A Better Match between Persons with Mobility Impairments and the Labour Market

Keywords: Mobility impairments, employment, job match, information asymmetry, employers, employment service, ableism, aversive disableism, innovation camp.
Vision and objectives

The vision of the Research Centre for Disability and Employment (Forskningscenter for Handicap og Beskæftigelse, www.fhb.aau.dk) is to systematically describe, understand, and assist in improving the labour market situation and the prospects of disabled persons. The research centre is a collaboration between Centre for Labour Market Research at Aalborg University, VIVE – The Danish Centre for Applied Social Research and VIA University college, but is open for collaboration with other Danish and international researchers.

From 2018-2020, the research centre has funding from the Danish BEVICA foundation (www.bevica.dk) to conduct a research project on “Better matches between persons with mobility impairments and the labour market”. This project will collect new evidence on the supply side (persons with mobility impairments), the demand side (the employers), and the intermediate institutions (the employment service) and identify more effective measures and instruments to improve the labour market situation of persons with mobility impairments.

This integrated approach is innovative and draws on state of the art labour market and disability research. From labour market research, we build on the theory on “asymmetrical information” (Granovetter, 1974; Hensvik & Skans, 2016; Larsen & Vesan, 2011; Peck & Kirkbride, 2001; Pinkston, 2009). From disability studies, we draw upon theories on “ableism” (Campbell, 2009; Mik-Meyer, 2016a) and “aversive disableism” (Deal, 2009; Dovidio et al. 2011; Dunne, 2015). These theoretical concepts will provide new prisms to guide data collection and better understand the labour market situation of persons with mobility impairments.

Problem, approach and research questions

Persons with disabilities are more likely to be inactive, unemployed, or in subsidised jobs than people without disabilities. In recent decades, the labour market situation for persons with disabilities even seems to have deteriorated (Jones, 2008; OECD, 2010).

In Denmark, self-reported estimates show that around 780,000 persons have a disability or a longer-term health issue, which amounts to more than 20% of the adult population (Larsen & Høgelund, 2015). Within this group, 305,000 persons (39%) report of mobility impairments defined as problems with arms, hands, legs, feet, spine or neck. Recent research from VIVE1 shows that there is still a large gap between the employment rates of persons without disabilities (79%) and persons with mobility impairments (56%), and that there is an untapped labour supply among unemployed persons with mobility impairments and among those employed on “special conditions” (Larsen & Larsen, 2017).

The multiple barriers to the equal access and inclusion of persons with disabilities are located on the supply side, the demand side, and in the relationships between the two sides of the labour market. We, therefore, propose to apply an integrated labour market approach to understand and improve the situation of persons with mobility impairments.

On the supply side, research shows that the type and severity of impairment affects labour market outcomes (Jones, 2008). Greater health challenges imply lower likelihood of employment (Larsen & Larsen, 2017). Moreover, a lower proportion of persons with disabilities have further education, which may partly

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1 Formerly SFI - The Danish National Centre for Social Research.
explain their gap in employment rates (Larsen & Larsen, 2017). Barriers such as lack of motivation and self-confidence may also affect persons with disabilities (Dansk Handicap Forbund, 2016). Deal (2007) argues that all of the obstacles that persons with disabilities face in relation to employment tend to become “restrictions within ourselves”.

On the demand side, research shows that some employers are apprehensive about recruiting persons with disabilities, but also that there are important variations in the attitudes and behaviour among employers. Experimental research indicates that persons with disabilities experience discrimination when applying for a job (Ameri et al., 2016; Baert, 2017). Protective legislation may also discourage some employers from hiring persons with disabilities, because they are afraid of being stuck with an unproductive employee (Peck, 2001). Some employers may lack knowledge about public support schemes (financial, practical, and other) that are potentially available when hiring persons with disabilities (DA, 2017; Dansk Handicap Forbund, 2016). However, research also indicates that employers with experiences of recruiting persons with disabilities have more positive attitudes than employers with no experiences of recruiting persons with disabilities (Hernandez et al., 2000; Morgan & Alexander, 2005).

On the matching-side of the labour market, persons with disabilities are clearly more reliant on assistance from public employment agencies when searching for a job than unemployed persons without disabilities (Larsen & Larsen, 2017; see also DA, 2017). The public employment agencies (in Denmark, the municipal jobcentres) play a crucial role as job mediators (Bredgaard et al., 2016; Amby, 2014). However, Danish research indicates that public employment agencies and health authorities often lack the knowledge, capacity, and capability to collaborate and efficiently provide a match between job seekers with disabilities and employers (Amby, 2015a; Rambøll, 2014).

In order to understand and improve the labour market situation of persons with disabilities, specifically persons with mobility impairments, we need to integrate the three approaches to labour market research and understand the linkages between them (see table 1).

**Table 1. An integrated labour market approach**

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<th>Supply-side approach</th>
<th>Matching approach</th>
<th>Demand-side approach</th>
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<td><strong>The focus</strong></td>
<td>Persons with mobility impairments</td>
<td>The employment services</td>
<td>The companies</td>
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<td><strong>The problem</strong></td>
<td>Individual abilities and disabilities as barriers to the labour market</td>
<td>Information asymmetries and inadequate matching</td>
<td>The behaviour and attitudes of employers</td>
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<td><strong>The solution</strong></td>
<td>Increase capacities of persons with mobility impairments</td>
<td>Improve information and matching of employment services</td>
<td>Persuade or enforce employers to hire and retain persons with mobility impairments</td>
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In essence, labour markets are market places for the exchange of labour. For instance, neo-classical economic theory tends to describe the labour market as any other product market where buyers (employers) and sellers (employees) exchange goods and services (wages for labour). However, in real-world labour markets, there are numerous imperfections, barriers, and regulations that make labour markets function and perform in ways not predicted by the theory (see Cahuc et al., 2014; Ibsen & Stamhus, 2016).
The analytical starting point of this project is that labour markets are characterised by a state of “asymmetrical information” (Granovetter, 1974, Hensvik & Skans 2016, Larsen & Vesan 2011, Peck & Kirkbride 2001, Pinkston 2009) with particularly harmful effects for persons with disabilities. A jobseeker with, for instance, mobility impairments often lacks information about the accessibility and the ability of the workplace to accommodate his or her impairment. On the other hand, the employer lacks information about the consequences of the jobseekers’ impairment for the vacant position. Lack of credible and sufficient information may lead to indirect discrimination of persons with disabilities (Ameri et. al, 2015; Baert, 2017; Thuesen 2012). One solution to this dilemma is the provision of transparent and reliable information to both jobseekers and employers. The public employment service has typically assumed responsibility for the provision of such information.

However, there is no administrative registration or records of disabilities in the Danish employment service. Therefore, persons with disabilities tend to become an “invisible group”, and information gaps become a barrier to matching jobseekers with disabilities with employers (Amby, 2015a; Larsen & Larsen, 2017). On the other hand, the low levels of formal job protection and lack of special protection for persons with disabilities on the Danish labour market may promote the integration of persons with disabilities, since employers may be less reluctant to recruit persons that they can easily dismiss again (see Bredgaard et. al, 2015; Bredgaard & Madsen, 2015).

In addition to theories of “information asymmetries”, the concepts “ableism” and “aversive disableism” are useful in understanding the hesitation, ambivalence, and lack of action on the part of public employment agencies and employers. Ableism is a concept that refers to how disability is constructed through able-bodied norms (Campbell, 2009; Mik-Meyer, 2016a). One consequence of ableism is that able-bodied norms tend to exclude persons with disabilities from the workforce (Hall & Wilton, 2011; Schur et al., 2005), although they are seldom openly acknowledged by actors such as public authorities, employers, or potential colleagues. The concept of aversive disableism seeks to capture precisely the tacit nature of such exclusion, implying that much prejudice faced by disabled people is not overt but is instead subtle in nature, as argued by disability researcher Mark Deal (2007). Aversive disableism is inspired by the concept “aversive racism” (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). Similar to that concept, it points to feelings of “discomfort, uneasiness, disgust and sometimes fear” that often result in the attitude-holder avoiding contact with the attituderecipient (Deal 2007: 96). Both concepts (i.e., ableism and aversive disableism) point to mechanisms that lead to the exclusion of persons with disabilities from the labour market, and hence both concepts are highly relevant to an analysis of the labour market situation of persons with mobility impairments. Moreover, the concepts have not so far been used as an analytical prism in relation to an integrated analysis of this labour market situation from the perspective of jobseekers with disabilities, the employment agencies, and the employers.

The main research question of this project seeks to advance current research by exploring: **Which factors and mechanisms represent barriers to the labour market integration of persons with mobility impairments and how can the situation be improved?** To answer this research question we raise the following sub-questions:

1) **Persons with mobility impairments**: What characterizes the labour market situation of persons with mobility impairments and how do they themselves conceive of the labour market barriers and opportunities they experience?

2) **The employment services**: Which factors inhibits or promotes public employment services to address the needs of persons with mobility impairments and which policy instruments are effective in increasing the employment rates of persons with mobility impairments?
3) **The employers**: Which factors prohibit or promote that employers recruit and retain persons with mobility impairments and how can more employers become engaged in hiring persons with mobility impairments?

This approach differs from current research in three important ways. First, we apply an integrated rather than partial approach to understand the labour market for persons with mobility impairments, the role of the employment services, and the employers, as well as the linkages between them. In doing this, the project combines the strengths of political science, sociology, labour market studies and disability research. Second, the project will focus specifically on persons with mobility impairments as a sub-group of individuals with disabilities. Finally, we will combine applied research with innovative measures and solutions and aspires to assist in improving the labour market situation of persons with mobility impairments (see below).

**Project design and work packages**

The projects consists of four work packages, one for each of the three sides of the labour market (supply-side, demand-side and matching-side) and one work packages to combine the insights and identify new and legitimate solutions to improve the labour market situation of persons with mobility impairments (innovations camps).

*Figure 1. Project design and work packages*

Figure 1 illustrates the project design, including the data collection methods of the work packages. The project applies a design that combines quantitative and qualitative methods in order to validate the data and obtain new knowledge of a complex phenomenon (cf. Brannen, 2005). Within each work package (WP 1-3), surveys are conducted prior to in-depth case studies, allowing quantitative key findings to be qualitatively elaborated in the case studies. At the same time, the three surveys and parts of the case studies are sequenced so that findings from one work package can be used to feed into design of the next round of data collection.
WP1. Supply - The labour market situation of persons with mobility impairments (project leaders: Helle Holt and Frederik Thuesen)

The purpose of WP1 is to analyse the labour market situation of the heterogeneous group of persons with mobility impairments by taking their point of view as the starting point. In order to do so, we will carry out a longitudinal ethnographic study including qualitative interviews and distribute a survey among persons with mobility impairments. These two studies will focus on how and why mobility impairments represent barriers to labour market participation, experiences in relation to the municipal social services administration and jobcentres, as well as experiences in relation to job seeking, employers, and colleagues. We will also compare the characteristics and experiences of employed and non-employed citizens with mobility impairments in order to explore potential differences between these groups.

The longitudinal ethnographic study uses interviews and returns to interviewees to measure and explore changes which occur over time and the processes associated with these changes (see Holland et al. 2006; Mcleod & Thompson 2012). We will follow 20 individuals with mobility impairments during their everyday life and work life throughout the project period (3 years). These 20 individuals will consist of 10 individuals in employment and 10 individuals without employment (primarily unemployed job-seeking individuals). Comparing employed and unemployed job-seeking individuals with mobility impairment in a longitudinal employment perspective will provide new and valuable knowledge on barriers and promising paths towards employment. We will conduct three interviews with each individual over a 2-year period resulting in 60 interviews. The interviews will cover different themes inspired by theoretical approaches mentioned above, especially the concept “aversive ableism”.²

The interviews from the longitudinal ethnographic study will feed into a nationwide survey targeting a representative sample of individuals with mobility impairments. The central themes of the survey will be the respondents’ everyday life, health, education, labour market trajectory, employment status, number of working hours (if employed), type of contract, employment conditions, and seniority. The survey will also explore their interaction and experiences of public institutions (social services, health, and employment administration) and collaboration among these institutions (cf. Gensby & Thuesen 2010), as well as experiences in the labour market (employers and colleagues). Moreover, we will seek to uncover the respondents’ motivation for finding a job, experiences of discrimination, stigmatization and social isolation, as well as embedding in information and help-providing social networks relevant for finding or retaining a job (Carey et al., 2004; Potts, 2005; Thuesen 2016).

The sample will consist of 3800 respondents who have themselves indicated having a mobility impairment in two previous surveys conducted by VIVE (the 2016 survey concerning disability and employment, see Larsen & Larsen, 2017, and the panel SHIELD-surveys 2012/2016, see Damgaard et al., 2013). The sociological method known as “latent class analysis” will be used to analyse the data. Latent class analysis is a powerful analytical tool to distinguish different segments of a given population based on observable and unobservable (latent) characteristics (Hagenaars & McCutcheon, 2002; Collins & Lanza, 2010). In relation to this study, this

² The following themes will be included: The creation of a disabled person (Holmqvist, 2008; Mik-Meyer, 2016b), the psychological restrictions within the disabled person towards the labour market – the internal barriers (Deal, 2007; Dansk Handicap Forbund, 2015), isolation and the importance of social relations and networks in connection to the labour market (Thuesen, 2016), the experience of othering, aversive disableism and stigmatization (Deal, 2007; Mik-Meyer, 2016a), the meetings with employers, potential colleagues and the professionals in jobcentres and in the health sector – the external barriers (Holt & Mehløsen, 2017; Holt & Nilsson, 2013; Rambøll, 2014; Garsten & Jacobsen, 2013; Mik-Meyer, 2016a; 2016b).
method will help provide new knowledge on different segments making up the population of individuals with mobility impairments based on socio-economic background, education, mental resources (self-confidence/self-efficacy), experiences in relation the employment system, employers etc.

The knowledge gained from the combined qualitative and quantitative studies in WP1 will be valuable to NGOs, public administration employees, employers, and decision-makers working in this field in order to target empowerment and employment strategies towards this group of individuals. When investigating how public institutions (e.g., jobcentres) and employers estimate the employability of persons with mobility impairments and the requirements for enhancing such employability, building on detailed knowledge from a “user” or “job-seeker” perspective will be very useful. Empirically, both the interviews and the survey from WP1 will be used to guide the selection of jobcentres and employers in WP2 and WP3, respectively, for further in-depth qualitative case studies.
WP2. Demand - The employers and persons with mobility impairments (project leader: Thomas Bredgaard and Julia Salado-Rasmussen)

The purpose of WP2 is to analyse and better understand the decisions and attitudes of employers towards persons with mobility impairments. Thus far, the decision-making structures, preferences, and attitudes of employers towards disabled persons in general and persons with mobility impairments in particular have not been well understood and seldom researched.

There are some exceptions (see also Hernandez et al., 2000; Peck & Kirkbride, 2001, Thuesen, 2012). The Danish National Centre for Social Research (SFI) has conducted a number of surveys on corporate social responsibility since 1998. The surveys indicate that the share of employees with a disability at the workplace level is increasing (Jacobsen, Larsen & Jensen, 2015). According to the latest figures, 42% of the Danish workplaces had employed at least one person with disabilities in 2012 compared to 11% in 1998. Nevertheless, important challenges in labour market integration and retention of persons with disabilities persists. In a survey of employer attitudes, Jakobsen, Larsen, and Jensen (2015) identify a number of barriers to recruiting persons with reduced work capacity, including lack of the right qualifications and that persons with disabilities are seen to require too much special attention or not fit into the workplace. Such attitudes are likely to be a product of lack of information or prejudice and adherence to ableist norms (Campbell 2009). Hence, Amby (2015a) finds that the majority of Danish companies are apprehensive about hiring unemployed people with disabilities. Moreover, other surveys indicate that employers lack information about relevant legislation on compensation and subsidies when recruiting persons with disabilities (Dansk Handicap Forbund, 2016; DA, 2017). Even disabled persons seem to lack information about the various compensation schemes and economic subsidies (Larsen & Larsen, 2017).

Building on this and the preliminary findings from WP1, we will collect new data on the attitudes, preferences, decisions, and experiences of employers in recruiting and retaining persons with mobility impairments. The work package consists of two linked studies: 1) a nationally representative survey on the attitudes and behaviour of employers towards persons with mobility impairments, and 2) case studies of specific workplaces.

The objective of the first study is to classify different types of employers. The study advances similar studies on employers and active labour market policies (Bredgaard, 2017; Bredgaard & Halkjær, 2016) and distinguishes between four types of employers: committed employers, sceptical employers, passive employers, and dismissive employers (see table 2).

Table 2. The attitudes and behaviour of employers towards persons with mobility impairments

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<tr>
<td>Positive attitudes</td>
<td>Committed employers</td>
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<td>Negative action</td>
<td>Passive employers</td>
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The typology makes it possible to characterise and measure the proportion of employers that are committed to recruit and retain persons with mobility impairments and compare them to dismissive employers. It will also allow us to better understand why passive employers refrain from recruiting persons with disabilities (e.g., lack of information) and why sceptical employers have negative attitudes despite their positive participation (e.g., prejudice, bad experiences). The typology, therefore, enables us to understand what characterises different types of employers and allows better and more targeted public strategies to influence the attitudes and behaviours of employers (e.g., information and outreach campaigns).
The second study within WP3 examines the motives, experiences, and attitudes of employers towards persons with mobility impairments through strategically selected case studies. From the survey, eight companies are selected (two for each type of employer above) and in-depth interviews are conducted with management, employees (including persons with mobility impairments), and trade unions.

The two studies will provide a solid base of evidence on the attitudes and behaviour of different types of employers and will assist in identifying jobs and workplaces with a potential for improving the match between persons with mobility impairments and the labour market.
WP3. Match - Employment services for persons with mobility impairments (project leaders: Finn Amby and Lena Kjeldsen)

The purpose of WP3 is to gain and disseminate knowledge about the jobcentres experiences, focus, and organisation of initiatives to match persons with mobility impairments with the labour market. Existing research shows significant and often unexplainable differences in the implementation and effects of municipal employment policies and initiatives (Larsen, 2009; Bille, 2016). A survey combined with interviews in 2012 among managers and key workers in the field of disability in Danish jobcentres found only few systematic efforts to provide support for job-ready unemployed persons with disabilities (Amby, 2015a). Additionally, an unpublished study by Amby and Kjeldsen (2017) found similar results at the level of caseworkers. This lack of focus, which is potentially a product of “information gaps” and what we might term “administrative aversive disableism”, is also underlined by the fact that people with disabilities are not included in the definition of target groups in the general employment policy, and recent reforms seem to continue on the same path (Amby, 2015b). Consequently, the knowledge of what actually works in matching people with disabilities and the labour market is limited.

The work package consists of two linked activities: 1) a survey among managers and key caseworkers (key informants) with a focus on disability in jobcentres and 2) a qualitative case study that highlights the interplay between health- and employment-related rehabilitation and the interplay between social and employment services concerning compensation and support for independent living.

The objective of the jobcentre survey is twofold. First, the survey is a continuation of the national survey among persons with mobility impairment and employers in WP1 and WP2, but now seen through the perspective of jobcentres. Second, the objective of the survey is to gain insight into the construction of mobility impairments as a group and the practices and the level of focus on people with mobility impairments. We expect that some of the same themes relevant in the first survey will also be relevant in this survey (construction of the target group through a prism of ableist norms, informational barriers and asymmetries). Regarding the construction of people with mobility impairments as a group, we also find inspiration in the categories used by our neighbours in Norway and Sweden (cf. Garsten & Jacobsson, 2013; Angelov & Eliason, 2014). To be able to identify the practices and level of focus in the jobcentres, we ask questions concerning the visitation process as people enter the jobcentre, which entails the contact between the unemployed person and the jobcentre, and the Act on Compensation, which concerns the compensatory arrangements for people with disabilities.

The objective of the case study is to gain insight into the cooperation and potential barriers between the different systems that have importance for the labour market situation of people with mobility impairments. The study will consist of qualitative interviews with caseworkers in the employment, health, and social sectors in three municipalities. The study will also shed light on the importance of specialised knowledge and services based on medically defined diagnosis to the employment situation. This is illustrated by comparing municipalities that have made use of rehabilitation for people with severe mobility impairments at the Specialized Hospital for Polio and Accident Victims and municipalities without such experiences.
WP4. Innovation camps (project leaders: Ditte Shamshiri-Pedersen and Julia Salado Rasmussen)

Building on the research findings, the ambition of the Bevica Centre for Labour Market Research is to combine research and practice in innovative and collaborative ways. The main mechanism for establishing a partnership between research and practice is “innovation camps”. Innovation camps are facilitated meetings between the three parties of a “good matching process” (persons with mobility impairments, the employment system, and the employers) (see figure 2).

*Figure 2. Partnership and cooperation between research and practice*

Innovations camps are inspired by the research fields of knowledge mobilisation (Davies et. al, 2015; Swan et. al, 2016), cooperative knowledge production (Hüttemann & Sommerfeld, 2008), and action research (Lewin, 1948; Nielsen & Svensson, 2006). The main idea is to avoid the traditional and ineffective one-way knowledge diffusion process from research to practice. Instead, the innovation camps intend to establish two-way knowledge production and transfer processes in which research is qualified by practice and practice is qualified by research, as illustrated in Figure 2.

Innovation camps are meeting points and learning arenas between research and practice. We will arrange four camps during the life cycle of the project. Initially, the participants will give advice on the research design and data collection methods to make sure that it is responsive and useful to the field. Subsequently, the initial research findings will be presented, discussed, and interpreted together with the stakeholders. In the last phases of the project, the objective is to identify new and legitimate measures and instruments to improve the labour market integration of persons with mobility impairments, especially focusing on breaking down the information asymmetries of the labour market and reducing prejudice. The innovation camps will bring together representatives of persons with mobility impairments, the Danish organisation for people with disabilities, representatives of municipalities, jobcentres and employers, the regional labour market authorities, and the social partners (employer associations and trade unions).
### Timetable

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- **x** indicates the activity is planned for that time period.
References


