagues are told that you must finish by Thursday. Then they hurry. The Poles. Then they hurry. And then there might be some leftover materials. And they haven't cleaned up. But they have kept to the schedule. (Sergei from Slovakia)

Others point to the long-term consequences:

I think if you continue like that, you're probably worn out. But I'm also sure it's psychological. It will come out when you are 65. It's both physical and mental (Bastian from Poland)

When migrants are exposed to these work pressures, they sometimes have to perform tasks in ways that they know put themselves at risk. Aiko recounts how he was forced to move scaffolding by hand due to requirements to complete on time:

It was at a workplace where we had to finish quickly. It was a Saturday and we had to finish it, and there we were on the site. There were these big giant aluminum scaffolds, and they had to be moved to another location, to another building. And I grabbed it to move it by hand. And then my muscle ruptured and the whole thing snapped, my tendon here in my arm. (Aiko from Lithuania)

Similarly, another worker, in this case a Polish migrant, details how the fast pace of work prompts himself and his Polish colleagues to do inappropriate lifting, even though they know they should be waiting for a crane like their Danish colleagues:

There is a long metal bar like this. Weighing 60 kilograms. According to the rules, 5 people should lift it. When Danish colleagues have to lift something like that, they wait and ask for a crane. We are so busy. So, we end up lifting it with just 2 people. Even though it weighs so much. (Cibor from Poland)

Migrant workers often compare their own work situation to that of Danes and find that Danes are met with completely different requirements:

The time schedule for a task for Danes is 3 days and for Poles one hour for the same task. (Jerzy from Poland)

Portuguese Estevo is one of many who compare themselves to the Danes and tell of an almost unbearable work pressure, where even breaks are cut out for migrant workers:

The big difference is that Danes are allowed to take breaks, and there is none of the work pressure that foreigners have. So, the Danes are allowed to take their breaks, they are allowed to work at a normal pace, and the foreigners have two breaks where they eat, but otherwise it's just work work work work. (Estevo from Portugal)

The expected higher productivity is perceived as unfair discrimination:

Why do we, the outsiders, have to work like this? We have three days. But if it's a Danish team, they need four or five days. And you think "why?" Why do I have to do it in almost half the time? (Andrei from Romania)

The dissatisfaction also arises because migrants feel that they are more productive than Danes. Again and again, migrants, like Sergei and Ryszard, pose the opinion that "Danes work a little

slower" and "we are more productive than Danes". In other words, the migrants do not explain the differences with reference to migrants objectively being slower, less productive than Danes. That is not the reason they are being pushed to work faster.

As proof, an older Polish worker points out that it is precisely this productivity that makes migrant workers attractive compared to Danish workers:

Why do Danes act the way they do? [Is it because] they love us? No, they don't.
We are much more productive. (Dawid from Poland)

Earnings are also used in this context as a measure of unfair discrimination:

Let's say we laugh about it. But it is a tragic laugh. *How* slow are the Danish colleagues compared to the Polish ones? And the Danish colleagues are paid more and are slower to do the same work. (Sergei from Slovakia)

In conclusion, the demand for a high work pace is the most dominant experience among migrant workers. Also, the pressure is seen as discrimination as migrants observe different demands being put on Danish workers.

Working hours

Many migrants report that migrants generally work long hours (anywhere from 8-14 hours a day). Several also report working 7 days a week without rest days for months on end, without any vacation time. Several also describe how the employer pays out holiday pay, while the employees are still required to report to work during the period:

Employers prefer "I'll pay for your vacation", but you don't have to take time off.
(Bastian from Poland)

Migrant workers often compare their own working hours with those of Danes. There is consensus that Danes work significantly less hours than migrants. This affects migrants' work environment in a complicated way. On the one hand, many explain that it is their own choice and that it is positive to have access to working long hours:

We worked much longer, like 50-60 hours a week, but it was our decision to earn more money. (Ryszard from Poland)

At the same time, shorter working hours are perceived as *better*. For example, in an interview with Viorel, the interpreter summarizes the sentiment of the informer and explains: "here he does mention that Danes have better working hours, shorter working hours". The shorter working hours are thus perceived as *better*, even though Viorel also explains that he wants to work as many hours as possible. This contradictory information must be understood in relation to earnings.

Earnings have an impact on how working hours are perceived. Migrant workers point out that one of the reasons why foreign workers work more hours than Danes is that Danes are not pressured in the same way. The perception is that Danes will not put up with what foreign workers must put up with:

Danes would never put up with the conditions that exist. If there is a Dane there who has worked for 7 hours, he goes home. And then he gets significantly more than we do when we work 11 hours plus weekends. (Aiko from Lithuania)

In other words, working hours affect migrant wellbeing.

Experiences of work hours are linked to discriminatory salaries. Migrants have to work longer hours to achieve the same earnings as Danes. This is perceived as unfair discrimination.

Romanian George, a trained electrician with more than 30 years of experience in the profession, including six years in Denmark, talks about his experiences with discrimination. He details how his Danish colleagues are allowed to go home early if they finish a job faster than expected—or if the weather is very bad. For example, he recounts a specific situation where he was working under difficult conditions on a roof in rain and wind. He worked quickly with the prospect of finishing the job to be able to go home like his Danish colleagues who had already had the day off. But when he was done, he was given another task.

Breaks are a particular point of irritation for migrants. The allocation of breaks is a form of discrimination that is easy to spot. For example, Roland tells of a situation where the boss comes to pick up the Danish colleagues at 10 am to take a break, while he and others from Romania were told that they were not allowed to take a break with the Danes.

Polish Juliusz also says that if migrants take a break, it will have far-reaching consequences, while the Danes are free to take the breaks they need:

There are also often situations where Danes have certain work cultures. As soon as they get a little tired, they take a short break. And there's no problem with that. That's fair enough. But as soon as we take a five-minute break to relax, there are issues. And we get warnings that we can be dismissed from work. (Juliusz from Poland)

Migrants experience discrimination compared to Danes, who are entitled to better working hours than migrants.

Overall, it appears that both the expected higher productivity and working hours are, on the one hand, perceived as desirable and something that migrant workers are professionally proud of. On the other hand, the expectations are perceived as unfair discrimination - especially in relation to the lower wages.

Salary vs. working hours and pace

The vast majority of migrant workers are in Denmark to work because of the salary. Many migrants are quite satisfied with the salary when comparing to salaries in their home country. However, when comparing to Danes, several migrant workers express dissatisfaction⁹. When it comes to salaries, migrants are of the opinion that Danes earn more than them for no objective reason:

The Danish colleagues have been paid more. And they were slow to do the same work (Sergei from Slovakia).

And Dawid agrees. He finds that Danes are getting better pay for easier tasks:

The Danish colleagues have done the easy tasks. On top of that, the Danish colleagues have received much better pay than I have (Dawid from Poland).

For migrants, these differences are experienced as unfair discrimination; Danes earn more but get easier tasks, while migrant workers get the hard and difficult work and less pay. When Danes perform the same tasks as migrant workers, they do it significantly slower. Thus, earnings have an impact on how migrant workers perceive their work tasks when they compare the Danes' work tasks and pay with their own work tasks and pay. According to several of the migrants, the explanation for the Danes' higher wages is that employers claim that Danes have a higher level of qualification, while according to several migrant workers, they are often engaged in the same tasks.

In addition, many feel that there is a discrepancy between pay and working hours and tasks; they are not only underpaid in relation to how many hours they work, but also in relation to the demands they are often subject to.

The company won't pay the right salary and they ask for 200% of their employees. (Andrei from Romania)

Ernst from Germany, who has worked in Denmark for 15 years, explains in much detail how the system of various allowances is unfair, because the base salary itself is too low and never increases. Only the allowances can be adjusted, which is a double-edged sword as the size of the allowances depends on management:

The last time we had a supplement per square meter, I think we got eight or nine kroner or something like that. But then suddenly we only got 74 øre, because we had new management, and he's not really into that supplement [...] they can

⁹ Denmark presents itself as quite peculiar in matters of workforce organisation. In Denmark, collective agreements, which are based on collective bargaining and negotiations regulate most aspects of the aspects of the workforce, including salaries and working-time (Høgedahl, 2017; Høgedahl, 2020) without government interference. There is no minimum wage.

tinker with it all the time [...] it's not a salary for what you do. Well, it's hard. And you go there for a salary that looks good because of the allowance, but in reality the real salary... It's far too low. (Ernst from Germany)

There are also countless stories about how migrants do not receive various allowances, such as payment for overtime on weekdays and weekends. Daina talks about her Lithuanian colleagues:

They work more hours, 10-12 hours, and if necessary, they also work on Saturday and Sunday, and there is no extra payment or overtime, so they have to work for the same hourly rate (Daina from Lithuania).

The base salary ranges from DKK 70-90 per hour to DKK 165 per hour, but even with a salary of DKK 165 per hour, it's a long way from what Ernst from Germany thinks you should get; for the work he does, "it should be 210 to 220 kroner".

Even though salaries are not traditionally considered a work environment interest and has not been a particular point of interest in the study, salaries are a recurring point of frustration as expressed during interviews. Thus, it can be deduced that pay has a strong influence on the well-being of migrants in the workplace, as pay seems to influence how satisfied migrant workers are with the tasks they are assigned. Differentiated pay is perceived as discrimination when migrants see no differences in skills, knowledge and experience.

Assigning the worst tasks

Migrants report being assigned the worst tasks. Migrant workers find it unfair and discriminatory that they must do the most dangerous tasks on construction sites, while Danes get the easier jobs:

It's not fair that if there are two people, one ethnic Dane and one Romanian, that one of them always must do the dangerous work. (Florin from Romania)

In the interview material, many concrete examples are given. For example, an older Polish worker says that he "was put down rafters, heavy work. Where the Danish colleagues have done the easy tasks". Another, Sergei, tells how Polish colleagues stand in water and work hard on a rainy day, while Danish workers are moved to indoor jobs. These comparisons are often followed up by a comparison of wages, as mentioned above. The dissatisfaction with the inferior work tasks is measured in relation to the pay gap. The foreign workforce feels that they are expected to do the heavier and inferior work, while Danes are paid more for lighter work.

Some migrant workers point out that migrant workers themselves bear some of the blame when they take on tasks that Danes would have done differently. In a group interview, Polish Cibor refers to an example brought up by someone else in the group interview:

And that example with an iron bar that should be lifted by 5. Some Poles just say, "we can lift it." (Cibor from Poland)

Another Polish informant, Dawid, supplement to explain how the example shows that Danes and foreign workers do things differently:

The Danes would wait for a Manitou. (Dawid from Poland)

However, the vast majority of migrant workers believe that the differences in work tasks are due to Danes not accepting to work under such dangerous conditions. As a concrete example of the different expectations, Polish Jerzy details how migrant crane drivers are expected to work in weather conditions that Danes will not tolerate:

It is very crucial for crane operators to work safely. [We] don't work if it's too windy. And it is illegal to work if there is too much strong wind. [...] But sometimes we had to work at 21 meters per second, which is illegal, and even though it is illegal, the team leader or management has pressured us to work anyway. The Danish crane operators don't work at all when the wind is too strong. (Jerzy from Poland)

Others talk in more general terms about how Danes simply say "no" to very dangerous situations:

The conditions are such that it is very dangerous. The Danes who come, they don't stay long when it's SO dangerous. When they see skulls, they back out, while the Romanians stay and suffer the conditions (Daniel from Romania).

Again and again, migrants have explained that Danes will not put up with what migrants must put up with. They simply will not put up with such pressure from employers and their representatives. For example, Mikolaj says that Danes "don't give in to pressure from managers and bosses". And Aiko agrees, stating that "Danes will never, ever put up with working in a really dusty and exposed place where it's dangerous for your health and stuff". Sorin puts it slightly differently when he declares that "Danes complain, Poles don't complain".

It is not just a matter of migrants responding differently to the same treatment. Migrants are not subjected to the same demands. Julian explains how the demands are different:

In another place, I had been cutting all day. Or many hours. In the rain. And then a boss came and I was happy because I thought I was going to be sent to the shed, but he just came to say "keep working". (Julian from Poland)

Their friend Juliusz, who is interviewed at the same time, agrees that migrants face other demands:

If employers treated Danes like foreigners, then no Danes would want to work. (Juliusz from Poland)

The examples given show the nature of the different tasks that migrants face. Overwhelmingly, migrants agree that they must tolerate this division of labor, because Danes are in a better to speak up. We return to particularly dangerous work (3D work) in chapter 7, where we dedicate an entire chapter to the organization of work and what it means for safety.

Instruction in the execution of the work

Lack of instruction is a dominant theme in the data. Indeed, it is striking how dominant this theme is. When Polish Walenty, who has worked in Denmark for many years, informs that "often it's that employers don't take the time to give instructions about the working environment", he speaks on behalf of most other migrant workers who similarly report a lack of instruction.

When instruction is missing, migrant workers know it is an employer responsibility that is not fulfilled. Cosmin, for example, knows where to place the responsibility for lack of instruction. He talks about the lack of instruction in relation to his tasks, how dangerous the work is and how much risk he is exposed to:

[If we're] laying concrete, for example. It's dangerous and it's big and it's quite hard. He has a duty to tell me how to use it. He has to come and show me and tell me everything. That has never happened. (Cosmin from Romania)

In doing so, Cosmin points out that lack of instruction puts himself and others at unnecessary risk.

Some feel that the duty to instruct is overridden in favor of quality assurance. As Boris explains, the focus is on the quality of the product, but not on the quality of the work processes:

No, they don't. They come and do quality assurance. Say "there's a hole, it needs fixing". They only check the quality of the work done. And then there's someone who manages all the construction sites, who sees if the drawings are correct. And then someone comes and checks the quality. But no one checks the process (Boris from Ukraine)

As an extension of this, several explain that health and safety is neglected in favor of focusing on the production itself. Alan explains:

Nothing was ever discussed about the working environment. The working environment has never been discussed. There is never a single employer where the working environment has been discussed. Only, what should we do. Let's get on with it. (Alan from Poland)

Thus, Alan experiences that the task itself is given the highest priority without focusing on how to do the task in the best and safest way. We will return to these circumvention scenarios in chapter 7.

Unfortunately, there are other examples where a lack of instruction puts migrant workers at unnecessary risk. A Polish worker tells of a situation in which he asked some Romanian colleagues if they had been instructed to work with asbestos, to which they had replied "no" and continued. Similarly, Daina gives an example where her colleagues were not instructed to work at heights while a request for scaffolding had been refused by the employer. Cosmin tells about the use of a Manitou being operated by colleagues without instruction on proper harness use.

Compare to how many informants report a lack of instruction, relatively few migrant workers report on thorough instruction. Romanian Nicu, who has worked as a tradesperson in a Danish company for 8 years, is one of the few:

Every time there's been something... Not only new, but it can be risky up on the roof and stuff like that. There we always get instruction on what ... how solidly it should be built, the railing. (Nicu from Romania)

Romanian Razvan and Bogden, who also both work in Danish companies, share this experience. Even though Bogden has never received formal training course, he and his colleagues receive thorough instruction. He gives a number of examples of the nature of the instructions, such as behavior at heights and elevator shafts and when using specific tools. Razvan connects his similar experience to the boss's orientation towards his and his colleagues' well-being:

Our boss, he always tells us, even if we have enough experience... He will still tell us to be careful. (Razvan from Romania)

However, when we assess the total amount of data, it is striking that so many migrants share the same experience of lack of instruction. We deduce that lack of instruction is a common experience in the industry, and that thorough instruction is the exception to the more dominant experience of lack of instruction. We also note that those who report on thorough instruction all work in Danish companies. Also, the vast majority of migrant workers are well aware that employers have a duty to instruct. We will return to the duty to instruct in chapter 7.

Language challenges in everyday life

Most migrant workers in our survey are *not* convinced that language is a problem in terms of daily safety. Perhaps somewhat surprisingly, migrant workers overwhelmingly agree that they do not experience language issues on a daily basis. For example, Ioan says that "I think it works" and Viorel, who flatly states that "there are no problems in terms of language".

Some migrant workers qualify these statements, making it possible to gauge why migrant workers, for the most part, do not experience language challenges. Angelo from Italy explains why he does not experience language barriers. He points to the widespread use of interpreters:

We've always had someone to interpret for us. And I can communicate reasonably well in my poor school English. But there are many people in my team who don't know a word of English. And for example, when we've been to an introduction, there has always been someone who has taken care of us and made sure to interpret for us. (Angelo from Italy)

Others explain that they only need to communicate with Danish or English speakers for a short time each day. Therefore, language problems do not arise on an ongoing basis. For example, Romanian George, who speaks English, explains that "it's not necessary for foreigners to speak Danish because at work they might talk for 10 minutes with someone. So they don't need it. It's not necessary to speak Danish".

On some construction sites, migrants do speak with fellow countrymen. Migrants do not experience problems simply because the internal language is Polish, Romanian or something else. On such sites, everyone speaks the same language and do not need any other languages than their own. George's experience with monolingual workplaces was echoed by a large proportion of our informants:

My employer was a Pole. The working language was also Polish. My three work colleagues, they were also Polish. So we have communicated in Polish. (Georg from Romania)

On other sites, different nationalities work together. Perhaps even more surprisingly, the majority of informants with experience from multilingual construction sites also explain that there are no language problems. The reason is that these migrants also often share some kind of common language. This common language can be English. For example, 37-year-old Bogden, who works exclusively with Danes, says that the Danes' English skills are so adequate that they can communicate and avoid risky situations:

Most of them speak English, and I'm also learning Danish, so I think it works well. (Bogden from Romania)

But English is not the only common language on Danish construction sites. Therefore, it is not necessary a problem even if workers do not speak Danish or English. On some construction sites, the official working language may be English or Danish, while the actual working language is a mix of the different languages spoken by some nationalities. For example, Ukrainian Boris talks about how his language skills help him navigate his work and that neither English nor Danish are necessary languages in his work:

There are Lithuanians, Ukrainians and Poles. The biggest part is Lithuanians, the last part is Ukrainians and then there are Poles. I speak Polish fluently and the Lithuanians speak Russian. (Boris from Ukraine)

A number of the southern European countries' share languages. And they can also communicate with each other. For example, Romanians and Italians understand each other. A large proportion of the migrant workers we've interviewed here from the former Eastern Bloc countries speak at least one or two languages in addition to their mother tongue. While these languages may not necessarily be Danish or English, they are useful on construction sites where a large percentage of the workforce are migrant workers.

Moreover, communication is not only done with words. When asked about their experiences of whether language creates dangerous problems, several, including Lithuanian Ramunas and Latvian Kārlis, explain that spoken language is not very important at work because workers are shown how to do the work—or communicate in other ways than with words:

No, it's not a problem because... Sometimes when a new guy comes in who doesn't speak Romanian or English, it's not a big problem because he knows his job. He just does it. And if he doesn't understand, we just show him. And then he understands. It's not a problem. (Kārlis from Latvia)

Even if you don't know each other's language, you can just look at each other, because when you work together, you learn to follow each other in a way.
(Ramunas from Lithuania)

In essence, migrants refute the view that languages cause daily problems and risky situations. Shared languages and other ways to communicate in a multicultural setting prompts most migrants to refute the idea that language is at the root of their problems.

The absence of collegiality with Danes

Only few migrants report on a collegial community with Danes. This is because migrants often work in nationally divided shifts and have limited contact with Danish workers. In some places, there is not a single Dane employed at the workplace.

But in addition, several report a dichotomous division of Danes and migrant workers, even when migrants and Danes work at the same workplace. Some report how migrants and Danes must take breaks at different times:

We go to break at 9 o'clock, the Danes don't go to break until 9:30. We are not supposed to be together. (Jakub from Poland)

A significant number of migrant workers explain that companies intentionally try to separate migrant workers and Danes on construction sites:

They try to separate foreigners from locals. (Andrei from Romania)

Janis explains the reason for this division:

The Danish guys always know the law. They are like mentors for you. (Janis from Latvia)

Janis speaks for others, when he points to companies intentionally separating migrant workers and Danes. Like Janis it is common sentiment that the underlying motive is to prevent knowledge sharing. In other words, they argue that migrants should not mix with Danes, as Danes can inform them of their rights, OHS legislation and otherwise strengthen the migrants' position in the workplace vis-a-vis the employer.

That said, there are also accounts of workplaces where migrant workers work and interact with Danes. Here, the experiences are predominantly positive. The most dominant narrative among migrants is a preference for working with Danes rather than other migrant workers. The perceived advantages are that Danish colleagues remind the migrant workers to work at a safe pace, are good at communication, and do not succumb to pressures. They also have knowledge of the Danish way of working and the Danish Working Environment Act. And importantly, they transfer their knowledge to the migrant workers. Thus, it appears that the strength of Danish colleagues has a spillover effect that benefits not only the Danish workers, but also the migrants they work with. Only a few of the migrant workers report that they also meet privately with their Danish colleagues.

Some migrant workers explain that despite some acquired Danish skills, they experience challenges in their relationships with Danish colleagues. Leonard from Romania, who is otherwise very satisfied with his working life in Denmark, explains in broken Danish how he is being singled out by Danish colleagues because of language challenges:

I tried to speak Danish. And then because he asks me [if] I [want] to give him something. I couldn't really understand. And you know what, he just hits me in the head. But not hard. 2 times he does it (Leonard from Romania).

Others explain that they can feel left out because they don't understand Danish humor:

I have good colleagues, and in the beginning, communication was exclusively in English. For the last 18 months, I've switched to Danish. I don't always understand Danish humor. So, I'm not always aware of what's being laughed at and talked about. But you know, the ping pong is missing (Nicu from Romania).

In addition to the physical separation of foreign and Danish workers in the workplace, a recurring theme is that, according to migrant workers, there is a big difference between Danish colleagues and migrant workers on construction sites. Thus, the foreign workforce experiences a tendency to

be divided into an A-team (Danish workers) and a B-team (foreign workers) on Danish construction sites. We will return to this in chapter 7.

A tough environment among the migrants

The focus now turns to the internal work environment, and in particular the internal tone of voice. Often, the choice of words and tone of voice is described as harsh rather than objective and professional. Some perceive the harsh language as insignificant, but others describe it as problematic. When problematic, migrants point to the negative impact on their psychological wellbeing. Estevo from Portugal, who has worked as a formwork carpenter for 19 years, including 8 years in Denmark, describes how the harsh tone of voice not only affects his psychological wellbeing, but ultimately also affects his ability to do his job:

Sometimes you can't concentrate at work if there's someone shouting at you all the time, and I'm also the type to talk back, but it's just unbearable to be there. (Estevo from Portugal)

Fernando from Portugal further describes how, according to him, shouting in the workplace also has a direct impact on occupational safety when shouting is used as a management style:

If someone is constantly yelling at you to "do this" and "hurry up" and "do this faster". Then there is a greater and greater risk of an accident at work. (Fernando from Portugal)

It is important to point out that the vast majority of migrants point to superiors and employees who are also migrants. It is people of a non-Danish ethnic background who shout, use abusive language and swear words. Migrant workers also shout at each other, especially as they most often work with migrants of similar regional background. Several migrants explain that Danish colleagues rarely shout at migrant workers.

Also, Danish colleagues are not shouted at in the same way when Danes and migrants share an employer:

When he's with us, he's mad. When he is with the Danes, he is happy. (Cornel from Romania)

Pawel from Poland admits that he shouts at other migrants. This happens when he desperately tries to steer them away from dangerous work situations. Having been involved in a fatal workplace accident in the past, he feels compelled to shout at colleagues:

Sometimes I yell at people. Like in a situation today. We are doing a complicated lift, a big construction of wood. And people from Romania don't respect the space. Then I have to yell "get out, guys get out". It doesn't

happen normally, but sometimes I have to say "fuck off. Go away". (Pawel from Poland)

A few migrants report on particularly toxic psychological work environments. Romanian Andrei reports repeated, degrading, abusive and hurtful incidents in the workplace. He points to other Romanian colleagues and the chairman as the perpetrators. The description of the behaviour is akin to adult bullying by colleagues, but also to a chairman who accepts, allows and encourages bullying in the workplace; he uses these methods as his management style. The bullying involves degrading Andrei's work performance and skills and making hateful remarks, while demanding that he complete tasks in unrealistic amounts of time and demanding that he do the "bad" tasks at the site.

Andrei explains that his Danish colleagues do not take part in this, and do not foster an equally tough work culture:

Danes [...] They are always nice. They try to help. I haven't had this kind of problem with Danes yet (Andrei from Romania)

Several also report on threats in the workplace, while others report internal disputes between employees, which in extreme cases lead to work-related violence. Leonard from Romania tells how a Danish colleague "just hits me in the head, but not hard, twice he does it", due to the colleague's irritation with Leonard's insufficient command of the Danish language. Herbert from the Czech Republic says that he has experienced being threatened at work by his own colleagues at a meeting that resulted in him having to call in sick. He is still not sure why the incident occurred:

The others wanted to beat me up at the meeting. They stood up and... [...] I don't understand it myself. (Herbert from Czech Republic)

Alex from Romania also reports the repercussion after he and other migrant workers posted derogatory statements on Facebook groups warning other migrant workers against certain companies. As a result of their own experiences involving various forms of fraud and scams, they had warned others on social media. However, according to Alex, posts were taken down "because they are being threatened" by the companies. Most often, threats of legal action are made against the person, while Alex has experienced a company visiting him at his home address outside of working hours:

After I made that post, I've been threatened on the phone by one of the company's employees and one of them came to my address (Alex from Romania)

In essence, migrants report on experiences of a toxic workplace culture and a tone of tone which can be characterized as harsh, involving shouting and abusive language, which

results in stressful work, while several have also been subjected to other abusive and degrading acts of psychological and physical violence in the workplace.

It is particularly noteworthy that several migrant workers believe that Danish colleagues do not take part in shouting etc. while, according to migrant workers, they are also not subjected to the same verbal abuse. The tough work culture thus seems to be primarily among the foreign workforce internally, although there are also a few examples of Danes being involved in, for example, violent incidents, such as Leonard who was hit by a Danish colleague.

Allocated housing

Housing is normally associated with leisure and privacy and thus separate from work. However, for migrants who live in housing provided by the company it can be difficult to separate leisure and work.

This is particularly evident for those who have to leave their housing the moment their job terminates:

If you were fired today, for example, they have to leave the house tomorrow or the next day. Some of them have slept on the street because of that. (Alex from Romania)

Thus, losing a job is the same as losing housing—and often immediately—for migrants who live in employer allocated housing. Alan, who has worked in the construction industry for 2 years in Denmark, describes how he cannot refuse his employers demand to work 70 hours a week with no days off. He fears being fired. However, the fear of being fired is not necessarily the fear of losing the job itself, income, etc. but rather the fear of losing his home overnight:

What happened was that at some point the employer started demanding that we also have to come to work on Saturdays and Sundays. You couldn't really say no to the employer. Because if I said no, it also meant that I could lose my home. Because that accommodation was linked to the job. Of course, I had said yes, and this was reflected in the fact that for 11 weeks I have worked every day, non-stop, 10 hours. Every single day. (Alan from Poland)

Thus, in some cases, the home functions as blackmail.

In addition, Jan from Poland reports how housing and work are so intertwined that employers withhold wages if they believe something has been stolen from the dwelling where migrants spend their free time:

It was too much, we announced that we were quitting this job. We worked for a week. We had to find an apartment very quickly, because resignation from work in this company was associated with the immediate abandonment of the rented rooms. We packed our things, only ours, and a few days after moving out we were accused of stealing kitchen stuff. [He] withheld wages until we cleared it with the landlord. (Jan from Poland)

Alex from Romania also recounts a situation where the company hired a recruitment consultant who also accommodates migrant workers in housing, while also acting as a bouncer when migrant workers are fired from the workplace:

They were threatened on the phone: "You have to leave the house now or I will come and kick you out" [...] He is the one who controls the houses, car and houses, he is the one who controls it, or he has control over [...] he is like a watchdog, [...] he uses a lot of, what is it called, terror. (Alex from Romania)

Alex also describes several other incidents where this recruitment consultant threatened migrant workers.

In addition, migrants detail inadequate allocated housing, This inadequate access to bathrooms, kitchen and toilet facilities, poor indoor climate and a general lack of space. Several report on having to share room, and even beds.

Here we show a sample (Table 4) of some of these experiences:

Table 4: Quotes detailing living quarters

<p>It was in a building that probably used to be a school. And it was both the living room and the first floor. On the first floor, 30 people were accommodated. And there was only one shower and one toilet for the 30. The rooms were such that you either had your own room or you shared it with someone (Alan from Poland).</p>	<p>We have one kitchen for six people and one bathroom for six people. So it takes an incredibly long time to make dinner and to make lunch for the next day. Then you get tired. And there can also be problems with hot water. Because if you come home late and want to take a shower, there might suddenly be no hot water left (Aiko from Lithuania).</p>
<p>Most often I have experienced that there are 10-12 people living in a house. And where a room and 4 times 4 is divided into 2 and then you have made 2 small rooms, so there is room for just one more Romanian, or one more worker. (Paul from Romania)</p>	<p>To make coffee or tea, I need to bring five bottles of water to the room. (Jurek from Poland talks from his room, where he has set up a makeshift kitchen in a corner of the room where he also sleeps)</p>

<p>There were two people sleeping in the same room. In a bedroom that was two by two square meters [...]. In the same bed [...]. Two men. (Alex from Romania)</p>	<p>I slept with my friend. On the same bed. (Roland from Romania)</p>
<p>It was a bad house. Sometimes cold. Because it was snowing inside. (Roland from Romania).</p>	<p>They are sheds. There is no room for anything [...] If it rains, you come out in the rain from your bedroom [...] If it snows, you have snow in your room. (Fernando from Portugal)</p>

Most migrants in allocated housing express a wish to find rental housing that is independent of the workplace. Fernando from Portugal points to changing housing conditions as one way to make it better to work in Denmark:

The housing thing. That's what we want to change for ourselves anyway. That we get a different home. (Fernando from Portugal).

Even though many of the migrant workers are actively searching while living in the housing provided by the workplace, several express that it is expensive and difficult to find housing, and with reports of low salaries compared to Danes' salaries, it is be a challenge to find affordable housing in an overheated rental market, especially in the cities.

Italian Angelo, who is part of a highly specialized team and only works on very special projects around the world, does not share the sentiment and reports on quite a different experience. He's quite happy:

When we're around, it's either apartments that we're in right now, or it could be a hotel. And usually, it's paid for. Usually, we have food and accommodation included [...] they are nice places (Angelo from Italy)

Although some, like Angelo and Alberto, explains how their companies pay for accommodation and, in some cases, food, this is not the case for the vast majority of migrant workers who live in employer-provided housing.

Housing is thus a dominant theme. This is the case although housing is not traditionally considered to be a work environment, and the reason why the Danish Working Environment Authority does not normally carry out inspections of housing. Emerging as a dominant theme is also despite housing not being a particular focus of the study. Yet, housing conditions has been brought up by migrant workers during the interviews. Thus, it can be deduced that the housing in which employers accommodate migrants has a significant impact on the well-being of foreign employees in the

workplace. For migrants, housing cannot be separated from work and is part of the overall work experience and package.

Comparisons with other countries

Some migrant workers, when asked, compare their current work with work in their home country. To understand how and to what extent home country conditions are a meaningful comparison, we first identify three groups among the informants (Figure 6):

Figure 6: Three groups of migrants, defined according to knowledge of construction sites in home country

We identify three groups among the informants:

1. Tradesperson in home country, migration to work as a tradesperson in Denmark (careerist)
2. Tradesperson with experience from other European countries (nomads)
3. Not a tradesperson in home country, became a tradesperson with migration (Opportunists)

Group 1: The first category is probably what most Danes imagine a “typical” migrant worker. Among our informants, they make up just under a third. These are people who, like Kolek for example who has worked for 7 years as a crane operator in Poland and is now working as a crane operator in Denmark.

Group 2: The next group, the nomads, have arrived in Denmark via other Western European countries. These people make up just under half of the informants in this project. These are people like Moze. Moze is from Lithuania and has worked as a tradesperson for 25 years. In that time, he has worked in a number of countries, including Sweden, Norway, Russia, Germany and England, as well as 10 years in the Netherlands. This group comes to Denmark with experience from other countries. Their experience from their home country is either completely lacking because they have never worked there, or it's been so long since they have worked there that comparisons do not make sense.

Group 3: The last group consist of people who have never worked in construction till they took up a first job in construction in Denmark. They make up just under one third in our group. These people typically have no training nor experience when they start working on construction sites in Denmark. These people, like Daniel, have traveled from Romania to Denmark to work, initially on the metro. Daniel has been in Denmark for 7 years. Daniel is an academic by education. He

has never worked as a tradesperson in his home country. Like Daniel, these migrant workers have never worked on construction sites in their own country. Among our informants, there are migrants who have worked as chefs, pastry chefs, office clerks, engineers, drivers, academics and journalists in their own countries. This means that all training has taken place in Denmark.

It follows from the breakdown that only those in the first group can make comparisons with construction sites in their home country. The majority in this group are of the opinion that safety is a higher priority in Denmark than in their home country. These experiences do not seem to be dependent on the country of origin. This experience is generally shared by everyone. Many point out that there are differences between companies and management and therefore difficult to generalize. However, most are of the opinion that conditions are generally better in Denmark than in their home country.

These differences are partly due to the availability of personal protective equipment:

So when a person first arrives in Denmark from Polish construction sites, you'll find that more personal protective equipment, such as glasses, are made available. In Poland, for example, it's very rare to wear gloves when doing this kind of work. Or protection against falls - and it might be the first time you encounter it in your life. (Jakub from Poland)

Others also point to the lack of protective glasses, hearing protection and other personal protective equipment.

Some find that there is access to technical aids in Denmark which makes work less physically demanding. Boris gives an example of why work is harder and more strenuous in his home country:

In Ukraine, we have cement bags of 50 kilograms, and that's the norm. Here in Europe, it was 25 kilos, and now it's down to 20 kilos in most places. So, a Ukrainian coming to a construction site here, of course he's just going to do it manually - the heavy stuff. Even though there is protective equipment. Even though there are wheelbarrows everywhere that can be used. This applies to myself, and also to some others - it's simply a matter of getting used to it. (Boris from Ukraine)

However, a few people have a different experience. These point to better OHS in their home countries. Florin from Romania, who is generally very dissatisfied with his workplace, says that "in Romania you actually get training and safety equipment. You just don't get that here," and Antoni from Poland similarly reports that "in Poland, there is much more emphasis on giving instructions before you start work". He says that he has experienced only "short and limited knowledge" in his

position in Denmark. Migrants who talk about better safety in their home country make up only a small group among our informants.

Group 2 (see Figure 6) find it difficult to compare with their home country. The reason is that they may never have held a position in construction. Alternatively, it was such a long time ago that comparisons don't make sense. They can, however, compare with other countries in Western Europe. A Polish worker who has many years of experience and has worked in many different countries in Europe feels OHS have improved everywhere:

I've been on European construction sites for 30 years and in general I would say that working conditions for construction workers have generally improved a lot everywhere. (Frydryk from Poland)

Otherwise, answers vary. It is difficult to say anything authoritative about these migrants' experiences. For example, Polish Antoni, who has worked in Poland, Germany and Belgium, says that "it's almost the same", while others feel that safety is slightly better in Denmark than in other countries, while Italian Alberto, in comparison with Italy and England, states that "it's a hundred times better here". When we assess the overall material, we do not get a one-sided picture, but most people feel that safety is slightly better or much better on Danish construction sites when compared to other countries they have worked in.

Summary and discussion, everyday life at work

As migrants tell us, the most dominant experience of everyday life is a demand to work faster and longer hours than their Danish colleagues. On the one hand, migrants explain that they have a desire to work long hours. At the same time, the migrants problematize the long working hours because the long hours are not always based on a desire, but on pressure from employers.

The problematization of working hours and pace is linked to pay. For example, some explain that the long hours are partly motivated by the lower salary. In other words, migrants have to work more hours than Danes to achieve the same earnings. This study is not the first to link pay to work environment. Another study estimates that Danish workers earn 16-19% more than migrant workers (Andersen & Felbo-Kolding, 2013) and only slightly more than the minimum wage according to collective agreements (Arnholtz, 2021; Arnholtz & Hansen, 2009).

The lower wages are made possible by a system where some employers, against the intentions of the system, use the collective agreement as a minimum standard (Rasmussen, 2016; Simkunas & Thomsen, 2018). However, it is not illegal to pay migrants significantly less than Danes. This is because Denmark has no legal provisions on minimum wages. Therefore, neither resident nor posted workers are guaranteed a certain wage in Denmark. According to calculations by the

Confederation of Danish Employers, 74% of foreign employees working for Danish employers in 2015 were covered by a Danish collective agreement. In comparison, 83% of all employees in Denmark work under a collective agreement (Disruptionsrådet, 2018). However, if we look abroad, where there are legal rules on equal pay, this does not in itself mean that all pay issues are resolved. For example, a study from Austria reports that expat workers are paid far less than national workers (Danaj et al., 2023).

Although the lower pay is not illegal, the much lower pay has the potential to affect wellbeing in the workplace. This is also supported by previous research (Simkunas & Thomsen, 2018). However, our study provides a finer-grained view than previous research on how pay, working hours and work pace interact. Our study shows that pay is primarily assessed in relation to time and pace. And there is also doubt that migrants find it unreasonable that they have to work longer hours and faster but are left with a lower salary.

When it comes to sickness and accidents, the long hours and the consistent assignment of the dirtiest, hardest and most grueling job functions have consequences. It makes intuitive sense that workers who are tired and exhausted are more prone to accidents. Similarly, it makes intuitive sense that workers who work long hours of hard physical labor are also more prone to attrition. Research supports this assumption. Not surprisingly, research shows that long working hours have a negative impact on general health (Chu, 2021), more days of absence from work (Peutere et al., 2021) and cardiovascular and musculoskeletal problems and accidents (Ervasti et al., 2021). The Danish Working Environment Authority also lists some signs: difficulty concentrating, memory problems, lack of overview, reduced mood and increased irritability, feeling professionally inadequate, social isolation, lack of energy and sleep problems (Arbejdstilsynet, 2023).

When asked, migrant workers make comparisons with their home country, and we have reproduced their responses here. But we must remind the reader that this comparison is somewhat irrelevant. All workers in Denmark, regardless of nationality, mode of employment and company, are covered by the same health and safety legislation as Danish citizens (the Danish Act on Differential Treatment, LBK no. 1001 of 24/08/2017), and this also applies to posted workers according to the Posting of Workers Directive (Directive 96/71). Everyone must be protected based on regulations in the country they work in. It is therefore irrelevant whether migrants experience a worse or better working environment in Denmark compared to their home country. In any case, the differences cannot be used to excuse poorer treatment of migrants than Danes.

In addition, it is important to distance ourselves from simple notions of migrants who perceive themselves as lucky workers who have escaped much worse working environment conditions on construction sites in their own countries. Firstly, not everyone agrees that conditions are better in

Denmark than in their home countries. Secondly, not everyone can make a comparison at all for the simple reason that they never worked on a construction site in their home country.

Migrant workers themselves do not perceive language as a safety issue. This is perhaps surprising when compared to the experiences of other stakeholders in our own study (see chapter 8). However, while one study (COWI, 2012) only beside this one has asked migrants about language problems, this study also found that migrant workers do not perceive language to be a problem (COWI, 2012).

The main reason why migrants don't experience language problems is because they predominantly work with other migrants. But it's also because they communicate in ways other than words. An ethnographic study of construction sites in England (Tutt et al., 2013) supports our findings. This study similarly found that shared communication is not always visible or articulated (Tutt et al., 2013). In summary, migrants do not experience language problems in their daily work, but lack of language has other kinds of challenges. We will return to these other language issues in chapter 8.

Previous research shows that when migrants do not understand safety instructions due to language problems, they rely instead on their experience and the standards of the country they come from (Guldenmund et al., 2013: 98). Among the migrants in this study, however, only a few (group 1, the careerist) have experience from their own country. We therefore offer another interpretation: that the migrants lack instruction in the work. Without instruction, and sometimes without the necessary knowledge or the right tools and aids, work is done as well as possible. When a former historian is greeted with a concrete cannon on his first day in Denmark without the necessary instruction and without any knowledge, it is hardly an expression of a different work culture. Also, there is no way of falling back on previous experiences. Research from Belgium also points to a lack of instruction in the work (Danaj et al., 2023, p. 88).

The relationship with colleagues depends on whether colleagues are Danes or other migrants. Thus, migrants describe a positive but distanced relationship with Danes, where there is little interaction and only rarely outside work. This isolation of migrants has also been described by others, including in relation to migrants in agriculture (Lovelady, 2020). But unlike agricultural workers, who are primarily isolated by geography, the isolation identified in our project is not only due to geography, but also to migrants being separated from Danish colleagues. Unlike previous research (COWI, 2012), the migrants in our project do not perceive the separation from Danes as something positive. Instead, migrants identify closer contact with Danes as an option to strengthen their own position while isolation weakens it. We will return to this isolation in chapter 7.

The relationship with other migrants, on the other hand, is close. But unlike a previous study, which concluded that: "*Among the foreign workers, there seems to be a good social environment where people talk to each other*" (COWI, 2012, p. 60), the migrants in this study report an environment characterized by conflicts and a harsh tone both among the workers themselves, but also in relation to management.

Finally, housing provided by employers is a particular form of worry. Migrants who are impressed with their allocated housing provided are few and far between. For Danes, housing is associated with leisure and privacy and is therefore separate from the job. But for migrant workers who have traveled to Denmark to work, work and private life are not necessarily clearly delineated. Housing is—for some—part of the overall employment package where roommates commute to and from work together and work together. For these migrants, there is no separation between home and work. Rather than spend time with someone other than the people you work with, you continue to spend time with the same group of people. Given this, it's perhaps not surprising that the internal atmosphere can become tense. Some migrants share their workspace, bathroom, kitchen and sometimes a room or bed.

Discrimination is a consistent theme across all data. Compared to Danes, migrants point to inferior or lack of personal protective equipment, poorer access to mechanical aids, allocation of the worst and most dangerous work, longer working hours and an expectation that migrants should work faster and without breaks. Migrants overwhelmingly point to the Danes' ability to refuse demands by their employer as the main reason for the differences.

4.3 Experience of cultural encounters and own professional skills?

In this section, we report on themes relating to culture, norms, habits, mentality and professional skills. These themes are highlighted based on an assessment of how these factors affect day-to-day work. We focus first on culture and mentality, then on whether there is a special willingness to work among migrants, and finally we focus on professional skills.

About culture, norms, habits and mentality

The idea that migrant workers' behavior on construction sites is due to the culture they come from is a persistent one. It follows from this line of thinking that cultural identity prevents migrant workers from working safely and therefore plays a significant role in safety issues in the work environment. However, it is striking how few of the migrant workers themselves describe a notable difference when it comes to the work culture on their respective construction sites. Some never talk about the topic, mainly because they have never worked on construction sites in their home country (see

Figure 6), while others, like Kolek from Poland, dismiss it as a matter of nationality at all. As he puts it: "it's not about nationality, it's about people" when not working safely.

However, a not insignificantly, albeit smaller number of migrants seem to attribute particular importance to cultural differences when it comes to working safely in the workplace. Safety takes a back seat to other priorities, according to Razvan from Romania:

Foreigners want to work faster and show the boss that "I can work faster. I can do more". And that mentality, it's not so good. (Razvan from Romania)

Angelo from Italy also admits that he didn't care much about safety before he started working on a Danish construction site:

When I arrived, I was actually quite surprised because I was on an introduction to the construction site I was on, and I didn't really take it seriously. But over time I had to realize that that's how it was. And it became a habit, like respecting the rules. (Angelo from Italy)

However, he points that working safely has become a new habit, a habit he also takes with him when he goes to Italy to work. Alberto from Italy shares Angelo's conviction when he says that safety in the workplace is not a big issue in Italy. He further elaborates that he, too, has become more aware of the consequences:

I think it's a problem that you work like that because it's dangerous [...] You can have a heart attack if you work like that without breaks. But also, just the fact that you can bang your head into something. It only takes a moment to get hurt because you're doing something wrong. (Angelo from Italy)

Thus, it appears that many of the migrant workers are convinced that there is a different work culture in their home country than in Denmark.

Jerzy from Poland also points to a special work culture in Poland. He believes he learned how to work safely in Denmark:

In Poland, we are not so familiar with safety rules on a construction site. Our bosses and employees don't care about safety and working environment, but now after a few years in Denmark I became very familiar with the Danish rules, so now I have a better overview and certainty about safety rules. So there may be a reason why Danes come to the client and say that Poles don't care or have a different work culture. (Jerzy from Poland)

In this way, several migrant workers of different nationalities point to a particular work culture where OHS take a back seat. At the same time, they express a willingness to change habits. After

receiving better information about safety measures in Denmark, migrants have a desire to comply with these measures and work safely.

According to several migrant workers, their cultural identity is not necessarily the basis for working unsafely on Danish construction sites. For example, Boris states that: "it's simply a matter of getting used to it". When migrant workers do not work safely, however, he attributes it to the culture and mentality they bring with them from their home country:

Back home in Ukraine; if you're used to working there, you start to take the work environment irresponsibly and lightly. Because you're always missing protective equipment and you're always missing things. So it becomes a habit. (Boris from Ukraine)

He explains that the lack of the right safety equipment on Ukrainian construction sites means that he must find a way to work without it. That habit is hard to break in Denmark. Pawel from Poland also explains that it is difficult not to bring habits from previous working life:

It's hard to change your work routine just because you changed your contract yesterday. (Pawel from Poland)

Safety is downplayed due to other priorities in the workplace. And some are of the opinion that it is "in their blood". According to Moze, these priorities are due to a cultural baggage that results in less focus on work safety and a strong willingness to work:

Danes may not learn the same things, so there must be some cultural differences. If you have to work, you have to work hard. (Moze from Lithuania)

Moze further points to a macho culture among Lithuanians: Lithuanians are too brave and forget about safety. Mikolaj from Poland also explains that when many Poles work together, they have a particularly competitive work culture. Poles compete to work the fastest to please the employer by prioritizing production end results over a safe process, which, according to Mikolaj, results in workplace accidents:

Often there is this strange mentality of doing more than others. That's also where the accidents at work come from. (Mikolaj from Poland)

Thus, it seems that among migrant workers on Danish construction sites, there is a particular willingness to work that is characterized by the migrant workers' desire to please and satisfy the employer. This is a culture which migrant workers do not believe exists among Danish employees.

Whether the reference to cultural differences as the cause of safety problems on Danish construction sites is not clear cut. However, there is most evidence that culture differences are not the main cause of safety problems. Some do not believe in a different work culture at all. They refute the idea that norms and habits are due to cultural differences. Others recognize that they come from a specific cultural background where there is less focus on safety, but that this does not preclude a change of habits when hired on Danish construction sites. A not insignificantly, albeit smaller number of migrant workers agree with the thesis that migrant workers' behavior on construction sites is due to the culture they come from. They find it challenging to work safely in Denmark, as the mentality and culture they bring with them from their home country is characterized by different norms and habits, such as a focus on doing the work quickly and less focus on safety conditions. This culture cannot be changed overnight.

Willingness to work

Willingness to work is coded 12 times. This is not a particularly dominant theme among migrants. However, it is among professional informants. We will therefore return to the topic later (Chapter 7), but for the sake of completeness, we include it here as well. Among the migrants who talked about willingness to work, there is a consensus that migrants are willing to work and more willing to work than Danes. German Ernst talks about his experiences working in a company on the German border, where Danes were, first, replaced by Germans, and where the Germans were later replaced by foreigners from countries other than Germany. He explains that the reason is that Germans are willing to do a little more than Danes, but other foreigners are even more willing than Germans:

Then the Germans come and say "argh, we can do a *bit in* advance" and "we can do a *bit* more overtime than the others" and all sorts of things. And then the [other] foreigners come and say yes to *everything*. And they don't care". (Ernst from Germany)

Willingness is expressed in different ways at work. Firstly, migrants refer to the speed of work. Romuald explains that some teams work fast because they want to show off their skills:

No, it doesn't. The thing is, there's no such message from above, no. But when I worked on the metro, there was a shift that was all Poles. And they agreed among themselves that they wanted to work faster and show how skilled they were and how creative they were. (Romuald)

As Romuald explains, it's not necessarily an order for migrants to work faster. However, many others explain that the willingness to work fast is a condition of the job:

And they're afraid if they produce too little. Or they're too slow. That they'll lose their job. That's why they pick up the pace themselves. (Sergei)

Ernst explains with great insight that migrants arrive with the expectation that they will have to accept whatever is offered. He explains that migrants are already "broken" from previous jobs, and therefore wouldn't think of turning down the next job.

You actually become a slave to your company because they can have it their way. They say "you have to come this way, you have to do that". [...] But they just find people who say yes to everything. And they're broken too, aren't they?
(Ernst from Germany)

So, according to Ernst, there is upbringing that takes place across workplaces. Over time, according to this way of thinking, migrants are taught that their unconditional willingness to work is a given, something that is expected. This willingness means, among other things, that migrants perform dangerous and reckless tasks more often than Danes.

Mikolaj shares his personal observations of other migrant workers. He first explains that willingness lies in the mentality of the migrants, but as he continues, it becomes clear that this "mentality" is one that is fostered by the employer.

There is this strange mentality: doing more than others, which is also where workplace accidents come from. Often management uses Poles to exert a quiet pressure to try to do something quickly, to bypass any rules, "take shortcuts".
(Mikolaj from Poland)

Others explain that it is more than just "quiet pressure". For example, willingness is linked to the constant threat of being fired. Migrants don't just feel that they are willing to work and often more willing to work than Danes. They also feel that they must be willing to work regardless of the risks associated with the task if they want to keep their job. We will return to willingness to work in chapter 7, where we analyze the importance of expected willingness in relation to safety on construction sites.

Qualifications

Migrant willingness to work is also reflected in them being happy to take on jobs in the construction industry even without proper vocational education or training. Most migrant workers do not question their own abilities to perform the tasks they are assigned on the sites despite most not having a vocational education, such as carpenter. Thus, only a few migrant workers in the sample have educational qualifications from their home country which match the job they do in Denmark. For example, only a few have completed a plumbing course in their home country or in Denmark

and now work as a plumber in Denmark. Despite this, a significant proportion of migrant workers describe how they fill jobs or tasks as carpenters, bricklayers, etc. While migrants may lack educational qualifications, many have practical work experience from their home country or other countries.

At the same time, a not insignificant number of informants have neither relevant education nor previous work experience in the construction industry before they start working in a Danish workplace. This could be, for example, university graduates working with plaster or concrete. Migrant workers point to such experiences:

Sometimes I have the impression that people have been picked up - just picked up on the street. For example, from Romania or Italy. And then "just come with us to a Danish construction site". (Antoni from Poland)

Herbert, who has been in Denmark for 18 years, questions how unskilled workers can learn how to do a job properly when they can only learn from other unskilled workers who also lack professional training. He links this to a lack of experience. He speaks in broken English:

There is also a lack of experience. That's for sure. [...] One guy can do a little hydraulics. But the other guy can't do anything at all. So how are we supposed to learn? By watching or something? (Herbert from Czech Republic)

Herbert further explains that it is his belief that the company only hires migrants as unskilled workers because it is cheaper labor. Thus, he describes that there are no skill requirements to perform the work functions on the construction site and that the company shows no interest in professional skills or experience when hiring.

Julian from Poland, who has worked as a tradesperson in Denmark for 14 years, says that during his working life in Denmark, he has been hired to do carpentry work, despite primarily doing concrete, plaster and sewer work. He ended up quitting the job because he didn't think he had the skills to do the work and deliver the desired results:

Once I was hired as a carpenter, even though I'm not a skilled carpenter. And I quit the job after one day because I felt I was not smart enough to do that work. (Julian from Poland)

A few others talk about how they operate forklifts and scissor lifts without certificates.

There are also examples of skilled workers taking jobs outside of their own trade. Examples include trained bricklayers doing carpentry work, mechanics working as structural engineers and

electricians doing carpentry work. Alexander, who is a trained bricklayer and has worked as a bricklayer all his life, found that he suddenly had to work as a carpenter. He assumes that this is due to the payment of wages as an unskilled worker. He explains why this change matters in terms of his own safety:

All of a sudden, they are willing to hire me not as a bricklayer, but with the work functions of a carpenter. How should I relate to new tasks when I've never worked with it? How should I be in the new tasks? Then I just ask, how? It's because if I was hired as a bricklayer, I would get a higher salary.
(Aleksander from Poland)

But it's not just professionalism that is at risk. Several point to managers without the right professional skills. For example, Filip from Poland refers to a manager who "doesn't understand a technical drawing" and therefore couldn't help solve a problem in connection with building staircases. Instead, migrants find that management positions are given to those who can speak desired language, not those with the best professional or managerial skills. Thus, language skills interfere with professional seniority. This means that middle managers are not necessarily hired based on professional knowledge, but instead are found among those who can speak Danish or English, regardless of their professional or managerial skills.

Herbert from the Czech Republic also has experience with a manager without relevant training or qualifications. He finds it problematic:

My boss hires a helper. As an underboss. And he was from IT. And now he's doing construction. That's the worst situation: when a guy comes in who doesn't understand things. Then it's even more chaos. (Herbert from Czech Republic)

Migrant workers don't necessarily agree with the simple notion that Danes always have the necessary professional skills just because they happen to be Danish. They warn against simple dichotomies and point to specific examples of Danes who are lazy or lacking professional skills. Romanian Daniel, who has worked in Denmark for 7 years, is provoked. He is provoked by the questions in the interview and the teacher at the union-based course. Earlier in the day, the union-based educator had explained in great details how Danes' higher salary for Danes reflect on a better vocational training levels. Daniel was visibly annoyed when he busted out:

When I hear what you ask, and also what our teacher says and writes on the board... For example, that they get 200 kroner an hour, (because the Danes) start with some qualifications that are quite exceptional... That doesn't match what I have personally observed in the workplace. [...] The Danes who have been there have been lazy. They have in no way been qualified to do the job.
(Daniel from Romania)

To summarize, when migrant workers are hired to perform work without having the right qualifications and skills, their ability to perform a job correctly and safely is reduced. They are thus dependent on the instruction they receive in the workplace.

Summary and discussion, cultural encounter and professional skills

In the literature, cultural differences have been used to explain safety issues in the industry among migrant workers (Bisbey et al., 2021; Casey et al., 2015; COWI, 2012; Guldenmund, 2000). In our study, a mixed picture emerges. On the one hand, cultural differences are flatly rejected by some. Others, for good reason, cannot bring a culture from their working life in the industry in their home country, because they have never been a part of it.

On the other hand, several of the migrant workers report a specific work culture in their home country (and other countries) that is characterized by fast pace, hard work and long hours. However, when we compare that picture to the picture of work in Denmark, there appears to be few differences. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that migrant workers bring a specific work culture with them when they come to Denmark. But the culture is also *maintained and sustained* on Danish construction sites because employers in most cases reward those who have the same work culture: fast pace and long hours.

Those migrant workers who prioritize safety over fast pace and long hours are punished either by firing or the threat of firing (see Chapter 5). Thus, it is difficult for the vast majority of migrant workers to reconcile a satisfied employer with occupational safety, as the time to take safety considerations into account while working is separated from the time to deliver finished products to the employer and thus ensure safe working practices. Thus, we should probably be cautious to assume that migrants are born with a specific willingness. Doing work under the threat of dismissal is hardly voluntary. A more accurate position is the different mentality, to the extent that it already exists, is cultivated, and it is at least certain that any attempt to create better conditions is severely punished.

Overall, migrants do not feel that their overall skills/professionalism are inferior to those of Danes', although there are a few people who problematize their lack of education and professionalism. Rather than formal vocational education from either their own country or Denmark, many have extensive experience from their own or other countries. Professional skills can, of course, be built through experience. A 2012 study (COWI, 2012) points in the same direction. This report states that "migrant workers state that they do not experience that their practical skills differ significantly from those of their Danish colleagues. However, they experience major differences in terms of Danes having a different attitude to work" (COWI, 2012, p. 59). In addition, an older study of Poles

in Copenhagen (Arnholtz & Hansen, 2009) found that Poles working in construction have a high degree of skills match: some have educational qualifications, others have experience, and many have both (Arnholtz & Hansen, 2009).

At the same time, we note that this own perception of sufficient professionalism is not necessarily shared by other stakeholders in the industry. In an older study (COWI, 2012), informants from construction sector organizations point to migrants' lack of professionalism and believe that migrants cannot match the high level of professionalism of Danes. Other research also points to migrants' lack of experience and qualifications (Guldenmund et al., 2013), which are comparable to those of Danes. Several professional informants in our own study also advocate such perceptions, and somewhat condescendingly refer to migrants as “Silvan¹⁰ Tradies” and the like. It's also intuitively true that if you don't have sufficient professional knowledge, it's difficult to do the work in the most responsible way. If you haven't learned how to use an angle grinder safely, you are naturally more vulnerable when using it. But a general perception that migrants have less skills in general is not shared by the migrants.

Regardless of whether it can be assumed that the workers lack professional ballast, this does not relieve the construction management of responsibility for instruction. On the contrary. It is the management's task to assess the professional ballast that the workers come with as well as the individual worker's need for training in relation to moving safely in a workplace according to section 17, subsection 2 of the Working Environment Act (LBK no. 2062 of 16/11/2021). It is also the construction management's responsibility to compensate for any lack of knowledge through training, detailed instructions and monitoring. Against this background, it is striking how many times and in detail we have heard about the lack of instruction in the work. We will return to the duty to instruct later, primarily in chapter 7 of the report.

Some migrants work outside their own profession, such as bricklayers who work as carpenters. It is reasonable to assume that in certain areas it is advantageous for companies to employ even skilled workers as unskilled workers. Thus, it is also reasonable to conclude that the economic aspect may be an underlying reason why companies want, for example, bricklayers to do carpentry work. It is hard to imagine that companies want bricklayers to do carpentry work because that is what they are best qualified for. As a result, professionalism is not an option when it comes to migrants. Thus, professionalism does not seem to be the primary quality that employers are looking for in migrants. Instead, other qualities are in high demand, especially the willingness to work long hours, at a fast pace and without complaining. It is thus striking that in the public debate

¹⁰ Silvan is a chain selling products for “do it yourself” project.

and in previous research, it is precisely the lack of professionalism that is identified as the cause of problems (COWI, 2012; Rambøll, 2016), while at the same time professionalism is not in demand.

4.4 How are different security measures perceived?

In this section, we have gathered experiences with the various safety measures on construction sites. We then examine the specific measures that migrants encounter, including introductory courses, different types of safety meetings, supervision, safety equipment, work environment organization and finally the encounter with the Danish Working Environment Authority (WEA).

Introductory courses

Time and time again, the migrants in this project have talked about experiences with safety courses for new employees. Very few have had no experience with induction courses of any kind, and the vast majority of migrants explain that working on new sites triggers a course. As Fabio from Guinea-Bissau explains: "You simply can't go to a construction site without a safety introduction".

The migrant workers also detail the content of these courses. In an attempt to summarize the content as rendered by the migrants, the content of these courses typically relates to:

- Use of personal protective equipment: Safety glasses, face mask, hearing protection, helmet
- General site orientation: how to warn about hazards, smoking policy, access and traffic routes, how to behave on site
- Work performance: use of ladder, warning against the use of faulty cords

A smaller group of workers say they have never received any safety induction at all. Alexandru, who has lived in Denmark for 9 years and lives in the outskirts of Denmark, where he has worked in both construction and industry, says:

I've been here for 9 years and the only guidance I've been given, in terms of safety, when I enter a construction site, I have to put on safety shoes and a hard hat. That's the only thing. For 9 years. (Alexandru from Romania)

Most safety courses last between 10 minutes and an hour according to the migrants. One informant tells us that he received a 3-hour course at a previous construction site and another person, a Polish worker, informs that he previously worked at a large construction site where the safety course lasted a whole day.

Some migrants are critical of these courses. The criticism is mainly related to the short duration of the courses:

Let's get started. Everyone who starts has to go through a health and safety course. But it lasts 20 minutes. 20 minutes! And then you get to work. Just quickly. As the colleagues have said (shows a talking hand). In your work clothes and off you go. (Cibor from Poland)

Other criticisms relate to the delivery of these courses. A group of Romanian workers told us over dinner at a training course that their course consisted of a checklist in a language they did not understand, which they were asked to complete and sign without the assistance of an interpreter.

Others are critical of the content itself, which is perceived as lacking:

It's short and limited knowledge. Then you are sent on tasks. And then you leave the individual to handle the tasks on their own. And afterwards - if something happens - the employee feels that it's my fault. (Antoni from Poland)

As in this interview extract with Antoni, others also believe that the meetings don't necessarily protect the workers, but instead shifts responsibility from the company and client to individual workers.

In continuation of the above, some migrants find that their safety is not as important as getting started quickly. Fernando from Guinea-Bissau/Portugal, who has worked as a tradesperson for over 15 years and at the time of the interview works in a Portuguese-owned company with a Danish CVR number, talks about his experiences:

You arrive on the first day of work and are allowed to sign your contract without having read it. And then you're handed materials and then it's off to work. You stand in the queue, with your work clothes on, and then there are some papers on the table... Then you stand in the queue, are allowed to sign and go out again. It's in Danish, and you're just told where to sign. There is something attached to it in Portuguese, but you don't have time to read it. It just showed you where to sign. (Fernando from Guinea-Bissau/Portugal)

In summary, as the interview material shows, the vast majority of people have some experience with introductory courses, but a not insignificant proportion of migrant workers feel that the introductory courses, for various reasons, only provide limited knowledge in relation to their own safety.

Safety meetings, Safety courses, Toolbox

It is striking how few migrants report on other types of training, including follow-up courses to ensure workers' safety at work.

In fact, only one migrant, Polish Kolek, has reported follow-up safety meetings at his workplace. He says that there are follow-up safety meetings at his workplace every month. He is very satisfied

with this. At these monthly safety meetings, management tells "what to do" and "what not to do" in relation to safety. At these meetings, workers watch footage from the workplace and discuss what is being done well and where improvements can be made. According to Kolek, the meetings aim to improve safety for everyone.

Some have experience with other types of safety courses. For example, health and safety representatives (AMR) have attended week-long courses. One migrant, a Romanian man, was undergoing a Danish education at the time of the interview, and he reports visits from a technical school and further instruction and training in safety. Similarly, only one person, Nicu from Romania, details participation in a safety course offered by the Danish Working Environment Authority. One informant, Estevo from Portugal, receives safety information at daily toolbox meetings, but does not believe that the advice is put into practice.

Only one person, a Polish man, who says he generally works under orderly conditions, has reported ongoing external training courses in a mix of English and Danish:

From time to time, we have training on asbestos, PCB, lead. (Mikolaj from Poland)

A few migrant workers have attempted to request course participation to improve their own safety and professional knowledge. For example, Leonard from Romania has requested a grouting course to learn how to do it safely, and an older Polish worker has asked management for specific courses to increase the knowledge base in the shack. Neither of the two were successful with their request at the time of the interview.

On-site supervision/inspections

Safety rounds and internal site inspections are also one of the most dominant themes in the interview material. We assume that the migrants are primarily referring to health and safety coordinators' inspections, i.e. inspections carried out on behalf of clients, but this is not always clear from the interviews, and the migrants themselves are often confused about the affiliation of the inspectors. Some say that the supervisors wear blue helmets and may be external safety people, others say that the supervision is carried out by the same person who does the induction courses.

Several people talk about these inspections, like this Polish worker during a group interview:

In many workplaces, we are monitored to ensure that we are working by the book. That we use, for example, personal protective equipment. And there are also checks (Dragan from Poland)

The vast majority say that supervision consists of pointing out when there are violations of safety rules or inappropriate use of tools. Thus, Alberto's experiences are typical when he explains:

If you weren't wearing glasses, she would come and say, "get some glasses". [...] And if she saw, for example, that there was a circular saw that wasn't set up properly, she would take the tool with her. [...] So she walked around every day. And pointed out everything that wasn't working. (Alberto from Italy)

In relation to induction courses and especially on-the-job training, the vast majority of migrants are either neutral or positive in their perception of the existence of safety rounds as a measure that benefits worker safety. Several of the migrant workers know the first name of the safety inspector at their workplace and perceive the safety inspector as an ally. For example, Fernando from Guinea-Bissau/Portugal says that although the safety inspector does not "demand anything from the bosses", the inspector makes sure that the workers do not work where it is not safe.

Some explain that pictures are taken during these rounds. In most cases, these are used informatively to inform other workers about what not to do. This is also perceived as a positive measure that promotes a better working environment:

Then pictures are taken, and then the next morning it's shown as an example that you shouldn't do that. (Jakub from Poland, group interview)

The exception is when the inspections result in personal consequences for the worker in question. In such situations, workers perceive these actions as negative:

Then he takes pictures, asks us for our names and card numbers, and the next day we have a meeting with our boss. (Pawel from Poland)

Pawel goes on to say that violations can lead to dismissal.

Some migrants report that violations occur outside of normal working hours and in the evenings, when there is no risk of having to endure the personal consequences.

As mentioned, most people perceive the inspections as a positive initiative. Gilbert explains how the increased workplace inspection efforts have resulted in a better working environment for workers:

Because from the beginning it was more like the employers talked about a lot of things, then they went to the office, and then the subcontractors, for example, they could do whatever they wanted. So definitely this effort and more control, it has worked. (Gilbert from Poland)

Based on the interview material, it seems that internal inspections do not lead to stop-work orders in the same way as inspections by the Danish Working Environment Authority (see later here in

chapter 4). We also note that unlike on-the-job training and safety courses, the perception of rounds is more neutral and often positive. We conclude that supervisors who are seen as allies to employees lead to a perception of a better working environment. Inspections are perceived as a positive measure to the extent that it benefits worker safety. For example, migrants are critical of health and safety officers who use red and yellow cards in the same way as in a football match to dismiss employees for violations.

Safety equipment, personal protective equipment, welfare measures

In this section, we report on migrants' experiences in relation to necessary safety equipment and personal protective equipment, as well as general welfare measures.

Personal protective equipment: The provision of personal protective equipment is not generally perceived as a problem. Time and time again, migrants in the project have told us that they "don't lack anything". The vast majority report that they are provided with or can buy goggles, gloves, work clothes, helmets. Thus, there are not many indicators in the interview material that migrants generally experience problems with personal protective equipment.

Boris, who talks about wage cheating, lack of machines and overly heavy work, has no complaints about the company when it comes to personal protective equipment:

To be honest, there were always gloves and workwear. So, that was in place.
(Boris from Ukraine)

As mentioned, the overall picture is that migrants do not experience major and widespread problems with personal protective equipment and workwear. At the same time, there is a not insignificant minority who do experience problems.

There is a small group who are either not provided with safety shoes or have problems getting proper safety shoes. For example, Fernando, who works in a Portuguese-owned company, says:

I've also been asking for a long time to get some new safety shoes because they're just broken. My feet get wet because the water just comes in. When we went to our supervisor and said that we needed new safety shoes because our feet get wet, we were told to just change our socks. (Fernando from Guinea-Bissau/Portugal)

It seems that the provision of safety shoes is primarily perceived as a problem if there are other problems. For example, Bogden from Romania, who is otherwise completely satisfied with his workplace, does not express that he finds it problematic that he must buy his own safety shoes.

Masks is a piece of protective equipment that is not always available, even if there are no other problems with clothing, helmets, etc. This is especially true of specialised masks, which some

migrant workers refer to as P2 masks. Migrants explain that they often only access to what they call “coffee filter” masks.

Proper work clothes are also mentioned by many. Most often, migrants talk about *others* on construction sites, not themselves. For example, Cosmin from Romania, who is studying to become a tradesperson, explain that some Poles on the construction site "have nothing", they "come in ordinary clothes". Similarly, Herbert from the Czech Republic refer to Romanians in sweatpants and t-shirts with their reflective vests pulled behind their necks.

Others report on their own problems, such as having the right clothes for the season. For example, Aleksander from Poland shows how he wears winter boots even though it's summer, and Marian only got a winter vest in January, even though he started his job in the fall.

A few others have reported other types of missing personal protective equipment. For example, one migrant reported a lack of a helmet, while another reported a helmet that was too small. One reports a lack of hearing protection.

Only very few, like Julian, report a complete lack of any kind of personal protective equipment:

Last job. Gloves are missing, glasses are missing, hearing protection is missing. So, we have to do all the work without protection. The biggest companies, like [anonymous large construction company], they make sure to provide all the protective stuff, like gloves and glasses and so on. But all the small companies, they don't provide that. (Julian from Poland)

The biggest annoyances revolve around situations perceived as discrimination. In this context, Fernando from Guinea-Bissau says that the Norwegian colleagues in the Polish-owned (Danish CVR number) company get warmer, decent clothes, while he works in his own clothes which are completely ruined. Another migrant observes that the Danes are given good quality jackets, so they only need the one good jacket to keep warm, while his jacket is of much poorer quality. He has to layer his own clothes in order to stay warm. Daniel, who has worked for 4 years at a large construction site in Copenhagen but now works for a smaller company, is clearly angry about this discrimination:

I had to work in the clothes I had from my [previous] position for a year and a half before I got a pair of pants from the company. I also observed this happening to other non-ethnic citizens, i.e. Pakistanis and Italians. They were subjected to the same. They were simply not given any safety equipment. They were only given gloves. And they were given masks, but they were freely available. It could take up to 6 months before they got any other equipment. They had to put on their own personal clothing and they weren't given safety shoes either. It could take up

to 6 months before they were given safety equipment, safety shoes. (Daniel from Romania)

Others also report such discrimination in access to personal protective equipment. Some, such as Polish Walenty, say "the Danes generally have all the protection they need. They have it, and we don't", while a younger Polish worker observes that "the foreign worker is subjected to getting worse quality protective gear than the local worker".

And Julian narrates:

There is a lack of gloves, there is a lack of glass, there is a lack of hearing protection. So we have to do all the work without protection. The biggest companies, like [anonymous large construction company], they make sure they provide all the protective stuff, like gloves and glasses and so on. But all the small companies, they don't provide that. It's only foreign workers who are treated like that. Because foreigners are afraid of losing their jobs. And Danes are not afraid to say no and refuse to work. Because there are enough [other migrants] that if we say no to dangerous work, we can be fired from the job. (Julian from Poland)

It is not just the quality of protective gear or the availability of work wear, for example, that is the main reason for dissatisfaction. It's the differences.

Overall, we can conclude that the migrants in our study do not experience widespread problems with access to personal protective equipment as long as everyone, i.e. both Danes and migrants, are treated equally. Where problems are experienced, dissatisfaction is primarily related to safety shoes, special masks and proper workwear that is appropriate for the season.

Particularly dangerous work: Working at heights without scaffolding, lifts and harnesses and on high ladders is a concern among a small group of migrant workers. Aleksander explains in general terms:

Where I've been on these construction sites, we've been up to 10 meters high, up on the roofs with no protection whatsoever. Nothing (Aleksander from Poland)

Filip talks about a previous workplace:

I have also been employed on a Danish site in a Polish company. It was a real gamble with our lives and health. In general, no lifts were provided. There was a lot of work from ladders where we had to climb up, with machines from heights. It was really terrible. (Filip from Poland)

Polish Juliusz and Julian agree that "scaffolding is often missing. Instead, there are ladders that we have to use to get up and down". Julian elaborates that there are differences between Danes and

Poles. Poles must use ladders instead of scaffolding. This means that the Poles will be "going up and down all day".

Somewhat surprisingly, Julian and Juliusz attribute this difference to Danes' knowledge of the rules, even though they know the rules themselves. And indeed, there are several signs in the interview material that the differences are not only due to the ignorance of migrant workers. For example, Daina recounts a situation at work where she and her colleagues were refused permission to erect scaffolding:

Working at a height of 5 meters. We had asked for some kind of scaffolding or something we could stand on. But we were refused. We were offered a slightly longer ladder because they said they didn't have time to put up scaffolding.
(Daina from Lithuania)

Another Lithuanian woman, Edita, also talks about dangerous work at heights. She and her colleagues were working on a roof. She considers working on the roof to be very dangerous due to the rainy weather in Denmark, and she considers access to and from the roof via a ladder to be an unnecessary risk. The team therefore requests scaffolding or harnesses but is given neither.

Boris talks and draws about missing scaffolding during the interview. He details how he builds a kind of scaffolding himself out of elements and ladders (see Boris' story in full in chapter 10).

Tools: Poor or missing tools are not a dominant theme in the interview material. Syrian Kawa, who works closely with his Danish boss, talks about a lift that makes his work much easier:

We have a lift that we can lift items with. It's a nice one. We bought it five or four years ago and it works very well. And when there's something wrong with it, he comes right away. No more saying "it'll be fine". (Kawa from Syria)

Boryslav also talks in detail and positively about the diamond drill he has used, despite the fact that the drilling work has caused him an occupational injury according to the papers he shows during the interview:

The tools we were given were equipped to dampen vibrations as much as possible. There were both machines and you were well protected against vibrations, and we were given special gloves which also helped. (Boryslav from Ukraine)

However, there are also indications in the interview material of defective tools or the use of tools without proper instruction or permission.

Julian is of the opinion that migrants are pressured to do work without the necessary authorizations to use certain equipment. Again, Julian compares this to the Danes, who he feels are better at refusing if they don't have the necessary authorizations:

Even if you don't have proof or permission to use certain equipment, migrants are pressured to use it. [...] And in return, the Danes... The Danes say no to using work equipment that they are not allowed to use. So they comply with the rules and Poles are pressured to use it, despite the rules. Despite the rules (Julian from Poland)

As is the case with personal protective equipment, the experiences are filtered through a comparison between their own experiences and those of Danes. In summary, we can see that discrimination is more of a source of frustration and anger than the lack of tools themselves.

Site trailers and toilets: Some migrants report a lack of site trailers, toilets and changing rooms. Oktawian from Poland says in general terms that "there is a lack of toilets, there is a lack of changing rooms". However, only a few migrants gave concrete examples of missing site trailers, such as Boris:

There has to be a trailer with toilet facilities and water on these construction sites. And there were several construction sites where we started and finished the project without any trailers. My partner is pretty relaxed about such things, so he went to the toilet in a trash can. (Boris from Ukraine)

When there is a lack of site trailers, migrants resort to their cars. Alexander, who participates in a group interview, says that when working on smaller sites, there is often a lack of site trailers for things like lunch breaks:

We just ate our cold food in the car. There was no place to heat it up or do anything. (Aleksander from Poland)

Compared to other problems, stories about lack of welfare measures take up relatively little space.

Work environment cooperation (AMO)

Only a few migrant workers are able to talk about the mandatory health and safety cooperation (AMO). Pawel, who works in a place where AMO is implemented according to the law, finds that it works well in terms of accident prevention:

Every week, Monday and Friday I think, but before we start working, he goes to the site. You know everywhere, on the surface, in the shaft. And he looks at all these things with the *site manager* and sometimes with the blue helmets. Sometimes. But usually it's with the *site manager* and the safety representative. And sometimes he writes down some tasks. For example make a fence here,

please send people to clean this tree, *you know*. [...]. That's good. We don't have any accidents, so I think it's good. It's working. (Pawel from Poland)

However, Pawel is the only migrants who is able to talk about AMO in this way, i.e. with insight into both the means and the causes. Others talk about AMO only intermittently and without much insight. Some explain us that health and safety representatives (AMR) make rounds at the workplaces. For example, Leonard says:

It's a person from our group who comes around and asks how you're doing, how we're working, what the security situation is like. [...] Maybe once or twice a year. This year only once. (Leonard from Romania)

Cosmin from Romania also knows about AMO which extends to four or five safety rounds per year. Fabio from Guinea-Bissau and Alexander from Poland also know about AMO and an elected AMR at their respective workplaces, but beyond that, no one knows much about AMO. Fabio is vague when explaining that "there is someone, but I don't know who", and Alexandru similarly reports during an interview in February that "we elected one in January, but I have never met him".

Walenty, who has been in Denmark the longest of all the migrant informants, explains his experiences with AMO. He believes that the system is not working according to intentions:

Often AM representatives are not informed about meetings. And generally, they do not attend meetings. (Walenty from Poland)

Thus, several indications indicate an ineffective legal requirement. Upon request, Polish Julian and Juliusz were interviewed together. They complement each other during the interview and, at the researcher's request, talk about health and safety organization among employees:

Juliusz: No, they haven't.

Julian: I've experienced that situation once, maybe. We had health and safety representatives who were responsible for checking our work. And let us know if we were working in the wrong way.

Researcher: Okay, and it was one of the employees?

Julian: Yes.

Researcher: Okay, okay. Let me ask you this. So you've experienced it once. How many construction sites have you been to in total?

Julian: Maybe 200.

Researcher: Maybe 200, and you've only experienced it once?

Julian: Yes, I did. I had come to Denmark in 2006 and have had a lot of different jobs. Building sites, gardens, different buildings, elevations and stuff like that.

In the box below (Figure 7), we focus on the informants who are or have been an AMR:

Figure 7 Focus on the informants who are health and safety representatives themselves

Six of the migrant workers interviewed are or have been Occupational Health and Safety Representatives (AMP). They can therefore be assumed to have a different insight into health and safety coordination than workers who have not held this position. These are Herbert from the Czech Republic, Ernst from Germany, Estevo from Portugal and Cibor, Dawid and Dragan from Poland.

- Cibor is from Poland. He is 47 years old and he is a *team leader* in addition to being an AMR. He has worked on several major construction projects in Denmark. He works for a foreign company. When he tells the course participant that he is an AMR, the course leader asks who and how many people he is AMR for. To this question, he replies that he *thinks he is an AMR* because he has been on the course. However, he is not sure who he is AMR for or what the position entails.
- Herbert is from the Czech Republic. At the time of the interview, he works on a large construction site as a kind of handyman. He has no professional training in construction (he is a trained chef), but he has previously worked in demolition. At the time of the interview, he is having problems at his current workplace, and he expects to be fired soon. He attributes his problems at work to his role as AMR. He feels that management has made his colleagues to gang up on him, which makes it impossible for him to implement adequate health and safety measures in the workplace.
- Ernst is from Germany. He has worked with concrete in Denmark for 10 to 15 years. Ernst has previously been a health and safety representative. He is a member of a Danish trade union. Ernst's overall experience is that the functions of the AMR have no real effect because, as he says, "it's just to make it look good for the board and for when they come". He also says that it is very difficult to have this function. He believes that the reason is that security does not harmonize with efficiency. So, in his opinion, the health and safety organization (AMO) does not work at all.
- Estevo is from Portugal. He is 54 years old. He is educated in the wood industry. He works as a formwork carpenter. He has done this for 19 years. He has been an AMR. He says that he has been on a course because of his position as AMR. He says that it is not possible to implement the things taught in the courses because "as soon as we came back, we were pressured to go back to work and produce".
- Dawid and Dragan are both from Poland. Both are mature men in their 50s. They work on the same large construction site for a foreign company and both have recently been

appointed AMR. They have not yet gained much experience as AMRs. Dawid and Dragan agree in a group interview that they have been given the task by management, and they have to make sure that health and safety rules are followed. They also say that they not only have to talk about health and safety but also perform specific tasks. It is unclear what they mean by specific tasks.

Overall, we observe that informants have surprisingly little to say about their role as an AMR. There is a lack of details and examples. This is especially true for the newly selected AMRs from Poland, who can't tell us anything at all about the role, which in a way is to be expected since the position is new. On the other hand, you would expect newly trained AMRs to have plenty to say about the role. Cibor admits that he simply doesn't know what the position entails or who he is an AMR for. We interpret this to mean that the AMR appointment is primarily a formality that the workplace wants to live up to, but AMRs can get stuck in the relationship between management and workers and that it can be difficult to get good initiatives through.

In conclusion, it must be stated that only a few migrants in the project have experienced a positive effect of health and safety organization at the workplaces. It is particularly striking how few migrants are able to share their experiences with health and safety cooperation (AMO) and health and safety representatives (AMR). It is therefore difficult not to conclude that AMO has little effect on the working environment of migrant workers.

Meeting with the Danish Working Environment Authority

The goal of the Danish Working Environment Authority is to promote a safe and healthy working life for all (Arbejdstilsynet, n/d). Arbejdstilsynet has three core tasks, namely supervision, communication and regulation and working environment development (Arbejdstilsynet, n/d).

Migrant workers primarily have experience with the Danish Working Environment Authority through the first core task, inspection. In the following, we review migrant workers' experiences and encounters with the Danish Working Environment Authority. As can be seen, migrant workers are not able to fully benefit from the protection intended by the inspection function, because dangerous work is hidden and because migrant workers report that they are ordered to stop work while the WEA carries out inspections.

Migrant workers report that the most dangerous work takes place outside of normal working hours, including on evenings and weekends. Romanian Alexandru has experienced that migrant workers are called in to work outside of normal working hours, and that Danes are not asked to work at these times in the same way. He also offers a take on the employers' motivation for this. He believes that one of the reasons is that there is less risk of inspections:

Danish employers, past and present - in my experience - employers know the rules. But the way they avoid it is by calling in to work during the weekend, when there are no Danes on the construction site. Where they know there will be no supervision. And that's when you end up doing different kinds of work that is not safe. And then it doesn't have to be safe. (Alexandru from Romania)

Of course, it is impossible to verify whether Alexandru is right that the work is done at odd hours *because the company wants to avoid supervision*. There may be other reasons for this.

However, work performed outside the normal working hours of the Danish Working Environment Authority does not risk an inspection to the same extent as work performed within normal working hours. We also know that migrant workers work longer hours and outside of normal working hours (see earlier in chapter 4). We also know that migrant workers are assigned the worst jobs (3D jobs). Migrant workers who work outside normal working hours, such as weekends, holidays and evenings, are not protected by supervisors, even though the worst jobs performed by the most vulnerable group in the labor market are after regular working hours.

Being ordered to stop work upon arrival of the WEA is an experience shared by a large percentage of migrant workers. It was repeated so many times during the interviews that we expected this answer to the question of whether the respondent had any experience with the Danish Working Environment Authority.

Our own few visits to construction sites also confirm this claim. In fact, it was impossible for us to find a whole team of Romanian painters on a construction site that we visited accompanied by "green helmets" from the trade unions. Despite both the site manager and the painters' boss insisting that they were on site, they could not be found. Upon arriving at the parking lot, we could already observe phone calls being made and observe workers leaving the site.

In our data, this experience is confirmed again and again. For example, a Polish worker talks about his experience during a group interview:

When the Danish Working Environment Authority takes a specific route on the construction site, suddenly nothing happens. But we shouldn't risk getting caught. (Walenty from Poland)

Antoni, a Polish worker, similarly explains:

When the Danish Working Environment Authority comes, we get a signal. "Don't work at all because the Danish Working Environment Authority is visiting" (Antoni from Poland).

Fernando from Guinea Bissau says that he is ordered to go for a walk when WEA is on site, and then:

As soon as they leave, you can climb back up. And work. (Fernando from Guinea Bissau)

Lithuanian Daina shares the same experience. And in her example, it's not just the Danish Working Environment Authority that triggers the reaction. It also extends to others wearing green helmets, in this case the health and safety officers of the trade unions:

And then we just had to stop working because there was a control, so they shouldn't see that we are spraying without masks. (Daina from Lithuania)

The notification is typically done by phone or, alternatively in person. Estevo from Portugal explains that "there are people standing outside smoking, and then they call the bosses, and the bosses run around and stop the work".

Instead of continuing their regular work, migrant workers are told to either stop working, for example by taking a break in the site trailer, work slower or start cleaning up.

When they arrive, we have to clean or do something. They tell us that they are coming and then our foreman tells us that we have to clean. (Fabio from Guinea-Bissau)

Some migrants are ordered to go into hiding. They are ordered to disappear, disappear *from the* site or disappear *on the* site. This order fits well with our own experiences on the sites, where we also observe workers disappearing so we can't locate them:

And then *site managers* tell the workers: "Don't work now. Because the guys with the green helmets are coming. Go hide. In two hours, come back." (Herbert from Czech Republic)

Overall, it must be concluded that migrants overwhelmingly experience that work must be stopped when the Danish Working Environment Authority visits.

It is perhaps even more surprising that migrant workers do not use WEA visits to improve their own work situation. The overall goal of the Danish Working Environment Authority is to "promote a safe and healthy working life for all" (Arbejdstilsynet, n/d). Some even say that they lie on behalf of the company. Latvian Kārlis explains the motivation for this perception:

When we say it, it's to save our jobs. Because we think that if we say something, we might lose our job. It's stupid because we are just saving the company. (Kārlis from Latvia)

Kārlis refers to a work situation where he works on concrete on his knees for many hours every day. As a result of the work, Kārlis, who is in his 20s, is on sick leave with damaged knees. Yet he

doesn't talk about the reality of the situation during a visit from the Danish Working Environment Authority:

I spent more than 6 hours on my knees in one day, that's too much. [..]. And that's why the green helmets come to the project to ask if you change after 2 hours. And we always say like idiots "yes we change" because then we save our company. Because according to our rules we have to change after 2 hours, because it's not normal [ed: allowed] with 6 hours kneeling on the floor. (Kārlis from Latvia)

Filip has a similar experience, but in his case, the lies are told at the direct request of the employer:

I remember an incident in [former company] where the Danish Working Environment Authority visited just after we had installed a heavy beam. And the Danish Working Environment Authority asked the management how we had installed it. And the company had asked us to act out how we had done it step by step. So we were actors. (Filip from Poland)

Migrant workers overwhelmingly express that they see the WEA as an ally and supervision as desirable. Thus, when they act against their own best interests, it is not necessarily because the WEA is seen as an enemy.

But of course, there are migrant workers who experience the Danish Working Environment Authority as an annoying interruption, such as Lithuanian Nojus, who says that "I can see that it is important abroad, but I think it is too much. I think it's too often". Few others see the Danish Working Environment Authority as a real threat. This includes, of course, those who are staying in Denmark illegally or otherwise suspect that meeting the Danish Working Environment Authority could have major personal consequences.

Aiko from Lithuania recounts an experience with the Danish Working Environment Authority that has been retold to him by his colleagues. His colleagues received a personal fine from the WEA, which has diminished his own belief in the WEA as an ally capable of protecting workers' interests:

Researcher: Did the individual workers themselves get fined?

Aiko: Yes. The yellow CPR card, the yellow health insurance card, it was scanned on every employee who was there. And then they received a small letter with links to where you have to pay fines in e-Boks. So each individual received personalized fines.

Researcher: I'm sensing that you think it's unfair? You think it was the company that should have been fined, right?

Aiko: Yes, it's not fair. And not fair. We are forced to do something that we think is dangerous or not okay to do. Management forces us to do it. Then it's unfair

that we have to pay afterwards. But we need to listen and be responsive. Align ourselves with what management says.

Aiko: But we are in such a difficult situation that we understand that it is not okay. And it's fair what they have written. But we are told by our management on the other side that we should just do it. "You just have to ignore this and do as you normally do". And then we break all those rules, all those safety-related things.

As the exchange in this interview shows, Aiko feels that the WEA becomes an involuntary opponent, not an ally. He also feels that the WSA is unable to look after the workers' interests because the management of the company gives contract orders and lets the workers take the blame for poor decisions about work performance. Such stories, which are undoubtedly shared among the workers, impair the ability of the Labor Inspectorate to help vulnerable migrant workers.

Summary and discussion, security measures

To the best of our knowledge, this is a first systematic study of how migrants experience the various occupational health and safety measures used in the Danish industry. Therefore, it is difficult to compare. We try to summarize the key points here.

Introductory courses are perceived as a positive initiative to the extent that there is real content in the course. Unfortunately, many feel that the courses are a formality that just needs to be completed. It's hard not to conclude that courses in some places are primarily intended to show the outside world that clients value occupational health and safety. There is little evidence to suggest that other forms of safety training, such as internal or external courses, are prioritized on sites.

Internal audits at the workplace are perceived as the safety initiative with the best results in terms of personal safety. Again, however, the perception depends on whether the supervision is genuine and perceived to be for the sake of the migrants. Thus, those who are on a first-name basis with the supervisors and who perceive an alliance between themselves and the supervisor report positive experiences.

Our analysis shows that discrimination is the biggest source of dissatisfaction. Therefore, one might cautiously conclude that discrimination is the key determinant of how migrants perceive specific initiatives. When assessing their own access to safety equipment, personal protective equipment and necessary tools, migrants use Danes as a benchmark.

The health and safety organization on the sites should be a cause for concern. Despite the fact that it is a legal requirement to have an AMO at the workplace, migrants are largely silent on the subject. Based on interviews with migrants, it's hard not to come to the conclusion that health and

safety organization is either not working at all on some sites and/or that migrants are being left out of this organization. We will return to this topic later (chapter 8).

One of the most robust findings is that WEA visits trigger work stoppages. Time and time again, migrants have told us that they have to stop work, leave the site, disappear, hide, etc. when the WEA arrives. The goal of the Danish Working Environment Authority is to promote a safe and healthy working life for all (Arbejdstilsynet, n/d). However, when work is stopped, the WEA has a hard time fulfilling its core function. This, of course, has implications for the safety and health of individual employees. Individual workers miss out on an opportunity to improve their own safety. At the same time, companies clearly show that they are more concerned about finances, lost work hours, image and more than the safety of the migrants.

Previous research has also pointed to difficulties in protecting migrant workers, including protecting migrants through monitoring visits (Grillis & Dyreborg, 2015; Refslund, 2021). While these are found to be effective to some extent, as previous research also finds (Biering et al., 2017), such protection has limited reach when migrants are ordered to stop work. In contrast to previous research (Guldenmund et al., 2013), our research does not show a general distrust of state bodies such as the Danish Working Environment Authority. Instead, our research shows that most people perceive the WEA as an ally in the protection of workers' rights.

5 First and foremost, a human being?

This chapter should be read in continuation of chapter 4. Here, we continue to present the migrants' experiences of their own work environment. Whereas Chapter 4 focused on how migrants experience everyday life, various safety measures and their own abilities to carry out their daily work, this chapter focuses primarily on human face that migrants encounter on Danish construction sites. We then continue with a focus on their precarious working life. Migrants must live with the constant threat of being dismissed without believing in their own abilities to find the next job in an industry that is otherwise crying out for more workers. This experience of precarity is rooted in a lack of language skills and thus a lack of faith in their ability to find a new and better job.

5.1 What kind of attitudes do migrants experience?

In the following, we focus on the human face encountered by migrants. Instead of focusing on the daily tasks, the organization of work and the physical aspects of work, we focus instead on elements of the psychosocial aspects of work, and in particular on discrimination and not being perceived as an equal human being. While this lack of human value which migrants attribute to their work is difficult to prove, discrimination is at the heart of what many migrants attribute to their poor treatment at work.

Laborers without human value

Several migrant workers describe being seen as little more than laborers without intellectual skills or human dignity. As a result, they can be exploited and cheated:

The company thinks that if you are from another country, you are stupid and can be cheated. (Sorin from Poland)

Romanian Stefan also describes the difference between nationalities. People who do not originate from Western European countries, are less valued in the workplace and Stefan points to the underlying reasons:

We're not like them, that's why they treat us like... They think we're like, you know, we didn't evolve like them. That we're somehow, I don't know... intellectually below them, you know, and that's probably the reason why sometimes they are like that. (Stefan from Romania)

Thus, several of the migrant workers in the study report a fundamental lack of importance as a person. To the company, migrants feel that they are worth less as human beings and without

intellectual abilities equal to those of their Danish colleagues. At the same time, migrants also report a lack of recognition for what they accomplish in their work.

There are many examples of quotes in the interviews detailing how the workers feel that *because* they are foreigners, they are of no particular importance to the company. For example, George from Romania adds in an interview: "I'm a foreigner, I don't matter, they don't appreciate my work". This demonstrates a pervasive sense of inferiority in the workplace for the workers. Many makes comparisons to slave labor, slavery is repeated several times:

We people who work, we are a kind of hostages [...] you are considered as slaves. And then you are exploited. (Vasyl from Ukraine)

The comparison to slaves is elaborated on by many by describing working conditions that are similar to those of slaves, including feeling forced to obey, working extremely hard without pay, lack of influence over working hours, etc. Measures such as numbers on helmets instead of using workers' names and living in container cities, which migrants themselves refer to as "camps", are all examples of treatment which migrants associate with Holocaust-like conditions in extermination camps. At the same time, measures such as number testify to a depersonalization that categorizes migrants as numbers rather than people.

Several of the informants also describe employers' lack of concern for workers' well-being:

We had no value to him. We were just people who had to work, make money for him, and that's it. Every time we said, "it's not okay, it's not good", he said, "if you don't like it, you can leave". (Roland from Romania)

Thus, Roland talks about how he feels that he has no human value. He is merely labor to generate profit. The employer would rather see Roland leave the company than accommodate Roland's request to improve the safety measures in the workplace. In summary, there are numerous examples of employers who see migrants as little more than arms and legs, with no thought for the person behind the labor force.

Discrimination

The lack of concern for the well-being of migrants at work has an impact on their ability to work safely. For example, there are numerous reports from migrants about having to take the initiative to improve safety in the workplace—because the employer does not take the initiative:

I have experienced that my employer was not interested in what it would be like to work here. I took the initiative to talk to the employer in question about what it would be like to work here. (Adam from Poland)

Others are met with indifference from their employer when they point out illegal practices according to occupational health and safety legislation. Others are threatened with dismissal.

A lack of concern sometimes translates into instructions which are harmful to migrants' health, as in this example. Dragan explains:

When I was employed on a project in [city], I was told by the Danish leader that "you don't need protection". I had to grind a concrete floor. Here you are required to use protection. Protective equipment. Eye protection, and some special masks with a filter. And I was told by the Danish manager that you don't need to use that. (Dragan from Poland)

At the same time, as we have mentioned several times, migrants experience that their Danish colleagues receive significantly different treatment. Thus the differences are experienced as a form of discrimination. What migrants refer to here is racism, even though that is not the word they use. The discrimination is expressed, among other things, in the way work is divided between Danes and migrant workers.

Florin from Romania describes how the Danes are assigned easy tasks, while Florin and other migrants are relegated to doing the dangerous tasks:

Regardless of nationality, you must first and foremost be a human being. It's not fair that if I have two people, one ethnic Dane and one Romanian, that one of them always has to do the dangerous work. (Florin from Romania)

Florin thus connects the fact that he gets the dangerous work with his nationality. His experience is that nationality makes more difference to the allocation of tasks than professional skills. We will return to this theme later (see chapter 7 on the nature of work).

A Romanian worker, Daniel, who has worked in Denmark for 7 years, gives a telling image of how this discrimination is experienced in his daily work. In the following, he talks his experiences at a large construction site:

There is discrimination between Danish and foreign workers when it comes to safety in the workplace. What I can see from my specific work is that the Danes are very thoroughly informed and familiarized with the safety measures in the workplace from day one. That they have safety equipment. From safety shoes to masks. Good quality masks and also helmets and other equipment.

I also observed this happening with other non-ethnic citizens, i.e. Pakistanis and Italians. They were subjected to the same. They were simply not given any safety equipment. It could take up to 6 months before they were given safety equipment, safety shoes. The Danes got it on the first day.

Even if the Danes made special requests, such as Bluetooth in the hearing protection, they got it right away. (Daniel from Romania)

Clearly, migrant workers primarily believe that their different treatments are a result of discrimination, the lack of concern for their well-being is due to them being foreigners. It is hard not to come to the same conclusion. Migrant workers unanimously report severe discrimination. And this discrimination manifests itself in almost every facet of their daily work.

There is evidence that not all migrants are met with the same degree of negative views. For example, some migrants report on hierarchies between different nationalities. Ernst from Germany has no doubt that hierarchies exist. He provides the following hierarchical order:

Denmark, Germany and then foreigners come. (Ernst from Germany)

However, there are signs that "foreigners", as Ernst calls them, are not necessarily treated equally. Several Poles point out that Romanians are particularly vulnerable in the workplace. An older Polish worker says:

I see that we as Poles are favored by the Danes, but the Romanians are in the next row. (Dawid from Poland)

There may also be hierarchies based on physical appearance. One informant, Polish Gilbert, explains that work tasks are distributed according to stereotypical notions that black people are stronger than white people:

It's the blacks, primarily, who do the hard stuff. And the ones who do the other tasks are the whites. (Gilbert from Poland)

Still others have reported that black colleagues are not allowed to enter the site trailers "because they smell", which points even more clearly to the fact that black people are at the bottom of the hierarchy, and that hierarchies are not just about notions of physical ability. Others say that employers would rather hire Ukrainians than Romanians because "they don't steal". However, there is no clear picture of internal hierarchies between nationalities beyond the above, with the hierarchy between Romanians and Poles being the strongest.

However, the biggest perceived differences are not related to intra-migrants differences, but rather to Danes. Migrants experience a great deal of discrimination in the workplace when comparing themselves to Danes. These differences are related to a number of factors that we have described earlier in the report, including working hours, work pace, the allocation of personal protective equipment, the nature of the work, etc. So, while there are likely to be hierarchies within nationalities, one nationality stands out: Danish workers. Overwhelmingly, across nationalities,

migrants feel that Danes are a clearly delineated group who are treated differently and better than migrants of all nationalities.

Employer vs. own attitudes towards health and safety

When employers show little interest in the people behind the workforce, there is typically little concern for worker safety and a desire to create a good working environment. Racism is thus linked to attitudes about workplace safety. Several migrant workers point out that this lack of interest in occupational safety on the part of the employer is often due to the employer's desire for productivity, which is seemingly seen as incompatible with occupational safety.

Even when employees make the employer aware that the work in question is unsafe, they find that the employer is not responsive to their wishes to work safely. Leonard from Romania, for example, describes how, despite back problems, he manually lifts up to 100 kilos at a time, which is far beyond what his health can tolerate. Despite trying to speak out against his employer, nothing has changed; he still lifts far too many kilos by muscle power. Szymon from Poland also describes how he complained to his boss when some Romanian colleagues were working with asbestos using only "coffee filter" (ed: the cheapest and worst) masks. The boss responded: "you shouldn't interfere with what others are doing. You just have to do your job."

There are numerous accounts of employers directly asking employees to work unsafely despite being aware of the risks of the work. Dragan from Poland experiencing a direct request from his employer to refrain from using proper protective equipment such as masks. Aiko from Lithuania also describes how his employer asks migrants to disregard the orders of the Danish Working Environment Authority after an inspection:

We are in such a difficult situation, and we understand that this is not okay. And it's fair enough what they have written. But we are told by our management that we should just do it. "Don't pay any attention to this and just do as you normally do". And then we break all those rules, all those safety things. (Aiko from Lithuania)

Lithuanian Romanus is dismayed that his employers show indifference to occupational safety among employees, and show more concern for random people on the street, such as passing children and families on residential streets:

I don't think the boss cares about my safety [...] But the boss reminds us about the safety of others who come from outside. For example, children. Because it's on residential streets where there are also children and where families live. (Romanus from Lithuania)

But the picture of indifferent employers is not clear-cut. A sizable minority, on the other hand, report employers who care about and prioritize a safe and healthy work environment in the workplace. Migrants appreciate these employers' concern for their well-being.

The point is that migrants do care. In particular, many emphasize that they feel that their employer cares about safety in the workplace when they take preventive measures such as providing the right tools and safety equipment. Migrants also appreciate when they are prevented from doing unsafe work, guided onto smarter and better ways to perform tasks safely, given ample time to complete a task, or given time off to rest in case of back pain, for example. When it comes to instruction, Ukrainian Igor says that "I was so happy that he was thinking about my safety", while Andrei says that "what I realized after a while - and this is what makes me really angry - is that he is the one who is responsible for training everyone. [...] But it's not happening". The overwhelming picture is thus that the migrants are *not* indifferent to their own safety, but rather appreciate when management articulates and shows that they care about the migrants' safety.

Several of the migrant workers feel that there are often good intentions from the main contractor. However, subcontractors or foremen may have their own agendas to focus on efficiency as the main concern and occupational health and safety only to a lesser extent:

Despite the fact that the general contractor says that things have to be in order and so on, yet the subcontractors don't comply, because they just say you have to do it quickly and then it doesn't matter. (Gilbert from Poland)

Therefore, even when workers and primary contractors prioritize occupational health and safety, it is challenging to comply with safety measures when intermediaries such as subcontractors and foremen, who are the liaison between the general contractor and the worker, do not share the workers' desire for a safe and healthy work environment and instead prioritize efficiency and work speed over occupational health and safety.

When the employer cheats

Cheating and deception is a particular form of lack of concern for the well-being of workers and the people behind the labor. As mentioned, fraud is one of the most frequently mentioned topics in the 83 interviews (72 times). Ways in which companies avoid complying with safety requirements, wage fiddling and broken promises that have financial consequences for foreign workers who are at the heart of most of these stories. The severity of the cases depicted spans a wide continuum, but all exceed the boundaries of what is reasonable and most often legal, testifying to widespread labor crime and exploitation among companies in the construction industry.

Reports of cheating on safety measures are a recurring theme in the interviews with migrant workers. Romanian Marian is one of many who talk about how employers deliberately try to circumvent the requirements for the use of personal protective equipment and protective gear, among other things:

They brought us a piece of paper saying that we had been given safety shoes, glasses and clothes for work. But we haven't received it. And I refused to sign.
(Marian from Romania)

Others report that employers with hidden agendas send migrants to work on Saturdays in an attempt to escape inspection by the Labor Inspectorate:

Employers know the rules. But the way they avoid it is by calling in work during the weekend, when there are no Danes on the construction site. Where they know there will be no supervision. And that's when you're put in charge of doing different kinds of work that is not safe. (Alexandru from Romania)

Thus, there are several examples of how employers directly seek to circumvent the safety measures prescribed by the Occupational Health and Safety Act.

There are also plenty of cases of wage fraud, with many informants reporting a frightening number of incidents where employers do not pay wages for work performed. For example, Nojus from Lithuania tells how the company he used to work for quietly phased out the payment of wages without any explanation:

The last company I was in, I was not so satisfied, the salary was worse, and in the end, there was no salary anymore. (Nojus from Lithuania)

Jan from Poland experienced not being paid even the first salary in the employment relationship while working up to 70 hours a week:

I worked at the company for two weeks, during which time I worked 140 hours on Saturday and Sunday inclusive. After that time, the four of us were dismissed without pay. No one was paid for their work, and in addition, I paid for travel, commuting, food and work clothes. That was my first experience with Denmark.
(Jan from Poland)

When employers do not pay wages for work performed, it has far-reaching consequences for many of the migrants. Many have used their savings to come to Denmark, and without wages, it can be difficult to pay for rent and food. For Boryslav, who came to Denmark from Ukraine at the beginning of the war, the fact that his employer has not paid him a salary has also had major consequences, especially for his health:

I couldn't get my salary transferred either. So I couldn't get insulin. (Boryslav from Ukraine)

Boryslav's financial situation is therefore critical, as the employer's failure to pay wages has ongoing consequences for Boryslav, who struggles to make ends meet for clothes, medicine, housing, etc. Boryslav's story is told in full in chapter 10.

Other migrant workers also report how employers seek to circumvent payment of wages in various ways and come up with excuses to get out of paying wages. Janis from Latvia explains how his employer speculates on underpayment and assesses when and what kind of work he wants to pay wages for, despite it being work that has already been done. In addition, he uses wage payments as blackmail to perform heavy, inappropriate tasks:

He says, "you've worked too many hours and you have too many extra hours, so we're not going to pay you for this and that". [...] They just say, "oh, we won't pay you unless you bring this to the construction site, to the fifth or sixth floor". (Janis from Latvia)

Janis is just one of many with this kind of experience, as there are plenty of other stories where employers speculate in underpaying employees, such as migrant workers not being paid for overtime work:

They work more hours. 10-12 hours. And if necessary, they also work Saturday and Sunday, and there is no extra pay or overtime, so they have to work for the same hourly rate (Daina from Lithuania).

There are also countless stories of employers accusing employees of theft of, for example, kitchen equipment from company-provided housing or theft of tools upon termination. Based on these lies, employers deduct arbitrary amounts from employees' salaries:

When you quit, the agreement is that you leave the tools at home. Then you have to leave the tools at home and take some pictures, and then someone from the company, the company representative, comes and picks up the tools, and even though everything was as it should be, he was docked wages. (Paul from Romania).

There are also several examples of employers asking employees to spend money on things like company car repairs, etc. The migrant workers may never get the money back as promised:

A temp called up and says "you know what my car broke down" and I went on to the boss and asks "what can he do now?" And he says "just drive to a mechanic and he pays and we transfer the money to him" [...] he doesn't get his money back. (Alex from Romania).

Several migrants also report that they believe employers invent systematic ways to avoid paying wages to migrant workers. Specific patterns are noticed over long periods of time. Alex from Romania details how migrants are lured to Denmark to work, then work for a few days only and then fired before they have a Danish bank account and CPR number. Many are left without a roof over their heads with immediate warning. In the absence of housing, migrants have no choice but to go back to their home country. Out of eye, employers never transfer their salaries. This is how some employers obtain work for free by systematic cheating:

I think there are more than a hundred people, and those who haven't got their social security number and their bank account, they never got their full salary and they can't prove that. You know what, they worked a hundred hours, they don't get that, they don't have a social security number, they can't see their pay slips and their pay slips never come. (Alex from Romania)

Alex also talks about other tricks, including "problems" with transferring Danish kroner to the Romanian currency "lei" so they don't get paid the correct salary:

They transfer Danish kroner to Romanian kroner or to currency and they can't figure out how much how much, what is it called, the exchange rate yes, what the exchange rate is. (Alex from Romania).

There are also countless reports of undeclared work, where paid work is paid in cash by the employer and the payment is not declared and therefore not subject to tax. Vasyl from Ukraine tells how an employer paid wages in cash for an entire year, which had far-reaching consequences for some of his colleagues precisely because it was undeclared work:

Some got cash in hand. But... worked for a whole year, and on the last day before leaving, everything is stolen. Or taken from them. This means that some people have been owed [large amount] and had to go home the next day, and then they got zero. The police... No one calls the police and reports something because it was illegal. (Vasyl from Ukraine)

In particular, there are also many stories of how companies and employers break promises—with severe financial consequences for the employees. As mentioned earlier, Alex from Romania exemplifies how an employee ends up paying for the repair of a company car, while Fernando from Portugal had been promised various perks such as housing, transportation and food would be paid for prior to employment, but this was not the case when he first started the job:

You've talked individually with the manager in Portugal, who told you that your accommodation and transportation are paid for up here. And your food is paid for when you're here. But that's not the case. (Fernando from Portugal)

There are also several accounts of migrant workers who do not receive information about their contracts. Some explain that they don't know the content of their contract, despite the employer's duty to disclose content. Others do not receive an employment contract even after the employment relationship has begun and have to make up lies to get it:

We don't get to know what's in your contract. And you don't get a copy of the contract either. We have a strategy that we use. You say to the company, "my son has an agreement with the Immigration Service, so he needs a contract to prove that his father is employed". Then you get a copy of your contract that way. We all have a plan on how to get that contract. Because you get it if you have an excuse. (Fernando from Portugal)

Thus, the list of scams is long and wide-ranging. We have been blown away by the variety and inventiveness that goes into deceiving migrants for the sake of profit, often with far-reaching consequences for employees as well as for wider society. When employers seek to circumvent the safety measures prescribed by the Occupational Health and Safety Act, they gamble with the lives of people. Furthermore, there are countless stories of extensive cheating in the handling of workplace accidents, which we will return to in chapter 6 on workplace accidents.

Summary and discussion, discrimination and disregard for people behind the labor

The perception that employers do not care about migrants' well-being is a common and worrying theme that has far-reaching consequences for migrants' well-being, but also for the ability to go to work safely every day. The person behind the labor has little value. Migrants feel like arms and legs but with no other human value. The lack of respect and concern for the human behind the labor force manifests itself in different ways and can probably explain a number of the differences in the daily work that migrants point out in Chapter 4, including lack of instruction, lack of personal protective equipment, orders to work overtime, inadequate housing, etc. Migrants experience this treatment as discrimination. In other words, they get a specialized, poorer treatment which Danish workers can avoid.

It is inevitable to link the experience of different treatments to discrimination and racism, especially since it appears that the population groups the furthest away geographically and culturally are at the bottom of the hierarchy, whereas Germans and Poles seem to rank highest and in that order (Ukrainians seem to occupy a special position, see chapter 10). The existence of discrimination and racism in the construction industry is well known (Arnholtz & Hansen, 2009; Hvid & Buch, 2020). Racism is of course detrimental to well-being, but racism also has other consequences such as allocation to worse tasks, lack of safety measures and denial of occupational health and safety measures.

Migrants widely report attitudes that suggest that the well-being and safety of migrants has little value in and of itself. Although we did not code the data for employers and did not use a code titled "employers", much of the data in the section on human attitudes are clearly about employers. Thus, when migrants report dismay over discrimination, a sense of inferiority and a lack of focus on safety, it is primarily employers they take aim at.

The data should be shocking to all readers. We remind the reader that fraud is in the top five of most mentioned themes. When we assess the material as a whole, the material is a catalog of different scams and cunning ways to cheat and deceive migrants. In one ways, the results should not be surprising. Wage fraud in particular has also been documented in other research, including a large study of 500 Poles in Copenhagen (Arnholtz & Hansen, 2009). Internationally, migrants also have to put up with extensive cheating and fraud, especially with wages, see e.g. study from Austria (Danaj et al., 2023, p. 87).

It is worth noting that fraud primarily occurs in a specific relationship, namely between employer and employee, and thus does not occur in the relationship between colleagues, in the relationship with the client, the Danish Working Environment Authority or other supervisory authorities. In some cases, intermediaries are involved, as is the case in the trafficking of Vasy! (see chapter 10).

5.2 How do migrants experience work life in general?

In this section, we focus on migrants' precarious existence. First, we focus on the constant threat of redundancy. Second, we focus on what makes it so difficult to locate and find a new and better job in an industry that is booming and where everyone is crying out for more hands.

Interchangeable - the threat of being dismissed

Threats of being dismissed is one of the most dominant experiences shared by virtually all informants in the study. Time and time again, the migrant worker has recounted living with a constant threat of being fired. Migrant workers feel that they are seen as interchangeable arms and legs which can be replaced overnight.

These experiences should be seen in light of the ease of hiring and firing in the construction industry in Denmark. In the negotiations on collective agreements, both the trade union movement and employer organizations have generally cultivated short-term contracts. Unlike other industries and general arguments against precarious employment, perhaps best known in the academic literature from Guy Standing's book (2011) on the new class, the precariat, none of the labor market parties oppose this kind of employment, which is associated with flexibility (Kirsaa, unpublished dissertation and pers. comm.).

The migrant workers in our study are not similarly satisfied with their precarious forms of employment. As Romanian Razvan, who is extremely happy with his work situation, puts it: "The employer knows they can get someone else". This is a condition of employment that migrant workers do not necessarily perceive as something positive and mutually beneficial. This is because migrant workers do not feel that it is easy to get a new job, and they are therefore nervous about losing the job they have.

Fernando from Guinea Bissau, who previously worked as a civil servant in his home country, recounts his experiences with these threats:

Fernando: And you don't speak up because you feel all the time that if you don't do this and this, these are all the things that he has asked me to do at the same time, I will lose my job.

Researcher: Do they tell you: "You're going to get fired if you don't do this", or do you just think that's the way it is?

Fernando: That's what they say.

Researcher: They say it out loud?

Fernando: Yes. That's what they say. They threaten directly. "You'll get a ticket to Portugal if you don't do what was said". That's what they say. Sometimes because they are going to do it. Sometimes because they want to threaten someone.

Migrant workers generally perceive the threat as real, not just an empty threat. Several migrant workers know of migrants who have been fired immediately if demands are made or procedures or conditions are questioned. During a group interview, a Polish worker explained about the situation at his former workplace: "when people start making demands, you risk being kicked out". German Ernst talks similarly details a situation where the boss wanted to do something in a new way. His German colleagues told the boss that it wasn't possible. To which the boss replied:

"It's all good." And then they were fired. The next day, 30 Poles showed up. That was the end of it. (Ernst from Germany)

Not being able to stand up to employers is common in many interviews.

This constant threat affects migrant workers' wellbeing because they feel a lack of job security. The threat of being fired also affects safety. Some migrant workers have found that demanding adequate safety measures triggers dismissal. For example, Lithuanian Daina, who fought hard at her previous workplace to improve safety, explains that the imminent threat of being fired made it impossible to implement good safety measures:

And we are told that we complain all the time and demand something constant in terms of safety. And if we are dissatisfied, you have to leave the company (Daina from Lithuania)

Many migrant workers mention specific situations where they have deliberately violated safety rules because they know it's a condition of the job. For example, Cornel from Romania, who is a trained carpenter:

I have worked with forklifts and scissor lifts without having a driver's license. I was forced to work, otherwise I would be fired. (Cornel from Romania)

Thus, the threat of firing not only affects wellbeing, but also safety. The threat is used to enforce decisions, even if these are perceived as a challenge to safety, and also to perform work even if the migrant worker in question does not have the necessary authorizations or training.

Dismissal has different consequences for foreigners than for Danes. To understand why migrant workers, as opposed to the trade union movement in general, perceive the easy access to hiring and firing as a threat, we need to examine how we can understand this experience of precariousness. Unlike Danes, who can typically separate work and home life, migrant workers are different. In some cases, housing is part of employment. When laid off, the migrant worker loses not only their income, but also a home in Denmark. This makes it difficult to look for other jobs because the migrant worker risks homelessness the moment the contract ends.

Polish Alan, who suffered an accident at work, explains why he found it difficult to stand up to his employer, who demanded many consecutive working days and long hours each time. He explains that the threat of losing his home in Denmark was the main reason he didn't speak up to his employer:

You couldn't really say no to the employer. Because if I said no, it also meant that I could lose my home. Because that accommodation was linked to the job. Of course, I had said yes, and this was reflected in the fact that for 11 weeks I have worked every day, non-stop, 10 hours. Every single day. (Alan from Poland)

In this way, migrant workers with included housing are probably more vulnerable than both Danes and foreigners with independent housing. In these situations, the employer has control over both the work and the housing.

Another group that is particularly vulnerable to dismissal is migrant workers, whose residency depends on the specific job. In cases where residency is tied to a specific position, it can be difficult to enforce rights. Polish Bastian tells the story of some Romanians who were fired after only three days of work:

I've helped three Romanians who managed to work for 3 days, then they were laid off. And they are left with nothing. I have helped with transportation to the airport and so on. (Bastian from Poland)

The fear of being fired has a different consequence for migrant workers than for Danes, who do not necessarily lose anything other than their job when they are fired. Danes do not initially lose access to housing or residence in the country. So, there is more at stake for migrant workers. The threat of being fired has a direct impact on well-being, as migrants have to live with the uncertainty that comes with the constant threat of being fired. At the same time, migrant workers also find that it can be difficult to get a new job, especially if they don't speak Danish and/or English. This is the next topic.

Good jobs and language issues

Language problems can be linked to the experience of having a precarious working life. While informants largely refute that language is a problem in their daily work, as we saw in chapter 4, the lack of Danish and English leads to a number of other problems. Language thus has an indirect impact on both the psychological and physical working environment. In particular, language has an impact on migrants' ability to navigate towards the best employers, and a lack of language skills makes it difficult to find good jobs.

Several informants explain how a lack of Danish and English language skills means that they sometimes risk signing employment contracts they do not understand. As a result, migrants accept working conditions that they would not otherwise accept, as contracts are drafted in Danish and in some cases in English without the assistance of an interpreter. Fernando from Portugal tells it like this:

Fernando: You arrive on the first day of work, and then you are allowed to sign your contract without having read it [...] You stand in line, with your work clothes on, and then there are some papers on the table... Then you stand in line, are allowed to sign and leave.

Researcher: With or without an interpreter? Or in your own language?

Fernando: No, it's in Danish, and you're just told where to sign [...] The most important thing would be for them to have an interpreter when you sign a contract. Then you can agree or disagree on whether you want to work under those conditions. Then you can move on if you don't agree with the contract. But we don't. We don't get to know what's in your contract. And you don't get a copy of the contract either.

Thus, several of the informants also express a desire for companies to provide employment contracts formulated in Polish, Romanian, etc. or invest in an interpreter so that migrants are aware of the terms and conditions. Several also describe how they believe that employers

intentionally exploit migrants' lack of Danish and English language skills in contracts that employees don't understand, which is why, for example, workers sign up for poor pay conditions such as no overtime pay or short-term contracts, while believing that other terms are verbally agreed upon. Alex from Romania explains:

Alex: They think they'll get a six-month contract

Researcher: Yes, they do, don't they?

Alex: No. And in a month they have to leave [the company].

Paul from Romania tells the story of how he and his foreign colleagues ignorantly signed an addendum to their employment contract:

On paper it says 37 hours, but we are given another document where we sign that we can work up to 46 hours a week, and then anything after 46 hours is overtime. But that document is nowhere to be found. It's only us who initially signed it in ignorance (Paul from Romania).

A lack of Danish and English language skills can also mean that when migrant workers are unaware of the terms and conditions of their employment, they may find it difficult to enforce, for example, the prevailing wage as per their contract:

We also asked someone to translate our contract, and then we found out that we should be getting 133 per hour. But we don't get that either. (Fernando from Portugal)

Similarly, understanding pay slips is a challenge for some migrant workers due to a lack of language skills:

There was a lot of confusion with the pay. We were paid the minimum wage for a bricklayer. And then some profit. But we couldn't understand the profit either. Some went for vacation, some went for something else (Boryslav from Ukraine).

In addition, migrants perceive that good language skills create access to better jobs. Language is seen as the most important factor in getting a better job.

For example, many migrants, such as Kārlis from Latvia, explain that they cannot leave their current job due to a lack of English or Danish language skills. Kārlis explains that he is therefore stuck in a profession where he spends a lot of time on his knees on concrete, even though both of his knees are damaged, and in a company where he has filed a work injury claim:

It's not very easy to find a job because, you know, I've sent a lot of CVs to companies and the big problem is that I don't speak Danish. That's the problem. (Kārlis from Latvia)

Razvan from Romania advises everyone to learn Danish because he believes that Danish gives access to better jobs. By better jobs, he primarily means better pay:

Researcher: Do you think you need to speak Danish to get a really good job in Denmark? Like the one you have now?

Razvan: Yes, that, I think, is important. It should... Because I also talk to other Romanians we know. We tell them that it's a good idea if they start learning Danish.

Others have explained that job skills allow for more seniority within the industry, for example, as a team leader or other middle management position. In other words, those with the poorest language skills are given the worst jobs in the industry because the better jobs require better language skills. In this way, language, and *not professional* skills, affects opportunities for advancement and for moving to better companies and better jobs.

Lithuanian Nojus agrees that his experience is that his lack of language skills makes it difficult for him to get a job in a Danish company, a move that he, like many others, associates not only with better pay, but also better working conditions in general:

Of course I would like to [work in a Danish company], what keeps me from it is mostly the language, because you have to be able to speak English or some of the other popular languages, or know Russian, which may not be very popular right now. But of course I would like to do it, because it's a different salary, it's different working conditions, and in general it's better. (Nojus from Lithuania)

Like many others, Nojus articulates that language is the gateway to better jobs, jobs that aren't 3D jobs, that have better pay, and are generally "better". In this way, language has a significant impact on the work environment because language skills create opportunities for seniority and movement away from 3D jobs.

In an industry crying out for more labor, it may seem surprising that migrant workers in dangerous and low-paying positions don't simply seek better jobs elsewhere. But that's the case. In the interview material, many express that language difficulties are perceived as a barrier to finding new and better jobs. Sergei, who has worked in Denmark for over 10 years and is a union representative, explains how language affects the perception of whether it is possible to find other jobs:

Secondly, they have problems with language. Because they are afraid that if they lose their job, they won't find a similar one because of lack of language skills. (Sergei from Slovakia)

Razvan, who speaks very good Danish, explains how language difficulties affect his colleagues' belief that they can get a different and better job:

And they think that because they don't speak Danish, they can't get another job.
(Razvan from Romania)

Language matters because a lack of language skills means that migrant workers get the worst jobs, the jobs that are referred to as 3D jobs. Language skills are perceived to be more important for job functions and leadership positions than professional skills. Without language skills, it is difficult for migrant workers to apply for new, better jobs.

Language skills also impact the work environment in another way. A lack of language skills makes it difficult to speak up at work. For example, Cosmin from Romania, who also speaks good Danish, describes a situation where his colleagues had already stopped a plastering job, but he was asked to continue. He explains that his good Danish skills enable him to say no in such a situation:

For example, if someone tells you that I'm the only one who has to do something.
"No, it's not only me". (Cosmin from Romania)

And Razvan, who also speaks Danish, agrees:

And for me, I think it's a big advantage that I also speak Danish. (Razvan from Romania)

Cosmin and Razvan thus articulate the link between language, exploitation and better jobs. When migrant workers lack language skills in Danish or English, they have little opportunity to obtain information and knowledge about their rights in the Danish labor market. For example, Daina from Lithuania says that a lack of language skills makes it easy for employers to exploit foreign workers:

It's because the employers know that they are from another country Lithuania, Moldova, or some other country, and they don't know the language, they don't know their rights, and it's a little bit difficult for them to figure out how it all works, so he exploits it on purpose, he exploits that they are vulnerable. (Daina from Lithuania)

It is precisely this potential exploitation associated with a lack of language skills that motivates some informants to learn Danish. In other words, some informants associate better language skills with their own ability to avoid exploitation in job situations. Only a few say that they are treated badly when they cannot speak Danish, such as Stefan from Romania, who believes that the bad treatment he receives from his bosses is due to his lack of Danish skills.

However, it's difficult for most people to find the time to improve their language skills while going to work. This is especially the case because many migrant workers work long hours during the week

and travel home during holidays. Romanian Alexandru, who is keen to upskill so he can avoid the worst jobs, explains why it is so difficult to acquire the language and why he still speaks very little Danish, even though he would like to get good at it:

You have to do this while entertaining your family at the same time. You're tired.
And you have to spend your evening if you want to learn the language.
(Alexandru from Romania)

Although many link language skills to better jobs and opportunities, and some have attended language school, not all informants have sought out language training themselves. There are reasons for this other than lack of time due to long working hours. A majority of the migrant workers in our study have worked in many different European countries, and their orientation towards work is not necessarily country-specific, but rather dependent on what opportunities arise. The next job might be in Norway, Sweden or the Netherlands.

To summarize, the migrants in our study are generally critical of arguments that a lack of a common language creates risks and other problems in daily work (see chapter 4). However, lack of language skills does affect the ability to get other, better, less dangerous jobs and to move up the career ladder.

Summary and discussion, precarious work

Dismissal or threats of dismissal have been coded 45 times. Therefore, it is an experience shared by many. Threats of being fired are well documented in previous research: Around a third of Polish workers in an older study have been threatened with dismissal and almost one in five have been threatened with violence at their workplace (Arnholtz & Hansen, 2009). Under the threat of dismissal, migrant workers are not able to speak up. They find it difficult to stand up to poor treatment, orders to work overtime, orders to do the work unsafely or undertake with major health consequences. Being fired has major consequences for migrants because it's often not just the job on the line, although losing a job can be devastating enough in itself. Often, it is also the housing, transportation and more that disappear along with the job. It is almost self-evident that the threat of being fired is an effective way to discipline migrants.

Job insecurity is thus a condition that migrants must put up with. Although migrants may enjoy some protection by working in a growing sector, they do not feel that they have access to pick and choose. Thus, similar to previous research (Simkunas & Thomsen, 2018), migrants in this project also report on a fear of losing their jobs and general insecurity. In a previous research project, Poles report that they feel less job security and lack income security when comparing working here with working in their own country (Arnholtz & Hansen, 2009). Job insecurity, according to previous

research, also helps explain why migrants are more likely to engage in excessive overtime, put up with poor treatment and engage in risky behavior at work (Simkunas & Thomsen, 2018).

In addition, precarious work has some repercussions beyond the immediate feeling of always being on the edge of your seat. For example, other research suggests that the temporary nature of the work does not encourage migrant workers, nor the companies they are employed by, to invest time and resources such as thorough instruction or otherwise upgrading skills and knowledge (Hvid & Buch, 2020). This can be crucial for safety.

6 Workplace accidents and underreporting

This chapter explores the question of whether migrant workers in the construction industry are more exposed to fatal and non-fatal occupational accidents than Danes. However, answering the second question is complicated by widespread underreporting. Instead, the question changes to become about the amount of underreporting. At the same time, it is crucial to ask why accidents are not reported? Why are occupational accidents for migrant workers not registered to the same extent as for Danish employees?

The chapter is organized as follows. First, we give a brief description of the existing knowledge on the extent of accidents among migrant workers in Denmark and underreporting. As there are no authoritative estimates of the extent of accidents among migrant workers in Denmark, we follow up with a systematic literature review of international research in the field. Overall, the literature review shows that migrants are more prone to accidents than the local population in both the construction industry and other industries.

This is followed by our own quantitative analysis, which sheds light on the proportion of migrant workers in construction and the probability of workplace accidents based on the administrative dataset. The quantitative analysis proves that accidents are not reported to the same extent as Danish accidents due to underreporting. Following on from this, the extent of underreporting is estimated in section 4 of the chapter.

The qualitative part in section 5 explores how we can understand underreporting. In other words, what happens when migrant workers are involved in accidents? What happens in the sequence of events that discourages registration? Data shows that underreporting is mainly due to immediate dismissal, repatriation to own country, lack of medical treatment, fabrication of lies and/or orders to continue working, including doing other tasks the pre accident. Section 6 examines incentives in the industry that discourage reporting. Professional informants point to a number of counterincentives, such as "100 days without accidents".

Overall, we demonstrate in this chapter that there is widespread underreporting of accidents, especially among new EU citizens, and that underreporting is so extensive that it is not possible to give an authoritative estimate of the extent of occupational accidents among migrant workers on Danish construction sites. However, we estimate that between 50% and up to perhaps 80% of all accidents among new EU citizens are not reported. Thus, we conclude that migrant workers are significantly more prone to workplace accidents than Danes.

6.1 Literature review

This section first reviews existing knowledge on the extent of accidents for migrant workers in Denmark. Next, existing knowledge on underreporting is reviewed. As there is no valid knowledge on the extent of accidents among migrant workers in Denmark, we follow up with a literature review of international literature.

Existing knowledge on the extent of accidents for migrant workers in Denmark

When we look at migrant workers' occupational accidents in isolation, it is the absence of research that stands out the most. In fact, there is only one published study concerning Denmark in isolation, at study which has been published in a journal (Biering et al., 2017) and as a book chapter (Rasmussen & Biering, 2020). In addition, one study compares Denmark with two other countries (Guldenmund et al., 2013).

Table 5 Overview of research comparing migrants and non-migrants in Denmark

Short Title	Country	When	Who	Focus	Methodology	Basis of comparison	Key results
Work Injuries among Migrant Workers in Denmark (Biering et al., 2017; Rasmussen & Biering, 2020)	Denmark	2003-2013	All industries	All migrants (new EU, old EU, other countries)	Register: EASY and Emergency Room	Intra-migrant and non-migrants	Migrant workers from new EU countries and the non-Western world have an increased risk of occupational injuries compared to Danes and old EU countries. <i>When it comes to high-risk jobs and young people, citizens from new EU (0.6) and other countries (0.94) have less risk compared to Danes (1.0) and old EU (1.39).</i>
Migrant Workers and Safety in Three European Countries (Guldenmund et al., 2013)	Denmark	2003-2006	All industries	Comparative with the Netherlands and England	Register: EASY and unemployment benefits	Non-migrants and successors of migrants	Migrants have more accidents (217) per 10,000 workers than Danes (181) and descendants of migrants (156).

The Danish-only study (Biering et al., 2017) used data from three different sources: emergency room visits, reported injuries to the Danish Working Environment Authority and data from Statistics Denmark from the years 2003 to 2013. The comparative study used interviews, a survey (questionnaire) and register data to a lesser extent.

Both studies show that migrants generally have more accidents than Danes. Guldenmund *et al.* (2013), based on data for the years 2003 to 2006, show that migrants (217) have more accidents per 10,000 workers than Danes (181). Similarly, Biering et al (2017) conclude that both migrants from the new EU and the rest of the world (see later for a list of these countries) have more

workplace accidents than Danes and citizens from the old EU countries. Both studies therefore confirm research from other countries (Mucci et al., 2019; Sterud et al., 2018) and the results are therefore consistent with international experience.

However, the Biering et al (2017) study surprisingly shows that all migrants under the age of 30 and working in high-risk sectors have *fewer* occupational injuries than Danish workers. Migrant workers over the age of 30 and those from new EU countries also have a lower accident rate than Danish workers. Equally surprising is that young people from the new EU member states in particular are underrepresented in the number of accidents at work (they have only about a third as many accidents as the comparison group) (Biering et al., 2017). Biering et al (2017) point to several reasons for this somewhat surprising result, including underreporting.

Existing knowledge about underreporting in Denmark

There has been suspicion of significant underreporting in the construction industry for a long time (Pedersen et al., 2011). This underreporting is not unique to migrant workers. Despite this, only a few studies have sought to shed light on the specific question of the size of the underreporting. These studies are primarily driven by employee organizations and public authorities, whereas our own literature review (Overgaard et al., 2023) shows that there are no published scientific articles on the issue.

In 2015, the Danish Confederation of Trade Unions (formerly LO, now FH) published a report entitled *Underreporting of Occupational Accidents* (Lander et al., 2015) with assistance from the Occupational Medicine Clinic in Herning. This was the second version of the report. The first version had been met with criticism in that the estimates were both too high and too imprecise because occupational injuries that were not serious enough to meet the reporting criteria of one day's absence were included in the calculations (Lander et al., 2015).

The method involved cross-referencing two registers: accidents treated at the emergency room and reports to the Danish Working Environment Authority (Lander et al., 2015). The research group found that 56 percent of the work-related accidents attended at the emergency room and have a duration that legally means that they should be reported, are not. Thus, the research team found that *even if* 15,000 minor injuries had to be excluded compared to previous estimates, the underreporting amounts to 56%.

As mentioned, this figure is based solely on a comparison with emergency room visits. The researchers note that the figure is not able to assess the *real underreporting* and argue for an alternative calculation method other than the "classic" one. In this context, the researchers point to

approximately 2/3 seeking help from their own doctor, dentist or physiotherapists, which reduces the rate of underreporting to 30% (Lander et al., 2015).

In 2017, the Danish Working Environment Authority (Arbejdstilsynet, 2017) also investigated the extent of under-reporting of accidents to the Danish Working Environment Authority, including whether under-reporting depends on gender, age, industry, sector and length of absence. The underreporting of notifiable accidents to the Danish Working Environment Authority is examined by comparing the number of self-reported notifiable accidents in Statistics Denmark's Labor Force Survey in the second quarter of 2013 with the number of accidents reported to the Danish Working Environment Authority. Overall, the study (Arbejdstilsynet, 2017) finds that 57% (51-64%) of all reportable occupational accidents are reported. For construction and large projects, 51% of all reportable accidents are reported. However, this figure is associated with some uncertainty (37-82% at 95% confidence interval). Neither of these two reports treat migrant workers' accidents as a stand-alone focus.

Existing knowledge on the extent of accidents among migrant workers, focus on Europe.

As mentioned above, there are no studies that deal with non-fatal accidents among foreign workers in the Danish construction industry in isolation. We therefore turn our attention to the rest of the EU. A number of studies show that migrant workers in the construction industry in EU countries other than Denmark are more exposed than the native population, see Table 6 below. For example, a study (Connell et al., 2007) of eye accidents in a clinic in Ireland found that *all* serious occupational accidents involved foreign workers and that 48% of all eye accidents occurred to immigrants, even though they only made up 9% of the workforce.

Similarly, an analysis (Frickmann et al., 2012) of emergency room data over a 10-year period in Switzerland found that 66% of injured workers were foreigners, a proportion almost twice as high as the overall proportion of foreigners in the population. An Italian study (Salvatore et al., 2012) also suggests that migrant workers in the construction industry are almost twice as exposed as national workers.

Table 6: Published studies on construction in other EU countries

Short Title	Country	When	Who	Focus	Methodology	Basis of comparison	Key results
Construction-Related Eye Injuries in Irish Nationals and Non-Nationals (Connell et al., 2007)	Ireland	Probably 2005 (nowhere directly written)	Building and construction	Eye injuries	155 patients in a specific emergency room.	Share of population	All <i>serious</i> workplace accidents involved foreign workers. 48% of all eye accidents happened to immigrants, even though they only make up 9% of the workforce.
Consecutive Construction Work Accidents: Who Is at Risk?(Frickmann et al., 2012)	Switzerland	2001 to 2011	Building and construction	Foreigners and older workers	Dedicated emergency room over a 10-year period	Share of population	66.4% of injured workers were foreigners. This is almost twice as high as the overall proportion of foreigners in the population.
Differences in Work Injury Risk between Immigrants and Natives (Giraud et al., 2019)	Italy	2005 and 2010 compared	Building and construction	Serious accidents	Register merge	Non-migrants	2005: same accident rate. 2010: higher accident rate among migrants due to large decrease among natives, but stagnation among migrants.
Work-Related Injuries Among Immigrant Workers in Italy (Salvatore et al., 2012)	Italy	2007	Building and construction	High-migration countries	Questionnaire. 2007 Labor Force Survey	Non-migrants	Work-related injuries were significantly higher among immigrants (men) compared to Italian men (9.3% vs. 5%).

In addition, research on migrant workers in other sectors of the labor market (Ahonen & Benavides, 2006; Davidson & Orr, 2009; Gravseth et al., 2003; Saeed et al., 2009) in European countries also shows that migrant workers are more prone to occupational accidents than the national population, see Table 7. For example, a study from Norway found that the proportion of serious injuries was much higher among migrants (30%) than their share of the population (12%). Similarly, a study from Ireland found that 40% of clients were migrants, despite migrants making up only 9% of the workforce.

Table 7: Migrants in EU/EEA, all industries

Short Title	Country	When	Who	Focus	Methodology	Basis of comparison	Key results
Risk of Fatal and Non-Fatal Occupational Injury in Foreign Workers in Spain (E. Ahonen & Benavides, 2006)	Spain	2003	All industries	Gender and age	Register: Registry of non-fatal and fatal occupational injury in insured workers.	Non-migrants	For both genders and in all age groups, foreign workers have a higher risk of both non-fatal and fatal workplace accidents.
Occupational Injuries Treated at the Oslo Emergency Department and Ambulance Service (Gravseth et al., 2003)	Norway	Three months in 2001	All industries	Serious accidents	Registered occupational accidents treated at specific emergency medical services and ambulance services over 3 months	Share of population	30% of those with serious injuries spoke a language other than Norwegian as their first language. This proportion is higher than the proportion (12%) of Oslo's employees who are registered as "first-generation immigrants" from outside the Nordic countries.
Occupational Injuries in Foreign-National Workers (Davidson & Orr, 2009)	Ireland	2006 and 2007	All industries	Plastic surgery	201 Workplace accidents referred to private plastic	Share of population	40% of referrals were foreign workers, even though foreign workers only make up 9% of the total Irish workforce.

					surgery hospital.		
Ocular Injury Requiring Hospitalization (Saeed et al., 2009)	Ireland	October 2001 to September 2007	All industries	Eye accidents before and after opening borders to the EU	All eye accidents at specific clinic.	Non-migrants	Hospitalized eye injuries per 100,000 were 89 for people from new EU countries vs. 18 for people of Irish origin

Finally, a number of international reviews (E. Q. Ahonen, Benavides, et al., 2007; Hargreaves et al., 2019; Hvid & Buch, 2020; Mucci et al., 2019; Sterud et al., 2018) confirm that migrant workers are more exposed to accidents than the national population in all industries. Also, this applies to all countries (Sterud et al., 2018). Thus, Sterud et al. (2018, pp. 8-9) write about the risk of occupational injuries:

The most robust finding in the analyses is the higher risk of occupational injuries among immigrants than native workers. This is true in studies from different countries and with different designs (e.g. occupational injury records, registries and patient records).

There is no reason to believe that Denmark could produce a completely different and better result for migrant workers in the construction industry. Overall, there is reason to believe that there is massive underreporting in Denmark, which produces some surprising results when register data is analyzed.

6.2 Quantitative analysis

In this chapter, we present the results from the administrative data (register) analysis. We examine the trends in the number of migrant workers in the most dangerous industries. Later, we present probabilities of occupational accidents when controlling for gender, age, marital status and actual working hours. Our data is based on a combination of several registers including two quantitative measures of occupational accidents - statutory employer reporting (EASY) and emergency room data (LPR). The EASY dataset is updated up to and including 2021, while the LPR data is updated to and including 2018.

Underreporting of accidents

In this section, we set out to provide an estimate of the accident profile of migrant workers. However, such an estimate is impossible to make without simultaneously estimating the extent of underreporting. Therefore, we focus on underreporting within specific national groups in the construction industry.

We use logistic regressions for each year in the period 2008 to 2021, where the models take into account gender, age and number of days in the construction industry where relevant. In practice, this means that in our statistical models, we control for these variables, and we can therefore isolate nationality as the explanatory variable. The reason we control for these is that gender, age and working hours can influence the risk of occupational accidents. For example, if there are more young men employed in the construction industry, this could explain a difference from Danish employees. By using these model-based statistics, we can say with certainty that the differences are not due to underlying explanations such as gender or age.

NOTE - Interpretation of figures 8, 10, 12 and 14

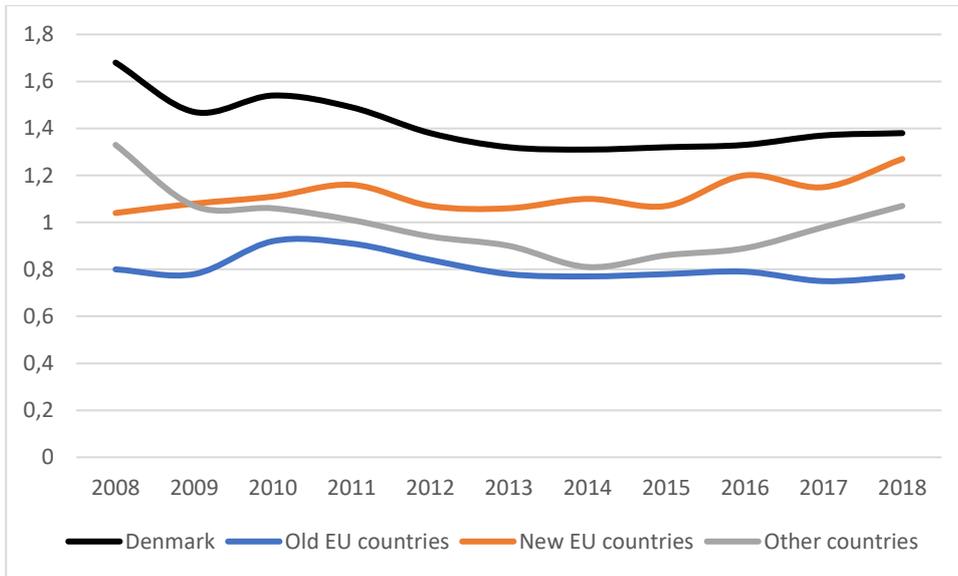
The Y-axis (the vertical) in the figures illustrates the probability of occupational injuries. For example, the orange line in Figure 8 shows that in 2008, citizens from new EU countries have a probability of just over 1% of having an occupational accident reported to the hospital system. When we look over time (x-axis, the horizontal line), we can see trends.

The figures show developments over time in the reporting of occupational injuries for each of the four ethnic groups to the hospital services and the EASY register, respectively, measured by probability. All reporting percentages in this section's figures therefore cover the probability of having at least one occupational accident reported to either the hospital or EASY when we control for gender, age and time in the industry, where relevant.

To hospitals: Figures 8-11 describe workers' tendencies to report accidents to a *hospital*. Figures 8 and 9 show reports to the hospital for *all industries*.

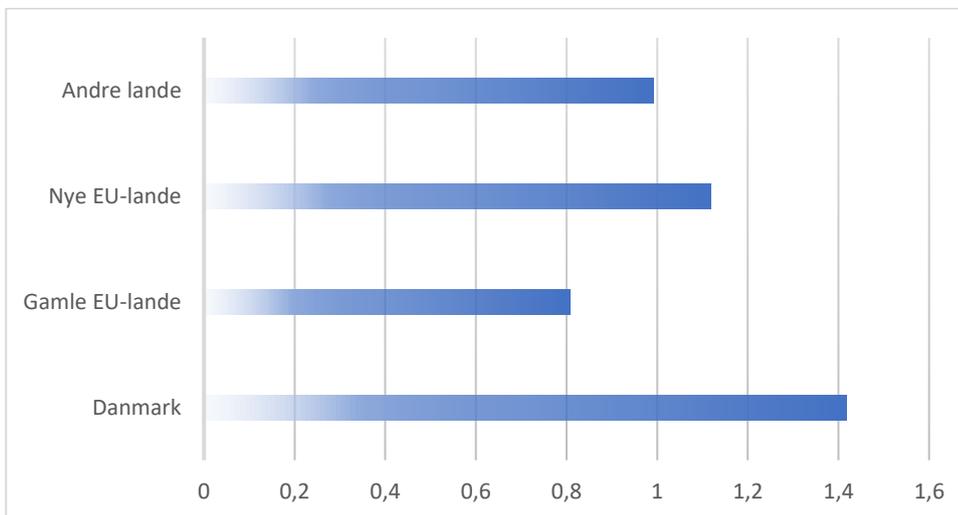
As Figure 8 clearly shows, Danes are more likely to report accidents at work to the hospital than other nationalities over time. Citizens from old EU countries are the least likely and citizens from new EU countries and citizens from other countries are somewhere in between the other two groups.

Figure 8: probability of reporting occupational accidents to the hospital system by nationality - all industries, in % (2008- 2018)



For further clarity, Figure 9 shows the average for all years.

Figure 9: Probability of reporting occupational accidents to the hospital system by nationality - all industries, in percent, average in the period 2008-2021



Figures 10 and 11 below next show the development in construction, and here we find a different picture compared to the labor market as a whole.

Figure 10 Probability of reporting work-related accidents to the hospital system by nationality - construction, in percent

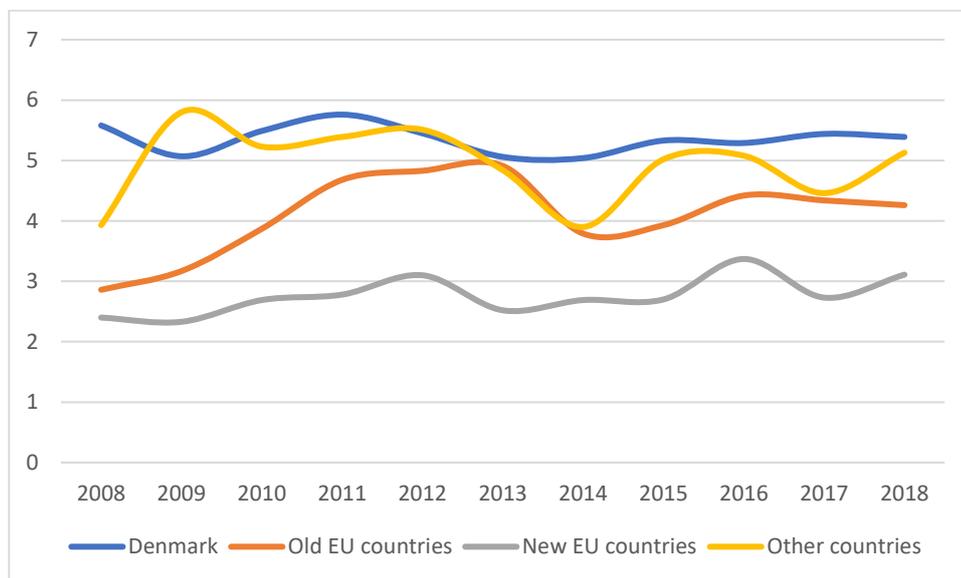
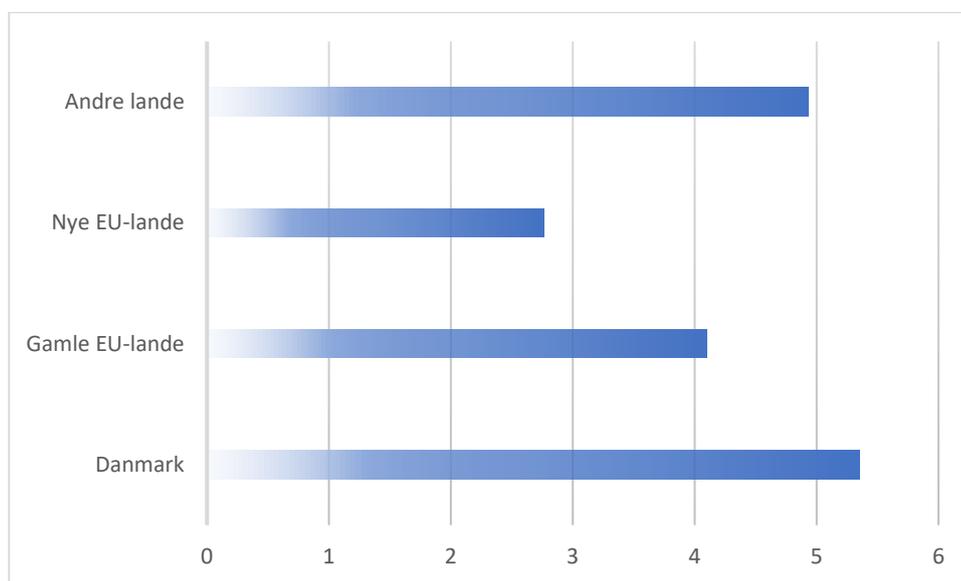


Figure 11: Probability of reporting occupational accidents to the hospital system by nationality - construction, in percent, average in the period 2008-2018



Figures 10 and 11 show that Danes in the construction industry are again at the top when it comes to the likelihood of reporting an accident to the hospital system. Unlike all industries in general, where it was citizens from old EU countries who had the lowest probability of reporting, in construction it is citizens from new EU countries who are at the bottom. They are about half as likely to report an accident at work as ethnic Danes. Other countries and old EU countries are also

below the Danish level, but only new EU countries show a noticeable difference from the Danish level. The next figures outline the statutory reporting to the EASY register, for which employers are responsible.

To EASY: Figures 12 to 15 relate to EASY registration. Figures 12 and 13 show the probability of reporting accidents at work in all industries to EASY by nationality.

Figure 12 Probability of reporting accidents at work to EASY by nationality - all industries, in percent

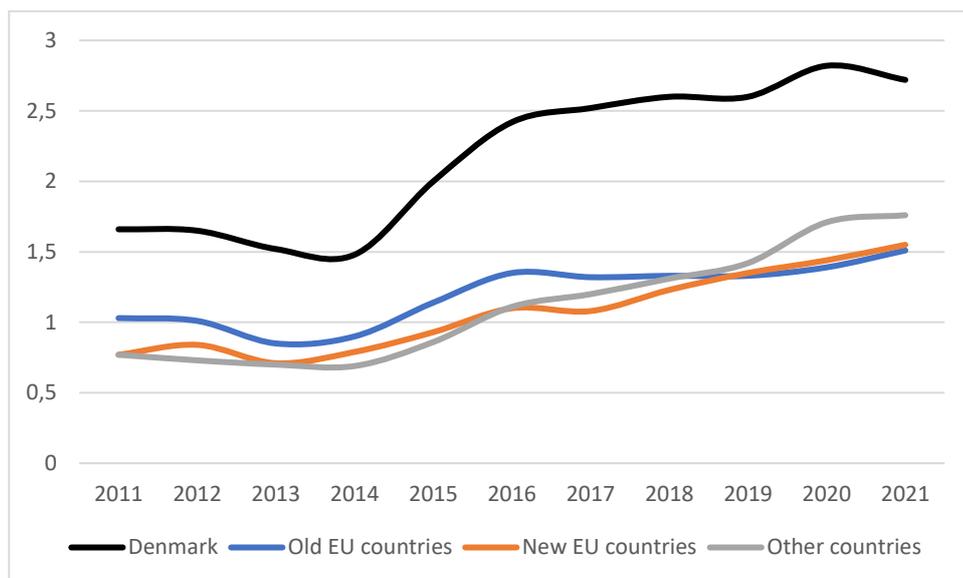
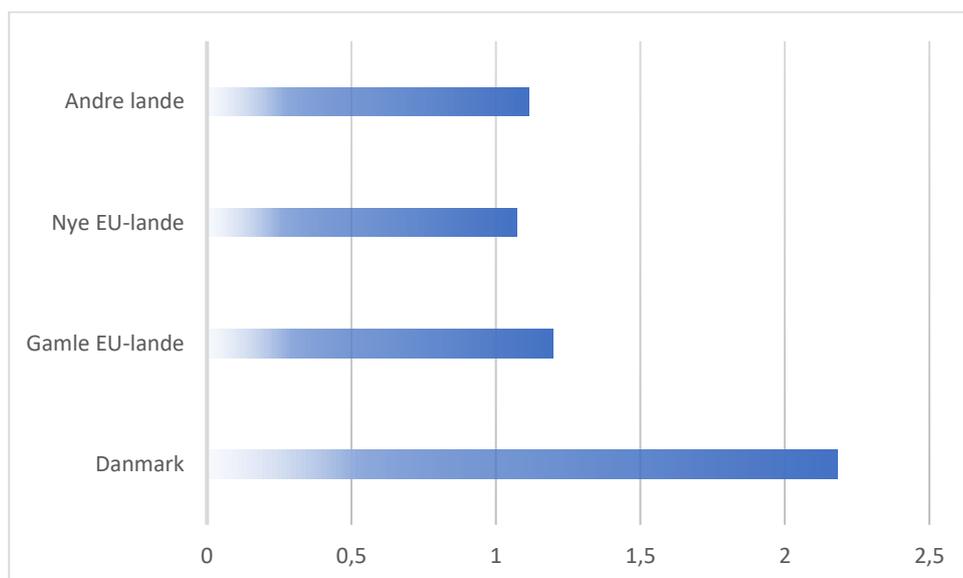


Figure 13 Probability of reporting accidents at work to EASY by nationality - all industries, in percent on average for the years 2011-2021



As Figures 12 and 13 show, Danes are generally well above foreigners when it comes to the likelihood of having accidents at work reported. This is true regardless of gender and age, so it is not these demographic differences that explain this phenomenon. Assuming that all nationalities are equally injured, this means that there is a general underreporting of accidents for foreigners to the EASY register of around 100%. However, this is a conservative estimate, as we know from the literature that foreigners are more likely to be injured at work than their Danish colleagues.

Figures 14 and 15 show how this is the case in construction.

Figure 14: probabilities of reporting accidents at work to EASY by nationality - construction, in percent

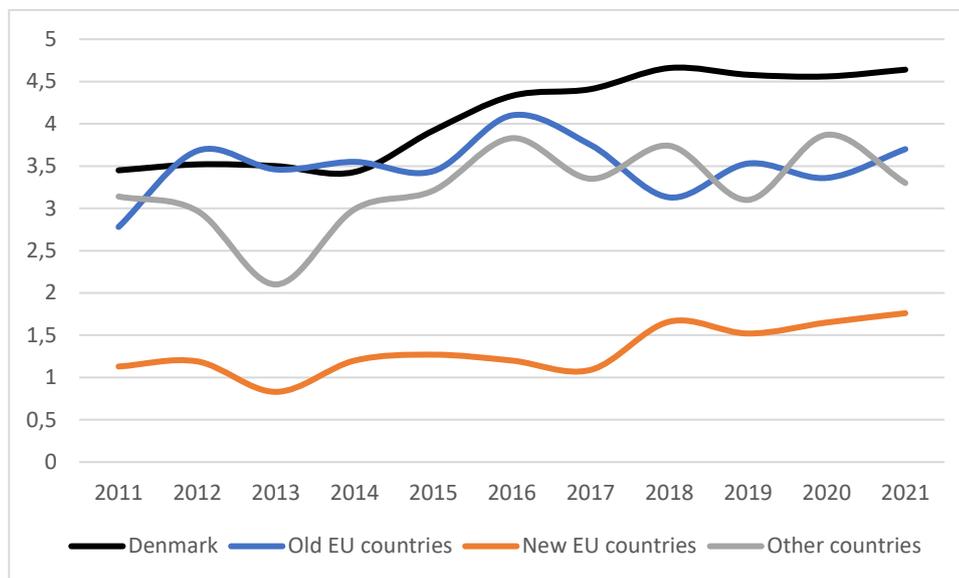
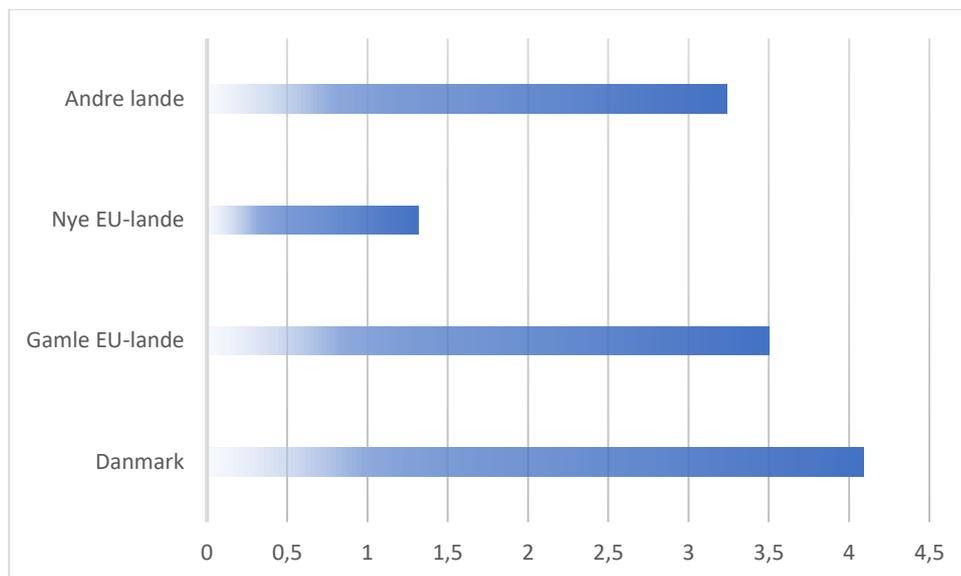


Figure 15: probabilities of reporting accidents at work to EASY by nationality - construction, in percent on average over the years 2011-2021



Figures 14 and 15 make it very clear that one group in particular is less likely to have an accident at work reported to EASY: citizens from new EU countries. Danes are three times more likely to have an accident at work reported to EASY compared to a citizen from a new EU country. This means a potential underreporting of over 200 percent. Citizens from other countries and old EU countries are slightly less likely than Danes to report an accident at work, but they are more comparable to the Danish level.

In terms of underreporting, there is evidence of relative underreporting in the construction sector. Especially for citizens from new EU countries in the construction sector, reports are only at about one third of the level for Danes for the statutory notifications to the EASY register.

Citizens from new EU countries are overrepresented in the most dangerous industries. When we also know that there are many other reasons why migrants have a more dangerous working environment than Danes, it seems contradictory that citizens from new EU countries are at one third of the level of probability of Danish reports to the EASY register. Migrant workers perform more dangerous work, work longer hours and work faster than their Danish counterparts. We know from previous research that migrants are channeled into 3D jobs in precarious employment that makes them willing to compromise on working conditions and accept greater risks. This should also be seen in relation to the fact that migrant workers are significantly overrepresented in fatal workplace accidents. All of which suggests that they should have more workplace accidents. Instead, they seem to have fewer, which may indicate that there is actually illegal underreporting of workplace accidents for migrant workers. In particular, citizens from new EU countries seem to be

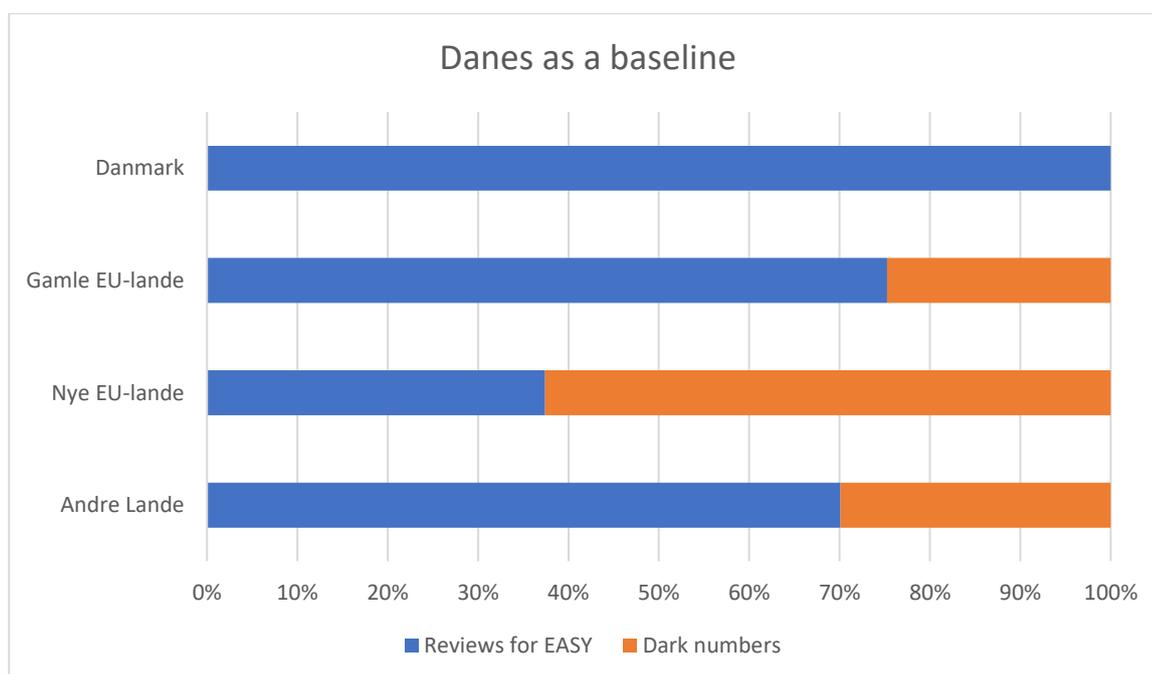
particularly vulnerable to both poorer working conditions and underreporting in the construction industry, while citizens from old EU countries and other countries are less so.

6.3 Estimates, underreporting

It is currently impossible to determine the exact number of migrant construction accidents due to underreporting. This is because we do not know the extent of the underreporting. However, it is possible to make some qualified estimates.

In the first estimate, we use Danes' reported accidents as a baseline. We thus assume that all accidents involving Danes are reported. In the model, we ignore the fact that we know that Danes' accidents are also underreported. Here (Figure 16) we present the most conservative estimate of underreporting. In the model, we assume that foreign workers have at least as many accidents as Danes. We consider this to be a very conservative estimate because all studies from abroad show that foreign workers are significantly more prone to workplace accidents. In this model, we also ignore the fact that migrant workers work in the most dangerous industries within construction.

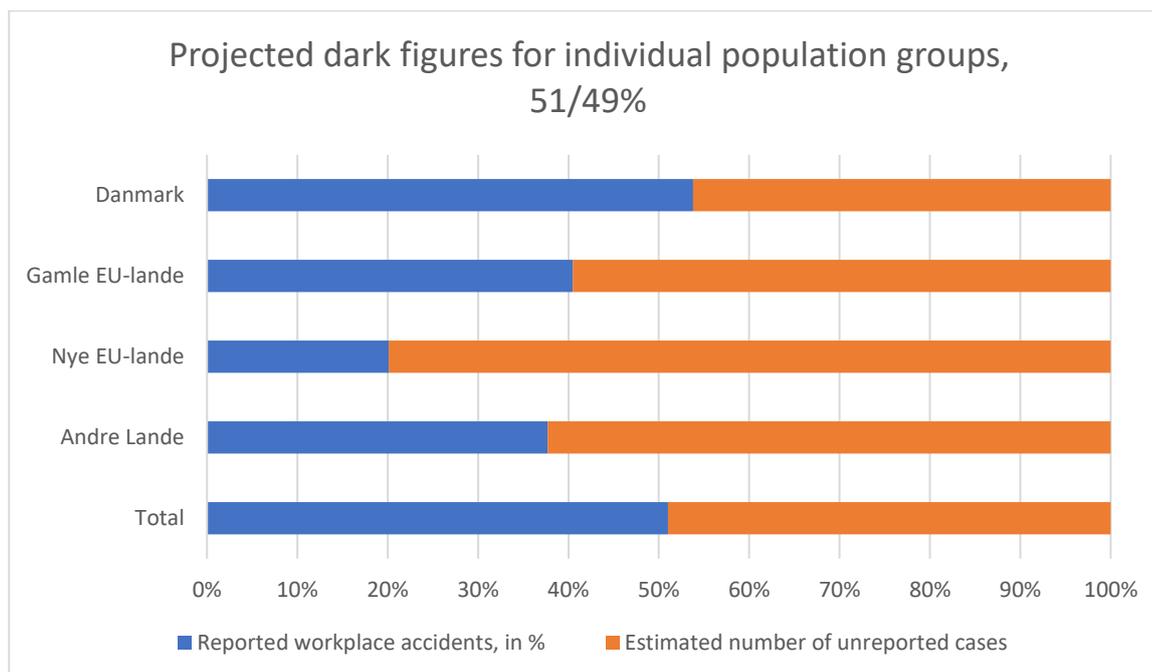
Figure 16: Estimate of dark numbers, Danes as baseline



The top blue bar (reported accidents) is used as a measure. The projected underreporting (orange parts of the bars) is calculated by measuring the difference between the reported accidents of Danes (in %) and the reported accidents of other population groups (in %). The most important result according to this model is that less than 40% of accidents among new EU citizens are reported. Thus, at least 60% of accidents concerning new EU citizens are not reported.

In the next estimate (Figure 17), we calculate the size of underreporting in relation to the Danish Working Environment Authority's (Arbejdstilsynet, 2017) calculations as discussed earlier in this chapter. In other words, we assume that 51% of all reportable accidents are actually reported in the construction industry. We use this figure, even though it is associated with some uncertainty (37-82% at 95% confidence interval), because it is the best estimate to date of the extent of underreporting for the construction sector.

Figure 17 Estimate, based on Arbejdstilsynets calculations



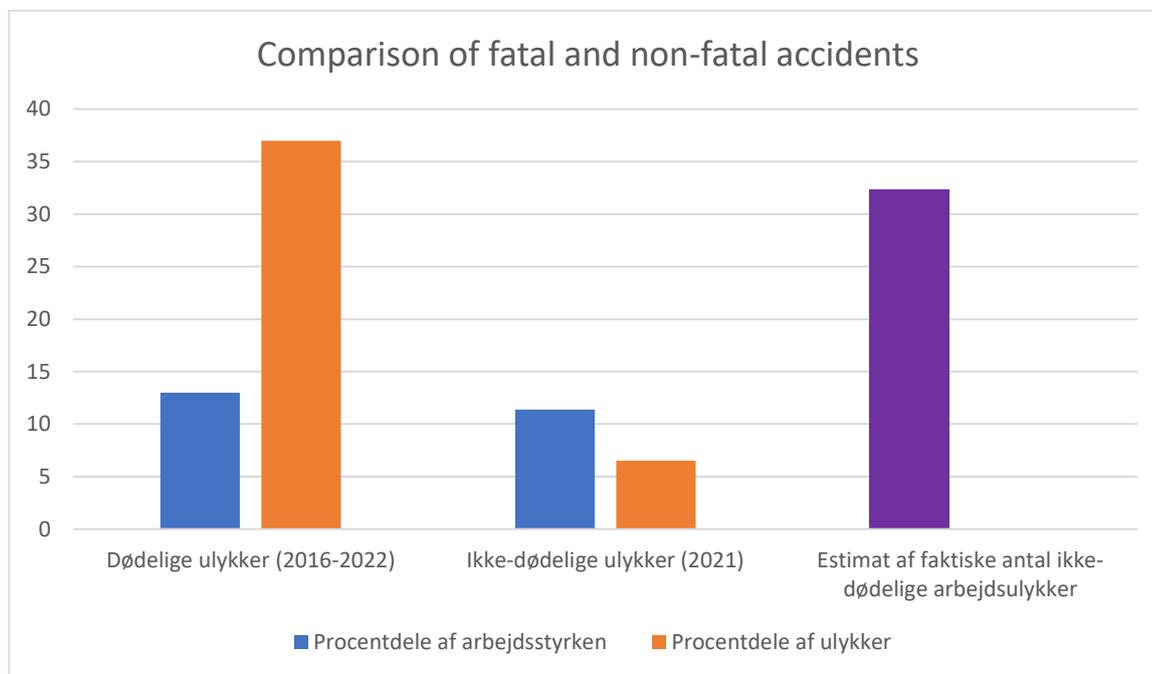
The bottom bar (Figure 17) is used as a measure of the expected level of accidents. The bottom bar shows that the actual number of reported accidents is 51% (the blue part of the bar), where underreporting is 49% (the orange part of the bar). This is the baseline. The top bars in the model show the actual number of reports (blue bars) and the estimated underreporting compared to when we assume that only 51% of all accidents are reported.

The calculation shows the difference between the sum of total reports (in %) and projected underreporting (in %) and the actual share of each population group (in %). The most important result here is that only 20% of accidents among citizens from new EU countries are recorded. The dark figure is thus estimated at 80%.

In the final projection (Figure 18), we use fatal accidents as a measure to calculate the extent of underreporting of non-fatal accidents. In this model, we compare fatal accidents with non-fatal accidents in the period 2016-22. The number of fatal accidents per year is low, so we have used fatal accidents for the period 2016 to 2022 as a basis for comparison. These figures, which are

calculated by Arbejdstilsynet (Arbejdstilsynet, 2022), were presented by Peter Hummelgaard in September 2022 (Beskæftigelsesministeriet, 2022).

Figure 18: Estimate. Comparison of fatal and non-fatal accidents, all migrant workers in the construction industry, in %.



The first set of bars in Figure 18 shows that foreigners make up about 37% of fatal accidents, but only about 13% of employees. In comparison, the next set of bars shows that the situation is quite different for reported non-fatal accidents. In 2021, foreigners made up approximately 12 percent of the workforce (according to the merging of RAS, CPR and BFL registers), but only about 7% of reported accidents.

If we use the ratio of the first two columns (37/13) to convert non-fatal accidents, we are able to produce a fifth column (the purple one), which shows an estimate of the actual number of non-fatal accidents in %. This estimate demonstrates that migrant accidents account for approximately 33% of all accidents, even though the workforce only accounts for 12%. The estimate also shows that only about every fifth accident is reported ($7/33 \times 100$).

It is puzzling that migrant workers are so overrepresented in fatal accidents, but do not have a similar overrepresentation in the statistics for other types of accidents. The mismatch between the two pairs of columns supports our other findings of underreporting.

The figures are, of course, only an estimate and subject to considerable uncertainty. As such, the figures should not be used in isolation, as we are comparing across different data sources and

years. A caveat should probably also be made that fatal and non-fatal accidents may not be comparable at all.

6.4 What happens following and accident? Explanations for underreporting

It is estimated in the quantitative analysis that only about every fifth work accident among new EU citizens in Denmark is reported. Therefore, in this qualitative part of the study, it becomes relevant to shed light on processes when migrant workers are involved in an accident. In other words, what happens in the up to 80% of situations where accidents are not reported?

To begin, and before we go through the different themes, we describe a specific person, Marian's accident in its entirety. Marian provides a particularly detailed insight into how even well-educated and otherwise strong individuals lack power in the Danish labor market. We reproduce Marian's story in its entirety in the box (see table 8) below as a special insight into a specific person's story before, during and after the accident.

Table 8: Marian, an account of an accident

Marian is from Romania. At the trade union course where we first speak to Marian, he briefly tells us that he has a slipped disc in his back and is on sick leave. Over the next four months, he writes regularly to tell us about his situation.

Marian is 28 years old. He is smart, educated and ambitious. He says he finished what he calls high school in Romania, which is grade 12. After high school, Marian started in a higher education program in Romania. Unfortunately, he could not afford to complete the program, so he quit and started working. After a year in the labor market, he again tried to complete his degree. But after two and a half years as an enrolled student, he again struggled to make ends meet financially. When we meet him, he has only one year left to completion. He is in Denmark with a family member to earn money to finish his education.

Marian reports on widespread mistreatment of both him and others in the workplace. He details how they all had problems from the get-go. He and colleagues had problems with the payment of wages, the payment of food allowances. In general, they were treated badly. He shows some of the threatening messages he has received from the company, where the words include "be punished" and "otherwise we will take other measures".

It is against this background, Marian is injured. When we meet him, Marian is unable to work. At work, he had been ordered to carry a very heavy plasterboard alone, a plasterboard so heavy

that he thought three people would have difficulty lifting it. After a few days, he was unable to go to work. About that experience, he writes:

I told the company that I can't go to work because I'm in pain. They don't care. They didn't want to help me. In addition, they asked me for a medical certificate. But without having a yellow health card, I couldn't get proof from the doctor that I am sick and need care. (Marian from Romania)

As shown here, the employer asks for a medical certificate, even though employers are not entitled to ask for one.

When he arrives at the emergency room, it turns out that his papers are not in order; he has no social security number. His employer had promised to take care of the registration for Marian, but evidently never happened. As a result, he is rejected at the emergency room and instead sends him to a pharmacy where he is dispensed Panodol (a low-strength pain killer). The employer then goes to try and dismiss Marian from the job, but is unsuccessful due to union interference. The accident is never registered as a workplace accident.

At the course, which takes place about a month after the accident, Marian thinks he probably has a back injury, and he tells us that he has numbness in his toes as a result. A month later, he has two discus plates removed from his back and much later he lets me know that he has started rehabilitation with a physiotherapist.

In correspondence about another person's work accident, we discuss different options. He writes that his best advice to others who have been injured is to go home because no one will help in Denmark. For the same reason, he himself is on his way home to Romania:

No one will be able to help him here. There is a lot of talk, but almost nothing is done. After countless promises that they will help me and the people at 3F will find me a job, they finally told me to look for one myself. So if he wants to continue here, he will ruin his health and waste his time... This weekend I will also return to Romania (Marian from Romania)

After less than a year in Denmark, Marian has not earned the money he came for. He has also lost the opportunity to earn money as a tradesperson. He is missing two plates in his spine and has lost feelings in his toes.

In the interview material, there are many different and alternative pathways for migrant workers. No two accident scenarios are exactly the same, but there are commonalities. In particular, migrant workers detail being dismissed, being encouraged to continue working despite an accident or illness, being sent back to their own country and not receiving medical treatment in Denmark. Some are encouraged to lie about the circumstances of the work accident.

We discuss each of these five patterns separately in the following. Masking and exploiting the migrants' ignorance are two cross-cutting themes in the migrants' experiences. The sequences below illustrate why accidents are not recorded and can thus shed light on explanations and causes for the underreporting of occupational accidents among migrant workers in Denmark.

In the presentation of the analysis, we have based our work on the migrant workers' own experiences, as the migrants themselves are closest to their own accidents. We have supplemented this with insights from professional informants to assess the generalizability of the accounts of those among the migrants who have experienced an accident.

Dismissal or redundancy as a result of an accident at work

Firstly, some report on immediate dismissal after an accident at work. Polish migrant worker, Alan, experienced this when he fell on wet stones during a painting job and hurt his foot. Prior to the accident, Alan had worked in Denmark for two years with the same employer, a Danish company with a Polish owner.

Alan's accident happened on a Friday, and he had to return home to his Danish residence. Over the weekend he waits for recovery, but on Monday he must go to the emergency room:

Then I was taken to the hospital. And they did an X-ray examination. And then the doctor said that "for the next three weeks, I probably shouldn't expect to be able to work". And then I contacted my employer and informed him of the situation. And the next day - it didn't take any longer - I was dismissed from my job. (Alan from Poland)

The employer's immediate reaction to Alan's workplace accident is to terminate him from the company the day after the accident. However, luckily for Alan, he gets help from his union to deal with the situation and file a claim.

Alan is baffled by his employer's handling of the accident:

I was in shock. Imagine that the employer just leaves you on the street. On top of that, an employee who doesn't know Denmark, doesn't speak the language, doesn't know the rules. You just get thrown out on the street. Without income. Without the possibility of getting any compensation. (Alan from Poland)

Alan is outraged by his employer's response to the accident, especially given that Alan has worked for this employer for several years.

But the reaction from this particular employer is not unique. Polish Juliusz has had a similar experience. Juliusz is 61 years old and at the time of the accident, he had been working in Denmark for three years. Juliusz explains:

I've worked at [anonymous construction site] and have done some heavy lifting. And then I got a bad back and knees. And of course, there was no accident report for the work. I was sent to the hospital, on sick leave and examined. [...] As soon as I was on sick leave... It happened on Monday. And then Friday, I was fired. (Juliusz from Poland)

Similar to Alan, Juliusz describes how the employer does not report the accident. Instead, the employer chooses to terminate Juliusz from the workplace.

These stories are further supported by Lithuanian Daina, who has worked in a Danish-owned company on and off since 2019. Daina trained as an engineer in Lithuania and worked her way up to a middle management position in her previous job. She knows how to do her job responsibly. Daina generally expresses satisfaction with being in Denmark and would like to establish a permanent life in Denmark. This is despite the fact that both Daina and her husband have had work-related accidents in Denmark. In connection with both accidents, Daina describes problematic accident processes with their joint employer:

My husband had an accident because he was working with a [spray] gun and shot through his arm. [...] The worst thing is that you don't know where to turn and what to do after the work accident. And the employer hasn't informed or helped with reporting or guidance, so you're left without any compensation and eventually he was fired.

This has also happened to me, where I fell off the ladder. [...] And at that point, I had already joined a union because I started digging around for where to find help. So, I was a member of a union that was running a compensation case. But of course, I was fired. (Daina from Lithuania)

Daina's experience shows the employer's consistency in the treatment of her own and her husband's accidents. In both accidents, Daina describes how they have pointed out the faulty tools they use for their painting work. Like the previous stories, Daina explains how termination is an alternative to reporting. In other words, termination seems to be an alternative that some employers prefer to reporting.

The termination of accident-affected migrant workers can be interpreted as a circumvention of notification, which is promoted through ignorance on the part of the migrants. This ignorance

affects the individual migrant worker's working life in Denmark to varying degrees. Thus, the termination of migrant workers acts as a possible explanation for the underreporting of occupational accidents among migrant workers in Denmark. Across the informants' accounts so far, a theme of ignorance is already emerging. This is explicitly articulated, for example, by Alan, who "does not know Denmark, does not speak the language, does not know the rules", and by Daina, who "does not know where to turn and what to do after the work accident". Ignorance is central to the way accidents are handled. We'll come back to ignorance later.

Continuation of working, even after an accident

Secondly, several migrant workers describe how employers encourage them to continue working despite an accident at work. This pattern relates to the rules that require employers to report an accident at work if it has resulted in incapacity to work or absence from the employee's usual work beyond the day of the accident itself (Table 9). Therefore, if migrant workers continue to be registered as present at the workplace, this does not formally trigger an accident registration requirement under the regulations.

Table 9: Rules on reporting accidents at work

§§§§
<p>The rules on reporting, including the deadlines, are set out in the Executive Order on reporting work accidents etc. to the Danish Working Environment Authority (BKG no. 799) and the Executive Order on reporting accidents under the Danish Work Injury Insurance Act (BKG no. 941).</p>
<p>BKG no. 799 §1: The employer must report occupational accidents and cases of poisoning that have occurred while working for the employer as soon as possible and no later than 14 days after the first day of absence, if the accident or poisoning has resulted in incapacity for work for 1 day or more in addition to the day of injury.</p>
<p>BKG no. 941 §9 The employer must report an accident no later than 14 days after the first day of absence if the accident has resulted in absence from the injured person's usual work beyond the day of injury. <i>Subclause 2</i> The employer must report an accident that has not resulted in absence within 14 days of the day of injury if the accident is likely to justify a claim for benefits under section 11 of the Work Injury Insurance Act.</p>
<p>WEA informs about the notification on the website, here reproduced verbatim from https://at.dk/arbejds miljoeproblemer/arbejdsulykker/hvilke-arbejdsulykker-skal-anmeldes/ :</p>

The rules for reporting work-related accidents are set out in the Occupational Health and Safety Act and the Work Injury Insurance Act with associated executive orders for reporting.

As an employer, you must report an occupational accident within 14 days of the first day of absence if the accident has resulted in incapacity to work/absence from your employee's usual work beyond the day of the accident.

If the work accident does not result in absence, but you still believe that your employee may be entitled to benefits under the Workers' Compensation Act, you as an employer must report the accident to your insurance company within 14 days of the day of the accident.

Incapacity for work is the same as absence and means that the employee is or will be unable to perform their usual work. If the employee is unable to perform their normal duties, the accident must be reported.

The Ministry of Employment provides specific information about the rules for foreign companies, here reproduced verbatim from <https://bm.dk/media/18909/pixi-om-det-danske-arbejdsmarked-dansk.pdf> :

As an employer, you have a duty to report if an employee suffers an accident at work. If the employee is insured under Danish rules, you must report the accident to the company's insurance company in the electronic reporting system EASY at virk.dk.

If your company is not obliged to take out occupational accident insurance in Denmark, you must report the injury to the occupational injury institution in your home country.

The company is always obliged to report the work accident to the Danish Working Environment Authority. This applies even if the company is not obliged to take out occupational injury insurance in Denmark because the employees are only temporarily stationed in Denmark.

§§§§

Continuing to work after an accident is described by Polish Georg, who has worked in Denmark for a total of 12 years. While cleaning up a factory hall for a Polish employer, Georg falls between some plates on the ground, injuring one leg. We reproduce the story in its entirety in Georg's own words:

The next morning, I get a call from my employer. My employer asks, "don't you want to come to work?". And I reply, "No, I can't. Because my leg hurts. I can barely stand up. And my car is still parked in the parking lot at work. So I can't move at all to come and meet you".

And then the employer says, "How would you like someone to come and pick you up? Because there is someone, a foreman on the construction site, who would like to talk to you". Then I think, I have the same pain now as if I'm being transported. So I say, "yes please, come and pick me up". And then I was picked up at the workplace. [...] And then he says, "Here, put on a jacket. Put on a vest. And then we'll go straight in. Then you can use your access card for the construction site to clock in. And you enter the construction site".

Then I say, "I don't have my card, I didn't bring it". Then he says, "No problem. We'll make you a new card". They take me through those rolling doors and punch in. "And then we'll register that you're at work. And then tomorrow you can call in sick." I have no idea why" (Georg from Poland)

In other words, the employer wants Georg to show up for work and clock in at the construction site. At the time of the accident, Georg doesn't immediately understand why the employer doesn't want him to call in sick.

However, at the time of the interview, Georg is convinced that the employer's intention was circumvention. Georg assumes that his employer used the new time card to make it look like he was still clocking in for work in the days after his accident. Georg interprets this as circumvention intended to bypass the requirements to report workplace accidents. To us, the employer's actions indicate a kind of cunning circumvention of the notification of Georg's accident. However, Georg believes that his employer may not have been aware of the rules at the time of the accident. However, it is difficult to look at the process from the outside and assume that the employer did not intend to circumvent rules.

Filip has experienced a similar process. Filip is a 62-year-old migrant worker from Poland who has worked in Denmark for four years. In a group interview, Filip describes how his employer has explicitly stated an unwillingness to report workplace accidents:

There were some accidents. Broken bones, etc. So our manager has said, "we don't want to report it to the general contractor or the main contractor". The ones who have given them the work. "Because if we report accidents, we risk not getting any work in the future." (Filip from Poland)

Filip also details his own accident, which ultimately resulted in a dismissal. This is despite the employer initially choosing to pay wages rather than report the accident:

I've also had an injury where I suffered a major injury to my leg. And I said, "Well, if we're not going to report it, what are we going to do?" What am I going to do for a living? Then I got the answer: "don't worry, we have the money to cover it". I was on sick leave for 2 months, but nothing was registered. And I got paid for those two months. But then I just managed to stay 3 days in the company and then they said goodbye. (Filip from Poland)

Philip's employer seems to deliberately avoid reporting accidents as it could potentially damage the company's public image. After Philip's own accident, he receives full pay while at home to avoid reporting. Georg and Filip did not have to work during their absences, but continued to be paid.

However, others are met with new tasks, migrant workers' tasks in the workplace are simply restructured due to workplace accidents. 38-year-old Jakub from Poland, who has worked in Denmark for five years, describes this:

They are taken to a doctor or hospital [...] And then they are told that you don't have to call in sick. But you can now be placed, for example, in the warehouse, or you just have to keep coming to work. (Jakub from Poland)

Jakub and his colleagues are given orders not to call in sick in the event of workplace accidents and are assigned different tasks than usual. In addition to speaking into Georg and Filip's experiences, Jakub explains how the employer reassigns migrant workers in the workplace allowing them to continue working despite being injured. This circumvents the rules that require accidents to be registered unless the worker can perform their *usual* work (see Table 8).

Polish Julian articulates the pressure to keep working. He has worked on over 200 different construction sites in Denmark since 2006 and has also been involved in an accident at work. Julian explains:

I've also had a lot of accidents at work. I've had one where I was injured and sick... I wasn't fit for work, but I actually got a call from the boss, "would you like to come to work for just a few hours or a few days? Because we need you". So they pushed to come... (Julian from Poland)

Julian interprets the employer's pressure as an expression of not wanting to report the accidents immediately. By extension, he feels that employers have an incentive to call employees to work despite injuries.

Romanian Alexandru has also experienced being pressured to continue working. Alexandru's experience with his own unreported accident at work is striking, as his employer reassigns Alexandru to private work after the accident:

I had injured my hand. I had a doctor's note. [...] Then the boss asked me to paint his own house with one hand. I was stupid enough to accept. (Alexandru from Romania)

Contrary to the above accounts, Alexandru is not simply reassigned according to his tasks *at* work. In the desire to not register the accident, Alexandru must carry out work on the employers' the private residence despite his injuries.

German Ernst supports these experiences. Ernst is from the border region, has worked in Denmark for 10 to 15 years and speaks Danish fluently. He has previously been a health and safety representative (AMR) and is therefore familiar with the handling and reporting of workplace accidents. Thus, he does not possess the aforementioned ignorance of other migrant workers in Denmark. Also, he speaks fluent Danish.

In the interview, Ernst, like the others, describes how his employer is willing to go to great lengths to get employees back to work immediately after an accident:

And if you were sick, you just had to come to work. Got picked up by taxi and everything. Then you just had to be there for three hours, and then you were driven home again. [...] Well, as I said, we were picked up by taxis because it's cheaper than saying that you have a work-related injury. [...] If something happens, it's just hidden, because they just say that you just get to work for three to four hours with full pay, and then you go home. (Ernst from Germany)

Transportation to and from the workplace is yet another example of how companies are willing to go to great lengths to keep accidents hidden.

Ernst's choice of words about keeping workplace accidents "hidden" is important. Disguising accidents is a recurring theme across migrant workers' stories. Just as many cases are characterized by taking advantage of migrant ignorance, many cases are characterized by a desire to disguise and hide workplace accidents. According to Ernst, this desire is rooted in a motivation for profit. He continues:

Researcher: Okay, okay. So what happens on the second day? Or the third day? If you're still missing?

Ernst: It could be a whole week or a whole month. They don't care about that.

Researcher: So you're asking someone to keep coming to work for a whole month where they just sit?

Ernst: That might be putting it nicely. You're told "you just come". [...]

Researcher: So, if you've been there it's not a workplace accident?

Ernst: It's an occupational injury without absence. That looks fine. An occupational injury without absence does not appear in the statistics. I mean, it's recorded as a statistic, but it's a nice statistic. But if it says work injury with absence, it doesn't look good! [...] And then they have that big board hanging in the canteen that says "we have zero work-related injuries". Which we all laugh at. (*laughs*). [...] Well, just look, I've been exposed to it too. But then you're told, "you just come", and then you come into the office and sort some documents or

look here, look there. Or if they don't have anything, then you just sit in the canteen. You just drink coffee. You have to be there for three hours.

According to Ernst, employers weigh up the financial costs of continuing to pay wages against the financial costs related to reporting and sick leave. Furthermore, Ernst hypothesizes that the financial consequences of a poor accident record influence the employer's desire to report workplace accidents. Thus, by giving injured migrant workers other tasks to perform for a minimum of three hours, his employer manages to circumvent regulations for reporting accidents at work (see Table 9). It is also worth noting that all employees in the workplace are aware that their employer hides accidents.

A Danish OHS employee in a large Danish company confirms these claims about a wish to hide accidents. In his answer, the informant draws on his many years of experience working for clients, the WEA and as a tradesperson. Like the informants above, he has also experienced that employers are interested in hiding workplace accidents:

[...] I think we've had 4 accidents this year. [...] When that happens, there's an uproar. The client says "what the hell is going on, don't you have it under control?". So, there are some builders who take it very seriously. And then I'm told... I get a call from our management and the project's management, who say "couldn't we say... If they come in to work the next day, which you can do with a sore finger, and do some other work, then we don't have to report it, because then it won't appear in the percentage".

So, you're super focused on these numbers when you talk about accident rates. And I'm sitting there saying "no, of course we can't do that, because the law states that we have to report an occupational accident with and without absence, and you have to report it as soon as you can't perform your normal work function".

I have that knowledge because I've worked with it for so many years. I don't think any of the foreign companies know that. (Health and safety manager in a Danish company with subcontractors)

Like Ernst, this OHS employee describes a focus on accident statistics and a wish to show of the best possible results. The health and safety manager's experience thus also highlights employers' desire to hide accidents, among other things through continuous work.

What these reports have in common is how employers in different ways "encourage" migrant workers to continue working despite their workplace accidents. This also reveals the incentives for employers' desire to hide workplace accidents. The continued work of migrant workers thus functions as a way to circumvent reporting of occupational accidents and provides an explanation for the underreporting of migrant accidents.

Repatriation

There is a third pattern: repatriation. For example, the aforementioned Alan (see the section on dismissal) describes how, following his accident, he was terminated and encouraged to return to Poland by his employer.

Alan is not alone in this experience. In a group interview, 62-year-old Polish Walenty, the informant who has worked the longest in Denmark, describes how employers send migrant workers back to their country of origin in the event of workplace accidents:

Because many employers with foreign workers, they are not registered. Not reported. People are either sent home or hidden. Well, then he is hidden at home, where he lives. Or he gets a message: "go back to Poland". This is not only an example for Poles, but also for Italians and Romanians. Because I have heard of similar treatment of them. (Walenty from Poland)

Walenty has not been repatriated himself, but with an eye on his long working career in Denmark, he describes repatriation as a pattern he has encountered in several Danish workplaces. He also articulates how this treatment is typical in companies with foreign workers. This creates a difference between Danish workers and migrant workers, which can explain the different degrees of underreporting compared to Danes (see section 3.2 on underreporting of accidents). By nature, only migrants can be repatriated in the case of workplace accidents. Furthermore, Walenty's choice of the word "hidden" can be reconciled with Ernst's choice of the word "hidden".

As Walenty further describes, repatriation is also a well-known phenomenon among Romanian migrant workers. Several Romanians describe how they have heard about compatriots who have been repatriated due to accidents:

[...] The most serious problem is the accidents that are hidden. On the part of the employer. Hidden. They try to hide the accidents that happen in the workplace. They blame the employees. And on top of that, they try to minimize the injuries that have actually happened. [...]

The [injured] were sent home. They were not seen by a doctor or sent to the hospital. They were sent home. We never saw them again. (Daniel from Romania)

Daniel has been in Denmark for 7 years and has a large network among Romanians. Like Ernst, Daniel uses the word "hidden" and points out, in relation to his previous employment at a large construction site, how employers deliberately mask workplace accidents during repatriation. Daniel's claims are supported by other Romanian migrant workers.

Romanian Paul, who has been working as a carpenter in Denmark for two years, also reports how employers have no hesitation in sending migrant workers back to their home country rather than processing their accident claims in Denmark:

He went to the hospital initially, but then he was sent home to Romania afterwards. No one really takes responsibility when you get injured. (Paul from Romania)

Paul believes that the employer disclaims responsibility for migrants' workplace accidents. In doing so, Paul speaks to a more general perception among migrants of a lack of concern for their well-being and a lack of responsibility (see chapter 5). However, like the other informants' stories, Paul's description is only secondary. We must therefore make another caveat here. Many people have heard about repatriation, but few of our informants have experienced it first-hand, which is at least partly due to the methodology. It is difficult to reach informants whose working life in Denmark has been terminated. It cannot be ruled out that there is a certain amount of rumor-mongering in the industry.

At the same time, there are several indications that repatriation is widespread. Thus, the experiences of migrants are confirmed by informants from the trade unions. Many of them describe how it is "customary" and common practice on Danish construction sites to export migrant workers who have been injured in accidents out of the country. Informants from the trade unions are certain that the particularly high underreporting among migrant workers is rooted in the repatriation of the migrant workers involved in accidents. In this way, migrant workers' accidents are masked and therefore do not paint a negative picture in the accident statistics.

Summarizing the accounts of migrant workers and the experiences of trade union informants, repatriation functions as a way to circumvent the reporting of occupational accidents. Repatriation also speaks clearly to the previously mentioned masking of accidents, which is caused by employers' desire to keep accidents "hidden". At the same time, the accounts of the migrant workers also testify to an ignorance that presupposes that the migrants to varying degrees accept the repatriation. In the same way as firing and continued work, repatriation is thus a procedure that, through both masking and taking advantage of migrant ignorance, underlies the underreporting of occupational accidents among migrant workers in the Danish labor market.

Lack of medical treatment in Denmark

In addition to dismissal, continued work and repatriation as alternative pathways for recording workplace accidents, a fourth pattern is also seen. Some employers encourage migrant workers to go home and await recovery from an accident rather than seek medical attention.

60-year-old Florin from Romania has been working in Denmark for eight months. He tells how he himself has previously treated a colleague who was injured in an accident, as the employer refused the colleague treatment from the healthcare system:

[...] Someone was injured here. One of my colleagues didn't get any treatment and I had to give some of my own treatment. In the evening: no treatment. He still had the same bandage on his finger that I had given him. I asked him how come he hadn't come to the hospital.

I imagine it's because he doesn't have his paperwork in order. It's for sure that it was the employer who didn't want it, that's why he wasn't seen by a doctor. [...] Our boss sent him to me so I could treat him. (Florin from Romania)

Florin assumes that the employer had no interest in registering the accident. In addition to creating increased attention from the Danish Working Environment Authority, reporting a workplace accident of a migrant worker lacking proper paperwork has consequences. In this way, a hidden and informal treatment of the injury becomes an attractive approach compared to reporting. An extreme case of lack of treatment concerns Ukrainian Vasyl, who believes he is staying illegally in Denmark. Vasyl himself seeks treatment abroad after a violent work accident. We refer to chapter 10, where the process is described in full.

But even in less extreme cases, there is a lack of treatment. Romanian Alexandru has also experienced that accident-stricken migrant workers do not receive immediate medical treatment:

A young guy lost one of his eyes while washing a mink cage. He was seen by a doctor here in Denmark. He was told that he could be transferred to Romania because he had not yet received his papers. To this he replied, "No, that was not going to happen. Because it happened here, he would be resolved here". So, I had to house him. I had to look after him until the case was resolved, and he could be treated. (Alexandru from Romania)

Although Alexandru uses the phrase "lost an eye", we think he means "lost his sight" or at least suffers damage to his eyesight.

What these reports all have in common is that the lack of paperwork makes it difficult for the employee to seek medical treatment. This also makes it easy for the employer to avoid registration.

The lack of medical treatment and self-treatment as a coping mechanism is finally confirmed by Polish migrant worker Jan. Jan is 47 years old, trained as a civil engineer in Poland, but works as a painter in Denmark. Jan has not been involved in a workplace accident himself, but like Florin and Alexandru, he describes how he has helped treat a colleague after a workplace accident:

I had a colleague who was cleaning an apartment after painting it. He severely cut his hand in the thumb area. [...] The colleague was unable to work for three days. The accident was not reported anywhere. We bought aids at the pharmacy to make dressings on our own. (Jan from Poland)

Despite being unable to work, the accident is not reported. Instead, his colleague went to the pharmacy to buy bandages to treat the injury.

Vasyl, Florin, Alexandru and Jan's experiences all report on a lack of medical treatment in Denmark. It follows that the migrants receive treatment from colleagues, most often other migrants. In this way, the healthcare system is not involved and there is no opportunity for the healthcare system to register the accident. With reference to the informants' accounts, this creates an incentive for employers to avoid medical treatment from the healthcare system. The lack of medical treatment can thus also explain the greater underreporting of occupational accidents among migrant workers.

Fabrication of lies

There is a final and fifth pattern: migrant workers are made complicit in the fabrication of lies. One person who has experienced this is the Jakub. He recounts how employees were instructed to fabricate stories upon arrival at the hospital. They were told to say that "they had just fallen" and that the accident was self-inflicted. Daina also describes how the employer, in connection with her husband's accident, encourages her husband to lie about what happened:

He was operated on, and it took 3 hours, in [city]. The material that got into his hand had to be removed and cleaned, and when it had to be operated on at the hospital, the employer was not entirely satisfied, and he encouraged him to tell him that he had fallen on a nail with his hand instead of telling him that it was a work-related injury. But I tried to explain to him that the doctor can see that he had not fallen on a nail, because the doctor can see that there is material that needs to be pulled from his hand.

And I don't think there were any consequences for the employer, because we didn't know who to turn to, so he hasn't received any compensation because it was never reported. (Daina from Lithuania)

Daina assumes that the employer has an interest in the accident being registered as a self-inflicted accident. This is because the employer is aware that the defective spray gun, her husband was using, contributed to the work accident. Daina thus experiences that the employer emphasizes the fabrication of lies surrounding the accident over her spouse's health. She is skeptical of the employer's intentions.

Lithuanian Aiko has had a similar experience. Aiko works for a Danish company with a Lithuanian owner, and he both works and lives with other Lithuanians exclusively. At work, Aiko injured a tendon in his arm while working on scaffolding, leaving him unable to work for two years. Aiko was asked to lie about the circumstances of the accident:

And I was told that I should tell everyone that it had happened in my spare time. At home, instead of that it was an accident at work, a work-related injury I had sustained. And because of that, I did not get my insurance. Workers' compensation has not been paid. [...] I'm really angry about it. But I'm afraid to complain to anyone because I'm afraid of losing my job if I do. If I move on. [...] I'm the breadwinner in the family. So it's important. (Aiko from Lithuania)

Like Daina, Aiko has been encouraged by her employer to lie about the accident. This absolves the employer of responsibility for the accident, which is also not reported.

The described processes are backed up by employees in the trade unions. In their contact with migrant workers, the trade unions have experienced that migrant workers' accidents are staged as accidents that have taken place outside the workplace. The location of the workplace accident is highlighted as central to the registration of the accident by an informant from the trade unions:

They can be sent home. Or they say it happens at home. Just as long as it doesn't happen at work. (Trade union)

As another example of fabrication, another informant describes workplaces that hide workplace accidents by lying or not explaining where the accident happened:

We've also heard of people who have been injured inside the site. Then they are placed outside the fence. And are picked up by the ambulance out there, because then the injury hasn't happened inside the site. (Trade union)

Overall, the accounts show that some employers are willing to go to great lengths to ensure that workplace accidents do not come to light. Migrants and union representative report in unison on the fabrication of time and location of workplace accidents. In this way, the employer shirks responsibility. Thus, the actual circumstances of workplace accident are partially masked.

Another commonality is that migrants assume that their employers are familiar with their duty to report workplace accidents. In fact, only a few informants in our dataset report or assume employer ignorance. One is migrant worker Georg, who attributes the lack of reporting to ignorance not only on his part, but also on the part of his employer. The second is a Lithuanian business owner who indicates that he was unsure of the rules early on in his stay in Denmark. And the third is an

occupational health and safety employee who assumes that foreign companies do not know the rules¹¹.

Asymmetric knowledge and masking as cross-cutting themes

As previously stated, there are themes that cut across the five overarching themes. One of them is ignorance. When migrant workers have insufficient knowledge, they are unable to secure correct and fair treatment from employers to the same extent as domestic workers. Several informants point directly to their own ignorance, such as Alan who "doesn't know the rules" and Daina who "doesn't know what to do" and Georg who "has no idea why". The data shows that there is a general asymmetry in power and knowledge, and that this asymmetry can be exploited by employers. Migrants experience that their employers take advantage of their ignorance to circumvent the rules.

Another common theme is masking and circumvention of various kinds to make it appear as if no accidents have occurred. There appears to be not shortness of creativity among employers in order to hide accidents. Masking is a recurring theme across the unrecorded accident history of migrant workers, and this masking is made possible due to asymmetrical power relations and worker ignorance.

6.5 Conflicting incentives in the industry

The above narratives emphasize that some employers are willing to go to great lengths to circumvent the registration of occupational accidents among foreign employees. At the same time, migrants point to several possible motives behind employers' seemingly deliberate circumvention. In general, the circumvention can be traced back to a number of financial incentives according to migrants. This is described by, among others, Romanian Marian and Polish Filip, who believe that the reporting of workplace accidents contributes to everything from fines and increased attention from the Danish Working Environment Authority to a lack of customers and thus work in the future.

In continuation of this, several migrant workers emphasize that illegal conditions in the workplace contribute to the circumvention of rules. With reference to Romanian Florin and Ukrainian Vasyly, examples include illegal labor, or defective work tools as in the case of Lithuanian Daina. All of these motives can, to varying degrees, be traced back to economic consequences for the employer. Therefore, according to the migrants, profit motives seem to encapsulate the reasons for massive underreporting of occupational accidents among migrant workers in Denmark. However, we must make a caveat here. While migrants naturally have great insight into their own accident

¹¹ In our data set, the vast majority of informants assume that employers are aware of the legal obligation to report. We are not able to estimate *how many* employers in Denmark are aware of the rules for notifiable accidents at work.

histories, they have less insight into their employers' motives. Migrants' interpretations of employer motives are not objective but instead tainted by their own experiences.

We have therefore also asked professional informants, especially OHS professionals who work within companies, about possible motives. Questions about companies' motives in specific cases are difficult to research due to the regulatory breaches associated with non-reporting – it is therefore not likely that a direct question about motives in concrete cases will be answered truthfully.

Recognizing these biases, we have focused on whether there are opposing incentives in the industry which *generally* work against employers' interest in reporting accidents. Concurrently and partially overlapping, professional informants point to the company's image, the role of accident statistics and increased attention from the Danish Working Environment Authority (WEA).

One incentive for underreporting is to maintain the company's public image. The argument is that registered accidents could affect the company's image in current construction projects as well as in future projects. Some informants also point out that foreign companies and Danish companies with many foreign workers may be looked down upon and associated with increased risks for workers. These companies therefore have an increased incentive to “decorate” accident statistics, as statistics may have an impact on the company's image and thus also its ability to secure future income.

In continuation of this, several informants explain how accident statistics can affect employers' motivation to report occupational accidents. The intention of accident statistics, such as “100 days without accidents”, is to facilitate motivation to improve safety on Danish construction sites. But at the same time “100 days” can have the opposite effect. Thus, paradoxically, an incentive may arise not to report workplace accidents among migrants in order to be able to present impressive accident statistics and achieve “100 days without accidents”. We are not able to determine which companies/employers are most likely to underreport. However, we can rule out that underreporting only happens in foreign companies. We can also rule out that it only happens in small companies.

Finally, the risk of attracting increased attention from the WEA counteracts reporting. In the same way as accident statistics, the intention of the WEAT is to increase safety on Danish construction sites. However, in connection with reporting workplace accidents, several occupational health and safety employees describe how the attention from the Danish Working Environment Authority can have the opposite effect. Therefore, employers have an incentive not to report accidents, as visits from the Danish Working Environment Authority can lead to the discovery of illegal conditions,

result in large fines or ultimately lead to the closure of the site. Thus, attention by the WEA creates an incentive to hide accidents.

6.6 Summary and discussion, accidents and underreporting

We have investigated the impact of nationality on the number of occupational accidents reported to the emergency room. The logistic regression models confirm, as did a previous Danish study of register data (Biering et al., 2017), that less occupational accidents concerning migrant workers are reported relative to accidents concerning Danes. Thus, citizens from the new EU, in particular, appear superhuman and not susceptible to risks and therefore not as exposed to accidents as Danes.

However, we interpret the surprising result as due to underreporting, not that migrants have fewer accidents. Looking at the international literature, we have good reason to make this claim. Thus, we note: migrant workers are more exposed to non-fatal accidents than Danes in the overall Danish labor market (Biering et al., 2017; Guldenmund et al., 2013); migrant workers in the construction industry in other EU countries are more exposed than the local population (Connell et al., 2007; Frickmann et al., 2012; Salvatore et al., 2012); migrant workers are more exposed than the local population in other EU countries in the labor market in general (Ahonen, Benavides, et al., 2007; Davidson & Orr, 2009; Gravseth et al., 2003; Saeed et al., 2009); that international literature reviews find that migrant workers are more exposed than national populations (Hargreaves et al., 2019; Hvid & Buch, 2020; Sterud et al., 2018) and that migrant workers in Denmark are more exposed to fatal accidents than Danes (Beskæftigelsesministeriet, 2022).

We conservatively estimate the underreporting rate of new EU citizens to be around 80%, i.e., only around one in five accidents are reported. As a result, we take previous estimates to be too conservative. Based on our analysis, the previous official estimates of 56% for all industries (Lander et al., 2015) and 51% for the construction industry specifically (Arbejdstilsynet, 2017) are far too conservative in relation to migrant workers in the construction industry. At the same time, we must distance ourselves from the previous study on migrant workers' accident profiles in high-risk industries, which does not critically distance itself from the validity of the registers (Biering et al., 2017).

Overall, we must instead conclude that there are so many unknown factors associated with register data from emergency rooms and the EASY register that we still lack valid knowledge about the number accidents in the construction industry. We are still not in a position to know which and how many accidents actually take place on Danish construction sites because of underreporting.

This begs the question, what causes so much underreporting? The answers can be found in the interview material. These data overwhelmingly point to the fact that some employers systematically hide workplace accidents. This is done, for example, by various forms of pressure on the worker to continue working, by repatriation, by ignoring injuries and preventing professional medical treatment and/or dismissal. What becomes clear from the qualitative analysis is that these are systematic efforts where masking, circumvention and exploitation of ignorance are means to keep the real number of accidents out of the records. We also find that there are some conflicting incentives in the industry that make it more attractive to hide accidents than to report them.

Underreporting is not primarily due to confusion, busyness, ignorance of the rules or anything else. Overall, our collected data gives us reason to conclude that underreporting is due to systematic circumvention of applicable rules in order to hide the real accident figures. Our qualitative data also gives us reason to conclude that underreporting is particularly prevalent in the case of migrant workers, and that accidents involving Danes are more likely to be treated and recorded. Overall, the qualitative analysis supports both our own quantitative analysis, because migrant workers broadly share the experience that accidents are not recorded. It must therefore be assumed that all previous estimates are too conservative. Thus, it is probable that many more accidents happen to migrant workers than previously assumed.

Our assessment is that our study is the first to provide a systematic answer to why underreporting happens. Therefore, we have no other study to compare it to. However, if we compare our study with other studies of migrant workers, we can draw some parallels. Poor treatment of migrant workers is a dominant theme in most of the Danish literature on migrants in the construction industry. Much of that research reports widespread discrimination and poor or differential treatment (Arnholtz & Hansen, 2009; COWI, 2012; Spanger & Hvalkof, 2020).

Fabrication, masking and lying about accidents is not surprising. Financial fraud is widespread (COWI, 2012; Refslund, 2021), such as false pay slips, illegal payroll deductions or kickbacks (Refslund, 2021) and some are paid wages that do not reflect the actual number of hours worked (Arnholtz & Hansen, 2009; Refslund & Arnholtz, 2021). From arbitration cases, media and other research, we also know about debt bondage, threats and human trafficking (Grillis & Dyreborg, 2015). We also know that migrant workers are threatened with deportation, termination of employment and physical violence (Arnholtz & Hansen, 2009; Refslund, 2021). Our own analysis, as reported in chapter 5, also points to widespread cheating, fraud and poor treatment. Against this background, it is hardly surprising that poor treatment also extends to accident situations and lack of treatment and registration.

7 Focus on physical conditions and the organization of work

In the previous chapters, we highlighted how migrants experience their own working life (Chapters 4 and 5) and demonstrated that migrants are at greater risk of both fatal and non-fatal accidents (Chapter 6). In this chapter and the next chapter (Chapter 8), we aim to shed light on the factors that affect work on Danish construction sites to understand the findings in the previous chapters. In other words, we seek to identify causal relationships between influences and outcomes.

This analysis enables us to explain why migrants achieve different results than Danes when it comes to their working environment. The analysis requires both a comprehensive data set and the ability to triangulate across data forms. It is therefore also in this chapter that the strengths of a mixed methods design are necessary. In this chapter, we draw on multiple data sources: interviews with migrants, interviews with professional informants, register data, existing literature and observation during site visits.

As a way to organize the large data set and ensure that the analysis is as comprehensive as possible, and to present the material in a way that makes sense to the reader, we have used the DWSH analytical framework (Sorensen et al., 2016), which is presented in the introductory chapter.

According to this analytical framework, there are four main influences in the world of work. These are:

- Working conditions, including primarily physical conditions, tasks, demands and treatment
- Characteristics of migrants
- Safety and occupational health efforts
- Industry characteristics

We present the analysis in the same order. In this chapter, we focus on working conditions, while other influences are discussed in chapter 8, including industry conditions and organization, migrant characteristics and health and safety measures. As mentioned, chapters 7 and 8 should be read in conjunction with each other. Where relevant, we link the analysis to relevant legal regulations.

Some topics in chapters 7 and 8 naturally overlap with chapters 4 and 5. Here, we briefly summarize the most important results from those chapters:

- Work pace: Almost all migrant workers report work pressures that are significant, difficult to sustain and not matched by similar pressures on Danish workers. A high work pace increases risk of accidents. It also affects wellbeing and health.
- Working hours: Working long hours affects the risk of occupational accidents and near miss incidents, as longer working days increase the risk of accidents.
- Threats of dismissal: Threats of dismissal affect wellbeing and safety. The threat is used to enforce employer decisions, even if these are perceived as a challenge to safety.
- Lack of instruction at work: Migrants perceive a lack of instruction, which they themselves perceive as a risk in terms of accidents.
- Lack of collegiality with Danes: Migrants describe a positive but distanced relationship with Danes, where there is little interaction and only very rarely outside the workplace. This, according to migrants, reduces their own power *vis-à-vis* employers and thus their ability to speak out against dangerous work.
- Discrimination and employer's lack of concern for the human behind the workforce: Discrimination in terms of work tasks, treatment and requirements.

We have made a balancing act in this chapter as we do not wish to repeat the analysis from previous chapters. Instead, we add, qualify and assess the migrants' experiences in the context of other data. In this chapter, we first review the analysis of register data, which shows that migrants (as expected) are increasingly working in the most dangerous industries in Denmark, including the most dangerous industries in construction.

We then present the analysis of the qualitative data. Our starting point here is the themes that we identify in the analysis of data collected from professional informants, who are more concerned with causal relationships than the migrants themselves. While the migrants held the megaphone in chapters 4 and 5, it is the professional informants who are given the most speaking time here. However, we supplement with data collected from migrants where it makes sense.

The analysis shows that migrants experience being assigned to work in dangerous sub-industries, especially concrete and demolition, which are associated with particularly dangerous tasks. We know from Chapter 4 that migrants experience being assigned the worst, dirtiest and most grueling jobs (3D) while Danes can better avoid these types of work.

Next, we analyze the daily organization of work. We focus on employers' failure to give instructions, which was also identified in chapter 4. We then focus on psychosocial factors and point to active exclusion and the creation of a B-team. We conclude with a summary and discussion.

7.1 Physical conditions: migrants work in the most dangerous industries

Chapters 4 and 5 reveal that migrants experience always being assigned the worst tasks. Florin refers to this division of labor when he says that "if there are two people, an ethnic Dane and a Romanian, one of them always has to do the dangerous work". Register data enables us to quantify this claim. The first part of this chapter is thus based on our quantitative, register-based study. The aim here is to shed light on trends in the share of migrants in hazardous industries, including construction.

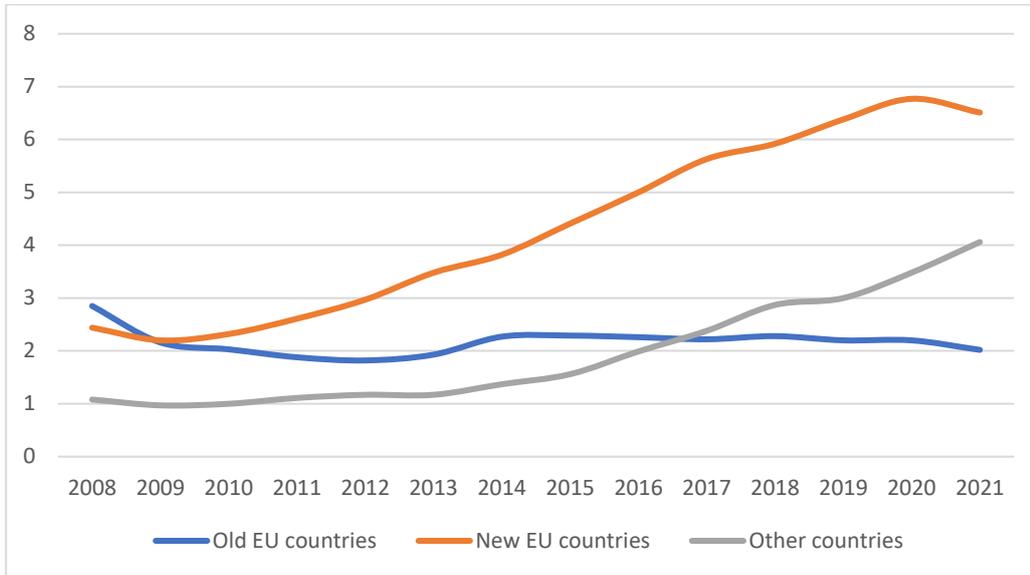
When WEA determines which industries are the most dangerous, they use the so-called accident incidence rate, which is the number of accidents in a given industry per 10,000 employees. In their annual report, WEA lists the most dangerous industries in Denmark based on accident incidence (Arbejdstilsynet, 2020). Based on this list and using Statistics Denmark's industry nomenclature, we have operationalized the most dangerous industries so that they can be analyzed quantitatively. In the following analyses, we use the Danish Working Environment Authority's seven most dangerous industries, including the three most dangerous sub-industries within construction. The industries are (industries in construction are underlined):

- 1) Water, sewer and waste
- 2) Construction and demolition of buildings
- 3) Large projects (such as roads, tunnels etc)
- 4) Police and prisons
- 5) Slaughterhouses
- 6) Day care centers and home care
- 7) Completion of construction

Figure 19 shows how migrant workers are distributed across the seven most dangerous industries in the labor market. The reason for looking at both the most dangerous industries overall and specifically within construction is to shed light on whether there are general trends in the labor market or whether trends are different within construction. In other words, whether migrant workers are more likely to have hazardous jobs in construction than in the rest of the labor market. What we are interested in is how the different national groupings behave in relation to the most dangerous industries during the study period. That is, whether we can see any changes in terms of certain groups of migrants being more or less represented in the most dangerous industries.

Figure 19: Proportions of migrant workers in the 7 most dangerous industries, in %, by

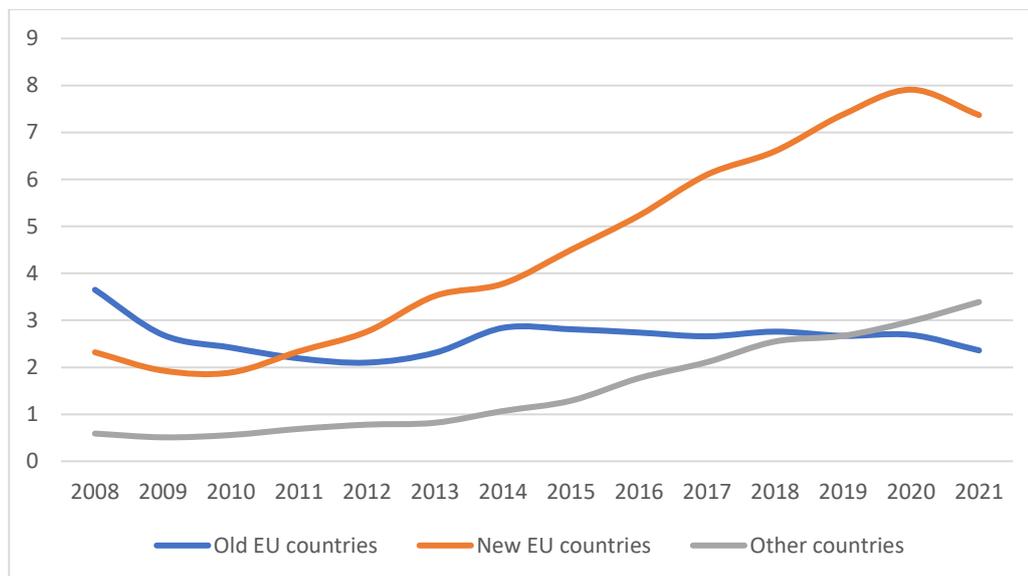
three groups



As Figure 19 shows, developments have occurred between 2008 and 2021. While the old EU countries remain fairly stable over the period, there is a sharp increase in the number of citizens from new EU countries and other countries. New EU countries go from having a share of about 2.44 percent in 2008 to 6.51 percent of the most dangerous industries in 2021, when the curve peaks. In the same period, other countries go from 1.08% to 4.06% in 2021. So, there are signs that citizens from new EU countries and other countries increasingly take over work in the most dangerous industries.

Figure 20 shows the breakdown of the most dangerous industries in construction, including building construction and demolition, large projects and building completion.

Figure 20: Proportions of migrant workers in the most dangerous industries in construction, in %, by three groups



In the construction industry¹² (Figure 20), the development is similar, but with a slightly larger increase in the proportion of citizens from new EU countries and other countries. In 2008, citizens from new EU countries make up 2.32 percent of the industries, while in 2021 they make up 7.37 percent. Citizens from other countries make up 0.59 percent in 2008, while in 2021 they make up almost six times as much, 3.39 percent. Looking at the two figures in conjunction, it becomes clear that citizens from new EU countries and other countries are increasingly taking on work in the most dangerous industries. The figures also show that migrant workers are taking on a larger and larger percentage of the most dangerous work across industries and in construction, measured relatively to the rest of the workforce. This means that Danish workers are increasingly able to avoid doing the most dangerous work.

7.2 Migrants get the dirty, dangerous and demanding jobs on construction sites

The qualitative part of the analysis, which we present in the following, supports the quantitative results, but the interviews can map out details not captured in the quantitative analysis. Register data does not allow us to zoom in on occupations in detail, nor can it explain the mechanisms that allocate migrant workers to the most dangerous, hardest and dirtiest jobs on construction sites. The qualitative analysis can also qualify which trades and tasks migrant workers do. The qualitative analysis also shows how Danes avoid the worst jobs, which are therefore increasingly

¹² The dangerous sub-industries in the construction industry are building construction and demolition, large projects and building completion.

performed by migrants. The worst jobs are most often referred to in the research literature as 3D jobs, see table 10.

Table 10: Definition of 3D jobs

The international research literature uses the term 3D jobs. 3D jobs are "dirty, *dangerous and demanding*" or alternatively "dirty, dangerous and *difficult/demeaning*". The term 3D jobs is a relatively new term that is widely used in the US to refer to manual labor, particularly in manufacturing, which is often performed by migrant workers (Flynn, 2014). The term is derived from the Japanese term 3K: kitanai, kiken, kitsui, which is also used to refer to the dirty and hard manual labor, primarily performed by migrants in Japan (Connell, 1993)

Working in unskilled, dangerous sub-industries

One trade in particular, demolition, is almost exclusively carried out by migrants, according to informants. Trade unionists and public regulators consistently point to the demolition industry. One informant points out that the few Danes in demolition take up middle management positions:

The demolition industry. There are hardly any Danes who do this kind of work. There is a demolition training program, but almost everyone ends up becoming a foreman. There are hardly any Danes who are *blue collar*. (Trade union)

Concreting is another typical job for migrants. One informant informs that "there are a lot of Poles making concrete", while another qualifies that "it's primarily foreign colleagues. There are hardly any Danish colleagues". Others point out that migrants primarily work in painting, excavation, bricklaying and roofing to a lesser extent.

Informants also overwhelmingly point out that migrant workers primarily find work as unskilled workers, but not in the skilled industries, and especially not in the industries that require authorization, such as electricians and plumbers. This observation is consistent with our own experiences in the data collection, where we observe that the vast majority of the 84 migrants in the project work without authorization and do unskilled labour, even those who have formal training in a trade.

Migrant workers are assigned 3D jobs on the sites

If we shift our gaze from occupations to the actual tasks that migrants perform on the sites, the tasks are not evenly distributed between Danes and migrant workers. As we have documented in chapter 4, migrants feel that they are always assigned the worst tasks. Professional informants overwhelmingly agree with migrants. Migrants thus perform the manual jobs, or what an informant from a supervisory authority calls "backbreaking work":

Because I can see that what you might call backbreaking work: drilling, concreting. Call it whatever you want. It's classic Eastern Europeans who take these jobs. Because the Danes don't want them. So, it's also the supply of jobs. They take what's left. (Supervisory authority)

Time and time again, informants have told us that migrants tend to do jobs where the work is manual, menial and physical:

They drag. They drag. And it's also said that if there's dragging to be done. Or if we need to go out to the outer edges and peripheral zones of a roof and do things, we get the foreign employees to do it. And they do it. (Public Authority)

Drag, drag, drag, drag. Mix, mix, mix, mix and then build (Public Authority)

Another supervisory authority agrees:

Where it's very, very heavy lifting. Inappropriate working positions and the more dangerous... for example, on the edge of a roof. And in elevator shafts. That's what we see. (Supervisory authority)

Migrants are thus assigned the jobs that are dangerous, such as asbestos work, while others point to working at heights, in basements, in the rain, etc. Specific examples include many hours of diamond drilling, excavation and electrical installation in water or with electrical tools where the wires are in water.

Some professional informants point out that this bias may have to do with wages. According to this argument, low wages mean that it can be cheaper to employ people to do the work than to buy machines:

Instead of hiring a machine to carry bricks up, it's better to just have two extra men to be hands. It's a big problem. (Public Authority)

The insight here is that higher wages provide an incentive to invest in assistive devices, such as lifts. This has an impact on safety because people have to do heavy and exhausting work for no reason other than to save money.

Because migrants are allocated the worst tasks, they face increased risks compared to Danes. An informant from a supervisory authority explains how he sees the connection between migrant status, manual labor and salary. In doing so, he also suggests causal relationships that are rooted in the way work is organized:

And then there's just a very basic understanding that if you come from an Eastern European country, sometimes it's cheaper to have two men, or four men, doing manual labor than using a machine to do it. It's simply cheaper in labor. (Public authority)

This suggests that companies may be making a trade-off, where the lower wages for migrant workers may motivate companies to hire more workers for manual labor instead of buying better assistive devices.

When migrants experience getting the jobs that Danes do not want, as shown in chapters 4 and 5, they are supported by other informants. Other informants point out that the division of labor occurs *because* migrant workers get the work that Danes do not want. Supervisory authorities are aware of this division of labor:

These are the employees you get to do things that the Danes can solve, but that it can be difficult to find people for. It can be something like that. And then it can be ordinary, basic practical work. (Public authority)

An informant from another supervisory authority puts it this way:

Because they do things that no one else really wants to do. (Public authority)

This also points to the arrival of migrants not necessarily worsening the conditions for everyone. Danes can avoid the worst tasks, the most dangerous tasks and thus increasingly go to work safely.

7.3 Themes related to the organization of work and psychosocial impacts

As described above, it can be assumed that the very different accident profile of migrants can largely be attributed to the fact that they work in the most dangerous industry (construction), the most dangerous industries within construction, the most dangerous trades (e.g. demolition and concrete) and are assigned the worst jobs (e.g. very dusty jobs). But that's not the only reason. In the following, we focus on the organization of work and how the daily organization of work makes migrants more vulnerable.

Many aspects of working conditions have been analyzed earlier in this report. Our analysis here should be read as an extension of the migrants' own experiences. Building on what has already been presented in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, we focus on some specific focus areas in relation to working conditions and delve further into themes related to working conditions.

Employer's lack of instruction

As chapter 4 shows, migrant workers experience that the duty to instruct is not fulfilled. In the following, we explore this objection in more detail. The duty to instruct formally follows from the Working Environment Act, see table 11.

Table 11: Duty to instruct, cf. the Working Environment Act

It follows from section 17(2) of the Danish Working Environment Act (LBK no. 2062 of 16/11/2021) that the employer must "ensure that employees receive the necessary training and instruction in performing the work in a hazard-free manner" and make employees "aware of the accident and illness hazards that may be associated with their work".

The duty to instruct is a responsibility of the employer and, according to the Working Environment Act, cannot be imposed on employees. The duty to instruct includes, as stated, that the employer must make workers aware of accident and other hazards. In other words, the law states that workers cannot be expected to be aware of or to independently seek out information about hazards. Instead, this is the employer's responsibility.

Several informants from both clients and employers' occupational health and safety staff point out that it takes more to fulfill the duty to instruct when hiring foreign workers:

It requires a different instruction and sometimes a more thorough instruction, I think. (Occupational health and safety employee)

Informants from the union agree that some employers do not fulfill the statutory duty to instruct:

And they are not instructed in anything. And as I say to some of the employers when they complain "they don't understand how we work in Denmark". And then I say to them, "then you can teach them - you've employed some of them for several years." (Trade union)

Other professional informants also agree with migrant workers and the union that the duty to instruct is not always fulfilled. For example, an employee of a temporary agency tells us:

We've experienced it... You get thrown into it, instead of spending just one hour. It's really well spent. So yes, I've actually experienced it myself, where it went wrong. Because they expected everything from day one, without spending, for example, just one hour. (Employee in a temp agency)

Thus, there is broad consensus that there is a general lack of instruction. One occupational health and safety employee unanimously reports that "they are not instructed", while another explains:

it's rarely the employees who are at fault. It's simply a lack of instruction from the companies. We often see that the contractor has not instructed them correctly in how to do it. (Occupational health and safety employee)

Overall, it must be concluded that there are problems associated with non-compliance with the duty to instruct. There is agreement among both migrants and other professional informants about the existence of the problem. However, it is impossible to say anything about the exact size of this problem. And we recall that there are migrants who have reported good instruction in their employment, even though they are a minority in our data set.

In the absence of instructions, migrant workers are left to use trial and error strategies, experimenting and trying to come up with solutions themselves. This shifts responsibility and risk because employees are left to try things out for themselves, sometimes with fatal consequences. The lack of instruction has greater consequences for migrant workers than Danes, because migrant workers sometimes arrive with no or different professional training, with different habits (some call it culture) and/or without experience, which we will return to in Chapter 8. Compliance with the duty to instruct is therefore key to ensuring that migrant workers can perform their work safely.

Transfer of responsibility (risk shift)

According to the Working Environment Act, the employer is responsible for ensuring that working conditions are fully defensible in terms of health and safety, see table 12.

Table 12: The employer's responsibility to ensure that working conditions are fully safe and healthy, the Working Environment Act

<p>§ 15. The employer must ensure that the working conditions are fully safe and healthy. This refers in particular to the performance of the work, the layout of the workplace, technical aids, substances and materials.</p>
--

When employers do not assume this responsibility, either formally or in reality, there is a shift of responsibility. And this shift of responsibility is generally in the direction of the migrant workers. By shifting responsibility, we are referring to the fact that migrant workers are forced to take on responsibilities that employers should take on according to the law.

An example of a shift in responsibility happens when employees have to carry out management's tasks. Angelo explains that employees on site are told to keep an eye on each other and take pictures if colleagues break rules:

They say that if you see someone climbing up on a chair from something high up, for example. Then you should take a picture of it. But then again, that's

something a snitch would do. [...] So imagine if people first started taking pictures of each other. (Angelo from Italy)

A very concrete example of shifting responsibility is provided by an OHS employee. In the interview, he explains the dismissal of an employee earlier on the day of the interview. The informant had observed that the employee did not comply with certain safety regulations which he knew was caused by the employee's foreman not taking the regulations seriously. After the employee's dismissal, the OHS employee gathered the rest of the employees on the project and explained the need to comply with safety measures.

The firing happened despite the fact that the migrant worker in question followed instructions and performed the work in accordance with the foreman's instructions. Something that the health and safety officer was well aware of. Thus, the migrant worker becomes responsible for risk taking, even though he merely followed the orders he has been given. The informant goes on to explain that expulsion is necessary, and since there is a high turnover in the foreign workforce, you must be expelled if you cannot comply with the safety measures. This occupational health and safety employee thus shifts the responsibility from those responsible to the individual employee, even though he has just before pointed out that migrants are more loyal to authority than the Danes. He understood that it can be difficult for migrant workers to stand up to a superior, yet dismissed him anyway.

An Occupational Health and Safety Coordinator (AMK) for a large public client was also keen to share how he ensures that migrant workers are put in charge at the expense of the subcontractor employers. The AMK details how he holds toolbox meetings with the migrant workers in cases where there are safety issues despite being addressed in safety meetings. If the problems persist, the companies are not responsible. Instead, he asks companies to hold a morning meeting where employees sign a pledge to take responsibility. He explains:

They have to sign that they have heard and understood everything. And we get those documents delivered to our contractor, so we can say 'we told them that'.
(Occupational health and safety employee)

Similar to the example above, this example shows how responsibility shifts from management to individuals.

An informant from a supervisory authority had clearly thought carefully about this shift of responsibility towards workers in the event of accidents. This informant observes that the shift of responsibility relieves companies from the consequences of using foreign workers. This is sometimes referred to as externalization. Externalization means that individual companies, but also Denmark as a society, are able to get externalize the cost of risk taking. The informant explains:

"Those who go home, they go home and have a bad old age. They don't get an *Arne pension* [early pension]".

The shift of responsibility towards migrant workers also means an increased need for supervision. A health and safety consultant explains the mechanisms and logic behind this claim. He explains that employers are able to externalize the costs of using migrant workers at the expense of the state. Instead of the companies bearing the cost of a better working environment, it is borne by the Danish state in the form of control:

[Then] we simply accept that we have to have this stricter control. It simply costs to have foreign labor. In the form of occupational health and safety inspections. [...] It's such a strange shift of responsibility all the time. (Occupational health and safety employee)

This quote is from 2022. It would turn out that the informant was right about the need for increased public control. In March 2023, a broad majority across political parties agreed to allocate a total of DKK 673.2 million in the period 2023-2026 to secure migrant workers (Ministry of Employment, 2023).

Overall, the shift of responsibility has an impact on the risk profile of migrants because employers fail to take responsibility for lack of instruction, leaving it up to the migrant workers themselves to figure out how to behave in the workplace. In addition, employers sometimes give orders that the worker must follow, even though migrants know they are not doing the job safely. In addition, there is also a shift of responsibility towards the Danish state and towards home countries, who have to bear the costs of treatment and elderly care for a workforce that employers and clients in Denmark have benefited from.

Segregation and isolation

An entire chapter of the Working Environment Act details intended cooperation on health and safety. The overall principle is found in §5, which stipulates that there must be cooperation on health and safety, see table 13. The detailed rules follow in §§6-11a. In this section, we show that cooperation is poor despite the focus in the Working Environment Act.

Table 13: The Working Environment Act's rules on cooperation on safety and health

§ 5. Health and safety work in the individual company is carried out through cooperation between the employer, supervisors and other employees.

As Chapter 4 shows, migrants do not generally experience friction with Danish workers. This is because migrants typically work in nationally segregated shifts and have limited contact with Danish workers, and sometimes work in places where not a single Dane is employed. But for some, it is also due to active segregation measures, such as different break times, as we have documented in chapter 4. Some migrants attribute these measures to a desire to prevent migrants from enjoying the stronger position they associate with having Danish colleagues.

In addition, informants from trade unions in particular, but also public authorities, report surveillance inside and sometimes outside of work by middle managers/team leaders/chief executives:

At the sites, they have every 10th or 20th man [...]. And he listens and keeps an eye out. (Trade union)

This person may be tasked with leading a team of workers on site. But he also has another function, which is to keep an eye on the other workers. "He's responsible for making sure they behave", as one trade unionist put it. In other words, he is a kind of *gatekeeper who* stands between the ordinary worker and others.

It can be difficult for authorities, health and safety professionals and unions to get past this *gatekeeper and* reach the individual worker. Public authorities perceive such a situation as a danger sign:

Can they spot, if it was a construction site, that someone appears to be controlling the conversation for them. I mean, do they have access to their documents? (...) Or that you are somehow unaware of your work situation. And you are followed or driven to the workplace (Public Authority).

This isolation and segregation clashes with the fundamental principle of cooperation in the Working Environment Act. Isolation and segregation thus matter for the safety of migrants, because segregation is at odds with the fundamental principle of cooperation stipulated in the Danish Working Environment Act.

Despite the clear requirement of the law, migrant workers are overwhelmingly excluded from all forms of collaboration. Instead, they face general exclusion. This happens in formal processes, most clearly in the organization of health and safety on construction sites (which we will return to in chapter 8), but also more generally in the organization of work. Many union officials explain that migrant workers are hidden away on construction sites and segregated from Danish workers.

This kind of segregation happens internally within individual companies, where foreign employees are excluded because they have to do the worst work - the work that others don't want to do:

Then there is the large group who actually work in Danish companies. And become part of the Danish workforce. But they don't. Because if we look closely, they're actually working in a corner of the company, doing the most miserable work. And do the hardest work. (Public Authority)

Some segregation is clearly tied up in racism towards certain nationalities, as we discussed in chapter 5.

Sometimes segregation extends beyond the workplace itself. This is the case, for example, when the employer transports employees to and from work and prevents independent travel:

And they are driven out to some abandoned farm where they are stored. They are hardly in contact with Danes. They do everything to isolate them. (Trade union)

Segregation is also a result of the way work is organized, for example, in the Danish work teams, where the Danish teams close in on themselves, driven by fear of foreigners and perhaps racism.

What happens is that you exclude instead of including. It's out of fear of, well, will they be too good? I'll lose my job. Will they be too cheap? (Occupational health and safety employee)

In this regard, many trade unionists in this study report difficulties in getting in touch with migrants and employers actively discouraging contact. However, some union informants both within and outside the union also report another form of exclusion, namely exclusion *from the union*, where migrants are not included in the union community in the workplace and beyond. There are reports of a clan mentality that keeps foreign workers out of the unions.

On the other hand, many union informants also report attempts to engage with migrant workers. But it can be difficult for Danish trade unions, health and safety officials and regulators to overcome what can be perceived as reluctance:

First of all, it's difficult to talk to them. I've actually been on some construction sites. They disappear. They don't want to talk. (Occupational health and safety employee)

This reluctance may be due to instructions from employers, as many informants from the union suspect and have pointed out. And indeed, there are many signs in the migrants' statements that suggest that the reluctance is due to specific orders from the employer. But there is also a generalized fear, which we will return to in the next chapter.

Of course, segregation itself can lead to a poor working environment if you're uncomfortable with 'the others' or if you feel neglected and left out. But it can also have a knock-on effect on safety.

For example, it can be difficult to get information if you're not included in decision-making and health and safety organization, and if you don't have the opportunity to share experiences.

B-team

As we have documented in Chapter 5, migrants report a high level of discrimination and the experience of being treated as inferior to Danes. This experience is generally supported by professional informants. During data collection, we became accustomed to professional informants talking about A and B teams.

The main message from professional informants is that the B-team must put up with a number of conditions that the A-team does not. This is discrimination based on nationality. The informants talk about the existence of A and B teams, where the A team are Danish workers, and the B team are migrant workers.

But we have an A and B team. That's the way it is. It's obvious. (Public Authority)

There is a general consensus that migrant workers have to endure the worse conditions *because* they are foreigners. No one has suggested that there could be other, better explanations.

There are A and B teams. There are Danes who get everything. And then there are foreigners who get as little as possible. Some say "because I'm a foreigner. That's why I get less. That's why I'm treated like this. Because I'm a foreigner."
(Union interpreter)

The acceptance of the existence of B teams manifests itself in daily work. A good example that shows how the B-team is treated is personal protective equipment. The B-team is not given the same equipment as the A-team. An occupational health and safety consultant recounts his experiences from when he was part of the regular workforce on a particularly dangerous construction site due to the existence of chemical substances.

Then I experienced that me and my colleagues, we were wearing hearing protection, coveralls. We had the right filter masks on. We had a work plan for how long we had to be in there. Then we open the elevator door. There are 10 Poles standing there looking at us. They come straight up from that area. We accept that they go into areas without security measures. So there is simply a completely legitimized difference between an A and a B team. And then you accept, according to the Occupational Health and Safety Act, that they are predisposed to some things that we do not accept at all. (Occupational health and safety employee)

Once it has become generally accepted that there is a B-team, it is almost clear that migrants take it for granted that they will have to put up with more and something different than Danish workers.

In other words, there is a kind of normalization which is then internalized. "They accept that they must work that way", as one informant from the trade union put it.

Exploiting willingness to work, unequal power positions and knowledge asymmetry

Exploitation is a recurring theme in the interview material. The vast majority of professional informants point to exploitation of migrant workers in one form or another. In particular, they point to the exploitation of migrants' ignorance of Danish rules and Danish conditions, as well as exploitation of migrant workers' precarious access to good jobs in their home country. But they also point to exploitation of other dependencies.

Firstly, migrants' willingness to work can be exploited. In the only study of Danish companies' use of foreign labor, the authors conclude that "Danish companies choose Eastern Europeans as workers, as they are considered willing to work" (Andersen & Felbo-Kolding, 2013, p. 9). Migrants are seen as more flexible than Danes and with less sick leave (Andersen & Felbo-Kolding, 2013, p. 161). As stated in chapter 4, migrants also perceive themselves as willing to work.

The previous findings are supported by the professional informants. There is a strong consensus among professional informants that migrants are more willing to work than Danes.

There's no such thing as stress with them. It's treated as a disease, right? "Oh, he can't be bothered. Stress! For what?". (Interpreter)

Workers' own understanding of willingness to work, as well as employers' preference for willingness to work, matters when it comes to migrant safety.

Several informants draw attention to the difficult line between willingness and coercion. A union informant explains how difficult it is to make such an assessment.

If the boss tells you to do this task and you have these things at your disposal. You have to do it. Then they have to figure it out the best way they can. Then you can say, is it an order or is it your own will? I don't know. (Trade union)

Willingness also means a willingness to perform the task with any tools available on site and to be creative in the way tasks are carried out. Willingness also means that migrants perform tasks that they are not hired for (and may not be qualified for). Others say that willingness means not making demands, or as one trade union informant says, "click your heels together, salute. Regardless of whether it's irresponsible" and an interpreter explains that "employers, they know that foreigners, they don't make demands".

There are many examples in our interview material that support this general perception. For example, an informant from a supervisory authority similarly states that willingness has to do with the migrants' readiness to comply with orders.

Whereas a foreign worker generally does what he is told to do... So what you can't get Danes to do, you can easily get a foreigner to do. (Supervisory authority)

The expected willingness means that migrants don't make demands. And workers who do not make demands are attractive according to this logic. Their willingness to work becomes a quality that can be traded. Thus, there is a consensus that migrant workers do not complain and instead "give it their all", as an informant from a supervisory authority puts it.

The reason why migrants do not complain is that complaining is seen as a violation of the notion of "the willing migrant" who are in demand with employers. In other words, it is not considered compatible to 'complain' and at the same time be willing to work, even though there may be good professional, safety and health reasons for refusing to work. As it appears, willingness to work is not necessarily a willingness as in voluntariness, but rather a willingness that is expected by employers, and where lack of willingness is severely punished by employers, typically with dismissal.

Exploitation of a weaker labor market conditions in migrants' home country is another common theme. The argument is that differences in economic markets are exploited for corporate gain. There are no special rules in Denmark that obligate employers to take extended responsibility for migrant workers, even though we know that they are vulnerable due to their migrant status and their poorer earning potential in their home country.

The ignorance of migrant workers is also exploited. This was echoed by almost all professional informants.

It is this ignorance that is often played on. I would also venture to say that this is also why so many foreigners are exploited. Because of their ignorance. Because they are new to Denmark. They don't know the rules, wage agreements, safety issues. And then it's easier to exploit them. (Public Authority)

It also points out that the regulations are complicated and difficult to learn, making it easier for employers to exploit ignorance. This ignorance is not only exploited in day-to-day work, such as when migrant workers are not provided with personal protective equipment. It is also exploited when accidents happen on sites.

Because there are some things that are imposed on the employer, but it's not done. And foreigners don't know that it should be done. And sometimes they wait too long. (Interpreter)

When migrant workers have been in Denmark for a longer period of time, they become better at navigating the system. This also has implications for the working environment and safety.

We can see that the longer they have been in Denmark, the better they become at complying with the rules. They know them. And the willingness to abide by them. Their understanding and knowledge of the Danish model increases. Because they gradually start talking to other tradies. (Public authority)

Over time, migrant workers acquire some of the knowledge necessary to succeed in the Danish labor market. However, the learning process is actively and consciously attempted to be made more prolonged from different sides. Lack of knowledge and any professional ballast remain characteristics that are not sought to be overcome, but instead actively prolonged (see also the section on segregation and isolation above).

There may be other dependencies, other than just the dependency on income, that make it difficult for individuals to speak up and demand their rights. For example, several respondents talked about recruitment strategies where either families or groups are recruited from the same geographical area. This method of recruitment gives the employer a squeeze on the individual worker because consequences are collective. For example, if workers and employers come from the same place in their home countries, dependency relationships can exist that extend beyond the salary and employment relationship.

If they come from the same city as the employer, in Lithuania or Romania. There are all sorts of other dependencies that make it difficult to actually get the help that is offered within this framework. (Public Authority)

In general, there is evidence of interdependencies within the groups.

There is pressure from colleagues. If one of them calls in sick. If someone shuns his place in the chain. Then the others have to run faster. Because it's not accepted that you don't achieve what you're supposed to. Then it affects someone else. (Trade union)

Other squeezes include taking out loans, which can be taken out through either official or unofficial channels. The consequences of not paying on time can feel too great for individuals to be willing to claim their rights.

The people who bring them up here, the company, they know exactly what they're doing. And they have them in a squeeze. Because sometimes the people

who come here have borrowed money to pay for the transportation and then they come here and work 10 hours a day. If not more sometimes. (Interpreter)

In summary, there are a number of characteristics of migrant workers that are too easy to exploit - and therefore are exploited. Some of these are given, such as unequal economic markets and knowledge asymmetry, while others are created, for example through recruitment strategies.

Labor crime

There are even more serious allegations of cheating, deception and organized labor crime. Many of these allegations come from the migrants themselves, as presented in chapter 5. Professional informants point in the same direction. In other words, it is reported that poor treatment is not only a matter of unequal power relations and knowledge asymmetry in the working relationship, but the willingness to sacrifice migrants for financial gains.

What we refer to here is organized labor crime, where employers and employers' extended arm deceive and force migrant workers to work in ways and under conditions that are not only immoral, but also in violation of legislation, including occupational health and safety legislation. The vulnerable position discussed above makes migrant workers easy victims.

There are several signs that migrant workers are treated with the intention to cheat and deceive. A clear sign that the rules have been intentionally broken is when migrants have been instructed on what they can say and who they can talk to. It's often not hard to guess that workers have been instructed, such as when they lie about having just started, only being at the site to drink coffee or not remembering even the most basic information.

Usually they are instructed. "I've just started. I've just arrived." (Interpreter)

Another sign that violations are not simply due to ignorance is that some employers hide migrant workers away, for example, geographically in a holiday home area or outside of regular working hours.

That's also why it's important to be away on weekends, vacations, etc. Where you might save some of these tasks that can be dangerous. Often are dangerous. (Public Authority)

Other clear signs of intentional circumvention are lies about the actual conditions on construction sites.

The one in service, he said. "They just come to relax once in a while. No one lives over there. They're just relaxing. It was not a residence." (Interpreter)

Another aspect of organized labor crime is the production of false documentation and bribery.

And they've gotten really good at creating fake documentation for us. (Public Authority)

Some people need to feel that I can't do what I usually do here. I can't bribe here. (...). It has been tried many times. (Occupational health and safety employee)

Others have reported beatings, death threats, threats to families, kickbacks and migrants having to endure sharing their wages with either their boss or colleagues. With these many examples of treatment, it's hard to conclude that it's simply the rules in Denmark that are too difficult to understand, or that it's simply the individual worker who cannot or will not follow the rules.

7.4 Summary and discussion

Summarizing the physical conditions, tasks and demands, our data shows that migrant workers do not just have to put up with working in the most dangerous of all industries, construction. Within construction, migrant workers are taking up an increasing share of jobs in the most dangerous sub-sectors. They also work in the most dangerous trades within these industries, including concrete and demolition. But the risks of working in these specific industries are even higher for migrants than Danes who also work in, for example, concrete and demolition, because migrants are assigned the manual, exposed and dirty job functions without the same access to assistive devices. We summarize and discuss the results below.

Firstly, the quantitative study shows that in the years 2008 to 2021, there has been a very significant increase in this group's participation in the most dangerous industries in construction. Furthermore, the share of citizens from new EU countries now exceeds the share of Danes working in the most dangerous sub-sectors in construction.

Secondly, the qualitative and more fine-grained analysis of 121 interviews shows that the migrants mainly find jobs in the demolition industry, which is associated with contact with particularly hazardous work, such as contact with dust, asbestos, PCBs, insulation and other hazardous materials, as well as concreting.

Thirdly, the qualitative analysis shows that migrant workers primarily perform manual tasks and unskilled work. In other words, work where strength and endurance count more than technical know-how.

Fourthly, migrant workers have to put up with the fact that the *way the job is done* is not optimal in terms of safety. To put it bluntly, migrant workers have a greater risk than Danes of having to work in the rain, in mud, in dust and to perform the particularly dangerous tasks after normal working hours without access to the aids that Danes have access to.

The analysis also shows that Danes can avoid jobs that are referred to as 3D jobs in the international literature. Migrant workers and Danes who are employed by the same company to solve a common task do not share the tasks equally. Instead, migrant workers must accept that they are assigned the least attractive tasks in the workplace. With this division of labor, Danes are spared many of the most unhealthy, exhausting and dangerous jobs. This is of course beneficial for the Danish workers, but it is also beneficial for the Danish healthcare system, because the consequences are primarily borne by the migrant workers' own national healthcare systems when the consequences of dealing with dust, asbestos, hard and heavy manual labor arise in the short (accidents) or long (wear and tear) term. Assuming, of course, that the migrants return home.

In conclusion, the analysis finds that there is a sorting of workers at the industry level, sub-industry level, profession level and task level. In addition, there is a sorting in access to aids in the performance of work. The fact that migrant workers have more fatal (The Ministry of Employment, 2022) and non-fatal accidents (see chapter 6) than Danes is partly due to the fact that migrants find jobs in particularly dangerous industries, including construction. But it's also because they are assigned the most dangerous tasks in the most dangerous sub-industries, and have to perform the dustiest and toughest of job functions.

The allocation of migrants to the most dangerous industries is not surprising, as international research points to this very correlation: migrant workers are employed in industries with low social status and a higher risk of injury (Hudson, 2007; Hvid & Buch, 2020; Moyce & Schenker, 2018). Thus, it is now well known in the international literature that migrants are mainly employed in jobs that are dirty, dangerous and difficult, characterized by monotony and repetition: migrant workers are employed in industries with low social status and a higher risk of injury (Hudson, 2007; Hvid & Buch, 2020; Moyce & Schenker, 2018).

A wealth of international literature cements this relationship between migrant status, unattractive jobs and occupational health and safety problems (Hargreaves et al., 2019; Moyce & Schenker, 2018; Mucci et al., 2019; Orrenius & Zavodny, 2009; Ronda Pérez et al., 2012). These worst jobs are in high-risk sectors, such as construction, heavy industry and agriculture (Mucci et al., 2019). When assessing our own findings against the international literature, we have reason to trust our results and the validity of our findings. Thus, when our own quantitative and qualitative analyses point in the same direction as both the Danish and international literature, we have no doubt: migrants are vulnerable *because* they work in the most dangerous industries.

Our analysis also shows that it is no coincidence that migrants are assigned the most dangerous tasks, while Danes can avoid them. The division of labor is the result of certain processes on construction sites that take the form of segregation and exclusion. Previous research has also

pointed to strong segregation (COWI, 2012; Refslund and Arnholtz, 2021). It is hard not to conclude that segregation is sometimes deliberate, with the intention of separating migrant workers from Danes. In other words, segregation is deliberate. Similar mechanisms of segregation are also reported in previous research from Denmark, where migrants and Danes are placed as far apart as possible in the canteen (Rasmussen & Biering, 2020). Previous research from both home and abroad also points to segregation mechanisms, such as separate canteens on Spanish construction sites or separation in the canteen in Denmark (Meardi et al., 2012; Rasmussen & Biering, 2020).

Data detail the creation and maintenance of B teams, who have less access to almost everything and are subject to completely different conditions and expectations than the A team. Existing literature has also found that migrant workers are subjected to poor treatment. Thus, much existing literature reports widespread discrimination and poor treatment (Arnholtz & Hansen, 2009). For example, an older study, which we have also referred to previously, found that around a third of Polish workers had been threatened with dismissal and almost one in five had been threatened with violence at their workplace (Arnholtz & Hansen, 2009). Poor treatment and exploitation is enabled by unequal power relations. The unequal power relationship between employer and employee has also been documented in other research. This other research has also found that the target group is subject to a very unequal power relationship with their employer or intermediary/temporary agency, which leads workers to accept unfair conditions and put themselves at risk (COWI, 2012; L. M. Pedersen & Thomsen, 2011; Simkunas & Thomsen, 2018).

There is also a shift of responsibility towards migrant workers. Employers who do not take on the duty to instruct, the responsibility for the performance of the work or the responsibility for the working environment fulfill their responsibility according to section 15 of the Working Environment Act. They shift the responsibility and risk towards the migrant workers.

Finally, there are reports of organized cheating, fraud and labor crime on a scale that is difficult to quantify but is widely agreed to exist throughout the industry. Fraud against migrant workers is well known. Previous studies have documented wage fraud (Arnholtz & Hansen, 2009; COWI, 2012), false payroll deductions (Refslund & Arnholtz, 2021), as well as debt slavery and human trafficking (Grillis & Dyreborg, 2015). So, although nothing new, interview participants believe that organized labor crime is on the rise and that migrant workers are having to endure worse and more sophisticated forms of cheating and fraud, as well as increasing involvement of mafia groups from both home and abroad. There is reason to believe that the cases that are reported and brought to court are a minority compared to how widespread organized crime is.

8 Focus on the culture, knowledge and experience migrants bring with them, as well as health and safety efforts and the industry

This chapter is a continuation of chapter 7. Whereas Chapter 7 focused on the working conditions and especially the nature of the work, this chapter focuses on the characteristics of the migrants, i.e. their background, knowledge, experience and culture. We also focus on occupational health and safety efforts and the organization of the industry. We remind you that the purpose of this and Chapter 7 is to uncover the total impacts at work in order to explain why migrants have more fatal and non-fatal accidents than Danes. At the same time, accidents are related to other outcomes in migrants' working lives, including health and well-being.

In this chapter, we first focus on the migrant worker itself, including their search for better wages, the knowledge and skills levels of migrant workers, the lack of knowledge about Denmark and the regulation of the labor market, and the isolation that migrants experience. Finally, it examines whether migrant workers bring with them a safety culture which is different to that of Danes. Next, we assess various indicators of whether workplace programs and practices value safety for migrants, including inclusion in the health and safety organization, inclusion in general, induction training and the professional background of security personnel. Finally, it examines the industry-level factors that influence the safety and occupational health of migrant workers. In particular, we highlight subcontracting, unrealistic time schedules and insecure employment conditions throughout the industry.

8.1 Characteristics of the migrant worker

All individuals come to a workplace with some sort of background, knowledge, experience, expectations and motivations, which may or may not include previous work in the construction industry. In other words, there are characteristics that primarily belong with the migrants themselves. This section is about who the migrants are, but with a focus on how this affects safety and their working environment.

Demographic profile

First, we present some descriptive characteristics for migrants in the entire industry based on register data. In doing so, we want to investigate whether we can explain the differences in the accident profile based on demographic variables, e.g. whether migrant workers are particularly

young (and thus healthier and less risk-averse than Danes). Thus, Table 14 shows selected figures to describe the demographics of the construction industry for Danes and foreigners, respectively. The figures are based on our own calculations based on register data.

Table 14: Construction industry demographics for Danes and migrants, 2021

Danes		Migrants	
Age	40.6 years	Age	39 years old
Women	10,89%	Women	6,72%
Married	42,46%	Married	42,51%

As shown in Table 14, migrant workers are on average only slightly younger than Danes. The group also consists of fewer women. Approximately 42% of both Danes and migrants are married. Comparatively speaking, migrants are not particularly young or particularly old. Nor do they have a different profile in terms of marital status. We can therefore rule out the possibility that the special accident profile can be attributed to age or a presumed special carefree existence as an unmarried/young person.

While 10.89% of Danes are women, only 6.72% of foreigners are women. Men generally have an increased risk profile compared to women, and there is a link between masculinity and accidents (Hansen et al., 2020). More men than women are involved in accidents at work, and the accidents are often more serious for men than women. Thus, when there is an overrepresentation of men compared to women among migrants compared to Danes, we can also assume that they have a higher risk profile.

Balancing reward and risk

It is reasonable to assume that the relatively better salary in Denmark compared to their home country makes migrants more willing to take risks. In our study, informants from professional organizations in particular point to this trade-off between risk and reward. Trade unionists argue that the earning potential makes migrant workers turn a blind eye to or accept risky work.

And then they say hallelujah, I have a job and I'm making money, and I can send some money to my family. Everything else is secondary to them. (Trade union)

There is ample evidence to suggest that earnings are important. When we ask migrants, the earning potential is the most dominant motivation for seeking work in Denmark. Thus, earnings are cited as the primary motivation.

For example, Polish Gilbert says that "that was the temptation, the salary" and Ukrainian Vasyl also says that "I wanted a good salary". Latvian Kārlis agrees that he didn't have to think about it for long when a friend asked him if he wanted to work in Denmark.

My friend asked me "do you want some work in Denmark?". Of course I say 'yes' and the salary was really good, so "let's go!". [...] When he told me how big his salary was, I thought I would do the same [as him] and go to Denmark." (Kārlis from Latvia)

Jakub explains that "there is no reason for me to spend my time working in Poland when I earn more money here". A young Polish worker explains the difference between working in Denmark and Poland.

If we think about the last 12 months. I work for 4 weeks. And then I have 2 weeks off. That gives me 8 months of employment. 4 months off plus vacation. And I can earn more money than in Poland. So if we have to compare it, it's much better conditions for us here than in Poland. (Young Polish worker)

Similarly, informants generalize that the primary motivation for seeking work in Denmark is the earning potential. For example, Spanish Alexandru, who has roots in Romania, says that "Poles, Romanians who come to Denmark, they come because you can earn some money. That's the big carrot". Latvian Janis agrees, stating that "money is the main reason why they are not in their own countries". In particular, he points out that migrant workers with a permanent residence in their home country only work in Denmark because of the earnings. Trade unionists who themselves have a non-Danish nationality and who come into contact with many migrant workers agree that the overriding motivation is the earning potential relative to the earning potential in their own countries.

The exact difference in earning power is difficult to determine, but migrant workers report that they can earn between twice and four times as much as in their home country. These figures are based on many factors, including geography, education, country and more. They should therefore be taken as personal perceptions of the differences, not objective statements of differences in earning potential. At the same time, many migrant workers point out that the salary is only favorable if it is to be used in the home country. It is not attractive to resident migrant workers.

For some, the higher earnings alone are a welcome, but not necessary, increase. The higher earnings make it possible to get and do things that would otherwise not be possible, or as Amadei puts it, to "afford the fun stuff". Others talk in more general terms about the desire for "a better life" without specifying what is meant by this.

However, many are dependent on the higher salary, and it is especially loan obligations taken out for house purchases that creates a need for the higher Danish salary. For example, Estevo from Portugal cites the difficulty of keeping his home as a direct motivation for seeking work in Denmark.

At that time it was difficult because wages were decreasing in my country, so at that time it wasn't enough that I could earn to maintain a house. (Estevo from Portugal)

Aiko, who we interview in the basement of a house where he lives with 10 other men, also talks about how dependent he is on the higher earning potential in Denmark.

I have a wife who is disabled, so our income has been very low. Then I came to Denmark because the salaries were much higher. And on the side, I'm also building a house back home in Lithuania." (Aiko from Lithuania)

Thus, we can overwhelmingly confirm that the main reason for working in Denmark is differences concerning salaries.

Earning opportunities are linked to the migrants' risk profile. Professional informants often point out that risk and earnings are weighed against each other. An informant from the trade union movement explains how safety is weighed against earnings.

[Migrants] do things that we Danes would never dream of doing. And that's obvious. Because they are financially dependent on putting food on the table. (Trade union)

Another person from the trade union movement adds:

So it was better to work dangerously in Denmark than to be unemployed in Romania, for example. (Trade union)

Among the migrant workers in our study, there is also evidence that earnings and risk are measured against each other. Perhaps the clearest example of this trade-off is a quote from Romanian Daniel, who says that providing for his family is so important that he is willing to sacrifice his own health.

I stay because I earn more money. I sacrifice my health so that I can provide for my family. Just like other Romanians. (Daniel)

Ukrainian Boris similarly explains that he has suffered three slipped discs in a recently terminated jobs where he manually lifted heavy concrete elements weighing 120 to 130 kilograms, but "kept working because I need money". Russian Igor agrees that "you just close your eyes and work, work, work", while Herbert talks about the considerations he had in relation to a specific work task:

Then I told my boss, "I can't work with that. It's not worth it. The money. Maybe I can survive it if I get paid more. If there is a chance that I can get more money, then okay, maybe I can do it." (Herbert from the Czech Republic)

The motivation, higher earning potential and necessary earnings also have another consequence. Workers who are dependent on earnings do not have the same exit options as Danes, such as unemployment benefits or other safety nets.

Other norms and habits (safety culture)

We have encountered an attitude about migrants having a different safety culture. It follows from this thinking that the safety culture is inferior to the safety culture in Denmark, which is why migrants have more accidents. There are both methodological and theoretical challenges in verifying such claims.

Firstly, it is far from clear what is meant by culture, neither in everyday usage or in theoretical frameworks. *Den Store Danske* dictionary states that "Culture is an often elusive concept" (Den Store Danske, 2023), while The Oxford Dictionary is a bit more precise when it states that culture is "*the attitudes, behavior, opinions, etc. of a particular group of people*" (Cambridge Dictionary, 2023).

When the word culture is used in conjunction with safety, things get more complicated. Safety culture is used in everyday language. It is also used in academic literature, albeit mostly in older literature. As such, safety culture is a contested concept and there are many different definitions. The academic literature has largely abandoned a focus on safety culture because it remains a challenge to determine not only how safety culture affects accidents, but also how safety culture emerges and becomes so "fixed" that it can be called a culture. The concept of safety culture is so abstract that it is almost impossible to operationalize and use in analysis (Bisbey et al., 2021).

But there are also other problems with using the term in the way stakeholders use it. Culture, as defined in academic literature, emerges in social contexts. Culture is shared, and the vast majority of definitions of safety culture point to shared perceptions and values as the definition of culture (Bisbey et al., 2021). It is also important to highlight that the vast majority of definitions of safety culture point to safety culture belonging in *the organization*. Safety culture is part of the organizational culture (Guldenmund, 2000). As such, culture is *not* something that individuals can *have*. And individuals cannot take it with them, e.g. from country to country.

With all these caveats, we therefore take a slightly different approach to this supposed correlation. Instead, we investigate whether migrants are mainly oriented towards the safety of the home country and whether it can be inferred that migrant workers bring lower standards from their home

country and transfer these to the workplace in Denmark. We therefore also put culture in quotation marks in the following because the word does not have a fixed meaning and is used loosely by respondents.

When professional informants inform on culture, they often start from their observations at construction sites: they have noticed that migrant workers perform their work *differently* from Danes. Some professional informants refer to these differences as "cultural differences", as already mentioned. But already from the first quote below, it becomes clear that the interview participants often use the word very loosely and without a fixed meaning. For example, what is being referred to here is a lack of education, even though it is called culture.

It's because they have a different knowledge, a different professional background. And they make decisions based on that. But there are some cultural differences, right? (Public Authority)

Some suggest that the different "culture" translates into harder, manual and physical work.

It's a tradition. A culture. It's embedded in them. That it's not a problem to carry. (Public Authority)

Thus, these public authorities make themselves spokespersons for a particular culture, a culture that is embedded in migrant workers. And the professional informants are supported by a not insignificant minority of migrants themselves. Some migrants also point to cultural differences, as mentioned in chapter 4. This 'culture' is associated with willingness to work, work speed and irresponsibility in terms of safety.

At the same time, we recall that migrants do not have a conformist background. We draw here on the division we presented in chapter 4, where we identify three fairly distinct groups among our informants: careerists, nomads and opportunists. Only careerists (migrants who have primarily worked as tradies in their own country) can bring habits and norms from their home country regarding safety and behavior on construction sites.

In the case of nomads (migrants who have worked primarily in other Western European countries), it makes little sense to believe that culture is brought from home. Instead, it makes sense to expect that habits and norms are primarily acquired on construction sites around Europe. The nomads' acquired habits, norms and ways of working have thus probably also been acquired on Danish and other Western European construction sites, not necessarily the construction sites of their home country. In other words - and to put it bluntly - the different "culture" is likely the result of upbringing, treatment and training on Western European construction sites. We also recall that some migrants in this group have not worked in their home country for a number of years and that it is now many

years since the EU was enlarged in 2004, first with eight new member states and later, in 2007, with two more countries (Andersen & Felbo-Kolding, 2013). The opportunity to work in western EU countries has existed for almost 20 years.

The last group, group 3, people who have never worked in construction in their home country but have become tradespeople through migration, we call opportunists. These people typically have no vocational training or experience when they start working on construction sites in Denmark. Among our informants, there are migrants who have worked as cooks, pastry chefs, office clerks, engineers, drivers, academics and journalists in their own countries. These individuals do not bring a safety culture with them, simply because they have never had the opportunity to adopt the habits and ways of working from their home country's construction sites. Their habits and norms are therefore a result of upbringing and training on Danish construction sites.

To summarize, it can be assumed that all workers who have ever worked on a construction site anywhere in the country or abroad, and this of course includes migrants, naturally come with a set of habits and norms. It's almost a given. But evidence that cultural differences are the predominant reason for migrants' increased risk of accidents is hard to find. Quite the contrary. When we assess the themes in the 84 interviews with migrant workers that we have reproduced in chapters 4 and 5, the material shows great concern for their own safety and frustration, anger and anxiety about the daily life they have to endure in Danish workplaces, not just a narrative about cultural differences.

Lack of knowledge

Knowledge is a more tangible theme in the overall interview material. Lack of vocational knowledge and skills among migrants is one of the most dominant themes in the interview material among professional informants. Two types of knowledge in particular are highlighted: Knowledge about the professional aspects of the job and lack of knowledge about what rights workers have in Denmark.

Some interview participants point to migrant workers' lack of vocational knowledge as one of the reasons for their poorer safety performance. Knowledge of how to perform the work safely and securely is part of the professional identity, it is argued. It is knowledge that Danish trades people acquire as part of their educational and are socialized to during training. In situations where vocational training works optimally, Danish apprentices gain both vocational knowledge, including knowledge of how to perform the work safely:

[You] get some tools with you. You get a course on how to put up scaffolding. You get a course on how to handle dangerous toxins. How to put out a fire. How to perform first aid. (Trade union)

Vocational training is important because the Danish trade-specific education is accompanied by a health and safety education. Safety at work is therefore linked to their vocation, according to professional informants.

The strong division into specific trades in Denmark, which means that Danish trades people primarily look for jobs within their own training, is less rigorous among migrants. This means that there are many who work outside their own trade (e.g. a bricklayer doing carpentry work). It also means that some workers are willing to participate in a wide range of trades, so-called "multi-tradies", without having the specialized training known in Denmark.

But we also have more all-around construction. There are many who are multi.
You can do a little bricklaying, a little carpentry (Interpreter)

Finally, companies hire people with no experience at all, such as university graduates working with plaster or concrete. Both professional informants and migrant workers point to this issue. It seems logical that it is difficult for a university graduate to work safely on a construction site in a foreign country.

Thus, vocational training has an impact on safety. When migrant workers start on Danish construction sites without education or work in a trade other than their own, they do not have sufficient knowledge of safety and occupational health and safety. The argument is that even if the workers are capable of doing the specific job, the work is not necessarily done in the safest or most appropriate way.

They don't have a vocational education like the rest of us. And therefore they don't have ... They simply don't think about the working environment. It's simply not something they think about. So, it's really hard to blame them for something that the rest of us have been brought up to think about our vocation. Something they simply don't think about. It's not because they're stupid or lazy.
(Occupational health and safety employee)

We must be cautious here because there is so much disagreement among migrants (see chapter 4) and other informants. It is also difficult to know whether the views of the interview participants are objective in the sense that they reflect on the current situation in the construction industry. In other words, it is difficult to know whether the different attitudes expressed here reflect the actual vocational level and knowledge of both groups on how to do work safely. Perhaps these attitudes are a reflection of distrust and lack of confidence in the industry. It could also reflect an "us" and "them" mentality, where workers across countries don't feel united in the vocation.

At the same time, it's intuitively true that if you don't have sufficient professional knowledge, it's also difficult to do the job in the safest way. If you haven't learned how to use an angle grinder

safely, you are naturally more vulnerable when using it. In addition, we have categorized three different groups of workers above, where some have the skills and knowledge, while some clearly cannot be assumed to have it. For example, Mikolaj, who is a trained economist and works as a demolition worker, and Ryszard, who is a civil engineer but works with concrete, cannot possibly have much vocational knowledge of occupational health and safety, as they have just started working in the construction industry.

Migrants' lack of knowledge about employee rights in Denmark is another theme. Informants point out that rules are complicated and difficult to learn. Julian, who is a member and active in the trade union movement, explains why knowledge is so important.

Danes know it well. They know the rules, they know they need work clothes, they know they need equipment, they know they need one or two or three breaks during the day. Poles don't know anything about all that. (Julian from Poland)

The argument is that this lack of knowledge means that migrant workers are vulnerable because they don't require, for example, personal aids or instructions in their work.

They have the right to say "hey, where's my hard hat, where's my safety shoes". If something breaks, you go to the employer. You have to get new shoes when they break. You don't have to wait for a year." (Interpreter)

When migrant workers have been in Denmark for a longer period of time, they become better at navigating the system. This also has safety implications.

We can see that the longer they have been in Denmark, the better they become at complying with the rules. They know them. And the willingness to abide by them. Their understanding and knowledge of the Danish model increases. Because they gradually start talking to other craftsmen. (Public authority)

Overall, this points to a lack of knowledge among migrants as a contributing factor to their increased accident profile. The ignorance referred to by the informants manifests itself in at least two ways in relation to safety. Firstly, migrants are more directly exposed to accidents if they do not have the necessary professional and health and safety knowledge. But this lack of knowledge also has another effect. It makes them more vulnerable to exploitation, a theme we covered in chapter 4.

Summary and reflection , characteristics of the migrant worker

In this part of the report, we have focused on the characteristics of the individual employee. The purpose is to identify the influences related to the individual employee that contribute to the different outcome for migrants.

On the one hand, we have shown that it is disputed whether migrant workers in some cases lack vocational skills and thus knowledge of how to perform their work safely. That migrant workers lack qualifications is an argument that has been put forward in the past. Thus, informants from construction sector organizations also describe migrants as lacking experience, or as "generalists" without the specific sub-sector skills normally used in Denmark, or with qualifications that are not directly comparable (COWI, 2012; Guldenmund et al., 2013). Existing literature suggests that migrants are mainly oriented towards their home countries. It follows that when there is a lower standard of safety in the home countries, this will lead to a lower standard of workplace safety in Denmark (COWI, 2012; Guldenmund et al., 2013; Refslund & Sippola, 2020). We can thus deduce that there is more support for the professional informants' arguments about lack of professionalism and its consequences than there is for some migrants' arguments that this is not the case.

We have also shown that migrant workers are thirsty for jobs and (higher) wages. Our findings are supported by previous research. Indeed, there is a consensus that wages are the main reason why migrants seek work in Denmark (Andersen & Felbo-Kolding, 2013). The mobility of workers and the differences between potential earnings, combined with responsibilities towards families and dependents, means that migrants have a lot to lose, which is thought to make migrant workers more likely to live with a poor working environment and dangerous work compared to their Danish counterparts. Migrant workers' alternatives may be so inadequate that it is difficult to stand up to poor working conditions and the stronger party, the employer. The way in which the unequal economic markets between the home country and Denmark motivate individual workers is well documented in existing literature (Andersen & Felbo-Kolding, 2013; Arnholtz & Hansen, 2009).

Some interview participants have also pointed to cultural differences. However, it is unclear whether what respondents perceive as culture is instead a lack of training and knowledge. Alternatively, the word covers the sender's unconscious belief that Danish "culture" is superior. It is used almost euphemistically or panegyrically. There is also another way of thinking about the "culture" that migrants themselves emphasize. An ethnographic study (Nielsen & Sandberg, 2014) argues that Polish workers brand a certain mentality, a "Polishness", as the authors call it in the article. According to this logic, migrants build a kind of brand. This different brand emerges as a reaction to the lack of opportunity to profile themselves through skills. Instead, migrants create a niche where efficiency and willingness to work become characteristics (Nielsen & Sandberg, 2014). If "culture" is more of a brand than actual norms and habits, the brand must be maintained. And it can only be maintained by living up to the notion of effectiveness—even if it comes at a cost.

As mentioned above, we have found it difficult to demonstrate that a different type of safety culture exists. We support another study (Guldenmund et al., 2013), which argues that differences are

more likely to be due to different levels of training and education than nationality. In this study of three European countries, including Denmark, the researchers found it difficult to prove that poorer safety is due to cultural differences. The researchers write: "This and other studies do not indicate that cultural influences play a decisive role" (Guldenmund et al., 2013). Instead, Guldenmund et al. (2013) point out that safety is situational, i.e. determined by the conditions workers encounter. This makes situational knowledge central.

A systematic review of the literature similarly finds that different behavior on the jobsite is not due to nationality. In other words, it is not possible to blame poor safety on an individual's race or country of birth:

The reviewed country-based studies confirm that there is no reason to believe that employees' ethnic or national background determines their security practices (Grøn & Knudsen, 2012, p. 98)

In addition, we should recall that Danish safety was not impressive before the arrival of Eastern European workers from 2004 onwards. In fact, studies from before the arrival of Eastern Europeans found that Denmark lagged far behind Sweden in particular (Grill et al., 2015, 2017). It is hard to imagine that this is due to the Swedes having less power distance or something else, but it is more likely that the differences are due to better training, instruction, control and better education etc.

Perhaps the most important point we can make here is that we must accept migrant workers as they are. The workplaces, employers, health and safety professionals and Denmark as a country will not get far by wishing for migrants with a different culture, knowledge, experience, language and attitudes. The education, knowledge and background that migrants bring with them must be taken for granted. What can be changed is how workplaces and Denmark welcome, train and accommodate the workforce as it arrives. If migrant workers lack knowledge, it must be provided. If migrant workers are performing the work in a way that endangers themselves or others, they need to be training. The next part of the report will examine whether the stakeholders on the construction site are fulfilling this responsibility.

8.2 Focus on safety and occupational health initiatives

In this section, we assess various indicators of workplace health and safety intentions, programs and practices. In relation to the analysis model (Sorensen et al., 2016), we are concerned with what is referred to in the model as "Workplace health and safety intentions, programs and practices". The workplace is thus the full battery of initiatives, including initiatives handled by employers, clients and public initiatives. In a Danish context, it is primarily the various measures

stipulated in the Working Environment (WE) Act. And often, professional informants orient their answers towards the WE Act.

We show that the interview participants generally point to a lack of instruction of migrant workers, exclusion from health and safety organization and inadequate induction courses. In continuation of this, it is pointed out that the very people who are hired to look after the interests of migrant workers are ill-equipped for the task. In this context, it makes more sense than above to use the literature on safety culture (Bisbey et al., 2021; Guldenmund, 2000) as a framework for analysis. We remind the reader that safety culture is socially created in relationships between people and "lives" in the organization, not individuals. We also remind the reader, that the measures that companies put in place should not be misinterpreted as culture. However, when companies do not have appropriate procedures in place and signal that they do not value safety for all, they miss their opportunity to positively influence safety culture (Bisbey et al., 2021).

Difficulties faced by health and safety professionals

OSH coordination in Denmark and the wider EU has its foundation in EU legislation (Ajslev & Møller, 2023). With Directive 92/57/EEC of 1992, OSH coordination became an important tool in policy initiatives seeking to improve the working environment, health and safety of construction workers (Ajslev & Møller, 2023).

The actual coordination of the working environment is handled by a health and safety coordinator, who is responsible for ensuring cooperation between employers on health and safety issues and for ensuring that employers apply the general prevention principles (Ajslev & Møller, 2023). The occupational health and safety coordinator must coordinate the work environment where more than one employer is present (Aulin and Capone Citation 2010). The coordinator can be employed by the client, the contractor or as an external health and safety advisor. The health and safety coordinator is required by law to "act on behalf of the client". In 2019, 1207 people completed the mandatory training course to become a certified health and safety coordinator in Denmark. This is a similar number to the previous three years (Ajslev & Møller, 2023). The course takes one week.

In addition to the work of the coordinators, some companies employ in-house health and safety professionals. In this space, there is a lot of confusion about titles. Some titles include "manager", "project manager" or other. Other OHS people work as consultants. These have no fixed place of work, but instead work as independent consultants. Almost all of our informants in this group have extensive experience working for clients, in-house, and in public supervisory positions.

The health and safety professionals we interviewed for this project have been identified by others as skilled and ambitious. Despite this, these OHS employees explain that it can be difficult to

implement effective health and safety initiatives. As such, it is difficult *even* for the most professional in the industry:

So I've always fought for occupational health and safety to be a specialist area, and I've also experienced this in the consulting industry. When you're a P¹³-coordinator, you're a secondary piece of the puzzle who is annoying and says stupid things during the design phase. There's no one, at least not many, who see the value of a good working environment crown. [...] You have to really, really stick at it to get them to understand it. (Occupational health and safety employee)

We deduce that even the best in the business struggle to break through.

Other health and safety professionals in the industry have much less experience, knowledge and background than our informants. Some union informants point out that too many health and safety professionals are poorly trained. An informant from the trade unions tells us how he perceives the ability of health and safety professionals to protect workers.

They do have OHS safety people walking around. But they have no idea what they're doing. (Trade union)

There is a shortage of skilled health and safety professionals, which means that employees don't always have the necessary professional background. One employee speaks with ill-concealed contempt about other health and safety professionals.

All this stuff about the working environment, that's what an apprentice is assigned to do. To look at it. (Occupational health and safety employee)

This lack of professional know-hos, combined with minimal training in health and safety, means that employed health and safety professionals may not be able to assert themselves when the primary considerations are schedules and finances (see later in this chapter).

Yikes. We're really struggling with the fact that, first of all, it's young people who don't get the necessary education, who don't have the authority to make decisions. To push things through. And they are simply not trained for it. They are simply not qualified enough to handle these complex construction cases. To know everything we're talking about. And know the construction industry. And know the construction site culture. And know the mechanisms. They simply have no idea about that. (Occupational health and safety employee)

They get "run over", as one Occupational Health and Safety employee puts it.

¹³ OHS employees distinguish their roles as P and R. P stands for "projekterende" which is the planning phase. B refers to the OHS coordinators who is responsible during the building phases.

If you don't have your knowledge with you, you'll get run over, and if you don't have integrity, you'll also get run over. It's a tough world, and we're also some pretty special people, those of us who find it exciting, I can see that when I look around. Because... who the hell wants to pull into *this* parking lot every day? But then again, some of us do. (Occupational health and safety employee)

It is pointed out that current health and safety training is insufficient¹⁴, which makes health and safety professionals ill-equipped for the task.

But there is no education. That's the problem, actually. [...] So the basic level; it's only in the coordinator training, which lasts 5 days, where you sit and talk to all sorts of people, and you just think, holy shit, there wasn't much new, you could say. (Occupational health and safety employee)

The same health and safety manager goes on to say that there is a huge demand in the industry for people like himself who have the broad experience. He describes the lack of qualified health and safety coordinators as an industry shortage.

So there is clearly an industry shortage. I've just advertised. I had to hire someone, and the people who applied were some old concrete workers who thought OHS was exciting. but I can't use them. Because I have to send them out to huge construction sites, and the clients expect them to be a professional. So I've been out and pulled in some people who are already in the industry. So we swap around: all of us who have to do with the working environment. We swap around, and... I think there must be a lot of 1000 kroner notes flying around, because you can only draw on people with the salary nowadays. So it's an industry gap, you could say (Occupational health and safety employee).

To sum up: among our informants, the effectiveness of occupational health and safety efforts is generally questioned.

Language challenges in occupational health and safety

Lack of language skills is identified as a challenge in relation to migrant workers. A very large proportion of informants who are not migrants themselves point to language as a challenge to security efforts (see chapter 4 for migrants' opposite views).

The challenges arise in different ways. For example, necessary instructions are not passed on or not communicated in a language that is understood by workers.

Well, I think the challenge is that there is that language barrier, that it's a big issue, I actually think it's that it's neglected a bit, and then "well, now we've said it

¹⁴ A first degree in occupational health and safety management will be offered for the first time in the fall of 2023 at the University of Southern Denmark:

https://www.sdu.dk/da/uddannelse/efter_videreuddannelse/master/arbejdsmiljoeledelse

in English, and we'll just translate it for the chairman, and then he'll go on with it".
But you can't be sure of that. (Occupational health and safety employee)

This concern thus relates to worker safety because adequate instruction is believed to contribute to better safety. In other words, a lack of language skills among workers and supervisors is believed to create dangerous situations.

The fact that he doesn't have Danish as his mother tongue. But maybe as a third language, or that he doesn't even know it. That English is also difficult. This means that he may also not be properly instructed in his work tasks. (Public authority)

And the problem is that when we hold safety meetings, they are held in Danish. This means that even a chairman who speaks English doesn't participate... Then it's a manager who can pass something on to a chairman in English, who then has to pass something on in Polish to his colleagues, and then it becomes... Then I sometimes have doubts about what is being communicated, and I'm convinced that they sometimes think, "Well, that's a strange system they have here in Denmark", because they may not be properly informed. Communication is already a difficult thing, we can see that with just the Danish employees, so it's even more difficult when it's in three different languages at the end of the day.
(Work Environment Coordinator)

To ensure that a lack of language doesn't lead to dangerous situations, bilingual workers are used as intermediaries. Some have had good experiences with this:

It's important to have bilinguals. Then we call them in or supervise them, because then they can explain. You can do that. But the message is that you have to make sure that there are people who are really good at English. Or their own language and speak Danish. (Occupational health and safety employee)

Others are more skeptical. Even in situations where bilingual intermediaries are used to convey work and safety instructions, some stakeholders suspect that there is potential for confusion, and therefore risk, because the translations may not be precise enough.

If you are going to work with foreign workers, you need to ensure that language is not a barrier. One way to do this is to ensure that there are people in the construction management team who can speak Danish. Otherwise, you can also communicate in English. But a lot of misunderstandings happen anyway. Even if you think you're good at English and all that sort of thing. (Occupational health and safety employee)

Similarly, trade unions in particular are skeptical of a practice where the official language is set to English without any consideration as to whether workers can speak and understand English.

But then they just write that the project language is English, and the only people who speak English are the engineers. (Trade union)

As can be seen from the above quotes, it is primarily informants other than migrant workers, and only a few migrant workers, who advocate language as a risk factor.

Exclusion from health and safety organization

In this section, we focus on the mandatory occupational health and safety cooperation (AMO) on construction sites. In particular, we focus on migrant workers' access to participate in these efforts through their Health and Safety Representative (AMR).

The rules concerning AMO are stipulated in the Working Environment Act (LBK no. 2062 of 16/11/2021) chapter 2 on cooperation on health and safety. The most important rules are shown in figure 21.

Figure 21 Legislation on occupational health and safety organization (AMO)

The Occupational Health and Safety Organization (AMO) is a collaboration between management and employees for a good working environment. The AMO's tasks and function are primarily about helping to create the framework for a good working environment in the company. AMO also has an important task in influencing colleagues to continuously work towards a good working environment. AMO has both strategic and operational tasks (Arbejdstilsynet, 2011).

The legal rules on health and safety organization can be found in the Working Environment Act (LBK no. 2062 of 16/11/2021). According to section 6, cooperation on health and safety in companies with 1-9 employees must take place through ongoing direct contact and dialogue between the employer, employees and any supervisors. In companies with 10-34 employees, cooperation on health and safety must be organized in a health and safety organization consisting of 1 or more supervisors and 1 or more elected health and safety representatives (AMR) with the employer or a representative of the employer as chairman. In companies with 35 or more employees, the cooperation must be organized in such a way that a health and safety organization is established with the following two levels: 1) the daily tasks, and 2) the overall tasks regarding safety and health.

In addition to the statutory regulations, the Danish Working Environment Authority has produced a number of guidelines. According to these guidelines, the elected health and safety representatives are part of the health and safety organization, where the other key persons

are the employer and designated supervisors (Arbejdstilsynet, 2011). There must be at least the same number of health and safety representatives as supervisors in the AMO. The purpose is to ensure that supervisors and health and safety representatives participate equally in the AMO work (Arbejdstilsynet, 2011).

Employees must have the opportunity for regular contact with the part of the AMO that handles the tasks within their area. Employees should have easy access to their health and safety representative and AMO members, and AMO members should have the opportunity to carry out outreach work in relation to employees.

The employer must ensure that the members of the AMO can participate in the company's planning of the health and safety work (Arbejdstilsynet, 2011) and that reasonable time is allocated for the work, cf. § 8. Similarly, the employer must ensure that the members of the health and safety organization have completed a mandatory health and safety training of a duration of 3 days, cf. § 9.

Perhaps the clearest indication that AMO is not working is the inability of migrant workers to give meaningful answers when asked about AMR and AMO as documented in Chapter 4. Migrants have remarkably little to say about AMO and AMR, and with so little to say, it's hard not to come to the conclusion that AMO has little effect on migrant workers' work environment.

Our initial conclusion is supported by the professional informants. Thus, it is a widespread perception among professional informants that migrants are excluded from AMO. They are thus also excluded from the overall task of planning, leading and coordinating initiatives concerning OHS.

An OHS consultant who visits a large number of construction sites every week observes that "they don't participate in the safety meetings. They don't participate in anything". The same person shares his view on why migrants do not participate.

Then an occupational health and safety manager arrives. In other words, a manager from their company. We expect an employee and an employer to attend. Then only the occupational health and safety manager comes. Then we are told by those who have tried to talk to our foreign colleagues, well, they are not asked. And when they are asked, they are told that they shouldn't go. And if they do ask, they get fired. (Occupational health and safety consultant)

Some OHS employees argue that the legislation is appropriate and effective. These OHS employees instead use other methods than the statutory AMO. For example, an occupational health and safety employee at a large public construction site says that they "don't get hung up on" on AMO.

Sometimes it's the manager who comes. Sometimes it's the representative, depending on what there's time for. We don't get too hung up on that - I certainly don't. What's important is that someone from the company attends. Who has the power of attorney to say yes and no. The same with safety meetings. In reality, there must be both an employer and an employee representative. That's the law. I don't relate to it much, I must admit. (Occupational health and safety employee)

As the interview shows, at least this informant perceives the law as a choice. And there are also a few informants from the professional organizations and supervisory authorities who point out that there are no consequences for not having an AMO. In other words, it is free to break the law in this case.

Other health and safety professionals find it especially difficult to get casual workers, such as temporary workers, involved in the AMO.

Yes, definitely, we've also noticed that in the health and safety organization, there's a little more... you're a little more indifferent, there's not as much of a connection to the company, and that might mean that "well, they may have all these rules and policies, but I'm only going to be here for a short period of time". (Health and safety employee)

Others point out that the reason why AMO does not work in general and in relation to migrant workers in particular is that migrants' contributions are too unqualified. OHS employees find that the migrants are not equipped for the task and therefore cannot contribute.

What exactly is our job. What is it all about? What am I supposed to contribute? They don't know. (Occupational health and safety employee)

The lack of vocational training (see earlier in this chapter) becomes important in this context. The ability to take on responsibility is paramount. It is not enough to attend meetings as a recipient of information.

And that's exactly what Danish trades people know when they enter a construction site. They are simply instilled with... all the way from kindergarten, through primary school, that they must participate. They have to take active responsibility. They have some duties, they have to participate in the collaboration (Working environment employee)

In this context, it is pointed out that a good working environment is achieved by entering into a dialog to find solutions. These are situations where there are several options for solving the task and where it requires vocational insight to assess how the task can be solved in the best way as not everything can be laid out in the guidelines and legislation. Decisions therefore require a concrete assessment.

It's one thing to sit around and be a pain in the ass. Of course, they exist. But it's also about being trained and willing to engage in a dialog and find solutions. Where knowledge is not sufficient, but we have to make an assessment. Because there are no answers to everything. But you have to at least be qualified and prepared to make some assessments (Occupational Health and Safety employee).

It's clear that the fewer people who have an understanding of OHS, the poorer this decision-making will be.

Language is again cited as a barrier to participation. Obviously, there is room for miscommunication or information is simply not being conveyed:

There is often someone in a larger team who can communicate with others. Because they need instructions. Hopefully also work environment instructions. But it's not certain that it will be passed on, is it? (Public authority)

There's also no guarantee that the person who happens to know an additional language has the necessary pedagogical/communicative tools to convey complicated information such as health and safety instructions.

I've been on safety courses myself. And migrants don't understand anything, even if it's in English. It's obvious - even to us who are just sitting there - that they don't understand anything. (Occupational health and safety employee)

One of the reasons why AMRs' contributions are perceived as unqualified may be that AMRs are chosen from among English speakers, not the most qualified:

In the seat I've held for three years, we have an AM representative. You typically only choose from among the colleagues who speak English. And they are also typically given a computer so they can do some work. (Polish worker during group interview)

This brings up language and communication as an issue again; language is a recurring concern.

Overall, it must be concluded that AMO does not function as intended in some (and probably many) workplaces. Migrant workers are excluded in the efforts to improve their own working

environment. Migrants are either not invited to participate in the task, and when they are, not always able to solve the tasks involved in this role.

Formalities, rather than real safety

A focus on formalities rather than improving real safety is a recurring theme in the interviews. The arguments are that various occupational health and safety initiatives do not necessarily benefit migrant workers or have a real effect on reducing accidents, improving well-being or anything else (Safety of *work*). Instead, the effort is on making it appear as if safety is important. The formal initiatives that exist on construction sites (*Safety work*) do not actually lead to safer conditions.

Migrant workers point out that the safety measures are only intended to make it look like companies and clients care about the safety and well-being of migrant workers. German Ernst, who has worked in the border region for many years, observes that:

It's the safety that looks good. They have papers that say something about safety and quality. It's almost in all the papers. But it's not true. (Ernst)

OHS employees share his opinion, explaining that neither employers nor clients are interested in improving safety: they only want to make it appear that way.

But sometimes we also get the impression that it's an alibi. Then it looks nice, and there have been safety meetings and they've been introduced, and in reality it's just something to get over with, right. (Trade union)

An informant from a public authority details the difficulties of control because public clients help to hide what is happening on construction sites.

But it's always going to be [public clients] who decide what's going to happen. There can be all sorts of hidden agendas and back rubbing and people they know. And then it can be quietly packed away. There may also be some who think, we simply don't need this to come to light. (Public authority)

In another example, an OHS employee similarly interprets the mechanisms in the relationship between client and contractor:

The company washes its hands. Now we have made sure that there is someone from your own team who can take care of this. So ... you have signed off on this in the tender documents. So we just wash our hands. And then you take care of that yourself. (Occupational health and safety employee)

Another informant from the trade unions tells us about a specific large private construction project:

They have a hell of a lot of rules. And things that the employee has to live up to. They enforce them. Hard. But it's not safety for the sake of the employee.

Unfortunately, it's not the same as no accidents happening. So I see it a bit like a way to cover yourself. That you have a great working environment on site. (Trade union)

The essence of these allegations is that measures are not intended to protect migrant workers, but rather to protect the company, in this case the client, from legal action. In this way, there is a shift of responsibility towards the employees. A health and safety coordinator confirms that such practices, which ensure a formal transfer of responsibility to the subcontractor, are also valued in subcontracting chains.

They have to sign that they have heard and understood everything. And we get those documents delivered to our contractor, so we can always say "we told them that". (Health and safety employee)

Migrant workers share the experience that safety courses, health and safety organization and other things are not necessarily for the sake of migrant workers, but are just something to get through so that companies can look like they have done "something":

Right after we attended the course on Skype, and as soon as we got back, we were pressured to start working and producing again. Yes, it's just to show that we've been on the course. (Estevo from Portugal)

Julian agrees.

The employer does them [health and safety courses], but the employer doesn't care if we comply. (Julian from Poland)

Polish Alan tells us about a specific example where the company tries to avoid responsibility. Specifically, this is done by:

The manager's wife, who was the general manager, she came with some papers in Danish. Which she said concerned the working environment. You just need to sign that you will take care of each other. (Alan from Poland)

It's clear that signing a document has minimal effect on creating real safety in the workplace (*Safety of work*). In this example, the responsibility is offloaded to the workers and to the benefit of the employer.

In summary, what is happening on construction sites is a primary focus on formalities instead of actual change. The focus is on procedures, paperwork, which is intended to document that responsibility has been shifted to others. Taken together, the quotes also demonstrate that responsibility and risk are shifted downwards and towards the workers themselves. In other words, there is a shift of risk away from the client towards companies, from main contractors to subcontractors and from these towards workers.

Another criticism is that companies focus on the easiest and cheapest measures instead of measures that make a real difference to safety, but which are more expensive to implement. For example, an informant from a trade union explains that:

There is an attitude among the big players that we must demonstrate that we have done something about it, so therefore we impose that they have to wear helmets, gloves, but they do not eliminate the big problems because they are expensive. (Trade union)

Similarly, an OHS consultant describes a specific and particularly dangerous workplace where the work involves handling and working in chemically hazardous environments.

There were [hazardous chemicals], ammonia and there were fungus and everything. And the only thing they could concentrate on was glasses, helmets and safety shoes. (Occupational health and safety employee)

The argument is that the focus is on the cheap measures instead of focusing on the aspects of work that are the most dangerous and probably more expensive to address.

The work of the Danish Working Environment Authority is made more difficult

As shown in Chapter 4, migrant workers experience employers ordering them to stop work during Danish Working Environment Authority (WEA) inspections. In the following, we build on these findings and explore how we can understand WEA's efforts in relation to the question of why migrant workers are more vulnerable on construction sites.

An independent occupational health and safety consultant has this take on the motive for stop-work orders when the Danish Working Environment Authority visits. He points to a financial motive.

But some people think that it's cheaper for them to sit in the shed for two hours. (Occupational health and safety employee)

We must assume that companies do not necessarily consider the WEA as an ally in a targeted effort to improve the working environment. Fines may have the opposite effect, because companies will go to great lengths to avoid a fine. Despite WEA working dialog-based approach, it is difficult for WEA to fulfill their core function when workers either disappear or stop working during inspections.

An informant from a control unit has come to the same conclusion. This person is also convinced that the migrant workers are covering up for the companies because the consequences of not doing so are too high.

Because they don't want anything to get in the way. They just want to be allowed to continue so they can get their salary. (Public authority)

Another informant from a regulatory authority has a similar experience, explaining that

Sometimes, if you take your time during the inspection, use an interpreter in their language and build trust. A mutual trust, you can sometimes get to the point where they tell you some things that are not good. Then they say, but you can't go any further with it. Because then I'll lose my job. (Public authority)

Informants point to a lack of tools in the WEA's toolbox and/or in practices. These statements are most often formulated as what is lacking in supervision. One problem is that WEA must observe violations in order to react to them. The WEA focuses on violations that can be observed and those that happen here and now. In the words of one supervisor, "We have to establish it".

It can be difficult to spot what is not immediately observable, such as the psychological work environment and well-being.

How do they feel they are treated when they are assigned new tasks? I think there's also a psychological working environment involved. (Occupational health and safety employee)

It is inherently difficult to see wellbeing, nor is it an independent focus by WEA. Two employees in the WEA describe how the focus shifts from wellbeing and the psychological work environment to the more urgent aspects of the work.

I haven't experienced that we have asked the employer what the tone is like out here, because we have focused on the fact that there are some work environment issues that are more pressing. So I haven't experienced that part. (Public authority)

There are so many other things we could also ask about. So we've kind of chosen to say that where there are the greatest health risks or accident hazards, that's what we focus on. Therefore, I have not experienced that we ask about that part. (Public authority)

Also, the WEA does not monitor whether AMO is in place and whether the elected representatives are able to perform the tasks associated with the role of AMR. The WEA also does not monitor the workers' housing situation, even though housing is often part of the migrant workers' overall work package, as we have discussed elsewhere.

German Ernst points out that the inspection is only a snapshot, and that this snapshot changes the moment the Danish Working Environment Authority leaves the site.

It's also good that they check so much in Denmark, but it only looks good in the moment when they walk through the store and they just look at the how and where five minutes later. They only look at papers and everything else. Whether

the fence is so and so high and all that. It just has to look nice. And as soon as they're out of the shop, no one is interested in security." (Ernst)

In addition, informants from the trade unions in particular find it inappropriate that the WEA is not allowed to use images taken by others.

They can't use my photos, WEA. They have to take their own pictures. (Trade union)

Others point out that the financial incentives to ensure a good working environment and safety are lacking. Specifically, several, especially in the trade unions, point out that the fines are too small. This is especially so compared to Sweden, where fines have a reputation for being higher.

The fines in Denmark are really small compared to other countries. Whether it was something that could make a difference. Simply that the size of the hammer is crucial. I think it is. Because if you look [to] Sweden, the fines are much, much bigger. (Trade union)

A particular type of issue relates to the impact of the law. Both informants inside and outside the WEA report that legislation is perceived as being negotiable. During interviews, we have experienced this attitude. For example, OHS employees have explained that they avoid using AMO in their work, arguing that there are better methods than what the law prescribes. The Occupational Health and Safety Act is thus perceived as something that can be negotiated and circumvented, or as one OHS employee puts it: "You think of it as a guideline".

The WEA unanimously reports that the law and the authority of the WEA is being questioned. For example, one supervisor:

We've had a developer say to us, well, I've asked a consultant and he says it's okay what we're doing. And we had to say "well, hello, if you get a speeding ticket from the police, don't go and ask someone else if it's okay to drive too fast here". We are the authority. We have told you to do such and such. And then you tell us that we don't decide that? (Public authority)

Finally, it is pointed out that the Danish Working Environment Authority only captures the consequences, but does not have the authority to assess what this informant considers to be the real culprit, namely unrealistic schedules and financial considerations:

The Danish Working Environment Authority, for example, tends to come and issue an injunction for a missing railing. You're not wearing hearing protection or glasses or something. They need to take a broader perspective and say: "well, you can't do this in that time, it's simply not possible". [...] And the losers in this game are the workers, including foreign workers, because they sometimes have to jump over hurdles. (Occupational health and safety employee)

Despite the perceived shortcomings, almost all informants call for more supervision, not less.

Summary and reflection , safety and health efforts

There is great potential in occupational health and safety initiatives (Dyreborg et al., 2021). A recent study shows that prioritizing the working environment "is associated with a significant, moderate reduction in reportable occupational accidents and a significant, strong reduction in serious occupational accidents".

However, our study shows that it is difficult for even very ambitious health and safety professionals to get through with initiatives. The perception that health and safety is not taken seriously is backed up by an almost new Danish study conducted by Ajslev and other NFA employees (Ajslev et al., 2022). This study of health and safety coordinators, who were selected for the study because they are particularly skilled, provides a good insight into the daily lives of health and safety coordinators. As is the case in our own study, all informants in the NFA study (Ajslev et al., 2022) describe how it is "difficult to implement health and safety initiatives because most other stakeholders in the construction organization do not prioritize health and safety above other agendas and can be quite dismissive of the health and safety coordinator" (2022, p. 57). The study (Ajslev et al., 2022) also describes that health and safety coordinators have difficulty maintaining a positive image of their own influence on construction sites, and some describe themselves as a necessary evil and peripheral to decision-making processes (Ajslev et al., 2022).

Similarly, the international literature also questions the effectiveness of occupational health and safety efforts. That is, whether the increase in personnel with occupational health and safety as a focal point can be traced as an impact. For example, it is argued that "Organizations may have noticed this lack of impact that safety professionals have on safety" (Provan & Pryor, 2019, p. 286). The international literature suggests that it is difficult to translate health and safety work into health and safety outcomes.

According to informants, migrants are excluded from occupational health and safety efforts. If we think of safety culture as social processes between management, other workers and in professional groups (Bisbey et al., 2021), it is clear that such exclusion both on and off the job has an impact on the safety culture in the organization. We know that safety is positively affected when there is a deep identification between workers in a team (Andersen et al., 2018) and when management clearly signals that they value and prioritize safety (Bisbey et al., 2021). When employers clearly signal that migrant workers' lives are not valued in the same way as those of Danes, and when migrant workers do not have the opportunity to interact, safety is bound to

deteriorate. Thus, the safety culture in the organization will deteriorate when both the managerial signaling and the involvement of migrant workers in the health and safety organization are missing.

Not surprisingly, language problems are pointed out. This is not surprising because language problems are identified in virtually all literature on migrants (Arnholtz & Hansen, 2009; COWI, 2012; Guldenmund et al., 2013). However, we would caution against perceiving language problems as something that solely concerns the migrant worker themselves. Migrant workers are mobile, interchangeable and transient, and may have little incentive to learn the language. Language problems should therefore be solved organizationally and in the industry, not by expecting the individual migrant worker to learn Danish.

As also shown in Chapter 4, the efforts of the Danish Working Environment Authority are hampered by work stoppages, orders to leave the site, clean up or take breaks. This makes it difficult for the Danish Working Environment Authority to perform their core task of protecting migrants. While many have called for more supervision as a solution, a call that has been answered with increased funding for supervision, we can't help but be critical of an argument for more of something that doesn't work as intended and in relation to migrants in particular.

Formalities dominate. In this regard, parallels can be drawn to chapter 4, where the migrants also explain about short intro courses and various skipping actions that are intended to make it appear as if safety is emphasized. The international literature describes what the Danish informants describe as *safety work* (Rae & Provan, 2018). The international literature points out that despite the increase in the number of professionals responsible for ensuring safety in the workplace, there is no corresponding improvement in the *safety of work* (Rae et al., 2018). In addition, it is remarkable that there is so much willingness to perceive the Occupational Health and Safety Act as being negotiable. At the same time, there do not seem to be any particular consequences for breaking the law. See also previous research in this context (Pedersen & Thomsen, 2011).

8.3 Themes on industry organization and characteristics

This part of the report focuses on the industry's organization of work. In other words, we take a step away from individual workplaces to the way work is organized at the industry level. We are interested in aspects of work organization that occur outside the individual construction site (Sorensen et al., 2016), but which influence safety and occupational health. We continue with an inductive approach and the following sections are therefore derived from the coding of the interview material.

Economy and schedules are the main priority

All interviewed occupational health and safety employees, informants from the professional organizations and most informants in public authorities point to a connection between occupational health and safety, economy and time schedules. Overall, tight schedules and tight finances are perceived as a threat to health and safety. Occupational health and safety is thus perceived as a contradictory consideration in relation to finances and schedules. Health and safety employees experience that their own work and their own person are perceived as annoying in relation to core tasks. Some point out that a good working environment has the potential to be a financial gain, but that this potential has not yet been realized. In the following, we unfold the connection between work environment, profit and time schedules.

Overall, there is a general consensus that health and safety is not prioritized. This quote summarizes this perception: "It's simply not prioritized enough". More specifically, health and safety is perceived as a conflicting consideration in relation to finances and schedules. An Occupational Health and Safety employee cuts to the chase when he states: "It's all about money. And time. Those are the two aspects of this". An informant from the trade unions agrees: "You can probably figure that out if it's too cheap. If it's too good to be true, then it's too good to be true". An informant from a supervisory authority elaborates that when finances are too tight, "there is not much money left in terms of safety". In addition to others, one informant puts it this way:

There is just more focus on money than safety. And that's just the reality
(Occupational health and safety employee)

There is a consensus among all groups surveyed that the lack of prioritization of occupational health and safety is due to other considerations, such as schedules and finances.

An informant from a supervisory authority explains with a simple example why economy and occupational health and safety are perceived as conflicting considerations:

If you have two houses being built. In one house, they're using ladders to do some of the work at height, and in the other they've rented a large expensive scaffolding. There are Danish tradies working for high wages, and then there are some Eastern European workers working for low wages. That house can be built much cheaper. It takes a little longer, but it's probably cheaper anyway. (Public authority)

In a battle of priorities, health and safety professionals find that health and safety always lose out:

You can understand it. It's schedules, it's planning, schedules and money. That's what it is. And the progress. That's the first thing everyone prioritizes. Then the working environment comes second. (Occupational health and safety employee)

And that has consequences:

You can't keep pushing and make it faster and cheaper, because at some point enough will be enough. But when that is, you'll probably never know. The contractors are trying to find a solution and solve the task, and that's often the big challenge, that they don't get together and say: "Well, this is simply not possible, we can't work faster, we can't work on top of each other, it's simply not realistic". (Occupational health and safety employee)

It's worth noting that the majority of health and safety professionals point to general conditions in the industry, not specific companies which are particularly stingy or indifferent to health and safety.

And it's also related to the fact that everything is under pressure. So in my world, all the challenges with foreign labor are also related to the challenges that generally exist in construction sites of sitting ... the developers put pressure on prices and time, especially on time, and the contractors actually agree to some schedules that they know are not realistic, so when we get out on site, we have to try and solve some things that ... and then we have to get someone, also for the prices, someone who is as cheap as possible, and then you might get someone who doesn't have a lot of experience or training in the specifics of what they are going to do, and then it becomes a bit like that: on the working environment part and on the quality part. And then it kind of bites itself in the end. (Occupational health and safety employee)

Health and safety professionals refer to schedules and finances as a condition of work, a condition that the individual company is not able to negotiate individually. It is also worth noting that the majority of health and safety professionals do not exclusively refer to the migrant workforce when articulating the problems.

Only one informant focuses specifically on migrant workers when articulating where the problems occur:

As soon as it's foreign labor, it's as if the working environment is just pushed into a corner. (Occupational health and safety employee)

There is therefore reason to conclude that the industry in general is under unrealistic time pressure and that economic considerations take priority at the expense of the working environment. Migrants are particularly pressured in this situation because Danish workers are better able to withstand the pressures, while migrant workers have little choice but to accept that this pressure is channeled down through the layers and ultimately lands on their shoulders.

Although time and finances are singled out as the culprit factor in ensuring good health and safety measures, such as inspections, a few others also point to ignorance or outright reluctance.

And sometimes it's because you don't want to or because you think it costs money. Sometimes it's because you're ignorant. Sometimes you're not aware of the rules. (Occupational health and safety employee)

Some point out that it's hard to change things because habits and business as usual dictate how construction sites are managed, and that this is due to a focus on schedules without reflection on the state of things:

Could it be that we should do things differently? Could there be things we could do to make our workday easier? Is there something else we should do instead? They don't think that through at all. No, we just need to be "over there". Now. (Health and safety employee)

One OHS employee challenges the assumption of a contradiction between health and safety on the one hand and time and finances on the other. He is instead optimistic about a different agenda and see potential in understanding that the contradictions are not a given. Instead, he argue that a good working environment can be compatible with the economy - and may even create value:

And there's actually a lot of money in this working environment. Because it helps to optimize the whole thing too. If it's clean and everything just runs smoothly, you also have a better construction process. So the cogwheels are connected. You just have to figure out how to say it in the right way. And some companies have discovered that if we have a construction period and we have a construction site that doesn't look like shit. You know, where everything is cleaned up and running smoothly, it makes for happier people. And there aren't as many confrontations out there. (Occupational health and safety employee)

At the same time, it is perceived that it is difficult to prove value creation of a good working environment, and especially to prove it as profit motivated focus. An occupational health and safety employee, who primarily works strategically with occupational health and safety, explains the problem of evidencing such gains:

Can't we do the math on this? [...]. We also need to talk profit when we talk about the working environment. Because what can we gain from this? People ask "does it cost money?" and I say, "Would you like to save some money?". "Oh yes, can we save money?" Yes, we can actually. When we think about it, I think we can save some money. But I can't document it. There are few who can document it. All the initiatives that we do, which then just succeed. How do we calculate it? So the evidence in numbers: that is really difficult to create (Working environment employee)

Problems, and thus also potentials, are particularly highlighted in the projecting phases). There is agreement that tendering currently leads to bias towards economic considerations, whereby health

and safety considerations are given minimal importance. In other words, it doesn't pay for companies to value health and safety above economics during tenders.

That offer from a foreign company is DKK 50 or 100,000 below what Danish companies are doing. We don't care about that. Because it's already expensive as hell to build. So they simply accept that risk. It's dollars and cents. (Public authority)

As evidenced by this exchange with an informant referring to tenders in a Danish municipality, companies can compete on price, even though tenderers should know that unrealistic low tenders must come at the expense of health and safety.

Regulator: So when someone comes in and makes a disproportionately low bid, we know in advance how it's going to work out.

Researcher: is it then excluded from the process?

Supervisory authority: No, it is not. [...] We want to say every year that we [the municipality] have saved 8-10% on our contracts. We can't keep doing that.

So the tender has to be extremely low before red flags go up; before you as a contracting authority think, well, maybe there's something here we need to pay attention to. At some point, we simply hit a level where it's so catastrophic... The companies say the same thing. That we put pressure on them. From the municipality's side.

Informants also point to unrealistic schedules that put pressure on the construction process from the start.

There's no way that when you start a construction project, you're actually two months behind. From day one. That doesn't make for a very good construction process. (Occupational health and safety employee)

One informant also points out that efforts that are backward-looking do not achieve the intended purpose when project have been designed inappropriately from the start. Unrealistic schedules and project planning, where the primary consideration is time and finances, ultimately sacrifices the workers and creates a working environment. The Danish Working Environment Authority do not have the right tools:

The Danish Working Environment Authority, for example, tends to come and issue an injunction for a missing railing. You're not wearing hearing protection or glasses or something else. They have to take a broader perspective and say: "well, you can't do this in that time, it's simply not possible". And then the contractors hobble through and get some extra work and some time extension in that connection and so on and so forth, so you manage to get through, and you usually always get something reasonable built, so the clients are satisfied and

the contractors are satisfied, but it can be a long, steep road to get there, and the losers in that game are the workers, including the foreign labor because they sometimes have to jump over hurdles. (Occupational health and safety employee)

In summary, the point is that occupational health and safety employees find it difficult to ensure a good working environment in the process when the economy has already been given top priority in the tender and design phase without regard to whether the execution can be done in a safe working environment.

Subcontracting

The use of subcontracting chains has a major impact on occupational health and safety, perhaps especially for migrants. There is agreement that problems are prevalent when subcontractors are used. There is also consensus that problems are less likely to occur at the main subcontractor, but that problems occur further down the chain. There is also agreement that the longer the chains get, the bigger the problems:

Any company, big or small - we'll find something from their subcontractor. (Public Authority)

And the further down the chain we go, the bigger the problem. (Public Authority)

It is pointed out that the problems occur even when the main contractor is serious about OHS and has procedures in place to ensure a good working environment.

Not with the main contractor's own people, or very rarely, but with their subcontractors. And the same large companies also have ... they implement all sorts of things because they want a good working environment and all sorts of things. (Public Authority)

There are different views on whether the main contractor is aware that the working environment is under pressure as a result. Some suggest that main contractors have little knowledge about what is happening further down the chain.

No, I think they really want to. They simply don't realize what's going on. Also because you take on tasks - it's extremely busy at the moment - so you take on tasks without actually being able to solve them yourself. And then you sell them on downwards. (Public Authority)

Others are more cynical and point out that the very act of subcontract should alarm the main contractor. The argument is that it's not possible to subcontract, take some of the profit and expect the work to be carried out with the same level of health and safety.

The ones who benefit the most from this migrant work and outsourcing, where you constantly cut some of the sum and ... you haven't done anything except sell a job. And you just sit in your office and make money from that. (Public Authority)

This suggests that the very possibility of outsourcing creates some unfortunate incentives with negative results in terms of OHS.

Obviously, the amount of money on the contract doesn't get any bigger. The further you go down, the more people have to profit from it. So if you stop for 10 seconds and think about it, you realize that when it gets down to the fourth level, there's so little left that something mysterious has to happen to make it worthwhile. (Public Authority)

Chain liability is highlighted as an initiative with potential.

It [chain liability] is part of the solution. It forces your main contractor, your immediate contact, to take it seriously. There are large Danish companies that treat their own employees excellently, but are unaware of what's happening downstream. And certainly not in the 3rd and 4th levels. (Public Authority)

However, others point out that chain responsibility may have a perverse, counterproductive effect, meaning that the workers who are most vulnerable at the end of the chains have no voice or do not receive independent attention because chain responsibility pushes the responsibility up to the main contractor. When responsibility is placed many chains away from the individual worker's everyday life, it can be difficult for those at the bottom of the chain to be seen and heard. As a result, individual employees are not necessarily consulted or considered a party to their own safety. The expectation that the initiatives that take place at the top are communicated to the bottom is not necessarily real.

They then have a whole bunch of subcontractors. That's their responsibility. It's what we call chain liability. So if one of them does something wrong, we just go to the contractor we have a contract with. We don't go all the way out and talk to the last link. (Occupational health and safety advisor)

At the same time, some respondents have claimed that some municipalities do not take their responsibilities seriously, even when they have been made aware of problems in the workplace.

There can be all sorts of hidden agendas and backstabbing, and people who know each other. And then it can be quietly packed away. (Public Authority)

In summary, it can be argued that chains are problematic not only in terms of wages, but also in terms of safety and the working environment. There is a consensus that problems arise when chains are long. It is also agreed that chain liability is an important mechanism for monitoring and placing responsibility. There is also agreement that chain liability only has a function if there is also

supervision. However, none of the interview participants in this study felt that chain liability with supervision is sufficient to eliminate the problems. However, it should be noted that the lack of evidence is partly due to the fact that some of the supervisory authorities are still relatively new and therefore still lack evidence of impact.

Job insecurity discourages long-term efforts

Some health and safety issues are rooted in the employment practices in the industry. To an outsider to the industry, it may sound unbelievable, but regulators in particular have pointed out that it can be difficult to determine *whether* an individual worker is employed, *how they are employed* and *who* they are employed by.

How you are employed can be a bit complex to figure out. And employer responsibility, that's one of the things we have to clarify when there are work environment problems. (Public Authority)

The actual organization of work relates to specific construction sites, which are temporary constellations of employees from multiple companies, often working on the same temporary site at the same time. This contributes to the confusion.

It is important to note that migrant workers themselves do not always know their employment status according to the supervisory authorities. The workers do not know whether they are employed and, if so, by whom.

Sometimes they're like "no, I got it through this person", "I think it's the company, we've agreed something, but I haven't received my salary yet". So sometimes they don't know exactly who it is either. (Public Authority)

Some informants also point to employers hiring people without knowing who they are, what they can do and what education they have. In other words, employers do not know who they have hired:

Unfortunately, there are those, now I just get 20 men from some country. "You just have to do such and such". You're in charge. And you make them do it. (Occupational health and safety employee)

Not all types of employment relationships are cause for concern. In the interview material, problems are particularly highlighted in relation to the self-employed. This is because self-employed people are generally responsible for their own working environment.

Again, it's important to note that the self-employed do not always know their own legal status. The so-called "false" self-employed are not cunning individuals from other countries who intend to circumvent the rules. On the contrary. Migrants often do not know who they work for or whether

they are self-employed in a formal sense, according to professional informants. Informants from public authorities almost unanimously report on this confusion:

Then I ask "but what CVR number is on your payslip?" Where do you get your salary from? They sometimes think they are employed there. Which, of course, they are not. So it can be difficult. (Public Authority)

In addition, many people point out that neither construction management nor client management know who is employed and who is on site. This has partly to do with employment conditions. In Denmark, it's easy to hire and fire. This means that employers are willing to take people on without much consideration. But it also means that there is little incentive for rigorous screening of, say, professional level or knowledge of OHS.

If it was me who had a company and I had no idea who I had hired. Then you don't give a shit if you don't even know who you've hired. How does that even make sense? If you don't know who you've hired. How are you supposed to get your work environment under control? (Occupational health and safety advisor)

But the lack of knowledge also has to do with regulatory confusion and perhaps outright circumvention. This concern again relates specifically to self-employed workers. Many informants point out that there are employment relationships where the worker is not really self-employed. This is what some refer to as false self-employment. These are situations where another company actually manages and distributes the work and otherwise has the authority to instruct the individual worker, even though the person is formally self-employed.

These are independent, foreign companies without employees. In other words, it's a tradesperson who expatriates himself. But called a business. But they rarely operate as a business, buying materials themselves and planning and managing their entire day. Rather, five or 10 self-employed workers walk alongside each other and are managed by a supervisor of some kind. But the rules allow you to call yourself self-employed (Public Authority)

In the sense of the Working Environment Act, the people in the example are not self-employed. The reason for this is that they do not manage and distribute work themselves. When such so-called self-employed people are not truly independent when it comes to planning their work, they are referred to as "false" self-employed in terms of occupational health and safety. Therefore, they also have independent responsibility for the mistakes they make.

But in the sense of the Working Environment Act, we don't think they are self-employed. Because they do not work independently. They are not independently accountable for the mistakes they make. They should not replace (Public Authority)

Temporary agency workers are also a case for concern. It can be difficult for both employees and others to know who is employed by temp agencies.

Sometimes they can also wear workwear that signals that they are actually from the supplier, not a temp agency. (Public Authority)

Temporary agency work is arguably the most insecure form of employment, with no guarantee of income. This unequal balance of power is likely to have an impact on occupational health and safety, as it is difficult to make demands when employment is so insecure.

When you're a temp, you don't have set hours. You don't know... they can call you tomorrow and say "we don't have...". And then you wait to see when they call again. And then you don't make demands. (Trade union)

The overall picture is that the industry's employment conditions are insecure. In an insecure labor market, where there is no real certainty of income next month, next week and next day, it is difficult for individual workers to stand up for their rights and demand, for example, personal protective equipment.

Generalized fear and distrust

There is widespread fear and distrust among migrant workers in the Danish construction industry. Firstly, we have experienced a lot of mistrust ourselves, especially in the recruitment of migrants for this project and also with some employers. Of course, there may be other reasons why recruitment has been difficult, but there are still many signs that the reluctance is due to fear and mistrust. For example, two tradesmen we met at one site told us that they were just there to drink coffee, even though it was clear they had just been working on a job because they were in short sleeves on a freezing cold day. At other sites, the workforce disappeared while we talked to their colleagues. On yet another site, the site manager shouted at us that "they'll shit their pants if you go up there now" as we were heading up to the site trailers.

During the recruitment of informants on social media, many have repeatedly asked for anonymity and repeated confirmation that we are not sharing their identity. Others have refused to talk about certain topics, typically accidents. This has happened even among those who participated in the interview with bound fingers. And others have refused to cover certain topics with the recorder on. Still others have deliberately not mentioned names or places. Some have been so nervous that they won't even answer the question about age. Herbert puts into words the fear of talking about his workplace:

I have pictures of it. But I can't risk sending it. It's a public project. Just by sitting here, I risk... (Herbert)

We consider the interview with Ukrainian Vasyl to be extreme. He was visibly scared during the interview itself and it had taken us several attempts to get him to talk. The interview was difficult to get started, he was sweating, swearing and visibly affected by the situation. The atmosphere improved a little when the interpreter appeared a little late. Vasyl also recorded the interview himself, although it was unclear what he wanted to use it for. Although Vasyl was interested in participating in the interview to ensure that other farmers didn't find themselves in the same precarious situation as him, there were topics he didn't want to talk about.

Unfortunately, I can't tell you for security reasons [...] And I'm trying to find all the strength to come forward. But again, I will only do that if safety is guaranteed for myself and for my family.

With the help of the interpreter, we understand that Vasyl has been a victim of human trafficking for renovation work and that the reason for his fear is due to retaliation from middlemen and traffickers. Although few of our informants have been driven by the same fear to the same degree as Vasyl, his reaction gives a good impression of the fear that exists in some parts of the industry and why it can be difficult to reach the people who are worst off in the construction industry.

Threats are not an unknown phenomenon, and not only among the most vulnerable, such as Ukrainian Vasyl. Other informants also report threats. A group of Romanian workers read out text messages sent by the employer while attending a trade union training course. The text messages ordered the workers to come back "if they didn't, they would be punished". And threatened that "otherwise we will use other means". It was clear that the workers in question were highly affected by the situation. They showed fear and powerlessness. Over the course of the day, they became unable to attend the course they had signed up for. They continuously discussed their different options and what the consequences of continuing the course would be. Only one continued the course.

And while there is no lack of concrete examples in the interview material of person-dependent fear, i.e. fear of specific employers, the fear extends beyond that. It is a generalized fear, where migrant workers talk about fear and insecurity without being able to articulate what and who they are afraid of.

Regulators, trade union and health and safety staff report that they are met with widespread mistrust and fear on sites. For example, an employee of the trade unions tells about the health and safety inspection visit he has just made to a major construction site in the capital.

They disappeared. We saw it as soon as we walked in the door: the employer picked up the phone and started calling. And that's something we see a lot. Then

they disappear. So it wasn't surprising, but it was scary. (Trade union employee on a health and safety inspection visit)

Another union supervisor, who previously worked as a health and safety coordinator for the client, agrees that if you "drive out of one of the small roads, you don't meet any of the organized companies, and it's almost all foreign. And if you put on a green helmet, people jump over the hedges and run away". The same person deduces that the fear is created in the relationship with the employer.

It's very clear when I go as an ordinary tradesperson and try to talk to the Polish craftsmen, if we're down in the basement around a corner, they want to talk. But up on the surface, where the site management can see them, they shake their heads and move on. They're not going to enjoy any of it. (Trade union employee who works partly as a tradesperson and partly as a health and safety inspector for the union)

Thus, trade unionists unanimously report that these generalized fears are not unfounded. Trade unionists interviewed for this project unanimously report violence and threats of violence against some migrant workers. Some of these incidents have been documented in Fagbladet 3F and in previous research (Arnholtz & Hansen, 2009). However, our data shows that it is not only employers who are subject to mistrust and fear. Virtually everyone, whether they are from the client, former colleagues, government regulators, trade unions, tell us about the generalized fear.

Independent health and safety advisors also share this perception of distrust and fear of outsiders,

For one thing, it's difficult to talk to them. They disappear. They don't want to talk. [...] There is such a widespread mistrust on construction sites. (Health and safety employee)

Supervisors also experience being met with distrust and fear. Supervisors report that some react by running from the site. Others show their distrust in other ways, such as calling the employer instead of answering questions themselves. In the authorities' view, this is a sign that there is a lack of trust that talking to authorities will not have personal consequences, such as being fired.

However, not all authorities are met with the same level of fear and distrust. For example, an informant who was previously employed in the trade union movement, but who is now employed in a client supervisory authority, experiences that "when I go to construction sites now, I am surprised at how well we are received". It's hard to know why the person from this particular regulator has a different experience than the general picture.

This generalized fear leads migrant workers to put themselves at risk. When they don't dare to stand up and resist, they tolerate dangerous situations instead. This also makes it difficult for the authorities that are set up to protect workers to achieve their goals.

Summary and reflection , industry organization and characteristics

Industry-level practices and regulations have a strong influence on workers' risk-taking and work environment. In particular, chains, unrealistic schedules, the labor market model, precarious employment, and generalized fear and distrust in the industry are identified as key factors influencing safety and health. This refers to factors that have an impact across the industry and influence anyone who seeks and holds a job in the construction industry. In other words, these are factors that don't just relate to a few bad apples, or particularly bad, messy or untidy construction sites. The main point here is that there are aspects of work organization in the industry that have a negative impact on safety and health.

For example, it is a contributing factor that it is so easy to hire and fire in the industry and the Danish labor market in general due to the high numerical flexibility. This makes migrant workers incredibly vulnerable when they have such poor alternatives in their home countries, and when we know from Chapter 4 that migrants have such low expectations of their ability to find new and better jobs. Previous research has also pointed to the fear of losing their jobs and general insecurity as contributing factors to risky behavior at work (Simkunas & Thomsen, 2018). In chapter 11, we show that temporary workers as agency workers are particularly vulnerable.

In addition, they point to unrealistic schedules, where the economy always takes precedence over health and safety. Unrealistic schedules have an impact on health and safety, as migrants have also detailed (see chapter 4). This means that workers are expected to work long days and long hours. Tired and exhausted workers are naturally more prone to accidents. They are also more prone to attrition and repercussions. Migrants may have an interest in being able to work long hours, as both our own and other research has shown (Arnholtz & Hansen, 2009; COWI, 2016). This leaves migrant workers in particular vulnerable in a labor market driven by unrealistic schedules. It also points to the widespread use of chains, which not only shifts responsibility but also drains the process financially, making it difficult to implement good initiatives further down the chains.

Finally, the overall data points to a generalized fear. This generalized fear makes it difficult to help migrants. It's not always clear what the fear is actually directed at. In some cases, it is clearly the employer that is feared. In our project, migrants have not reported distrust of trade unions, but previous research has indicated that trade unions are met with general distrust (Arnholtz &

Hansen, 2009; Rasmussen et al., 2016; Refslund, 2021). However, the distrust we report here is not so concrete, and it is not necessarily directed at a specific place or specific actors. Instead, it is a general distrust. It's unclear why it exists, but it's clear that it's there. For example, trade unions, public authorities and occupational health and safety professionals report difficulties in helping and protecting migrants.

The factors we've outlined here have an impact on everyone in the industry. Therefore, they have an impact regardless of the intentions of the individual players. For example, it can be difficult for a foreign company far down the chain to implement good health and safety measures when the links further up the chain have skimmed off the profits that would make such measures possible. Similarly, it can be difficult for individual companies to comply with rest time rules and avoid unreasonable working hours in an industry that outsources contracts with unrealistic time frames. And it can be difficult for those with good intentions to help vulnerable migrants.

9 A decent working life

What this and the next two chapters have in common is that they focus on different subgroups of migrants. The analysis here is based on the simple observation that not all migrants share exactly the same experiences. There is great variation in who the migrants are, how they ended up on construction sites in Denmark, and what kind of companies the migrants work for. Of course, there are also big differences in both the seriousness of the experiences and the extent of the health and safety issues.

In this chapter and the next two chapters, we therefore pursue the variety of workplace/working life experiences for a more nuanced analysis. In a first step, we focus on those migrants who, according to their own statements, are satisfied with their working life. We show what the good, decent working life is characterized by, but also what it is not characterized by.

In chapter 10, we focus on the Ukrainian refugees among the informants. These are informants who occupy a special position in the labor market due to their refugee status, but also - as the analysis will show - have some problems in their working life that we have not seen in other groups of migrants.

Finally, Chapter 11 offers a fine-grained analysis where we compare the migrants' experiential background (careerist, nomad, opportunist) with their employment conditions (Danish, foreign, labour hire). We show that it makes more sense to talk about different types of work environment problems in relation to employment and background than just intensity.

9.1 The satisfied migrant and a decent working life

Compared to the many migrants in the sample who report problems at work and are dissatisfied with all or many aspects of their working life, a small group of 9 people stand out. These migrants describe their working life in positive terms, stating, for example, that "I have no problems", "I am happy" or "I am very satisfied". In other words, they report an overall satisfaction with their working life. The 9 people were selected based on how these migrants themselves assess their working life. In the methodology section in chapter 2, you can read more about the selection.

At the same time, these nine migrants also provide an insight into a decent work life. In this section, we therefore use the analytical framework on decent work (Bellace, 2011; Brill, 2021; European Commission, n.d.), which we presented in Chapter 4. We use the analytical framework to clarify what it takes to achieve such a decent working life, including what conditions are present or absent. At the same time, we use *decent work* as a vision for a better working life for all. With

the analysis, we can provide concrete suggestions on how a better working life differs from a non-decent working life and what it takes to improve the working life of individual migrants.

The analysis is built around some of the same themes that were presented in Chapter 4. This shows how the satisfied migrant workers' experiences with the Danish labor market center around the same elements as the less satisfied migrant workers, but that underneath the elements there are different preconditions for the migrants' either good or bad working lives.

Company, including recruitment and national composition of employees

The majority of the group of satisfied migrant workers work at Danish companies. Apart from Angelo, who is a sole trader hired through a recruitment agency in Italy, the remaining 8 satisfied migrant workers are permanent employees of Danish companies (as defined by having Danish CVR numbers). Several of the migrant workers also started working for temporary agencies and have associated being offered permanent positions in Danish companies with success. There seems to be no pattern in the size of the companies, which vary from small to medium to very large companies. In most cases, the Danish companies also have Danish owners, but again, the picture is not consistent.

One of the migrant workers, Jānis, articulates the ethnic composition of employees in the company as essential. Working with Danish colleagues can promote several prerequisites for 'a good working life' in Denmark:

And I feel very sorry for some of the guys living here in Denmark. It's not only Latvians, but also Romanians, Poles, from the Republic [Czech Republic]. People from not so rich countries. They have lived here for a long time, but they still don't know the law. I said to myself, I don't want to be one of those guys. I want to socialize more with Danes. I want to choose this way and therefore only work in Danish companies with Danish colleagues. (Jānis from Latvia)

Jānis emphasizes socialization with Danish colleagues, as it can generally give him better conditions both professionally and culturally in Denmark.

Following Jāni's line of thinking, it becomes relevant to look at whether the national composition of the migrant workers' workplaces affects their satisfaction. Out of the 9 migrants, 5 work exclusively with Danes. The remaining 4 migrants work with different nationalities, including Danes. Only one satisfied migrant has no Danish colleagues at all. In summary, the trend seems to be that migrant workers employed in Danish companies have better chances of gaining 'a decent working life' compared to migrant workers employed in foreign companies. We also recall that Danish colleagues are perceived as desirable even among those migrants who are not satisfied (see

chapter 4). Socialization with Danes is highlighted as central, but the other composition of employees seems subordinate to migrant workers' satisfaction.

Leaders signal the importance of safety

Workplace safety is also a common theme of shared experiences among the group of satisfied migrant workers. With the exception of Leonard, whose boss does not care much about worker safety, the remaining eight informants describe how their managers at construction sites prioritize safety. For example, Ioan describes how "the boss cares a lot about safety and he stops the workers if he notices that something is not complying with the safety rules". Similarly, Nicu explains how "the bosses tell you what to do. And if they notice that something is not being done right, they point it out". Thus, the majority of satisfied employees share the perception that managers on construction sites prioritize their well-being and ensure that they work in safe and secure working conditions.

Many of the satisfied informants have a good relationship with their manager. This is most evident with Kawa, who has a very close relationship with his boss. He describes his boss as a "buddy":

In the past, it used to be he and I who were together. And we were like buddies, you could say. We talk about anything and everything. I don't feel like he was a boss to me. He helped me with a lot of things in life (Kawa from Syria)

The relationship with the boss is expressed as mutual trust, which is a key prerequisite for Kawa's satisfaction with his working life in Denmark. In addition to the close professional and social relationship, Kawa also emphasizes the boss's prioritization of safety:

The very first thing he said to me was that the first thing was safety. We shouldn't get hurt, neither him nor me. We have to take care of each other, and we do.
(Kawa from Syria)

The relationship with the boss and the prioritization of safety seem to be connected, according to Kawa.

This is also emphasized by Razvan: "It's the boss, our boss, he always tells us, even if we have enough experience... He will still tell us to be careful". Furthermore, Razvan explains how the boss offers them time off for personal needs: "And he always says, 'we'll talk when you're ready again. So just stay at home and relax. We'll do it again next time'". Razvan's relationship with the boss is not as close as Kawa's, but Razvan also associates the positive professional relationship with the boss's prioritization of health and safety on the construction site.

By paying attention to safety on construction sites, migrant workers feel seen and prioritized. Based on their accounts, the prioritization of safety on construction sites thus constitutes a relevant

prerequisite for 'the good working life' for migrant workers in Denmark. Through management's prioritization of employee health and a positive - but not necessarily close - relationship between employee and manager, migrant workers' satisfaction can be established.

Allies

In the analysis of the group of satisfied migrant workers, it also became clear how many of them had received help in various situations during their time in Denmark. Many of the migrants thus describe relevant people who have contributed in various ways to the satisfaction they experience. We call them "allies". Kawa, for example, describes in detail how his employer has helped him with language, housing and work. Only two of the satisfied migrants do not describe whether they have received help from specific actors during their time in Denmark.

Allies take the form of a daughter, a sister, a childhood friend, colleagues or employer, as in Kawa's example. But allies can also be fellow human beings in general. For example, Ioan tells us:

I have met very friendly people, and I think that both the citizen service and everywhere else, I have received good service and guidance in what I needed. Also when I picked up my wife and our child. And at school too. (Ioan from Romania).

The satisfied migrants also report how their allies have helped them with everything from language or cultural challenges to help with the Danish systems, including CPR, Skat and the like. The migrants are positive about the importance of their allies, which is why these actors can be interpreted as central to whether the migrants achieve a decent working life in Denmark. With reference to the informants' own accounts, allies are thus also key prerequisites for satisfaction. The point here is that migrant workers who happen to have or have encountered people who are willing to get involved in their lives are better placed to achieve a decent working life than migrants who do not have such allies.

Education is less important, but professional experience is

In the previous section, Jänis states how the prerequisites of migrant workers in the Danish labor market depend on whether they are adequately educated. Therefore, the educational background and professionalism of the remaining group of satisfied migrant workers is also analyzed.

All the informants in the group have an education, but it varies whether they use it in their working life in Denmark. Only Romuald, who is a trained electrician, and Leonard, who is a trained carpenter, use their educations in Denmark. In addition to formal education, the majority of the migrants in the group have many years of practical experience in various trades. The migrants

have between three and 17 years of experience in construction, and all of them express that they feel experienced in their field of work.

Possessing skills can help migrant workers feel qualified and important on the construction site, which can contribute to their satisfaction. For example, Angelo describes how his highly specialized skills in marble and granite make him feel prioritized on construction sites. At the same time, Romuald emphasizes how he has had his Polish education as an electrician approved in Denmark. However, it should be pointed out that none of the informants directly articulate the connection between practical experience and satisfaction.

The professional composition of the group indicates that the migrants' educational background is not necessarily a prerequisite for their working life in Denmark. Thus, there is no pattern that those who are satisfied have a relevant and applied education. On the contrary, it appears that it is the migrant workers' experience and establishment in their profession that can play a role in whether they feel they have a decent working life.

No issues with pay and working hours

Overall, the group describes an overall satisfaction with their salary. None of them point to non-payment or breach of contract. This differs from the less satisfied migrant workers who, as described elsewhere, have been exposed to non-payment and/or underpayment (see chapter 4). Only one migrant worker, Razvan, describes feeling overqualified to receive the same salary as his compatriots. However, it is unclear what exactly he is dissatisfied with. Satisfaction with wages, including the rate and payment, is thus constitutive of a decent working life.

In addition to salary, there is also a general satisfaction with working hours. Apart from Bogden, the remaining migrants in the group have regular working hours of 37 hours per week. It is also characteristic of the group that they are not required to work overtime against their will. In addition to this, the migrants also describe that if they do work overtime, they are paid accordingly.

In summary, working hours and pay have a reflective effect on satisfaction with working in Denmark. The satisfied migrants express a general feeling of being paid adequately and in line with the quality of their work. They are not pressured on pay, working hours or overtime like others.

Language skills are important

It is common for the group of satisfied migrant workers to possess language skills in either Danish or English. All nine migrants speak English to an extent that allows them to communicate with their colleagues and managers on construction sites. For example, when asked whether he finds communicating in English a problem, Ioan describes it as "the only way to communicate because I haven't learned Danish and I don't go to language classes yet. But I think it works".

In addition to English, 6 of the satisfied migrant workers speak Danish to varying degrees, which sufficiently enables them to communicate seamlessly with Danes in the workplace. To this, Razvan describes how migrant workers' language skills are crucial to facilitating a good working life in Denmark:

Researcher: Do you think you need to speak Danish to get a really good job in Denmark? Like the one you have now.

Razvan: Yeah, I think so. I think that's important. Because I also talk to other Romanians we know. We tell them that it's a good idea if they start learning Danish.

Razvan already thought when he came to Denmark that he "should start learning Danish", and his further experiences confirm how this decision has had a significant impact on his opportunities in the Danish labor market. In the same tone, Romuald emphasizes how language skills play a crucial role in how migrant workers secure good jobs with optimal working conditions:

I know a lot of Poles, they work on construction sites all over the place. Some of them speak a little English. But most of them don't know the language. It's that language thing that makes you agree to some working conditions that you might not otherwise. (Romuald from Poland)

In summary, the satisfied migrant workers thus articulate language as a fundamental prerequisite for creating a decent working life in Denmark. In addition, it is also pointed out how migrants, either through language courses or socialization, are better able to communicate in the workplace, but at the same time also understand the conditions for themselves and their work.

Stable housing and family relationships

The group of satisfied migrant workers have different housing conditions: Three informants live in rented accommodation, while the remaining 6 live in their own purchased home in Denmark. It follows that several of those who were renting at the time of the interview had a future desire to buy their own home in Denmark. The housing conditions seem relevant in the light of satisfaction, as they create an impression of how established the migrants either are or want to be in Denmark. None of the satisfied migrants have been provided housing by their employer or otherwise have housing conditions that are linked to their work.

Following this establishment, the group's family relationships also become central. All migrants except Angelo have a partner and children. Of these, six out of the satisfied migrants have both partner and children living in Denmark. Furthermore, the two remaining migrants point out that they are in the process of either persuading or actually moving their families here. Thus, it is generally

indicative of the group of satisfied migrants that they have a desire to be and stay in Denmark. They are thus well-established in terms of both housing and family relationships.

However, it is important to note that it is not possible to assess whether these conditions have led to migrants' satisfaction. As a starting point, the establishment of a home and family in Denmark may well act as prerequisites for a decent working life, but conversely, migrants may also have chosen to establish themselves because they were initially satisfied. The direction of the correlation cannot be determined, but this is not the intention here either. The analysis simply shows that there is a correlation between housing and family conditions on the one hand and migrant workers' satisfaction with the Danish labor market on the other.

Responsible mentality of migrant workers

A new and interesting theme emerges in the analysis of the satisfied migrant workers, which centers around a certain mentality that several of the informants point out. For example, in the aforementioned quote, Jänis stated, "It depends on you". Similarly, Nicu describes how "it's every man for himself. I think it's your own responsibility" when it comes to how to achieve a fulfilling work life in Denmark. Furthermore, Nicu also connects the mentality to the individual migrant worker's safety on the construction site: "I am very aware of safety rules because I have a child at home that I want to go back to. So it's also your own responsibility that you take". Thus, there seems to be a correlation between the mentality and responsibility for one's own work life and the satisfaction of the migrants.

The informants refer to this mentality when it comes to their own concrete and daily safety on the construction site. But also, many of the satisfied migrants transfer this mentality in general when explaining how they got to where they are today. Thus, it is the fact that they have taken responsibility and spoken up that has helped them to overcome challenges in the labor market and secure better jobs and working conditions for themselves. In this way, a responsible mentality can help explain how the migrants have achieved various goals, which have further contributed to their satisfaction with their working life in Denmark at the time of the interview. The accounts from the informants thus testify that the mentality of migrant workers in Denmark can constitute one of the many prerequisites for achieving a decent working life.

Experiences that satisfied migrants don't share

Just as it is important to define what characterizes a decent working life, it is important to define what *does not* define a decent working life. For this task, we use the same codes as in chapter 4 to assess which aspects are not present for those migrants who are satisfied with their working life.

Firstly, none of the nine migrants report doing dangerous work. Nor do any of them report being dismissed or threatened with dismissal. None of them report gross discrimination and differential treatment from management. None of them say that there is a lack of instruction in the work. None has experienced being cheated or deceived in their current job. No one feels that their boss imposes or expects a high work pace or a higher work pace than others. No one feels that they have to do work they are not professionally equipped for. No one explains unreasonable expectations of willingness to work. No one explains that they have to stop working or disappear during a visit from the Danish Working Environment Authority. No one talks about housing problems. No one talks about cultural differences.

Summary and discussion, the satisfied migrant and a decent working life

In this chapter, we have shifted our focus to the most satisfied migrants. Of course, this is not an academic definition, nor is it very precise. At the same time, it is so precise that it has been relatively unproblematic to identify the most satisfied migrant workers. It has been unproblematic because they so obviously tell a completely different version of their working life than what we were used to during data collection. We therefore had a feeling quite early on that there was a small group that stood out from the others. These migrants are the focus of this chapter.

The analysis here uses the theoretical framework of '*decent work*', the vision and goal of being able to go to work decently. The vision of decent work thus also becomes a search for what decent work consists of and what it takes to turn non-decent work into decent work. With this analysis, we are thus able to give a fairly concrete suggestion of what working life should look like from the migrants' point of view in order to be considered decent.

Overall, the analysis suggests that responsible individuals with orderly housing and family relationships, language skills and allies are most likely to have decent work. At the same time, the analysis points to what workplaces should offer, including decent pay, Danish colleagues, thorough instruction, tasks that match professional skills and normal working hours. When we compare the results here with the results in chapters 4 and 5, we also have reason to conclude that employers should not demand dangerous work, threaten to fire, cheat, deceive, discriminate and discriminate and make unreasonable demands on work pace and willingness to work. Nor should they make housing a condition of employment if they want to achieve employee satisfaction.

There are some themes that deserve some extra attention. In particular, there is reason to focus on work pace and working hours, because there is a narrative in the public sphere, which is also repeated by many professional informants, that migrants want to work long hours and that nothing else matters. However, the analysis suggests that long working days and long hours do not make

migrants happy. On the contrary, our analysis in this chapter suggests that there is good reason to cut back on hours if you want satisfied employees. We also point out that long hours are linked to lower wages, making it necessary for migrants to work longer hours to achieve the same pay, which migrants perceive as discrimination.

The willingness to work that migrants bring with them and that employers so strongly demand (Andersen & Felbo-Kolding, 2013) should not be abused under the constant threat of dismissal if employers want satisfied employees. For employers who want satisfied employees, there is also good reason to focus on professionalism in relation to work tasks. Thus, we can deduce from the analysis in this chapter that satisfied employees feel well-equipped for the professional task. This professionalism is not one that is linked to education, but rather to thorough instruction, training and insight into the professional background and knowledge they bring with them.

Overall, our findings are not surprising. The international literature on decent work points to many of the same elements of a decent working life that our analysis points to. For example, the vision of decent work points to elements such as decent pay, job security, equal treatment of all, security for both workers and families and social inclusion (European Commission, n.d.).

10 Ukrainian refugees' work environment

In this chapter, following on from the previous chapter, we continue to pursue the variety of experiences for a more nuanced analysis. In this chapter, we focus on Ukrainian refugees. Ukrainian citizens are a group that the Danish Center Against Human Trafficking has had a special focus on because there is an expectation that people fleeing war and unrest are particularly vulnerable to human trafficking (Pers. comm. 2023). Here we present the stories of three Ukrainian informants in context and in their entirety. As can be seen, the three refugees have experienced very different working lives. Despite the differences, they also have in common that these three people share perhaps the worst working lives among the migrants in this project.

10.1 Vasyl

Vasyl is from Ukraine. Vasyl is approximately 30 years old and has a medium-length education. It takes several attempts to get Vasyl on the phone. He changes appointments, stays away and when we finally get him to talk, we spend most of the interview reassuring him that he can feel safe even though he is telling his story. During the interview, Vasyl often seems skeptical when the interpreter translates the questions. He is also skeptical when the researcher wants to end the interview, as he feels he has more to tell. It cannot be ruled out that the informant has misunderstood what he could get out of the interview, and he therefore does not always react positively when the interpreter asks the researcher questions.

At the end of the interview, the interpreter finally establishes that the informant mistakenly believes that he is staying illegally in Denmark and that the reluctance is at least partly due to fear and resignation. Subsequently, the researcher contacts the informant several times and seeks advice from the Center Against Human Trafficking, but the informant does not want pursue this. Vasyl tells his story because he does not want others to end up in a similar situation. Here is Vasyl's story.

Vasyl was lured to Denmark from Ukraine with the promise of a good job. He had seen the posting online. He says that "it was promised [...] that the actual work contract will be issued as soon as I arrive in Denmark". When he arrives in Denmark with the arranged transportation, he asks for help to get his paperwork in order for the job. It is at this point that he is led to believe that he is staying in Denmark illegally. Vasyl narrates:

But then I ask, "what about the paperwork? How should it be done?". And then they say, "What do you think? You're illegal in a foreign country. What do you expect?". (Vasyl from Ukraine)

When asked what happened next, he says, "Then I worked. Hard work. I worked 10-12 hours".

It was also at this point that he realized that he was not going to work as an electrician as promised, but do all kinds of construction work: "It is agreed that you are going to do one kind of work, but it turned out that we were going to do something completely different". When the researcher asks Vasyl what he was actually supposed to do, he becomes uncertain, nervous and afraid to say anything that could identify him. He says:

Unfortunately, I can't tell you for security reasons... Because don't get me wrong, I don't know if I'm bought or sold. I don't know if I will get a residence permit, i.e. legal residence in the country. So I don't want to risk telling something that could in principle be against me. (Vasyl from Ukraine)

Vasyl also says that he works in the same place where he lives: "where you work is also the workplace. Downstairs there was [a shop] to be made, and then upstairs on the first floor, that's where you live".

Vasyl also says that he and the two other Ukrainians were only allowed to leave the construction site in the evening and that the employer warned that "it's at our own risk when we go out. You are on our own if that's the case. Then it has nothing to do with us". As he believes he is in the country illegally, he hardly ever leaves the construction site.

From there, the interview takes a new turn. Vasyl tells us that he has severe physical injuries on his body [we know the extent and nature of these injuries, but are not sharing this information for Vasyl's sake]. He says that the injuries were caused by an accident at work, where he was badly injured. He also says:

No one was interested in helping me because it was illegal. So there was no insurance. I wasn't insured as such, and no insurance in the company. So no one was interested in helping me. That's why I went to [another European country] and [got treatment]. And then pay for the treatment myself and so on. Because these people, who I call clever scammers, had set up the company for a few cents. And those expenses are a disaster for them. That they have to pay for something they don't want to [pay for]. (Vasyl from Ukraine)

When asked further about the process, Vasyl says that his employer had told him that he would have to figure it out on his own.

Vasyl is asked if it is because he is illegal in Denmark that he travels to another country for treatment:

Of course. There would be consequences. The consequences would be if I had to go to a Danish doctor... [...] That's why I went to [that country], because there

you can make up some kind of story and then you get treatment. But I couldn't do that in Denmark. I'm illegal, and that can also have consequences for my stay in general. Not just at work. So it means that I can shoot myself in the foot. (Vasyl from Ukraine)

At no point does Vasyl receive a salary for his work, nor any financial support to deal with the work accident. Vasyl himself describes the situation as hostage-taking: "Do you understand what that means? That we people who work, we are a kind of hostage". He goes on to say that the lack of payment makes it impossible to leave or escape the situation. He also says that he considers himself a victim of organized crime, carried out by what he calls "creative" individuals.

Vasyl also says that he doesn't seek help from the authorities because he is afraid that it could damage his case in the long run and prevent future legal residence in Denmark:

I am basically looking for backing, support, and extra help from the authorities or anywhere. [...] I can only go to the media or do something when I am 100% sure that I am safe, my family too, and that nothing consequential will happen. [...] So it is extremely important, first and foremost, that I am safe. And then afterwards I can go to the media or make some kind of effort. (Vasyl from Ukraine)

As a result, Vasyl chooses not to seek help from the authorities.

10.2 Boris

Boris is from Ukraine. He's in his mid-40s and has worked in the construction industry for 26 years. He is clearly muscular and strong. Strong is also a term he uses to describe himself. He has no formal education, but his practical experience includes carpentry, bricklaying, lightweight concrete and more.

Boris got his first job in Denmark through the job center. He explains how the job center facilitates the process:

Then you are gathered, if you have interest and experience, in [anonymous name of job center], which is the job center here. About seven to ten people. And then the people who made the job posting, the company, come in. And they ask if you're interested, what type of work you've done, what tasks you have, if you have any pictures. Then you were kind of interviewed about it. (Boris from Ukraine)

He talks about the tasks he encounters in the workplace. The main task is to lift and put in place some very heavy elements. He explains that the concrete elements are 60 by 240/300 centimeters in area and 10 centimeters thick. The concrete elements weigh between 90 and 130 kilograms. Boris starts by unpacking the elements, and then he lifts these elements alone and manually from the storage location to the installation site. He explains that he uses "one of those wheelbarrows",

but that he alone has to lift/push the element onto the trolley. Then the element has to be moved, a job that is usually done by a single person.

During installation, the partner stands on a ladder and glues the new element to the existing element while Boris pushes the element into a vertical position. He explains that this approach is intended to save time and speed up the work. Boris explains that the employer oversees quality control, but not working methods or health and safety. They check the product, but not the process.

Boris is interested in improving his workflow, and he suffers from a herniated disc. He has therefore asked his employer for mechanical aids. Specifically, he saw that there is a kind of mini crane on the employer's premises. He says the employer has informed him that none of the other 90 employees want to use the crane because it slows down the pace of work. Boris takes the employer's word for it, so he doesn't try to use the machine either.

Boris also describes other dangerous situations where, due to a lack of necessary aids, Boris has to find a solution himself. As an illustration, he draws on the back of a receipt during the interview. He also explains how he places a ladder on top of a rolling scaffold and lays boards across it for himself and his colleague to stand on. The drawing is included below.

Figure 22: Boris' drawing of self-built scaffolding made of ladder and concrete elements



Boris also says that the wiring on the construction site was old and worn, and was under water when it rained. He also says that the electricity supply was not connected to the [HPFI] relay. Finally, he also says that there is a lack of toilets and site trailers, that the colleague goes to the toilet on a bucket, and that there is no opportunity to change clothes or eat his packed lunch indoors.

Boris tells us that he had an accident at work where a plate fell on his arm. However, he continues to work because he wants to earn money. The employer asks about the injury, but doesn't insist on

reporting it. Similarly, he tells of a compatriot who has had heart surgery but continues to work because "he's in the situation where he's from, Ukraine, so he really needs the money and he shouldn't be working". Boris continues: "He's actually not allowed to work after his heart surgery. He's not allowed to work there at all, but he wanted to. But he also became one of those who lifted the heavy things".

Although at no point does the researcher directly ask about salary, Boris repeatedly refers to the extensive salary cheating, which ultimately leads Boris to quit his job. When we meet Boris, he has just sought help from and joined a trade union.

10.3 Boryslav

Boryslav has arrived as a refugee from Ukraine. Boryslav has a severe disability [which we know about but don't share here due to identification possibilities]. He is approximately 40 years old. His residence permit in Denmark places him in a small provincial town initially. Despite the very severe disability, he applied for and got a job in the construction industry in a much larger city relatively soon after his arrival in Denmark. He therefore leaves the smaller town temporarily.

His work consists primarily of drilling. While working, he experiences numbness in his fingers. He attends a doctor, who determines that it is a work-related accident. The documentation he shows to the researcher during the interview determines that he should be on sick leave.

Boryslav believes that the problems are caused by diabetes. Due to his own perception of the context of things and at the urging of his municipal caseworker in the province, he quits his job and returns to regional Denmark. He says:

I had run out of insulin. Then I turned to the municipality. But they couldn't help me with that. [...] I started to have problems with my health and my diabetes. So I got the problem with my hands, that in the morning I couldn't use my hands. And I had a lot of pain in the evening. So I had to go back to [the province]. It was because of my health that I had to quit. (Boryslav from Ukraine)

Lack of pay and on-time pay worsen Boryslav's situation. Firstly, not being paid on time means that his access to insulin is cut off. Lack of money makes Boryslav unable to buy insulin while working, affecting his health and ultimately causing him to stop working.

But the failure to pay wages on time also has another unfortunate outcome. A delayed and incomplete payroll payment many months late means Boryslav loses his entitlement to public benefits. As a result, he is once again unable to afford his insulin. At the time of the interview, he has lost his entitlement to public benefits, he has no income and he is unable to figure out how to

navigate the systems to get help. He is visibly affected by the situation and interrupts the interview after a short time to smoke.

Like Vasyl, the lack of help from the authorities is a topic Boryslav would like to talk about. He has sought help from the trade union, and he says that the local branch of the union has offered him help. However, he is not a member. He is more critical of the municipality. He explains his experiences:

In the municipality there, it's so different from how it works with us. Because they don't care. You are sent from one department to another. Because with us, when you come to a place like the municipality, at least you get advice on where to go. Or good advice on what to do from the employees you meet. But here, people just tell you directly that it's not my job. (Boryslav from Ukraine)

He says that he has been unfairly deducted from public benefits. Boryslav's overall experience is that "no one can help me with this". He is critical of the level of information because, as he says of the legislation: "We don't know what our rights are".

10.4 Summary and discussion, Ukrainian refugees' experience of working life

Ukrainians are particularly vulnerable due to their refugee status. The accounts of the three Ukrainians show that there are employers who are willing to go to great lengths to exploit an already desperate situation. We deduce that the relative power position between employer and migrant is a contributing factor in explaining how badly individuals are treated. Thus, there is evidence that the disregard for the human behind the labor force does not affect everyone equally. The greater the difference in relative power, the greater the risk of exploitation and fraud. The clearest pattern in the theme is that Danes have a completely different human value in the workplace than migrants in terms of their relative power vis-à-vis employers.

In addition, the Ukrainians' story shows how powerless the authorities are in their efforts to help this group of people, even though Denmark has otherwise been friendly towards the Ukrainian refugees. The authorities in Boryslav's situation are actually contributing to the deterioration of his situation, even though it must of course be assumed that the caseworkers in the municipality have advised Boryslav based on their authority. In Boris's situation, the authorities become involuntary accomplices in a recruitment system that does not protect Boris from cunning employers who are willing to offer even very strenuous and dangerous work tasks without adequate aids. Nor are the authorities able to protect Vasyl, who weighs the risk of seeking help against his future opportunity to stay in Denmark. Similar to previous research (Guldenmund et al., 2013), we also find that it is difficult for authorities to protect these particularly vulnerable migrants from unscrupulous employers.

11 Theorizing and categorizing the occupational health and safety problems of different migrant groups

This chapter, like the previous two chapters, focuses on the varieties of migrants' experiences for a more nuanced analysis. This chapter, like chapters 9 and 10, is based on the simple observation that migrants are not all the same. Not all migrants come to the workplace with the same experience. Therefore, not all migrants are equally vulnerable at work. Similarly, not all workplaces are the same either.

In order to uncover and create an overview of the risks migrants face, the project developed a categorization of migrants in relation to their own experiences and their places of employment. In this chapter, we present a matrix that takes both into account. The individual categories provide insight into the working lives of migrants and reveal the typical health and safety situation for each category, as well as the health and safety issues migrants experience in their work in different types of construction companies. The motivation for developing these different categories is based on the recognition that migrants' experiences are wide-ranging. At the same time, the motivation is that the categories can pave the way for interventions that target specific categories and their specific health and safety issues.

The description of each category is based on the collected qualitative interviews from migrants. The description of each category is derived by analyzing data from the specific individuals among our informants that correspond to each category. The aim is to capture some common characteristics in order to understand the risks faced by different groups of migrants.

11.1 Matrix for developing categories

For the development of relevant categories, we firstly used the distinction we presented in chapter 4 as a starting point. Thus, we identified three groups of workers as assessed in relation to the collected experience.

- Tradesperson in home country, migration to work as a tradesperson in Denmark (careerist)
- May have been trades person in their home country, but have primarily worked in other Western European countries (nomads)
- Not a tradesperson in the home country, became a tradesperson with migration (opportunists)

In addition, we have divided the migrants into groups based on their employment status. We have done this in recognition of the fact that occupational health and safety takes place in workplaces. Therefore, any assessment of risks and health and safety conditions must, of course, be assessed in relation to the workplace. However, the question is how it makes sense to divide companies. Here we have chosen to rely on the simple distinction between foreign and Danish companies¹⁵. It is a distinction used by public authorities that work with risk management (Arbejdstilsynet, SKAT) and is also often cited as a meaningful distinction in the literature (Arnholtz, 2021; Arnholtz & Andersen, 2016). In addition, we have relied on our own data, which indicates that temporary workers face special health and safety challenges as agency workers. We have thus used this breakdown:

- Employed in a Danish company
- Employed in a foreign company
- Employed in one company, but hired in another company. In our dataset, this type of employment takes place in a temporary agency.

Based on this, we have developed a matrix that identifies 9 different categories (see Table 15).

Table 15 Matrix, Migrants' background vs. attachment to companies

Background and experience → Affiliation ↓	Career craftsmen	Nomads	The opportunists
Danish company	A	B	C
Foreign company	D	E	F
Hired (typically temp)	G	H	I

Not all 84 migrants are included in this analysis¹⁶. Firstly, all migrants interviewed in groups are excluded because we do not know as much about these migrants as the others. Other migrants have just changed jobs and therefore cannot talk about their new job. Still others are (solo) self-employed or employed where there are doubts about the form of employment, company structure or ownership. Unfortunately, this also means that some categories end up with few informants. We have not found it desirable to try to create descriptions where there are less than three informants in a category. Therefore, these two categories are crossed out in Table 15.

¹⁵ See the methodology section for the difficulties in making this distinction, which is complicated by the fact that some foreign companies, including subsidiaries, organize themselves into Danish companies and get Danish CVR numbers.

¹⁶ See the methodology section in chapter 2 for the selection of migrants for this part of the analysis.

The migrants in this project are also far from evenly distributed in the different categories: There are categories that represent only a few migrants among the informants, and categories that represent many informants.

11.2 What do each category care about the most?

In the same way as in Chapter 4, we provide an overview of the themes covered by the categories in the interviews, as well as an overview of how dominant these themes are in relation to each other. The overview is motivated by a desire to show not only what migrants talk about, but also to *what extent*. The analysis presented in Table 16 is based on a total of 43 migrants and is distributed as indicated at the top of each column.

Table 16: Codes and prevalence of coding for the categories based on all migrants in each category

	A	B	C	E	F	G	H
Number of migrants each category is based on	Five	Ti	Five	Thirteen	Tree	Fire	Tree
Occupational health and safety in other countries vs. Denmark	1	4	0	3	1	1	0
Tasks without qualifications	0	3	0	3	2	0	2
Work pace vs. safety and health	2	5	2	6	2	1	1
Willingness to work	0	4	0	3	1	0	1
Attitudes towards work safety	4	6	4	6	2	1	1
Visit from the Danish Working Environment Authority	3	3	2	4	2	1	1
The housing provided by workplaces	2	1	0	4	0	0	1
Discrimination	1	2	2	3	0	1	1
Hazardous work	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
Relationships with Danish colleagues	1	1	3	2	0	3	1
Hierarchy	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
High work pace	2	6	1	3	2	1	1
Culture, norms, habits and mentality	1	5	1	2	1	2	0
Salary and working hours	4	6	3	3	3	1	3
Inferiority	1	1	1	1	1	2	0
Tone of voice	1	5	1	3	0	1	1
Comparisons with Danes	2	5	2	5	2	1	3
Safety instructions	3	8	4	7	2	2	2
Other health and safety measures	1	4	1	5	1	1	1
Safety equipment and physical work environment	4	8	3	5	3	3	3
Language challenges	3	7	1	4	3	2	1
Fraud	3	3	1	5	1	0	2
Threats and violence	1	0	0	0	1	0	0

Firing and threats of firing	3	5	1	3	3	0	2
Unclear communication about security	1	0	0	1	1	2	1
Accidents and handling	3	6	1	3	2	1	2

What this overview provides is an overview of the prevalence of coding for each theme within each category. The model itself is particularly useful for getting an overview of which themes certain categories are *not* talking about. For example, we can see in the model that category G, career tradesperson in the temp agency, does not feel threatened by layoffs, but F does not talk about discrimination. It also provides a good overview of how rich the individual themes are.

The value of the overview itself should not be overestimated, as there are not the same number of respondents in each category, which means that the individual column values cannot be directly compared. This is also because qualitative data cannot and should not be quantified. Instead, the overview should be taken as a step in the analysis below of how migrant workers in the different categories perceive their own work environment.

The next analysis includes even fewer migrants. For this analysis, we have selected three random representatives from each category, for a total of 21 migrants, see Table 17. The reason for this is comparability across categories, which is only possible when the number of informants is the same in each category.

Table 17: Codes and prevalence of coding for the categories based on three random migrants from each category

	A	B	C	E	F	G	H
Occupational health and safety in other countries vs. Denmark	1	2	0	1	1	1	0
Tasks without qualifications	0	0	0	1	2	0	2
Work pace vs. safety and health	1	3	1	3	2	1	1
Willingness to work	0	0	0	1	1	0	1
Attitudes towards work safety	3	3	3	2	2	1	1
Visit from the Danish Working Environment Authority	2	1	1	2	2	1	1
The housing provided by workplaces	1	0	0	1	0	0	1
Discrimination	1	0	2	1	0	1	1
Hazardous work	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
Relationships with Danish colleagues	1	0	2	1	0	3	1
Hierarchy	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
High work pace	1	2	0	1	2	1	1
Culture, norms, habits and mentality	1	3	0	2	1	2	0
Salary and working hours	2	1	2	1	3	1	3
Inferiority	0	0	1	0	1	2	0
Tone of voice	1	3	1	1	0	1	1

Comparisons with Danes	2	2	1	2	2	1	3
Safety instructions	2	3	3	3	2	2	2
Other health and safety measures	1	2	1	2	1	1	1
Safety equipment and physical work environment	2	2	2	3	3	3	3
Language challenges	2	3	1	1	3	2	1
Fraud	1	0	0	1	1	0	2
Threats and violence	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
Firing and threats of firing	1	3	0	1	3	0	2
Unclear communication about security	1	0	0	1	1	2	1
Accidents and handling	1	3	1	1	2	1	2

As can be seen from the overview, there are some topics that are mentioned by certain categories. It is striking that especially categories B and E and F mention high work pace and work pace vs. safety and working environment often. In other words, the pace of work takes up a lot of space in the interviews with nomads in both Danish and foreign companies. But the pace of work is also very important in the interviews with Category E and F, i.e. employees in foreign companies.

It is especially temporary workers, whether they are nomads or careerists, who make comparisons with Danes. Layoffs and threats of layoffs are a big issue among B and F, i.e. nomads in Danish companies and opportunists in foreign companies. Fraud is a favorite topic for nomads working as temporary workers. F, an opportunist in a foreign company, and H, a nomad in a temp agency, talk mostly about pay and working hours.

It is also worth noting what is not mentioned. For example, none of the employees in Danish companies talk about willingness to work or lack of qualifications in relation to the work. Nor do any of these groups talk about hierarchies. Temporary workers don't talk about dangerous work or threats and violence.

We remind you that the overview does not explain *how* or *what the* migrants explain about the topic, but only to what extent they talk about it. It is possible, for example, that migrants talk about wages and working hours even though it does not relate to a perceived issue in relation to themselves, but that the issue is brought up as a way of relating to their own experiences. The assessment of scope can therefore only be truly understood in the context of the content analysis below, where we relate to the content of each theme.

11.3 Presentation of the typical work environment situation for each category

Below we present each category one by one. The box contains a general description, an overview of the typical work environment situations and the typical issues that each category encounters in

their respective workplaces. Under each box, we describe the work environment for each category. We describe the situation as themes in the same way as in previous chapters.

Careerist, working for a Danish company (Category A)

There are five informants who can be characterized as Category A. The analysis below is based on the analysis of data from the five individuals.

Category A: Careerist, working for a Danish company		
General description	Typical work environment situation	Typical issues
<p>Experienced tradesperson</p> <p>Working either skilled or unskilled</p> <p>Danish company</p> <p>Often have both Danish and foreign colleagues</p> <p>Most often own their own home</p> <p>Most often has family in Denmark</p> <p>Often a member of a trade union</p>	<p>Overall satisfaction</p> <p>Hard to get these jobs without prior experience in Denmark</p> <p>Induction courses, instruction and other formalities in place</p> <p>Not highly exposed due to lack of thorough instructions</p> <p>Personal protective equipment, machines, etc. are available</p> <p>Get paid as agreed and on time</p> <p>Non-widespread fraud, cheating and wage evasion</p> <p>Normal working week and hours</p> <p>OK, but distanced from the Danes</p> <p>Working with Danes strengthens position</p> <p>Mostly equipped for the tasks with some differences</p> <p>Opportunity for organization</p> <p>No housing problems</p> <p>No threats and violence</p> <p>Rarely threats of dismissal</p> <p>No requirement to do dangerous work</p> <p>Investing in the migrant</p> <p>Proper conditions, collective bargaining agreement</p> <p>Continuity</p> <p>Employment security</p>	<p>Physics hard work</p> <p>Wear and tear</p> <p>Lack of specific certifications</p> <p>Differences in requirements, such as working hours and tasks</p> <p>Outside AMO</p> <p>Accidents are sometimes recorded, but not necessarily</p>

Category A consists of experienced tradespeople who bring experience from their own country. They have typically worked in the craft industry since they were very young - often from as young as 16 or 17 years old. Category A typically describe themselves as strong, experienced and hard-working. Category A people have often struggled for several years to get employment at a Danish company, as they associate employment at a Danish company with Danish colleagues and thus stability, better working environment conditions and better salary earnings. A most often describes that all these factors are significantly better at current workplaces than at previous workplaces. The current job is thus often not the first job in Denmark, and the first job(s) were often with a foreign employer or a temporary agency.

People in category A have usually been in Denmark for a while. They have often come because acquaintances contacted them about a well-paid job in Denmark. A weighed the earning potential against the loss of family in their home country and took the job in the hope of buying real estate in their home country. Over time, however, the family also moves to Denmark and both the migrant and the family learn Danish. Category A sometimes rent their homes, while others own or dream of owning their own home in Denmark.

A describes a situation where most elements of the job are similar to those of Danes. A does not claim that they arrive with a particular nationality or culture. Nor do they claim that they have a special willingness to work and that they particularly like to work long hours. Instead, they prefer to work regular working hours, where the working day usually starts at 7 am and ends at 3 pm. Thus, they do not experience problems with long working days, as opposed to the 55 hours a week that most of them worked in previous jobs at foreign companies, nor do they experience problems with salary payments. Nor does A experience that they perform work without proper qualifications, even though A typically has no relevant vocational training. Therefore, they often perform tasks such as carpentry, which they are not trained for, but which they are able to perform due to the skills they have acquired through years of experience in the industry. A regularly attends safety meetings and training courses, preferably several times a year. They also don't have widespread problems getting the right safety equipment, nor do they report a generally poor physical work environment.

But in some areas, category A finds that migrants are met with different demands. Category A feels that their employers pressure them and the other migrants to work at a slightly faster pace and also at a slightly faster pace than their Danish colleagues. Thus, A talks extensively about discrimination on the construction site when compared to Danes. It is category A's belief that there are different requirements for foreigners than Danes, such as the assignment of tasks where Danes are not required to do the dangerous work, while they are paid more.

In general, A feels that their employers do not prioritize their safety at work. Some specific examples include heavy lifting, and A also experiences being encouraged to ignore orders from the Danish Working Environment Authority when they have been inspected. A says that when the Danish Working Environment Authority visits, migrant workers are encouraged by the employer to change the way they work, including working more slowly and safely. Once the WEA has left, they must return to the way they worked before the WEA came. A believes that any orders from the Danish Working Environment Authority should not be taken seriously, as the employer subsequently directly asks them to work as usual.

A often works with both other migrant workers and Danes at the workplace. People in category A sometimes experience discrimination in the workplace. In particular, their nationality is used by Danish colleagues to justify statements that migrants are bad at their jobs. A thus experiences a not entirely unproblematic relationship with Danish colleagues, which is rooted in language challenges, including being able to understand Danish humor. Where A has tried to acquire the Danish language, she experiences challenges with her own Danish speech, which can lead to misunderstandings with Danish colleagues.

In the case of accidents, category A experience treatment for the accidents. However, there is no consistent reporting of accidents. Some say that they have to tell lies in the emergency room, and there is a general desire not to report accidents on the basis that both the migrant and the boss would be heavily fined for reporting such an accident.

Nomad, working for a Danish company (B)

10 informants can be characterized as category B.

Category B: Nomad, working for a Danish company		
General description	Typical work environment situation	Typical issues
Nomad who has worked in other European countries No relevant or short professional training Extensive experience Danish company Often have both Danish and foreign colleagues Most often own their own home May have a partner in Denmark	Induction courses, instruction and other formalities in place Personal protective equipment, machines, etc. are available Non-widespread fraud, cheating and salary circumvention Get paid as agreed and on time Normal working week and hours OK, but distanced from the Danes	Safety and health in favor of a fast pace of work Discrimination in relation to work pace Safety courses are not delivered in the right languages Can't make demands No room for even minor offenses Threats of redundancy - fear of redundancy

<p>Most often a member of a trade union, possibly a yellow union</p>	<p>No housing problems No outright bad treatment or treatment as inferior No threats and violence No requirement to do dangerous work</p>	<p>Precarious existence Tough tone among migrants Accidents are sometimes recorded, but not necessarily Outside AMO</p>
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B has worked in a number of different countries around Europe before coming to Denmark. B typically does not have a relevant professional education for the construction industry, but may have an education as an accountant, auto mechanic, hairdresser, etc. B has typically started working in construction at the urging of friends, lured by better pay. B is motivated by the salary and is therefore not necessarily locked into a specific trade. Category B people often work on large and medium-sized sites.

At the time of the interview, B has often started to lead a more permanent life in Denmark. This is mainly due to obtaining a job in a Danish company, but also, for example, Danish/ Danish-resident boyfriends who help with applying for better jobs and navigating the Danish system. B is often open to upgrading her qualifications, e.g. additional training as a crane operator.

People in category B feel lucky because after many years in different places and companies in Europe, they have found employment with a Danish company. Among the acquaintances and migrants they meet on construction sites, there is a perception that working for a Danish company offers stability, safe working conditions and overall orderly conditions. It was therefore with great expectations that they started their current jobs.

This positive perception is linked to the fact that as a migrant you have a greater chance of getting Danish colleagues, something that migrants associate with the possibility of being stronger as workers in relation to their bosses. In the company where category B migrants work, there are both Danish and foreign employees. B has an OK relationship with the Danish colleagues, but it is distant, and none of the category B informants know the Danes very well. B often has a strained relationship with the other foreign colleagues, and they say that the tone is very tough among the migrants because they are often shouted and scolded.

As nomads, the category B people have a good basis for comparing the working environment in their Danish workplace with the working environment in other countries. In their opinion, the working environment and safety is better in Denmark than in most other countries. This is primarily attributed to the formalities being in place. B regularly participates in safety meetings, especially in connection with assignments at new sites. However, they believe that dangerous situations can

arise if you don't have English or Danish language skills, because safety courses are held in English or Danish. Therefore, they request safety training in relevant languages to ensure that everyone on site fully understands safety procedures. In relation to the actual instruction of the work, B does not experience any communication problems. B experiences the instruction as adequate.

B is typically of the opinion that the formalities are generally in place; there are procedures in place to ensure safety and that these procedures are followed. A few find that the employer occasionally organizes training courses

Category B people never have problems getting the right safety equipment themselves, and it is their perception that it is not a problem for their colleagues either. B does not report a poor physical work environment or lack of personal protective equipment. There are also always the right machines, scaffolding, etc. on site.

In cases where accidents do occur, category B informants tell us that the accidents have been reported and handled correctly. In general, they feel that procedures, rules and formalities are in order, both in the company and at the sites where he works. He has only experienced visits from the Danish Working Environment Authority a few times, but on those visits he has not experienced that he had to tell lies or otherwise stop working.

Category B people feel a lot of pressure at work. The pressure is mainly related to the fact that migrants in the company are expected to work at a very high work pace. As a result of the work pressure, migrants have to compromise on safety and working environment in favor of a high work pace. Although both the migrants and the Danish craftsmen are instructed to work safely on safety courses, they experience that in practice they are pushed and pressured to work at a fast pace rather than safely. B believes that the high work pace is partly set by the migrants and is an expression of a particular work culture. At the same time, however, category B informants also tell us that the high pace of work is due to the fear of being fired.

Category B migrants assess their own situation in relation to their Danish colleagues, with whom they work in parallel, but with whom they have not developed a close relationship. When it comes to the high work pace, it is their perception that it is not the same for Danes. Thus, B feels that there is a difference between migrant workers and Danes. This discrimination primarily concerns the fact that migrant workers are required to complete tasks significantly faster than Danes.

Category B generally perceive their position in the workplace as precarious. In their experience, they are easy to replace and therefore always sit at the back of the chair. They feel that migrants can't make demands because the employer can always fire them and find someone else.

Paradoxically, B finds that safety violations often end in dismissal. As an extension of this, construction sites employ health and safety officers who ensure that the work is carried out in a safe manner on a daily basis. Some see these safety employees as allies, but others feel that even minor offenses can lead to dismissal. They feel that the formal rules, which they know are there for safety, also pose a personal risk in relation to their own work life and increase the feeling of living a precarious existence.

Opportunist, working for a Danish company (C)

There are five informants in the study that can be characterized as Category C.

Category C: Opportunist working for a Danish company		
General description	Typical work environment situation	Typical issues
Doing unskilled work that does not require professional qualifications No experience in the industry Most often have a non-relevant, mostly higher education Danish company Most often have primarily Danish colleagues and/or a few foreign colleagues Most often own their own home Usually have the whole family in Denmark Often a member of a trade union	The nature of the work is secondary. Good, close relationship with Danish colleagues Tolerable workload - the same as Danes No housing problems No threats of dismissal No threats and violence Job security No fraud, cheating and circumvention Normal working week and hours Good communication	Assigned to the boring, 3D, jobs Lack of instruction Feeling overlooked, a bit left out Safety courses not in the right languages New to the profession without professional ballast, therefore exposed Untapped potential in previous education Occasional hazardous work Discrimination between Danes in the company and migrant workers in relation to the nature of the work and tasks Problems getting personal protective equipment, machinery, etc. Outside AMO

Category C migrants have ended up in Denmark for a variety of reasons. Some have visited Denmark as young people, others have been here on vacation a few times. Category C people often have family in Denmark and feel a connection to Denmark. These people often have a higher education from their own countries that they are unable to use in Denmark. Category C rarely have a relevant professional education. What is common is that C has never worked as a tradesperson in countries other than Denmark. Due to a lack of professional background, C works as an

unskilled worker and primarily performs job functions that are not associated with special professional Danish education.

Category C people had no particular desire to work in a Danish company or in the construction industry for that matter. They usually found the job through other compatriots who had contacts in the company. In the company, they work primarily with Danes, and some are the only foreigners in the company.

For the most part, C finds that the relationship with Danish colleagues is good. There is good-natured banter on the site, while some say, for example, that the Danish colleagues make jokes at their expense about robberies and migrants, saying, for example, "it's probably someone from Romania". Sometimes these migrants feel a bit neglected. However, most of them report generally good relationships with their Danish colleagues.

Category C workers are readily willing to state that companies and employers care about their safety in the workplace. However, they also report that the focus is more on efficiency and production than safety. Overwhelmingly, these migrants feel that there is a lack of instruction. Even though they work as unskilled workers, and even though everyone in the company, including the boss and colleagues, knows that C does not have a professionally relevant education, they hardly ever receive instruction in the work or any special follow-up on the work tasks. C is expected to figure out how to do the tasks themselves. These migrants have rarely attended any kind of course or other training, and in those cases, the courses have been exclusively in Danish, making it difficult to participate. C also generally lack work clothes and the right safety equipment such as scaffolding.

These migrants compare themselves to Danes, with whom they often work closely. C constantly feel that they have to do the "boring" tasks. They attribute this division of labor to the fact that they are foreigners. Examples of such tedious tasks include removing very dirty waste, doing some very dirty plastering work, putting up heavy plasterboard in crooked corners and where scaffolding cannot be erected. Sometimes these tedious tasks are perceived as downright dangerous.

On the other hand, category C does not feel that they have to work completely differently faster than their Danish colleagues. In this area, the work pressure is similar to that of Danes. Nor do they feel that they have to be particularly willing to work. For good reason, these migrants cannot compare the working environment and safety in other countries with the working environment and safety in Denmark. After all, they have not been in the industry before coming to Denmark. For the same reason, these migrants do not experience a completely different culture than Danes (see

Chapter 4). There are good reasons for this, as all training and norm formation in relation to behavior on construction sites has taken place in Denmark.

C feel secure in their employment. These migrants have never experienced the threat of being fired. And if that were to happen, they think they have a good chance of getting another job in the industry or in another industry. Despite this security, these migrants are looking for better opportunities. They are considering whether they should pursue a Danish carpentry or electrician education to have a better working life. These migrants also sometimes try to look for jobs where they can use the education they brought with them from their home country.

Careerist, working a foreign company (D)

There are no informants among the project sample that can be characterized as Category D (careerist employed in a foreign company). It is therefore not possible to construct a profile for this category.

Nomad, working in a foreign company (E)

13 informants in the study can be characterized as Category E.

Category E: Nomad, employed by a foreign company		
General description	Typical work environment situation	Typical issues
<p>Nomad who has worked in other European countries</p> <p>No relevant or short professional training</p> <p>Extensive experience</p> <p>Foreign company</p> <p>Have primarily foreign colleagues, work with few Danes</p> <p>Usually live in company-provided housing</p> <p>Family is usually in their home country</p> <p>Sometimes/often a member of a trade union</p>	<p>Have participated to some extent in induction courses, instruction and other formalities</p> <p>AMO can be formally in place</p> <p>Personal protective equipment, machines, etc. are available</p> <p>Limited contact with Danes</p> <p>Much knowledge is hidden from the migrant</p> <p>Not necessarily interested in getting to know Denmark and bonding</p> <p>Living a bubble life</p>	<p>High work pressure</p> <p>Many hours of work</p> <p>Occasionally experience having to do dangerous work</p> <p>Safety and working environment are neglected in favor of a fast pace of work</p> <p>Lack of thorough and more frequent instruction</p> <p>Discrimination in terms of pace and nature of work</p> <p>Can't make demands</p> <p>No room for even minor offenses</p> <p>Threats and fear of dismissal, lack of job security</p> <p>Poor housing conditions</p> <p>Tough tone among migrants</p> <p>Accidents are not recorded and processed</p>

		Experiencing fraud, cheating and circumvention in the workplace Experiencing problems getting paid as agreed and on time
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Category E migrants have worked in a number of different countries around Europe. For example, they may have worked in the construction industry in the UK for several years, in Germany and in Italy before coming to Denmark. A typical scenario is that E entered the construction industry at the urging of an acquaintance, hoping to get a better salary than what was possible in their home country. E was particularly tempted because the salary was more attractive. These migrants often send a large portion of their salary to their wife and children still living in their home country, but don't spend much money themselves as they are primarily here to work.

These nomads don't typically remember their first encounter with a Danish construction site as a positive one. This may be because the migrant was promised free board, lodging and transportation, but none of this was a reality when they arrived. These migrants may also find that an arbitrary amount is deducted from their salary each month to cover the cost of food and accommodation. Wage issues are also common among this group. For example, it may be agreed that the salary is DKK 135 per hour, but the actual salary may be DKK 110 per hour. Category E has also typically experienced other wage fraud, such as the company not wanting to pay wages for the hours worked. This could be because the work was not done satisfactorily, or it could be arbitrary.

Among category E, there are shared experiences of both lack of treatment and lack of registration of accidents. Some people in category E who have had accidents report having to come to work with injuries that clearly make it difficult to work, such as broken fingers. This happens under the threat of being fired. Some people in category E dream of joining a Danish company because they imagine they would be cheated less. However, they are generally just as oriented towards jobs in other Western European countries as they are towards jobs in Denmark.

The category E migrants in our study are often employed on larger construction sites in Denmark, and in these cases there is some protection associated with this because formalities are observed. For example, health and safety representatives may have been elected and introductory meetings held. But often only the formalities are in place. A typical story is that they have been on an induction course that lasted 20 minutes to an hour, sometimes in a language they didn't understand. Overall, they feel that the courses are purely pro forma, as they don't have time to follow the instructions in practice because they feel pressured to work at a fast pace instead.

In relation to the few Danes on the sites, E feels that there is a difference in the treatment of the migrant workers. E feels that the migrant workers have to complete tasks significantly faster than the Danes, and that the Danes are allowed to take all the breaks they need. E is often only allowed to take one break, the lunch break.

E works long hours, and they often feel pressured to prioritize work pace over safety and health by their employer. They also feel that the high work pace creates dangerous situations. Category E says that it is impossible to demand more safety, for example, because then the employer can always fire them and find someone else. In fact, it often happens that the employer directly threatens to fire them. Everyone has seen colleagues being dismissed immediately because they made demands. Category E migrants also often feel pressured to perform tasks for which they don't have enough experience or qualifications. But as many say, if they don't do it, the employer can easily find someone else to do it.

When the WEA arrives, the employer asks everyone to stop working. They are then told to take a break, where they can go outside to smoke a cigarette or drink a cup of coffee. Once the inspector has left, work resumes.

Category E works almost exclusively with other migrant workers. They live, are transported and sometimes share a room or bed with other Category E migrants. They can sometimes speak badly to each other and shout at each other. There are also a few Danes working on the sites, but E typically doesn't have much to do with them during a working day. It is also typical for category E people to say that they are picked up from their homes and transported to the workplace every day. For example, they might leave at 7am and be picked up again at 6pm.

E often lives in accommodation provided by the company. Here, E sometimes shares a room with another colleague, while they also share a kitchen and bathroom with many other colleagues or have to eat in some kind of canteen. E lives in the accommodation because it was easier to start the new job in Denmark when the accommodation was already in place. It was also often cheaper to live in than if they had to find an apartment themselves, which can be very difficult, especially in the metropolitan area. Furthermore, E doesn't necessarily plan to stay in Denmark permanently.

The housing situation is a major problem for the vast majority of migrants in this category. They either dream of finding their own accommodation or having their company's accommodation improved, as there are often conflicts between colleagues in the accommodation. The conflicts often arise because the kitchen and shower facilities are limited and they often have to queue to take a shower and queue to cook in the kitchen. Sometimes the whole evening is spent queuing for the shower and kitchen. Many say that it is cold in the home, especially in winter. Migrants in

category E also believe that there is a sense of insecurity associated with living in company-associated housing. If they are fired, they lose both their job and their home, and all have seen colleagues evicted on the same day they were fired.

E is provided with work clothes, work shoes and other necessary safety equipment. But some have experienced having to work without it until it arrives. However, this is not where the biggest problems lie.

Opportunist, working in a foreign company (F)

There are three informants in our study that can be characterized as category F. They are all used in the analysis below.

Category F: Opportunist, working in a foreign company		
General description	Typical work environment situation	Typical issues
Loose connection to the profession Doing unskilled work that does not require professional qualifications No experience in the industry Most often have a non-relevant, mostly higher education Foreign company Primarily have foreign colleagues Most often own their own home Often have family in Denmark Often not a member of a trade union	The nature of the work is secondary. Skills and work mismatch Usually don't experience problems getting paid as agreed and on time No Danish colleagues	3D work, Hazardous Lack of instruction Lack of training/certifications High work pressure - safety and health are neglected in favor of a fast pace of work Many hours of work Can't make demands - No room for even minor offenses Fear of redundancy, precarious existence Have not participated in induction courses or other formalities Problems getting personal protective equipment, machinery, etc. Experiencing fraud, cheating and circumvention in the workplace Accidents are not recorded Occasionally experience having to do dangerous work Threats of dismissal, lack of job security Outside AMO

Category F migrants come to Denmark for a variety of reasons. For example, it could be that F had family in Denmark. Most often, these informants live with boyfriends, wives and children. They often want to stay in Denmark.

Taking up a in construction happened at random. It was an opportunity that presented itself. These individuals usually have a medium or long education from their home country, such as an engineer, historian or other. Many of these individuals have previously held positions of responsibility in their own countries. They are often eloquent, well-educated and critical. They speak with great insight about the working environment conditions on site.

Category Fs often find it difficult to get a job in Denmark where they can use the education they've brought with them, which is why they enter the construction industry. F's are often fluent in English and other languages. There's also a good chance they can get by in Danish. Since these individuals have come to Denmark with no prior experience in the construction industry, they do unskilled work - often in the demolition industry, where they often get stuck because the skills they have can't be used to get better jobs. For good reason, category F informants cannot compare health and safety in other countries with health and safety in Denmark, as they have not worked in the industry before coming to Denmark.

Most often, F only works with other foreigners. Therefore, they don't compare their working conditions with those of their Danish colleagues, because there are no Danes.

Category F migrants talk in great detail about how they feel pressured to prioritize work pace over safety and health. They feel that employers generally push them to work at a fast pace, and they know that this creates dangerous situations. They are therefore fully aware that they are exposed at work. They are quick to declare that their employer doesn't prioritize safety. However, even though they are able to assess the danger of the work, they are not able to stand up to orders.

F work long hours. Not because they want to, but because they don't think it's possible to say no. F also work many more hours than they think they can handle. They also don't believe that the pay they receive is commensurate with the work they do.

When F doesn't stand up to orders and long hours, it's because the boss is constantly threatening to fire them if they complain or question work tasks or safety. These threats are not perceived as empty threats, as everyone has seen several colleagues replaced over the years precisely because they spoke up or questioned the execution of work tasks.

When F's are asked to explain why they say that the employer prioritizes workplace safety, they typically point to a lack of safety instruction. Fs often say that they have tried to ask management for more instruction, but to no avail. F's are also not given the right safety equipment and tools.

This applies to both the provision of the right masks and the provision of virtually all work clothes, which is why the migrants in category F go to work in their private workout clothes. They also say that when they ask for specific tools to be ordered, it can take months or even six months to get the tools they need to ensure a safe work process. In the meantime, they have to work without and therefore come up with poor solutions.

When the WEA arrives, the employer asks everyone to stop working. They are then told to clean and tidy up instead. Once the inspector has left, work resumes. The category F people, who are characterized by being well educated in their home countries, can put two and two together: They are aware that work is not being carried out safely on site, since work has to stop during inspections.

None of our informants have experienced a workplace accident themselves. However, all of them have seen several colleagues suffer workplace accidents over the years. Therefore, they have a great deal of insight into how accidents are generally handled in the workplace. In their experience, accidents are generally not reported. Again, the situation is analyzed, and these migrants often have a suggestion as to why the company does not report accidents. Among other things, they point out that the company's "accident statistics" look fine and that their insurance is not getting more expensive. They laugh along with the other employees at the company's motto "zero accidents at work".

F explains that companies send taxis to pick up employees who have had an accident at work and drive them to work for a couple of hours, even if they can just sit in the canteen and drink coffee. The company also encourages employees to tell them that accidents happen in their free time. These migrants report that companies are happy to pay full wages to the employee, even if they are only at work for a few hours a day for an extended period of time. It is also in this category that migrants have experienced colleagues being driven to their home country the same day they have had an accident at work.

Careerist, working as a temp (G)

Four informants in the study can be characterized as category G. These individuals form the basis for the analysis below.

Category G: Careerist, working as a temp		
General description	Typical work environment situation	Typical issues

<p>Often no or no relevant education</p> <p>Extensive experience</p> <p>Work mostly unskilled</p> <p>Temporary employment</p> <p>Often have both Danish and foreign colleagues</p> <p>Most often own their own home</p> <p>Family is often in their home country</p> <p>Whether you are a member of a trade union or not is different</p>	<p>Have participated to some extent in induction courses, instruction and other formalities</p> <p>The most basic personal protective equipment, machines, etc. are available</p> <p>No widespread fraud, cheating and salary circumvention - Getting paid as agreed and on time</p> <p>Do not experience threats of dismissal</p> <p>Limited contact with Danish colleagues</p>	<p>High work pressure</p> <p>Many hours of work</p> <p>Lack of thorough and frequent instruction</p> <p>Safety and working environment are neglected in favor of a fast pace of work</p> <p>Discrimination in terms of work pace and nature of work</p> <p>Accidents may not always be recorded</p> <p>3D work</p> <p>Home country habits and ways come along when there is a lack of instruction</p> <p>Isolation from society</p> <p>Outside AMO</p> <p>Minor hazardous work</p>
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The careerist in category G is an experienced tradesperson who has many years of experience in the construction industry in their own country. These migrants have typically been working in the industry since they were 16, 17 or 18 years old. They describe themselves as willing to learn, strong, experienced and hard-working. Category G rarely have a relevant education, but they still experience a great match between the qualifications they have gained through years of experience and the tasks they perform on Danish construction sites, which are largely similar to the work they did in their home country. They perform several tasks, such as carpentry, for which they are not trained, but which correspond to the skills they have acquired through years of experience in the industry.

Category G people often ended up in Denmark because an acquaintance contacted them directly and told them about the job at the temp agency. They weighed the earning potential against the lack of family in their home country and took the job because the salary was attractive and the family could buy a good house with the money in their home country. At the time, G felt that the temp job was ideal because there would still be the flexibility to go back to his family in his home country every now and then. Because of the desire to return home, G usually rents a very small, modest apartment in Denmark.

G usually works on construction sites where both Danes and migrant workers are employed. But G typically doesn't know the Danes because they never talk to them on site. However, based on their

observations, G finds that there is a difference between the Danes and the migrant workers. The Danes are given all the right equipment and tools, they receive special pay supplements, while the migrant workers are assigned the hard and difficult work and do not receive special pay supplements either.

The fact that G is employed in one place but works for another company creates some problems. Category G workers are usually provided with basic safety equipment, but often don't have the right masks, for example, or have to pay for equipment and special tools that go beyond the basics. These migrants feel a bit squeezed because the agency won't pay and the hiring company won't pay for the necessary equipment and tools. On the other hand, G believes that Danes get everything. They attribute both the division of labor and discrimination to the fact that they are foreigners. They can't think of any other explanation. G falls between two stools in other ways. For example, G lacks instruction in the work and must therefore fall back on the workflows they know from their many years of experience in their home country. G expresses a desire for more instruction, a desire that is not met. The informants in this group have not experienced any problems with getting paid or anything similar.

G experience a fast pace of work. They also feel pressured to work long hours. They attribute this to their temporary employment. These temporary career craftsmen don't feel that their efforts are valued in the workplace. For the most part, they feel like arms and legs with no human value.

Perhaps surprisingly, G doesn't talk extensively about the threat of redundancy like so many others, but feels a sense of security in employment. There could be several reasons for this. Firstly, these migrants, by virtue of their temporary employment, are not tied to a specific workplace and therefore cannot be fired from it. Instead, they are simply sent to another construction site next time. Secondly, G is a very experienced tradesperson who is unlikely to have difficulty finding other temporary work.

Category G recounts the handling of several colleagues' workplace accidents, including failure to report, payment for silence, transportation to the home country, failure to specify the exact incident at a hospital, etc. Fortunately, they have also experienced cases where everything went according to plan. These migrants believe that it is usually the big companies that handle accidents as they should.

Nomad, working as a temp (H)

There are three informants that can be characterized as category H. All of them are used in the analysis below.

H: Nomad, working as a temp		
General description	Typical work environment situation	Typical issues
<p>Nomad who has worked in other European countries</p> <p>Temporary employment</p> <p>Extensive experience</p> <p>Often work as a skilled worker</p> <p>Often have both Danish and foreign colleagues</p> <p>Most often own their own home</p> <p>Family is often in their home country</p> <p>Whether you are a member of a trade union or not is different</p>	<p>Have participated to some extent in induction courses, instruction and other formalities</p> <p>A lot of knowledge is hidden.</p> <p>Have peripheral contact with Danes</p>	<p>3D work</p> <p>Physics hard work</p> <p>Lack of thorough and frequent instruction</p> <p>Safety and working environment are neglected in favor of a fast pace of work</p> <p>Discrimination between Danes in the company and migrant workers in terms of work pace and nature of work</p> <p>High workload, long hours</p> <p>Accidents are not recorded</p> <p>Outside AMO</p> <p>The most basic personal protective equipment is not available, machines etc. are sometimes available</p> <p>Experiencing fraud, cheating and circumvention in the workplace</p> <p>Experiencing problems getting paid as agreed and on time</p> <p>Minor hazardous work</p>

Nomads in category H are like other nomads, experienced tradespeople with many years of experience from many countries. They sometimes have a professional education, such as electrician. It has been many years since these nomads have worked in their own countries, if ever.

H have often come to Denmark by chance. And they rarely have a desire to work in Denmark. A typical scenario is that a friend from their home country calls and tells them about a job opening at a temp agency. H takes the job if the salary sounds attractive enough. These migrants don't necessarily have any intention of staying in Denmark, but neither do they necessarily have any intention of moving back to their home country one day. They are open to see what the future holds in terms of exciting new opportunities to pursue around the world.

Like migrants in other categories, permanent employment in a Danish company is glorified. However, they know that it is also the hardest job to get. Even though these migrants are skilled and experienced craftsmen, they believe that they will find it very difficult to get this kind of

employment, which they associate with decent conditions, better pay and fewer health and safety issues. In particular, they point to a lack of Danish language skills as the reason why they can't find such a job.

Through his temporary employment, H is sent to many, typically large construction sites in Denmark. They are most often sent to construction sites where there are both Danes and migrant workers and experience in particular that there is a difference between Danish and foreign workers. Among other things, they say that migrants are ordered to continue working when their Danish colleagues have gone home. They believe that they cannot say no to long hours, dangerous work and tasks they are not qualified for, while Danes can. They also find that migrant workers have to complete tasks in significantly less time than Danes. Danes are also allowed to take a break when they need it, while migrant workers are not. The Danish colleagues also take 20 minutes longer breaks, while the migrants are paid less than the Danes.

Migrants in category H work long hours: the working day typically starts at 6:30 am and often finishes close to 6pm. Often breaks are shortened by the employer because there is something that needs to be taken care of. Migrants in category H believe that the basic salary is too low, and they also report that they hardly receive any overpayment for the many extra hours they work. Some also feel cheated in other ways. For example, an employer tricked someone into signing a contract stating that he would not receive overpayment until he had worked 46 hours a week. The contract was in Danish, which the migrant worker did not understand. Another example is that the employer charged an arbitrary amount for defective tools.

H explains that they often have to work at a fast pace and if they don't, they risk being fired. Therefore, due to pressure from employers, they have to prioritize a fast pace of work over safety because there can be far-reaching consequences if they don't perform the tasks assigned to them, regardless of whether the nature and execution of the work is safe or not.

These migrants sometimes get caught between the company they are hired by and the temporary agency. It's all about instruction: sometimes they are given instructions on how to do the work, sometimes not. These migrants are also not provided with safety equipment - neither by the temp agency nor at the sites they are sent to. Often, they find that the temp agency believes it is the responsibility of the construction sites, while the construction sites believe it is the responsibility of the temp agency to provide safety equipment. As a result, migrants in category H often work without protection or bring their own basic equipment from home. They are given some of the tools needed to perform certain tasks, while they often have to buy tools themselves in order to perform certain tasks. Other specific shortages of tools are related to scaffolding. They find that foreign colleagues do not get scaffolding, but have to work on ladders. Danes, on the other hand, get the

right safety equipment and tools. These temps sometimes receive safety introductions when they arrive at a new site, usually lasting half an hour.

Among these informants, several have suffered one or more workplace accidents, including several broken fingers and a broken leg. These accidents have never been reported. They find that they are asked to come to work with the injury the next day, where they spend a few hours sorting documents or cleaning. One migrant has also been paid a sum of money to keep quiet about the workplace accident when he was in the emergency room. These migrants have also experienced colleagues being sent back to their home country after workplace accidents. They believe that if you have an accident at work, you are left to fend for yourself.

Opportunist, working as a temp (I)

Since there is only one informant that can be characterized as category I (opportunist working as a temporary worker), a profile cannot be constructed. Empirical data from a single informant is not sufficient to create a profile, as the profile would then correspond to a specific informant.

11.4 Shared experiences across categories, focus on experiences

In the previous section, we have presented seven categories that are characterized by both background and affiliation. The next question is whether there are work environment issues that recur across categories. In the following, we analyze these patterns.

Firstly, it must be noted that lack of participation in health and safety organization is a problem that affects all categories, regardless of background and affiliation. Thus, there are only very few people who have any experience with health and safety organization. Among the migrants in this study, it is especially nomads in foreign companies who report that AMO is formally in place, but at the same time, these migrants are unsure of what this means.

Also, none of the categories experience that accidents are always processed and recorded. Here, categories E, F and H primarily experience that accidents are *never* recorded, while categories A, B and G experience that accidents are *sometimes recorded*, but not at all times. Thus, a picture emerges that the informants employed in foreign companies experience that accidents are generally not recorded, while the informants employed in Danish companies experience that accidents are sometimes recorded. For temporary workers, the picture is not clear-cut, as temporary workers who are career craftsmen experience that accidents are sometimes recorded, while temporary workers who are nomads experience that accidents are generally not recorded. The clearest picture is that non-registration affects everyone.

High pressure for high work pace is shared by all categories with the exception of category C, opportunists employed in Danish companies, who perceive the work pressure as tolerable and the same as that of Danes. There could be several different explanations for this. One of them is that Category C is a diverse group that has ended up in the industry due to a conglomeration of events and reasons. Some migrants in this group speak good Danish, have ties to Denmark, etc. They may have the ability to behave "Danish" and expect the same as Danes. In addition, they don't have the professional skills in place and therefore don't necessarily expect the same as their more professional colleagues.

Discrimination based on nationality is shared by all except Category F, who never work with Danes and therefore do not have the opportunity to compare their own working conditions with those of Danes. Category C, opportunists in Danish companies, slightly different from the other categories, only experience discrimination in relation to the nature of the work and the tasks they have to perform, but not that they have to work at a higher pace than Danes. Discrimination is thus common for all migrant workers working alongside Danes.

Categories B, E, F and H talk extensively about how they and their colleagues are often threatened with dismissal, especially if they make demands. Categories A, C and G do not experience being threatened with dismissal at work. Thus, the picture emerges that informants employed in foreign companies are more likely to experience being threatened with dismissal. The informants employed in Danish companies predominantly do not experience being threatened with dismissal, with the exception of Category B (nomads). For temporary employment, the picture is not clear-cut, as the nomads experience being threatened with dismissal, while the career craftsmen do not experience being threatened with dismissal. It's difficult to explain this difference. But at the very least, we can state that the employment of temporary workers is different from the performance, and management has no reason to threaten people with dismissal if they don't actually have the right to dismiss.

Categories E, F, G and H express that they work many hours that greatly exceed a standard 37-hour work week. Categories A, B and C express that they work the standard 37 hours in a week. Thus, the picture emerges that temporary workers and migrant workers in a foreign company work long hours, while migrant workers employed in Danish companies usually work 37 hours.

Categories A and B feel that induction courses, instruction and other formalities are in place, and they do not feel that they need more frequent and thorough instruction. Categories C and F feel that they have hardly attended any induction courses or received any instruction, even though they would like to. Categories E, G and H have attended intro courses and instruction to some extent, but feel that it was too short and inadequate. They want more frequent and thorough introductions.

It can thus be deduced that only informants employed in Danish companies feel that they receive sufficient instruction and introduction, but there are also informants in Danish companies who do not. Informants who are employed by a temp agency or a foreign company receive either no or some instruction or introduction, but they do not experience it as sufficient.

Categories A, B, E generally feel that personal protective equipment, machines, etc. are available. Categories C and F generally feel that they are not provided with the right equipment, including work clothes, work shoes, machines and tools. Categories G and H feel that they are provided with personal protective equipment, machines, tools, etc. to some extent. This often means that they are given the most basic work clothes and tools, but often lack special masks, harnesses, scaffolding, etc. Thus, there is no clear picture of who feels that the personal protective equipment, machinery, etc. is available and who does not, based on their affiliation with the company and their accumulated experience and background. However, categories G and H are an exception, as it can be deduced that temporary workers feel that only the most basic equipment is provided.

Categories A, B, C and G do not experience widespread fraud, cheating and wage evasion in the workplace. The picture that emerges is that migrant workers employed in a Danish company experience that they receive their wages as agreed and on time, as well as the career craftsmen employed as temporary workers. Categories E, F and H, on the other hand, experience widespread fraud, cheating and circumvention of wages in the workplace, including not receiving the agreed salary, not being paid on time, etc. Thus, the picture emerges that migrant workers employed by a foreign company experience widespread fraud, cheating and circumvention of wages. The same goes for nomads employed as temporary workers.

The vast majority of categories live in their own homes and therefore do not experience any problems related to their housing situation. However, category E is an exception, i.e. the nomads employed by a foreign company. Category E usually live in housing provided by the company they work for. It is important to point out that although it is primarily only one category and thus primarily a specific group of migrant workers who experience problems with housing, a large proportion of our interviewed migrant workers correspond to Category E. This means that there is a relatively large proportion in our sample who have problems with the housing provided by their company.

Categories A, B, C, G and H are employed in companies that employ both Danes and migrant workers. Category E is employed in companies that primarily employ migrant workers and very few Danes. Category F is employed in companies where no Danes are employed at all. The picture that emerges is that migrant workers employed in foreign companies primarily have other migrant workers and rarely Danes as colleagues. Migrant workers employed by Danish companies or

temporary employment agencies most often have both Danes and other migrant workers as colleagues.

11.5 Summary and discussion, company affiliation and background.

Overall, we observe that there are health and safety issues for everyone. There are no categories of migrants that are completely free from having health and safety issues. Thus, our matrix enables us to assess the nature of health and safety issues rather than viewing health and safety issues as something that only falls on a continuum from good to bad. Instead, the industry can use the matrix to assess the nature of the typical problems within each category. In the following, we summarize migrants' experiences across categories (vertically and horizontally). We start with company affiliation and then focus on the migrants' background.

Migrants working in Danish companies share some experiences, regardless of their background. However, when it comes to Danish companies, it's harder to see clear patterns than it is for foreign companies. One of the clearest patterns is exclusion from the health and safety organization. In addition, there is discrimination. Career craftsmen and nomads report discrimination: career craftsmen experience differences in requirements, working hours and tasks, while nomads experience discrimination in terms of work pace. Otherwise, the patterns differ and it is difficult to say anything in general about what characterizes the working environment and safety for migrants working in Danish companies. This is perhaps mainly due to the fact that nomads typically end up in large workplaces due to their nomadic existence, while career craftsmen work in smaller workplaces. In other words, there seems to be a certain protection in working on large sites where the formalities are in place. On the other hand, the nomads report much greater work pressure in Danish companies than the career craftsmen, a work pressure that is not unlike the work pressure in other Western European countries.

Migrants who are hired share a range of experiences, regardless of their backgrounds. Both career craftsmen and nomads lack instruction, are subjected to high work pressure, have no or limited contact with Danes, cannot make demands, feel that there is no room for even minor offenses, live a precarious existence as a result of temporary employment. They experience no job security. They also experience discrimination. Overall, our results show that there is good reason to be concerned about agency workers, who, due to their employment relationship, can easily be left to their own devices because they don't belong permanently in the company that has the duty to instruct. There's also little at stake for companies who can try out new employees with minimal effort, and data shows that migrants can easily get caught between their employer and those who have the duty to train.

Migrants working for foreign companies also share a range of experiences, regardless of their backgrounds. Both nomads and opportunists lack instruction or thorough instruction. They experience high work pressure and no room for even minor misconduct. They always live with the fear of being fired, a threat that is perceived as real and spoken out loud. As a result, they have a precarious existence. They also feel that they can't make demands at all. They also report a high level of discrimination in relation to Danes, even though they have little or no contact with Danes. Migrants in foreign companies are also the most likely to report widespread cheating and fraud. When we assess this group in relation to the other categories, we observe that employees in foreign companies have the worst work environment problems, closely followed by temporary workers and with employment in a Danish company as a possible improvement of the work environment situation. Our results thus support previous research, which also indicates that the worst problems are found in foreign companies (Arnholtz, 2021; Arnholtz & Andersen, 2016).

In summary, our results generally indicate that although there seem to be fewer and less serious problems in Danish companies, there are problems in these companies as well. It would therefore be wrong to categorically assume that Danish companies offer a working environment for migrants that is equivalent to that offered to Danish craftsmen. In other words, there is discrimination in terms of working environment and safety in Danish companies as well.

Careerists who are employed in a Danish company or as temporary workers don't share many experiences. Their experiences could hardly be more different. While the career craftsmen in Danish companies' primary and fewer problems consist of hard physical work and wear and tear, differences in requirements for working hours and tasks, the career craftsmen temps report very differently about very serious work environment problems. They talk about dangerous, 3D work, lack of thorough instruction, mismatch between qualifications and work, lack of training/certifications, disregard for safety and work environment in favor of a high work pace, discrimination between Danes in the company and migrant workers in terms of work pace and the nature of the work, high work pressure and a precarious existence as a result of the temporary employment, as well as isolation both inside and outside work. We must conclude that career craftsmen's experiences of work environment and safety are much more situational than determined by the migrants' professional, cultural and social backgrounds. In other words, it is the form of employment that matters for migrants' experiences.

Nomads employed by Danish and foreign companies and temporary workers share some experiences. These include discrimination in relation to high work pace, which is common regardless of the form of employment. They also share the experience that safety and the working environment are neglected in favor of a high work pace and that they live a precarious existence.

But there are also many experiences that are not shared by everyone. For example, only employees in Danish and foreign companies report a harsh tone of voice, not being able to make demands and the fear of being fired. Similarly, only employees in foreign companies and temporary workers experience problems with lack of instruction.

We deduce that nomads share experiences across forms of employment because of their nomadic existence. Nomads who frequently change countries, jobs and companies find it difficult to acquire the necessary knowledge because each new job brings with it a new framework that affects not just one aspect but many. For example, a nomad who gets a new job in Denmark after working in the Netherlands will not only encounter a new company, but also a new framework for salary, the labor market system, the Danish system, language, norms, workflows, etc. In addition, experiences seem to be impacted in this nomadic behavior, sharing ways of living and working that they move with them from country to country. They are isolated in working alongside other nomads. This means that, unlike the career craftsmen and opportunists, nomads share experiences that seem to be determined by their nomadic existence. We also observe that nomads have some of the most serious problems and suffer from many health and safety issues. At the same time, some of their worst experiences are linked to employment in foreign companies and as temporary workers.

The opportunists, who are employed by Danish or foreign companies, share few experiences. The shared experiences are lack of instruction and the assignment of 3D, including the dangerous work, which is perhaps to be expected given their lack of professional background. In addition, the opportunists share almost no experiences despite the fact that the only thing that differentiates their employment is whether the company is Danish or foreign. We note that only opportunists in foreign companies talk about lack of certification, high work pressure, discrimination, the impossibility of making demands and that safety and the working environment are neglected in favor of a high work pace and a generally precarious existence. We note that, as is the case for career craftsmen, the working environment of migrants is situational.

In summary, our analysis provides a first suggestion for a differentiation that enables stakeholders to talk not only about the degree of environmental problems, but also about the nature of occupational health and safety problems. The analysis has shown how background and employment conditions combine to produce different outcomes. These outcomes can be used by industry stakeholders to understand how to target specific groups so that efforts are targeted to that group.

If we are also to give an idea of where the worst work environment problems are found, we can deduce that the worst problems relate to both the middle column and the middle row (see Table 18 below). Thus, we can see that the worst problems are related to foreign companies (the green ring)

and to the nomadic lifestyle (the blue ring) in Table 18. This also means that nomads in foreign companies are extra vulnerable and thus require extra efforts to ensure occupational health and safety.

Table 18: Worst work environment problems. Migrant background vs. company affiliation

Background and experience → Attachment ↓	Career Craftsmen (K)	Nomads (N)	The Opportunists (O)
Danish company (D)	A	B	C
Foreign company (U)	D	E	F
Hired (typical temp) (I)	G	H	I

As our analysis is, to the best of our knowledge, the first of its kind, we are not in a position to assess our findings against previous research and thus cannot assess the value of the model beyond how industry stakeholders will receive and accept the model. A further caveat here is that we have attempted to quantify qualitative data, which requires caution because experiences should not be reduced to a question of prevalence. In addition, we have only been able to select a few informants in each group. A verification of the theory requires quantitative verification, e.g. by a questionnaire survey on a construction site where all nine groups of workers and Danes are present. This would logically be the next step.

Finally, we should also point out that the matrix is, of course, simplified. What is true for the industry is that there are a variety of employment forms and company structures. For example, there are forms of business that do not necessarily reflect reality, such as the so-called false self-employed, and companies where the only "Danish" is the CVR number, such as subsidiaries of foreign companies, or former foreign companies that have acquired a CVR number to avoid RUT registration. Finally, some migrants work illegally for "Jutland dollars" or have been trafficked. These types of "employment" are not included here.

We also know that Danish colleagues are associated with better working environment situations and there is a greater chance of having Danish colleagues in Danish companies, so it is difficult to know whether the effect is about the company or the colleagues. In addition, migrants often change jobs, making it difficult to place migrants in a specific category. However, as a first suggestion of how it is possible to imagine different migrants in the labor market and thus also their different work environment problems, it is hoped that the analysis can contribute to a differentiated effort in relation to different groups of migrants.

12 Conclusion

This report presents the results of research on the occupational health and safety of foreign workers in the Danish construction industry. In chapters 4 and 5, we have examined how foreign workers perceive their own occupational health and safety. In Chapter 6, we have examined how the accident profile of migrants differs from that of Danes, including underreporting and the reasons for this. In order to understand why migrants have a different safety profile and experience a poor working environment, Chapter 7 examines the conditions in the workplace, including the type of work and the tasks assigned, while Chapter 8 focuses on the migrants themselves, health and safety initiatives and the industry as a whole. In chapters 9 to 11, we have divided up the informants to shed light on which health and safety issues different groups of migrants typically have or do not have, while also shedding light on what a decent working life looks like. These chapters follow chapter 2, where we review literature published prior to our own study. Across the chapters, we are also able to give an indication of whether employment in Danish and foreign companies and experience matter for migrants' working environment and safety. Here we review the most important conclusions within and across the chapters.

12.1 What is the working environment and safety of migrants in the Danish construction industry?

The overall conclusion is that there is good reason to be concerned about the health and safety of migrant workers in the Danish construction industry. The report states that there are a number of problems in relation to the health and safety of migrant workers, and that these problems are widespread and serious.

The main findings in relation to the health and safety of migrant workers in the Danish construction industry are summarized below. The situation is as follows:

- Migrants are highly overrepresented in fatal accidents in the construction industry.
- It is highly likely that migrants are heavily overrepresented in non-fatal accidents.
- Migrant accidents go unreported, accidents are hidden, and there is widespread circumvention of reporting rules.
- Work pace and time: Migrants' most dominant experience in everyday life is the desire, but also the demands and expectations to work fast and for many hours in a row. Migrants feel that they are prone to accidents because they are tired and exhausted. Migrant workers who work long hours with hard physical work also feel that they are more prone to long -

term consequences. Mental health issues are also highlighted as a result of the high work pressure.

- Willingness to work is exploited. Migrants' willingness to work is expected, demanded and exploited. In this way, *willingness* is a requirement at work.
- Being dismissed or threatened with dismissal is an experience shared by many. Under the threat of being dismissed, migrant workers are ill-equipped to speak up - even when the demands put their own safety at risk. Being dismissed has major consequences for migrants because it's often not just the job itself that is at risk, although that can be devastating enough in itself. Often, housing, transportation and/or food disappears along with the job.
- Migrants are isolated in the labor market. Migrants feel that they are kept apart from Danes, e.g., through different break times or physical separation. Migrants describe a positive but distanced relationship with Danes, with little interaction in the workplace and little interaction outside the workplace.
- Relationships with other migrants are often close but conflictual. The environment is characterized by conflict and a harsh tone of voice both among workers and in relation to migrants in management.
- Housing: There are significant and diverse problems associated with assigned housing, which is overcrowded and inadequate. In addition, employment-dependent housing makes migrants vulnerable to dismissal.
- Migrants do not perceive a lack of language skills to be a problem in terms of daily work or safety. This perhaps surprising result is due to the fact that many migrants speak several languages, and more than most Danes on construction sites. Migrants are therefore largely able to communicate across nationalities, even if they don't speak the languages required by management, typically Danish and English. Migrants have little contact with Danish and English-speaking management and often work alone with other migrants with whom they can easily communicate. In this, migrants' own perception of language problems differs from the professional informants, who almost without exception point to language as an important barrier and a risk factor in the workplace.
- Migrants perceive a lack of language as a problem in securing better rights and better job opportunities for themselves.
- Migrants lack instruction on how to do their work. Without instruction and sometimes without the necessary knowledge or the right tools and aids, migrants are left to trial and error. The lack of instruction is perceived by migrants as indifference from the employer and also as an unnecessary risk in the work.

- Professionalism: There is disagreement about whether migrants have sufficient vocational knowledge and whether this has an impact on safety and the working environment. Overall, migrants do not perceive their overall skills to be inferior to that of Danes, although there are some individuals who problematize the lack of education and professionalism. This perception is not shared by other industry stakeholders. Several professional informants in the study advocate such perceptions and point out that occupational health and safety is an integral part of professionalism. It follows that a lack of professionalism leads to poorer health and safety.
- Migrants believe that vocational skills are the primary quality that employers are looking for in migrants. Instead, other qualities are in high demand, especially the willingness to work long hours, at a fast pace and without complaining.
- Migrants well-being is not of concern to others. Migrants widely report attitudes that suggest that the well-being and safety of migrants is of little value in itself. Migrants feel that employers, in particular, see them as nothing more than arms and legs, with no concern for the human being behind the labor force.
- Fraud and deception are well-known conditions of work and an experience shared by a surprisingly large number of people. Collectively, the experiences of migrant workers form a catalog of different scams and cunning ways to cheat and deceive migrants. Fraud primarily occurs in a specific relationship, namely between employer and employee.
- The intensity and scope of the experiences with fraud, violence, human trafficking and threats, in many cases, are indicative of labor crime.
- Job insecurity is a condition that migrants must put up with. Although migrants should enjoy some protection by working in a booming sector, they do not feel they can pick and choose jobs, and the fear of not being able to find the next job is high.
- Lack of investment in migrants: The temporary nature of the work does not encourage companies to invest time and resources in thorough training and upgrading skills and knowledge.
- Introductory courses are perceived as a positive initiative to the extent that there is “real” content in the course. Unfortunately, many feel that the courses are a formality.
- Internal audits at the workplace are perceived as the safety initiative with the best results in terms of personal safety. Again, however, the perception depends on whether the supervision is real and perceived to be for the sake of the migrants.
- AMO is virtually non-existent in relation to migrants.

- The Danish Working Environment Authority's visits trigger a work stoppage. Time and time again, migrants have been told to stop work, leave the site, disappear or hide when the WEA arrives.
- Access to safety equipment, personal protective equipment and other aids: There are reports of a lack of basic personal protective equipment, but this is often not the main focus of migrants' explanations. The biggest problems in relation to equipment and personal protection are related to discrimination, for example, when migrants perceive that Danes have better equipment, such as winter jackets or better hearing protection.

12.2 Are migrants particularly vulnerable to accidents?

The overall conclusion is that migrant workers are particularly vulnerable in the construction industry. Construction is an industry that is dangerous for everyone to work in. But it is not equally dangerous for everyone. It is significantly more dangerous for a migrant to work in the construction industry than it is for a Dane. In fact, we know that migrants are heavily overrepresented in fatal workplace accidents. In the period 2016 to 2022, migrant workers in the construction industry accounted for about 37% of fatal accidents, but only about 13% of those employed (The Ministry of Employment, 2022).

Unfortunately, the registers do not allow us to determine how vulnerable migrants are to non-fatal accidents. This is because we cannot rely on the registries that should measure accident incidences among migrants. The uncertainty arises due to underreporting. A conservative estimate is that only about 20% of all non-fatal accidents for new EU citizens are reported, while 80% go unreported. When this is compared to previous estimates of the size of the underreporting figures, we must at the very least conclude that they are too conservative. The previous official estimates of 56% for all industries (Lander et al., 2015) and 51% for the construction industry specifically (Arbejdstilsynet, 2017) are, based on our analysis, far too conservative in relation to migrant workers in the construction industry. When circumvention occurs in the way that the quantitative analysis proves and interview participants claim, register-based figures should be treated with great caution and not treat the reports as a true picture of what is happening in the industry. Unfortunately, the great uncertainty about what and how much is recorded makes it impossible to make authoritative statements about the number of non-fatal accidents.

12.3 What are the reasons for the high unreported and underreported figures?

In conclusion, some employers systematically conceal workplace accidents. This is done, for example, by various forms of pressure on the worker to continue working, by sending migrants home, by ignoring the injuries and preventing professional medical treatment and/or dismissal.

What becomes clear from the qualitative analysis is that these are apparently systematic efforts where masking, circumvention and exploitation of ignorance are means to keep the real number of accidents from being registered. We conclude that there are some incentives in the industry that make it attractive not to report accidents, including a focus on accident statistics and increased attention from the Danish Working Environment Authority after accidents.

12.4 Do migrants work in particularly dangerous industries?

The conclusion to this question is that migrants work in certain industries and that these industries are also particularly dangerous. In support of this conclusion, we argue that:

- Migrants are overrepresented in the most dangerous industries both in general and in construction.
- Migrants are increasingly working in the most dangerous industries, both in general and in construction.
- Migrants work in the most dangerous sub-sectors of already dangerous industries, including concrete and demolition.
- Migrants are assigned the most dangerous, dirty and demanding job tasks (3D) on the sites.
- Migrants are given poorer tools, less instruction, less protection and often lack work aids.

The reason why migrants have a higher risk of both fatal and non-fatal accidents is because they are employed in the most dangerous industries and perform the most dangerous jobs in those industries. Our study confirms research from other countries, which concludes that employment in the most dangerous industries is the overwhelming reason why migrants have an increased accident profile (Hvid & Buch, 2020).

12.5 Does it matter if the company is Danish or foreign?

We conclude that the occupational health and safety of migrants depends on where they are employed. The company has an influence on how migrants perceive their work environment and safety. Safety and occupational health and safety is situational, and the situation is different for migrants in Danish and foreign companies.

Migrants working for foreign companies share a range of experiences, regardless of their different backgrounds, experiences, nationalities, or otherwise. Migrants in foreign companies experience a lack of instruction, high work pressure and no room for even minor misconduct. They live with a constant fear of being dismissed, a threat that is perceived as real and spoken out loud. As a result, they have a precarious existence. They also feel that they cannot make demands. Migrants

in foreign companies are also the most likely to report widespread cheating and fraud. When we assess this group in relation to the other categories, we observe that employees in foreign companies have the worst work environment problems, but closely followed by temporary workers, and with employment in a Danish company as a possible improvement of the work environment situation. Our results thus support previous research, which also indicates that the worst problems are found in foreign companies (Arnholtz, 2021; Arnholtz & Andersen, 2016).

At the same time, we conclude that although there seem to be fewer and less serious problems in Danish companies, there are also problems in these companies. It would therefore be wrong to categorically assume that Danish companies offer a working environment for migrants that is equivalent to that offered to Danish craftsmen. In other words, social dumping of the working environment also takes place in Danish companies.

12.6 How does the safety and working environment of migrants differ from that of Danes?

The differences are most evident in accident data. Based on our quantitative analysis, we conclude that migrants are much more exposed than Danes to both fatal and non-fatal accidents. It was already known that migrants have more fatal accidents than Danes. Our own analysis also suggests that migrants have an increased risk of non-fatal accidents. Migrants are almost three times more likely to be exposed to an occupational accident than Danes. We therefore strongly disagree with previous Danish research, which concludes that the working environment and safety of foreign workers is similar to that of Danes (Biering et al., 2017; Rasmussen & Biering, 2020). Our own analysis, which as you know is based on both register data and qualitative data, allows us to conclude that the positive picture in the accident statistics is due to underreporting, not that migrants are some kind of superhumans.

The different accident profile is primarily related to discrimination at work. Indeed, discrimination is a recurring theme across all data. Compared to Danes, migrants particularly point to inferior or lack of personal protective equipment, poorer access to mechanical aids, allocation of the worst and most dangerous work, longer working hours and an expectation that migrants should work faster and without breaks. Migrants overwhelmingly point to the Danes' very different access to say no to employers as the primary reason for the differences. The majority of professional informants support the migrants' experiences and similarly explain that there is a lot of discrimination on the sites, where migrants have to put up with completely different treatment, conditions, safety and requirements than Danes.

However, we need to make a caveat here. We primarily base the analysis on how migrants perceive themselves to be treated compared to Danes. We have not asked Danes how they assess their own working environment. Thus, we have not compared Danes and migrants in relation to the same parameters, and Danish workers in the construction industry have not been given a voice in this project. Such a comparison could advantageously be made through a questionnaire survey, where all workers in the same two or three workplaces are given the same questionnaire. Such a survey could be the next step in creating better evidence on migrants in the construction industry.

12.7 What about social dumping?

The conclusion as to whether social dumping is occurring depends on how social dumping is defined. If we assess the total amount of data in relation to the Ministry of Employment's definition of social dumping, which is that foreign employees have pay and working conditions that are below the usual Danish level (FAOS, n/d), including in the area of occupational health and safety (Ministry of Employment, 2023), there is no doubt. The answer to the question is a clear and loud “yes”. The total amount of data shows that migrants far from have a working environment that corresponds to that of Danes. They are also far more exposed to safety risks. They experience discrimination in all aspects of work. In fact, discrimination is the most common experience among migrants and relates to everything from dangerous work, different pressures on speed, working hours, pay, assignment of tasks, accident registration, etc.

We also conclude that social dumping occurs in all kinds of companies, including Danish ones. Here, one of the clearest patterns is exclusion from health and safety organization. In addition, there is discrimination, particularly related to differences in requirements, working hours, tasks and work pace.

But there is also another definition used in academic literature. Here, a motive is attached to the definition. In this definition, social dumping is used to denote a strategy to lower wages or other standards in order to increase competitiveness (Grillis & Dyreborg, 2015, p. 15). In relation to this definition, we are unable to make a clear conclusion because we do not have insight into the motivations of employers, main contractors or clients. Thus, we cannot conclude that discrimination is based on a motive to increase competitiveness, although it is of course possible to speculate on such a motive. However, from a research perspective and based on the data material in this project, there is no basis for this conclusion.

12.8 Does it spread to Danes in the industry?

Another question is whether the poor working environment for migrants affects others in the industry. Behind this question is a concern that the poor working environment is "contagious" in the sense that Danes experience a poorer working environment as a result of migrant workers entering the Danish labor market.

There are methodological problems associated with answering this question. The question assumes that it is possible to compare over time as more foreign workers enter the workforce. However, the very registers that could be used for such an analysis suffer from so much underreporting and thus margin of error that it is difficult to know what is really going on.

However, a cautious conclusion to the question is that the poor work environment is not contagious in the way the question suggests. We base our conclusion on the following:

- Our quantitative analysis shows that migrants are increasingly taking over work in the most dangerous industries. This also means that Danes are increasingly able to avoid working in these most dangerous industries and thus avoid the risks associated with these industries.
- Danes can avoid the jobs that are referred to in the international literature as 3D jobs because migrants are selected in the distribution of these tasks. Danes avoid many of the most unhealthy, degrading and dangerous jobs.
- The qualitative analysis suggests that some sub-industries, most notably concrete and demolition, are now almost exclusively handled by foreigners. These are industries that everyone agrees have significant risks associated with them, including exposure to asbestos.
- The migrants detail discrimination which favor Danes, and where the Danes don't have to put up with what the migrants have to put up with.
- Professional informants report A and B teams, indicating that the A team has a significantly different work environment and safety than the B team.

We make several caveats here. A more authoritative conclusion to such a question requires a completely different kind of research design, where both Danes and migrants are followed over time and measured on the same criteria over time. An authoritative conclusion to the question requires a longitudinal study design where simultaneous, comprehensive and similar data collection from both migrants and Danes takes place at the same time and under comparable conditions.

It is also possible to imagine that the arrival of migrants can affect wellbeing in other ways than just in the performance of dangerous work or in accident statistics. For example, it is possible to imagine that Danes' perception of being threatened on the income base by migrants affects the threat, regardless of whether the threat is real. Similarly, it is possible to imagine that seeing foreign colleagues treated badly or forced to do bad work affects well-being. It might also affect the wellbeing of Danish craftsmen if they can't talk to their closest colleagues.

At the same time, it is easy to imagine that competition from foreign companies "infects" Danish companies because the entry of foreign companies has led to price pressure, where, among other things, occupational health and safety measures are downplayed in order to be competitive. However, there is currently no authoritative research on these issues.

Finally, we should be aware that the data collection shows the picture at a specific point in time (late 2021 to early 2023) when the industry and the economy are booming, and Danes are not experiencing significant difficulty finding work. It is not unlikely that data collected during recessions, when jobs are harder to come by, would show different results. In other words, it can be expected that recessions will change the picture, as it could also become difficult for Danes to say no to unreasonable demands and pressure from employers, and that Danes will also have a poorer working environment as a result.

12.9 Why are there differences?

The overall conclusion to this question is that there is no single factor that makes the difference. Thus, it is not possible to isolate a single reason and say "it's just because...". For this reason, we caution against picking random places in the section or otherwise forming very simple notions of causality. Instead, the differences are due to many factors. Thus, there are a number of interrelated factors that lead to the different results for migrants and Danes. These influences can generally be attributed to the workplace, migrant workers, occupational health and safety measures and practices, as well as the industry's conditions and way of organizing work.

There is also a methodological problem that makes it difficult to provide easy answers to the question of why migrant workers are more vulnerable. This problem has to do with causality. It is almost impossible to isolate cause and effect, and very simple notions of the direction of causality often run into problems. It makes more sense to think about correlations instead of causality.

Nevertheless, we try to point out some main points that concretize why the differences arise in relation to the measurable outcomes, most obviously accidents:

- Citizens from new EU countries, in particular, are overrepresented in the most dangerous industries, both within the labor market as a whole, but also within the construction industry. For that reason alone, they are already more vulnerable, because employment in the most dangerous industries comes with the greatest risks and the greatest occupational health and safety issues.
- There is a sorting of workers at the industry level, sub-industry level, skill level and task level. Migrants find jobs in particularly dangerous industries, including construction. Here, they are assigned the most dangerous tasks in the most dangerous sub-industries and must perform the dirtiest, most dangerous and most difficult job functions.
- There are different demands on migrants' work pace and working hours. The high work pace and long work weeks make migrants particularly vulnerable.
- There is a lack of instruction and migrants take risks under the threat of being dismissed.
- Segregation and exclusion prevent migrants from integrating on construction sites. Segregation is sometimes deliberate, with the intention of separating migrants from the Danish workforce.
- There is a shift of responsibility from employers to migrant workers.
- A and B teams are created and maintained. A and B teams are an expression of a dualization of the labor market, where the B team is subject to completely different conditions and expectations than the A team.
- Widespread and organized cheating, fraud and labor crime make it impossible for migrants to have a decent working life.
- Some migrants lack professional skills and thus have a reduced ability to go to work safely, especially in cases where the employer does not provide adequate instruction.
- Worker mobility and the differences between potential earnings, combined with responsibilities to families and dependents, mean that migrants have a lot to lose, which is thought to make migrant workers more likely to live with a poor working environment and dangerous work than their Danish counterparts.
- Health and safety professionals find it difficult to get initiatives through. According to informants, migrants are excluded from occupational health and safety efforts, and occupational health and safety staff experience language problems in communication between occupational health and safety staff and migrants.
- It is difficult for the Danish Working Environment Authority to perform their core task of protecting migrants. Specifically, the obstacles arise because the work stops when the WEA arrives.

- Formal rather than real actions that actually improve safety dominate the picture. There is more focus on *safety of work* than *safety of work*.
- The Working Environment Act is perceived as being negotiable and not as legislation that applies to migrants. This is most evident in the almost complete exclusion of migrants in occupational health and safety organization.
- The industry's way of organizing work and the workforce also has an impact on the poor safety of migrants. In particular, subcontracting chains, unrealistic schedules and economics, and insecure employment conditions in the industry are cited.

The most serious accusations about the causes of migrants' poorer safety and working environment are directed at companies and work organization. There are reports of a lack of responsibility, widespread and intentional segregation, the creation of a B-team that has poor access to almost everything and is subject to completely different conditions and expectations than the A-team. There are also reports of organized labor crime on a scale that is difficult to quantify, but which is widely agreed to exist throughout the industry.

When the premise is that you have to put up with being part of the B-team, it's hard for migrant workers to say no. The unequal power relations make it impossible to demand the same as the Danish workforce. Thus, when migrant workers have a poor working environment and more accidents, it is primarily because there are some companies, bosses and middle managers who make it impossible for migrant workers to perform their work safely and who do not treat migrant workers with the same sense of responsibility and respect as Danish workers.

12.10 Is poorer health and safety due to cultural differences?

Overall, we conclude that migrants' safety is situational and thus not dependent on culture. We conclude, in continuation of previous research, that culture does not play a role in safety, but that safety is instead determined by the conditions that migrants encounter (Grøn & Knudsen, 2012; Guldenmund et al., 2013). We explain below why we come to the same conclusion as previous research based on data.

If we start with the migrants' own perspectives, there is far from a consensus among migrants about a different culture. Cultural differences are flatly rejected by some migrant workers, while a significant minority believe there can be differences. In other words, there is disagreement within the group of migrants. Professional informants are more ready to point out cultural differences, pointing in particular to the authority of bosses and a desire to do the job well and efficiently.

Among the professional informants, there is a broad consensus that migrants do things differently, less appropriately and with less concern for their own well-being. The professional informants often refer to this as a cultural difference. However, when we assess these statements in context, they also often point to situations that could just as easily be related to knowledge and lack of training. We also find that culture is used as a catch-all term that professional informants resort to when assessing "the other", and especially when it is difficult to make sense of behavior that seems to go against the migrants' own interests, such as lack of harnesses or apparent willingness to take risks. "Culture" is sometimes intertwined with prejudice, where "the Danish way" is assessed as a superior culture.

The claim of cultural differences at work is linked to certain ideas about who migrants are. For example, there is a notion that the typical migrant comes directly from a terrible working life on a construction site in, say, Romania to a Danish company in Denmark and therefore brings a different (read: worse) culture with them. But the direct transition from Romania to Denmark is not a typical scenario among the migrants in the project. When assessing the migrants' backgrounds, we firstly observe a group of migrants who have never worked in the construction industry in their home country (we call them the opportunists). These migrants cannot bring habits and practices from their home country for good reasons. They have never been part of the construction workforce in their home country.

Other migrants come with experience. Some have this experience from other Western European countries (we call them nomads). Some bring experience from their home country (we call them careerists). Common to both nomads and careerists is that they often report a working life outside Denmark that is permeated by a high work pace, hard work and long hours. But in relation to these two groups, it is difficult to see that the situation described from their home country or other Western European countries differs significantly from the situation in Denmark, which is described in exactly the same way. In Denmark, too, the work situation is permeated by a high work pace, hard work and long hours.

We also remind the reader that far from all migrants work in companies with "Danish" values. Some work in Danish companies with foreign owners or Danish subsidiaries of foreign companies. Others are expats with the foreign company. The point is that when and if the culture is different, it has not only emerged as a result of norm formation in one's own country, but cultivated on Danish construction sites and other Western European countries.

A similar question is whether there is a specific *safety* culture among migrant workers. As stated elsewhere, we have found it difficult to conduct such a cultural analysis because safety culture as a technical term has a specific meaning. In short, safety culture as a theory refers to a culture that

arises in organizations, not something that migrants *have*. Behind the word is a basic assumption that migrants have a different culture that makes them particularly reluctant to worry about their own safety. We have also encountered this assumption among informants. In the following, we address this assumption about migrants' indifference to their own safety.

We have found no basis to conclude that such a particular indifference exists. Quite the contrary. When we assess the total amount of data, especially from the migrants themselves, it is difficult to find evidence for such assumptions. Contrary to what is assumed, migrants report in detail about their own concerns for safety, various attempts to improve their own safety and the often total lack of concern for migrants' safety on the part of employers. The indifference assumed by other informants is not something we have been able to recognize in the migrants. Given the many stories we have heard from migrants who have been forced or felt forced to do dangerous work in frustration and sometimes loss of mobility, it is hard to see how the poor safety record can be reduced to a specific indifference among migrant workers. It's easier to spot indifference on the part of employers than on the part of the migrants themselves.

12.11 Are no migrants satisfied?

We conclude that it is possible to have a decent working life in the Danish labor market and that some migrants have and are offered working lives that migrants are satisfied with. We refer to this situation as "decent working life". The decent working life is characterized both in terms of what is present and what is not present. Decent work life is characterized by the following characteristics:

- Migrant workers who work in jobs with decent pay, Danish colleagues, thorough instruction, tasks that match their skills and normal working hours are the most satisfied.
- Migrant workers who are fully satisfied with their work do not do dangerous work, are not threatened with dismissal, are not cheated and deceived, are not discriminated against and subjected to unreasonable demands in terms of work pace and willingness to work.
- Individuals with orderly housing and family relationships, language skills and allies have the greatest chance of having decent work. Satisfied migrants don't live in housing that depends on the job.

12.12 Who is particularly vulnerable?

Overall, we conclude that there is a great deal of variation in migrants' working life, work environment and safety. No two stories are the same. Nevertheless, here we attempt to point out some general patterns in the data about which groups of migrants there is particular reason to be concerned about.

- Ukrainian refugees
- Temporary workers and other hired labor
- Nomads, i.e. migrants who have worked in other countries and are oriented towards the whole of Europe as their workplace
- Employees in foreign companies, including companies where the only "Danish" is the Danish CVR number
- Migrants who don't have Danish colleagues
- Newly arrived migrants
- Migrants without professional experience
- Migrants who don't work regular work weeks
- Migrants who are provided with housing
- Migrants who can't speak English or Danish because it makes it difficult to leave bad jobs

These migrants are also the migrants that require the most effort.

13 Measures to improve the working environment and safety of migrants

Throughout the project, informants have, either on request or on their own initiative, offered suggestions on what is needed to improve conditions. As a way of concluding the report, these suggestions are collected here. They should be taken as expressions of attitudes, wishes and assumptions about the ability to change the conditions for migrants for the better. They are not suggestions that have necessarily been tested, evaluated or otherwise supported by research. Nor should the suggestions be taken as an expression of the research team's recommendations. General information and more control are suggestions that are repeated most often and by the widest range of informants. We have intentionally omitted the authors of the suggestions so that the reader can engage without regard to the sender's affiliation.

13.1 General information, migrants

- General information about the Danish system, authorities and rules. The proposal is to better prepare migrants by providing them with more knowledge. Such knowledge includes, as a minimum, information about salary systems, relevant authorities, key legal regulations. It also includes knowledge about which bodies to contact in case of problems.
- Information rounds on the sites. The proposal is to distribute information during site rounds.
- Compulsory information when attending public authorities. This proposal goes one step further than the general, more vague request above for more information. This proposal is that all migrants should receive compulsory information at the same time as they receive their tax card or health insurance card. According to the proposal, migrants would have to sign that they have read and understood their rights.
- SMS when entering Denmark with a link to information pages. The proposal is that everyone receives an SMS when entering Denmark. For migrants who have come to work, the SMS points to relevant websites that provide information about labor rights, etc.
- Distribution of information material in their own languages in the form of a short brochure or booklet. The proposal is simply to make material available in relevant languages, as it is not assumed that migrants can read and understand Danish or English.

13.2 Occupational health and safety training, migrants

- Educational material in the form of videos. The proposal is to develop educational materials in relevant languages so that migrants can gain better knowledge about occupational health and safety.
- Health and safety courses under the auspices of trade unions. One specific suggestion, which is in line with the more general suggestion for more health and safety training, is specific courses under the auspices of trade unions.
- Employer-led health and safety courses. Another specific suggestion, which ties in with the more general suggestion for more health and safety training, is employer-led courses.
- Health and safety courses held at vocational schools. Another concrete proposal that points in the direction of more health and safety education. However, this proposal is for training at vocational schools in the form of statutory courses.
- Mandatory occupational health and safety training for all migrants. The proposal is to create mandatory health and safety courses for migrants. These mandatory courses in occupational health and safety should be a condition for working on Danish construction sites. This proposal calls for mandatory courses as opposed to optional courses.
- Better training for migrants who are elected as health and safety representatives. The proposal is based on the recognition that the health and safety organization does not work in relation to migrants, but assumes that a health and safety representative has been elected. The proposal argues for better education of the elected representatives.

13.3 Other measures in relation to migrants

- Language training. The proposal stems from the realization that migrants with language skills have better working lives.
- Increased personal responsibility. This proposal would make migrants more personally liable for breaches of health and safety rules.

13.4 Efforts in relation to employers

- Greater financial consequences/greater fines for breaches of regulations. The proposal is that violations of the Working Environment Act and other regulations should result in higher fines. The proposal stems from a recognition that some rules in the Working Environment Act are apparently "free" to violate and that the fines for other violations do not provide a sufficient incentive.

- Greater consequences for salary cheating. The proposal is based on the premise that cheating on wages has few consequences as it is now.
- *Blacklisting* of individuals or companies that repeatedly or in particularly aggravating cases violate the Working Environment Act or other regulations.
- Mixed shifts where migrants work with Danes. The proposal is an extension of the realization that migrants who work closely with Danes find it easier to enforce their rights to go to work safely.
- Thorough instruction using available information material in their own languages.
- Better training for middle managers. The proposal is to upgrade the skills of middle managers and increase responsibility for thorough instruction.
- Employer's assessment of migrants' vocational capacity. The proposal is that migrants' capacity must be tested before starting work on construction sites. Such testing includes the education brought with them, including skills and occupational health and safety knowledge. The proposal aims to ensure that employees are prepared for the tasks they will face and places the responsibility for this on the employer.
- Demand for equal pay. The proposal is that migrants cannot legally be paid less than Danes. The proposal should be seen as an extension of the fact that a lack of equal pay is perceived as discrimination even in circumstances where it does not break the law.

13.5 Engaging with public/regulatory authorities

- More supervision and more resources for control. The proposal is that there should be more control on the sites¹⁷.
- Joint government efforts with Norway as a model. In Norway, there is a joint governmental effort in relation to social dumping. Many refer to this model as a model for a Danish joint regulatory effort.
- Better cooperation between the Danish Working Environment Authority and companies. The proposal is a desire for the Danish Working Environment Authority to be seen as a company's ally to a greater extent, so that the Danish Working Environment Authority can be included in solution proposals and help with specific measures.
- Supervision of health and safety cooperation (AMO). Recognizing that the health and safety organization typically does not work in relation to the migrant worker, this proposal is for the Danish Working Environment Authority to oversee the formation of health and safety cooperation.

¹⁷ Data is primarily collected before March 30, 2023, when a total of DKK 673.2 million was allocated in the period 2023-2026 to continue and further develop efforts against social dumping, labor crime and illegal labor.

- Changed focus at the Danish Working Environment Authority. In particular, more focus on mental health, work pressure and housing. The proposal should be understood as a consequence of a current lack of focus on these areas, even though it is assumed that these areas give rise to a poor working environment.
- More focus on insurance for workers in foreign companies. A very concrete suggestion concerns better supervision of foreign companies' insurance coverage, which is presumed to be inadequate/lacking.
- More and better control of labor clauses. This proposal targets both geographic areas without this kind of oversight, but also more heavy-handed regulators so that there are greater consequences for companies not complying with clauses.

13.6 Initiatives in relation to occupational health and safety employees

- Better and more training for health and safety professionals. The proposal is an extension of many people's frustration with the low level of education among some health and safety professionals.
- Use of information material in relevant languages. This specific suggestion aims to address the language issues that exist in the workplace. It suggests that health and safety professionals should use materials in relevant languages instead of relying on bilingual workers and/or interpreters.
- More focus on mental health and safety. The proposal has to do with mental health as a blind spot that health and safety professionals have little awareness of and no training in.

13.7 Increased demands from the client

- Demand for ID cards. Following the ongoing trials of ID cards in Denmark and the rest of the EU, and the general awareness of ID cards, many professional informants have high hopes for ID cards.
- Expanding liability for contractors. Many point to subcontractors' responsibility for subcontractors (chain responsibility) as an important tool to counteract social dumping.

13.8 Knowledge and evidence bank

- Building a knowledge bank of interventions that work. Better access to and awareness of possible interventions.
- Accurate data. The proposal is a result of the realization that relevant registries are not accurate. Without accurate data, it is difficult to build an evidence bank. In continuation of this, especially professional informants want an opportunity to collect more accurate data.

- Evidence sharing via the Danish Working Environment Authority. A specific suggestions centers around the Danish Working Environment Authority's work and approach to inspections and control. There is a call for the Danish Working Environment Authority to bring knowledge to companies.

13.9 Concluding remarks on actions to improve conditions

We let the informants have the last word. We hope the catalog can be used as inspiration for specific initiatives. We will leave it up to the industry itself to assess which suggestions in the catalog are suitable for specific situations and at the same time encourage the industry to be bold and ambitious. We also encourage the industry to document and share lessons learned of both effective and non-effective initiatives.

14 Appendix 1: Annotated overview of existing research

The following is an annotated overview focusing on the methodology, main conclusions and how the study can shed light on the work environment

# 1 Title	Andersen SK and Arnholtz J (2008) Strong trade unions meet EEC workers. In: Blanpain R (ed.) Challenges in European Employment Relations. Bulletin of Comparative labor Relations, Wolters Kluwer.
Focus	The challenges faced by trade unions following mass immigration after the expansion of the EU.
Countries	Denmark.
Who	Trade unions in the construction industry.
Research question or intent	Should unions expose sanctions and regulations or should they mobilize migrant workers?
Methodology	Interviews with representatives from trade unions and employer organizations.
Conclusions and main findings of the article	Unions have gone from setting rules to trying to mobilize the new workers.
Insights about the work environment	New migrants are a threat to the Danish model and collective agreements. Broadly understood, it therefore has an impact on labor market conditions in Denmark.

#2 Title	Andersen S and Felbo-Kolding J. (2013) <i>Danske Virksomheders Brug af Østeuropæisk Arbejdskraft</i> [Danish enterprises' use of East European workers]. Copenhagen: Copenhagen University.
Focus	Employers' attitudes and experiences.
Countries	Denmark.
Who	All kinds of migrant workers and especially Eastern Europeans. This report contains a separate section on construction.

Research question or intent	Main focus the employers' perspective. What motivates organizations to hire Eastern European workers and what kind of experiences have they had. For example, have they taken on migrants because it's difficult to recruit Danish workers, are they better, more willing to work and flexible. Or is it because migrants are cheaper?
Methodology	Various registry data and questionnaire survey.
Conclusions and main findings of the article	Companies choose Eastern Europeans as workers because they are seen as more willing to work and flexible. Eastern Europeans employed in Danish companies are often paid a salary above the minimum wage in the collective agreement, but at the same time, the salary is lower than what Danes get in similar jobs. Eastern Europeans have become a permanent part of the Danish labor market. The industries with Eastern Europeans are, to a very varying degree, part of the organized labor market (member of an employer organization, covered by collective agreements, etc.)
Insights about the work environment	Employers hire migrant workers because they are considered to be more willing to work and flexible. This suggests that migrant workers are subject to different expectations than Danish workers. Hiring migrant workers is associated with problems internally in relation to Danish workers who are negative about having migrant workers in the company. This suggests that there is widespread distrust and discrimination among Danish workers.

# 3 Title	Arnholtz J. (2021) Posted work, enforcement capacity and firm variation: Evidence from the Danish construction sector. <i>Economic and Industrial Democracy</i> 42: 1149-1164.
Focus	Enforcement of labor rights in relation to posted workers.
Countries	Denmark.
Who	Posted workers, building and construction.
Research question or intent	To analyze the challenges of enforcing workers' rights.
Methodology	Three data sets: - RUT registers and 3F internal register - Interviews with 150 expat workers

	- Interviews with representatives from 29 posting companies and 18 interviews with individuals from trade unions, employers' associations, public authorities and advisors.
Conclusions and main findings of the article	The use of subcontractors is a particular problem. Widespread cheating and deception. A common strategy is to avoid collective agreement coverage and thereby obtain legal exemption from Danish wage regulation. There are also reports of scams, such as the use of fake payslips or unexplained pay cuts. Alternatively, pay for the norm, 37 hours, but demand unpaid hours on top.
Insights about the work environment	The lack of statutory regulation and the voluntary nature of the organization of the Danish system leaves some major loopholes for employers to exploit. Migrant workers are poorly protected in the current system.

#4 Title	Arnholtz J and Andersen S. (2016) <i>Foreign companies and posted workers in the construction industry</i> Copenhagen: FAOS, Department of Sociology, University of Copenhagen.
Focus	Foreign companies and posted workers.
Countries	Denmark.
Who	Companies, posted workers in the construction industry.
Research question or intent	Shed light on expat workers and foreign companies. To gain a better understanding of what types of problems occur for and because of the foreign companies and why they occur.
Methodology	Multiple data sets: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Register Data (RUT), • 29 Interviews with foreign companies and other stakeholders, • Interviews with posted workers (51 German and 147 Polish posted workers).
Conclusions and main findings of the article	Migrants are paid much lower wages and work longer hours. Migrants have a similar educational background to Danes.
Insights about the work environment	Workers relate their working conditions and pay to their home labor markets, not the Danish ones. They know they get a worse deal than their Danish colleagues, but don't use it as a reference point.

# 5 Title	Arnholtz J and Hansen NW (2009) <i>Polonia in Copenhagen: A study of Polish labor migrants' wage, working and living conditions in Greater Copenhagen</i> . Copenhagen: FAOS. Research Centre for Labour Market and Organization Studies.
Focus	Salary and working conditions.
Countries	Denmark.
Who	Polish migrants in Copenhagen.
Research question or intent	Understand what wages and working conditions Eastern Europeans are subject to. Understand compliance with legislation and labor agreements.
Methodology	Questionnaires, 500 Polish workers.
Conclusions and main findings of the article	Polish workers have poorer pay and working conditions than Danes. In particular, construction workers are loosely connected to the Danish labor market and therefore not organized. They support trade unions, but are suspicious of health and safety representatives. It is in the construction industry that Polish workers are most satisfied with their working conditions, while it is here that there is the largest wage gap between Danes and Polish workers. Mistreatment is widespread, such as not being paid, being threatened with dismissal and violence.
Insights about the work environment	Polish workers are poorly integrated, have no Danish networks to draw on. They feel insecure about unemployment and they don't have access to training schemes that allow upward mobility. They are generally poorly organized in trade unions. Many work for foreign-registered companies, therefore they have less power collectively and unions are weaker as a result.

# 6 Title	Arnholtz J and Hansen NW (2012) Labor market specific institutions and the working conditions of labor migrants: The case of Polish migrant labor in the Danish labor market. <i>Economic and Industrial Democracy</i> 34: 401-422.
Focus	Understand how wages and working conditions affect Polish workers.
Countries	Denmark.
Who	Polish migrants in Copenhagen.

Research question or intent	Do the individual characteristics of Eastern European migrant workers or the institutional arrangements that regulate their jobs explain their poor working conditions? The aim of this article is to answer these questions.
Methodology	Questionnaires, 500 Polish workers.
Conclusions and main findings of the article	Polish workers are poorly integrated into the Danish labor market system. Compared to the average salary of Danes, Polish workers' wages are low. Poles typically have labor-intensive jobs, physically demanding work. 16% of Poles work more than 48 hours a week, which is twice as much as among Danish workers. Poles have fewer opportunities for development and less influence over their work.
Insights about the work environment	These findings call into question the Danish model. Poles are poorly integrated into the Danish model and suffer from poorer pay and working conditions than Danes in general. The differences in working conditions between Danes and Poles can mainly be attributed to the decentralized level of regulation in the Danish model. While legislation and collective agreements set clear minimum standards in all sectors, there is differentiation in terms of pay, working hours and psychosocial working environment. This is due to variation made possible by collective agreements. Individual factors are not good explanations for why Poles receive pay and working conditions far below those of their Danish colleagues. Individual factors may provide part of the explanation between different groups of Polish workers, but they can hardly explain why Poles do not enjoy "Danish conditions".

# 7 Title	Arnholtz J and Refslund B. (2019) Active Enactment and Virtuous Circles of Employment Relations: How Danish Unions Organised the Transnationalized Copenhagen Metro Construction Project. <i>Work, Employment and Society</i> 33: 682-699.
Focus	How unions can organize workers when using subcontractors and transnational workers.
Countries	Denmark.
Who	Transnational workers. I.e. situations where both workers and companies are foreign. Metro construction.

Research question or intent	To show how Danish trade unions have successfully organized the construction of the Copenhagen Metro Cityring.
Methodology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Systematic search and review of news articles about work-related events on the metro construction site (2011-2016), - Interviews with trade union representatives, employer association representatives, labor inspectors (Danish Working Environment Authority), - 3F evaluation report with data on unionization rates that included 35 interviews with transnational workers.
Conclusions and main findings of the article	The success in winning better conditions for workers is explained by the union changing their strategies. This includes efforts to create common goals and identity across divergent groups of workers and actively seeking changes in public owners' attitudes towards employment relations.
Insights about the work environment	Transnational workers are highly dependent on their employer and therefore often support their efforts to circumvent the rules. Mobile workers usually have lower wage expectations, rarely use the labor market to improve their conditions and are not unionized. They find it difficult to impose and enforce collective agreements. They are reluctant to join unions. High political awareness leads to better conditions.

# 8 Title	Biering K, Lander F and Rasmussen K. (2017) Work injuries among migrant workers in Denmark. <i>Occupational and Environmental Medicine</i> 74: 235.
Focus	Workplace accidents.
Countries	Denmark.
Who	Migrants vs. non-migrants.
Research question or intent	To compare workplace accidents for migrants versus non-migrants.
Methodology	Data from three different sources: emergency room visits, reported injuries to the Danish Working Environment Authority and data from Statistics Denmark from 2003 to 2013.
Conclusions and main findings of the article	Overall, this study finds that reported injuries among migrants are slightly lower than among Danes. As expected, high-risk sectors account for relatively more accidents, but this is most dominant among Danish

	workers. Even more surprisingly, no increased risk is observed among young migrants, and especially not in high-risk jobs.
Insights about the work environment	Foreign workers have a good and equally good working environment as Danes. This article points in particular to "healthy worker bias" and that political vigilance leads to a better working environment.

# 9 Title	COWI (2012) <i>Minimizing accident risks for migrant workers employed in the construction industry and primary agriculture</i> . Copenhagen: Working Environment Research Foundation.
Focus	Accidents in construction and agriculture.
Countries	Denmark.
Who	The construction industry.
Research question or intent	The aim was to raise awareness of the work situation of migrant workers and develop a catalogue of ideas to facilitate accident prevention initiatives that can be implemented by authorities, social partners, employers and others.
Methodology	Representatives from Danish authorities, social partners, occupational health and safety organizations, migrant workers' social networks in Denmark and a number of employers (and colleagues) were interviewed about their understanding and experiences in relation to migrant workers' work situation and exposure to occupational accidents. A number of migrant workers were interviewed via interpreters about their desires and motivations for coming to Denmark to work, as well as their understanding of working conditions, accident risks and suggestions for safety improvements in their work situation.
Conclusions and main findings of the article	There are reports of missing or irregular salary payments. Others report workplace accidents and risky work. Many migrants feel that they are exposed to higher risks than their Danish colleagues.
Insights about the work environment	Migrant workers generally know about safety from their home countries, but tend to ignore it to please employers or to prove themselves as an efficient worker.

#10 Title	COWI (2016) <i>Efforts against occupational accidents in public building and construction projects employing foreign labor</i> . Copenhagen: Working Environment Research Foundation.
Focus	Work clauses
Countries	Denmark
Who	Foreign labor for the completion of tasks within construction and civil engineering.
Research question or intent	The development of a tool that (public) clients can use to reduce the risk of occupational accidents in construction projects where foreign labor is employed.
Methodology	This project uses multiple methods. The relevant method for this study is a survey of public regions and municipalities on their use of labor clauses.
Conclusions and main findings of the article	The focus is primarily on pay and employment conditions to ensure compliance with collective agreements. As such, it is not common practice to include safety requirements in employment clauses.
Insights about the work environment	Safety is not part of the contractual agreements. Instead, the focus is on pay and other terms of employment.

# 11 Title	Grillis A-N and Dyreborg J. (2015) Social dumping - a special problem for the construction industry? <i>Journal of Working Life</i> 17: 10-30.
Focus	Social dumping.
Countries	Denmark.
Who	The construction industry.
Research question or intent	The overall aim of this article is to clarify the concept of social dumping as a starting point for a discussion of the problems of social dumping in the construction industry.
Methodology	Participant observation of the coordinated efforts of the police, SKAT and the Danish Working Environment Authority and available material from the Danish Working Environment Authority and other authorities.
Conclusions and main findings of the article	The article concludes that social dumping can be understood by looking at the underlying mechanisms and that social dumping is a threat to wages in particular.
Insights about the work environment	The construction sector is particularly vulnerable to social dumping. It is the underlying mechanism that needs to be considered, not the individual.

	Control organizations (the Danish Working Environment Authority) only react to violations that can be observed.
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# 12 Title	Guldenmund F, Cleal B and Mearns K. (2013) An exploratory study of migrant workers and safety in three European countries. <i>Safety Science</i> 52: 92-99.
Focus	Safety.
Countries	Denmark, England, Netherlands.
Who	Construction, agriculture, transportation.
Research question or intent	This study compares three European countries, Denmark, the UK and the Netherlands. The focus is on the safety of migrant workers, especially those coming from Eastern European countries. Special attention was given to the relationship between safety and the national background of migrant workers.
Methodology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 44 interviews with inspectors (construction, agriculture and industry), safety managers (construction and industry) and trade unionists (construction and agriculture) - A self-administered questionnaire of logistics (transportation) employees from one company - using the NOSACQ-50 safety climate questionnaire. - Limited accident data analysis. Danish data covered the period from 2003 to 2006.
Conclusions and main findings of the article	Immigrants (2017) have more accidents per 10,000 workers than Danes (181) and descendants (156). Relatively more immigrants receive compensation as a result of an accident than Danes and descendants. These are primarily Polish (and Lithuanian and Latvian) migrants.
Insights about the work environment	There is a problem with migrants and security. Knowledge and communication are considered the biggest problems. Lack of skills. Government/protection is seen as a threat rather than service. Language. Lack of coordination between state authorities. Workers complicit in their own destiny. Willing to accept low standards of safety (in exchange for income). Migrants do more dangerous work and are exposed to higher risks.

#13 Title	Nielsen N and Sandberg M (2014) Between social dumping and social protection. The challenge of creating orderly working conditions among Polish circular migrants in the Copenhagen area, Denmark. <i>Ethnologia Europaea</i> 44: 23-37. DOI: 10.16995/ee.1119.
Focus	Orderly conditions
Countries	Denmark
Who	Polish, construction industry
Research question or intent	Create decent working conditions in precarious and temporary workplaces
Methodology	Ethnographic, observation and interviews
Conclusions and main findings of the article	"Polishness" is used as a brand to position itself on construction sites.
Insights about the work environment	Migrant workers portray themselves as willing to work and flexible in order to create orderly working conditions for themselves. What takes place in the labor market and workplaces is also not only connected to, but highly influenced by the specific organization of the families to which the worker is attached.

#14 Title	Pedersen AHM and Thomsen TL (2020) Precarious Working Lives - Migrant Workers' experience of Working Conditions in the Danish Labor Market. In: <i>Changes and Challenges of Cross-Border Mobility within the European Union</i> . Berlin: Peter Lang.
Focus	Risk factors
Countries	Denmark.
Who	Polish migrant workers in the construction industry
Research question or intent	To investigate risk factors for Polish workers. Focus on Occupational Health and Safety
Methodology	Narrative interviews. 13 interviews with 21 people
Conclusions and main findings of the article	Conclusions circle around precariat thinking. They don't have steady jobs, etc.

Insights about the work environment	Migrants' position depends on their employer. They are at risk of being laid off. They weigh up the physical and psychological risks.
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#15 Title	Ramboll. (2016) <i>Analysis of the characteristics and needs of foreign service providers</i> . Copenhagen: Arbejdstilsynet.
Focus	Foreign companies.
Countries	Denmark.
Who	Employers, foreign.
Research question or intent	To gather knowledge about foreign employers to ensure better supervision.
Methodology	- Literature review, - Mapping of the companies registered in RUT, - Qualitative part, including interviews with newly registered RUT companies.
Conclusions and main findings of the article	Foreign providers are predominantly motivated by financial incentives. However, they are also motivated by "healthy business cultures" such as getting paid, quality work and efficiency. Of interest to this study, they are also motivated by a better working environment.
Insights about the work environment	Workers are used to a different health and safety culture. Safety and health do not have the same focus for individual employees. Companies become more pro health and safety over time. Most companies are positive towards the Danish Working Environment Authority. Therefore, it is not so much the will as it is knowledge that stands in the way of compliance. The size of the company does not affect whether they are aware of health and safety regulations. They know about them through relationships, not formal channels. The authors also point to the potential of distributing knowledge via the internet.

#16 Title	Rasmussen S, Refslund B, Sørensen OH, et al. (2016) <i>Reducing precarious work in Europe through social dialogue: The case of Denmark</i> . Aalborg: Aalborg University.
Focus	Insecure work, dialog and collaboration.
Countries	Denmark.
Who	Construction, Cleaning, Fishing.

Research question or intent	How dialog can help reduce precariousness.
Methodology	Case study: Semi-structured interviews as well as secondary sources such as policy documents, reports from trade unions and employers' associations, media reports, collective agreements and previous research studies. As part of the project report, a total of 42 interviews were conducted with representatives from trade unions, employers' associations, local union branches, shop stewards, local managers, temporary work agencies and migrant workers.
Conclusions and main findings of the article	The case study suggests that union success often depends on their ability to 1) build trust-based relationships with migrant workers, 2) prove that they can make a difference to migrant workers' wages and working conditions, and 3) strong union presence in the workplace, which often requires some form of cooperation or social dialogue with employers to ensure union access to the workplace and thus access to the migrant).
Insights about the work environment	Trust must be built if migrant workers are to be helped.

#17 Title	Rasmussen K and Biering K (2020) Work Environment and Health among Migrant Workers. In: <i>Changes and Challenges of Cross-Border Mobility within the European Union</i> . Berlin: Peter Lang.
Focus	Workplace accidents.
Countries	Denmark.
Who	Migrants vs. non-migrants.
Research question or intent	To compare workplace accidents for migrants versus non-migrants.
Methodology	Data from three different sources: emergency room visits, reported injuries to the Danish Working Environment Authority and data from Statistics Denmark from 2003 to 2013.
Conclusions and main findings of the article	Overall, this study finds that reported injuries among migrants are slightly lower than among Danes. As expected, high-risk sectors account for relatively more accidents, but this is most dominant among Danish

	workers. Even more surprisingly, no increased risk is observed among young migrants, and especially not in high-risk jobs.
Insights about the work environment	Foreign workers have a good and equally good working environment as Danes. This article points in particular to "healthy worker bias" and that political vigilance leads to a better working environment.

#18 Title	Refslund B. (2021) When strong unions meet precarious migrants: Building trustful relations to unionize labor migrants in a high union-density setting. <i>Economic and Industrial Democracy</i> 42: 314-335.
Focus	The relationship between unions and migrants.
Countries	Denmark.
Who	Construction and Fisheries.
Research question or intent	Understand the interplay between the strong Danish trade unions and migrant workers by identifying and discussing some of the challenges faced by both migrant workers and trade unions, as well as identifying successful organizing efforts.
Methodology	The empirical input for this article is mainly based on two in-depth case studies, one of which is construction, for a European comparative research project. The case studies are based on 20 in-depth interviews, nine in each case study and two at national level, field observations, observation of two meetings between shop stewards and migrants.
Conclusions and main findings of the article	The article points to the need to build a trusting relationship between migrant workers and trade unions to enable migrants to better navigate the national labor market and increase workers' power in the workplace in relation to employers.
Insights about the work environment	Trust between trade unions and migrants is crucial to ensure better rights for workers.

#19 Title	Refslund B and Sippola M. (2020) Migrant workers trapped between individualism and collectivism: The formation of union-based workplace collectivism. <i>Economic and Industrial Democracy: Online</i> .
Focus	Employers' strategies and migrants' strategies.
Countries	Denmark and Finland.

Who	In Denmark: Construction and Slaughterhouse.
Research question or intent	The aim is to illustrate how trade union strategies explain the different degrees of migrants' inclusion in the labor market and help understand why gaps between migrants and others and workers are formed.
Methodology	Case studies: Multiple forms of data, including interviews and field notes based on observations, two media surveys and other available sources.
Conclusions and main findings of the article	Proximity, a sense of community, shared problem perception and reference groups are necessary for migrants to develop collective labor market strategies.
Insights about the work environment	When employers engage in strategies to segregate workers and migrants have individualistic strategies, it is difficult to ensure better working conditions.

#20 Title	Simkunas DP and Thomsen TL (2018) Precarious Work? Migrants' Narratives of Coping with Working Conditions in the Danish Labor Market. <i>Central and Eastern European Migration Review</i> 7: 35-51.
Focus	Migrants' experience of precariousness.
Countries	Denmark.
Who	Construction and Cleaning.
Research question or intent	To understand migrants' experiences with precarious working conditions in the cleaning and construction industry in the Danish labor market.
Methodology	Biographical narrative interviews focusing on how people create their life stories.
Conclusions and main findings of the article	Migrants depend on others to maintain their employment and income.
Insights about the work environment	The migrant's dependency on others creates an unequal balance of power between the migrant and the employer in both industries. The power relations are expressed through how much influence a worker has over wages, working conditions, security of employment and representation, and opportunities for advancement.

#21 Title	Spanger M and Hvalkof SD (2020) <i>Migrant Mobility: Between Criminalization, Trafficking and Exploitation in the Danish Labour</i>
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	<i>Market</i> . Aalborg: Aalborg Universitetsforlag: https://vbn.aau.dk/ws/portalfiles/portal/348073070/Migranthers_mobilitet_OA.pdf .
Focus	Migrants' work situation in the Danish labor market, the recruitment process and how a number of actors affect migrants' working conditions and mobility.
Countries	Denmark.
Who	Construction, Agriculture and Cleaning.
Research question or intent	To examine the transnational mobility of migrants, their working conditions in relation to the labor market in Denmark and the Danish policy area for combating human trafficking
Methodology	Interviews with migrant workers, employers, public officials and trade unions
Conclusions and main findings of the article	Migrants are precarious in the Danish labor market
Insights about the work environment	Specific company types are used to exploit workers. For example, CPR numbers and CVR numbers are inappropriately used to exploit workers. The organization of work in e.g. chains is also harmful. Overall, workers perceive the Danish labor market as exploitative.

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