



European network against racism

ENAR Shadow Report 2011-2012

ENAR-DENMARK SHADOW REPORT

Racism and related discriminatory practices in Denmark

Bashy Quraishy
Ethnic Debate Forum, Copenhagen

Racism is a reality in the lives of many ethnic and religious minorities in the EU. However, the extent and manifestations of this reality are often unknown and undocumented, especially in official data sources, meaning that it can be difficult to analyse the situation and to establish solutions to it.

The ENAR Shadow Reports are produced to fill the gaps in the official and academic data, to offer an alternative to that data and to offer an NGO perspective on the realities of racism in the EU and its Member States. NGO reports are, by their nature, based on many sources of data - official, unofficial, academic and experiential. This allows access to information which, while sometimes not backed up by the rigours of academic standards, provides the vital perspective of those that either are or work directly with those affected by racism. It is this that gives NGO reports their added value, complementing academic and official reporting.

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1. Executive summary

The present report aims to present an NGO perspective on racism and discrimination in Denmark. It is based on Danish government responses and policies dealing with racism and unequal treatment of minorities. The report also proposes concrete recommendations from grassroots NGOs.

The 2011-12 report begins by examining the manifestations of racism and discrimination present in all spheres of life and on a daily basis. This has been documented in studies and general observations by the Danish Institute for Human Rights, the Documentation and Advisory Centre against racism – DRC – and NGOs working in the fields of minority rights. The report focuses on key areas, which most affect ethnic minorities (labour market, education, media and politics). High unemployment still remains the single most significant barrier faced by non-western groups. Job opportunities and access to the labour market have direct consequences on social integration and the smooth functioning of many minority families.

The past and present governments in Denmark have always expressed their wish that minorities should integrate and be useful co-citizens. No one can disagree with this. But integration should be a mutual process where equal rights go hand in hand with obligations, responsibilities and most importantly with equal opportunities. The present Danish government of Social Democrats urgently needs to introduce concrete policies. Civil society NGOs can be of great help in proposing to the authorities anti-discrimination action plans and by encouraging minorities to take their part of responsibility in integration.

During the last twelve years, the former right wing government and its parliamentary partner (the far right anti-Islam Danish People's Party) had argued that integration of non-European minorities could only be achieved if their numbers were drastically reduced. While this goal has been successfully reached, a true integration process has not been put in place. One interesting statistic, which the former Danish government did not publicise is the total number of people leaving Denmark every year. For example according to the Danish Bureau of Statistics, nearly 50000 people enter Denmark every year to stay, but almost the same number of people also leave the country. This includes both 'native' Danes and ethnic minorities.

While physical violence against minorities is not common, verbal violence cannot be ignored. This requires attention because verbal attacks over a longer period usually result in physical violence. Racial profiling and negative police attitudes towards minorities minimise the trust necessary for the victims of discrimination to contact authorities for support and justice. This can be seen in the relatively lower numbers of cases registered by the police in 2011-2012. An open and inclusionary approach from the police will encourage the victims of racism to actively complain and to go to court.

Media coverage with primary focus on negative stories, degrading political statements concerning cultural traditions and religious customs of Muslim minorities, from a majority of the political elite including the Chairman of the largest Socialist Party – SF, have had a profound effect in evoking anti-Muslim prejudice and also in widening the gap between the majority of Danes and the Muslim population of Denmark.

The consequences of the infamous caricature of Prophet Mohammed in 2005 and its republishing in 2008 are still there and have hurt the integration process badly. The government needs to distinguish between freedom of expression and the need of minorities to be politically and judicially protected to live a peaceful life without being subject to insults, ridicule and arrogant behaviour.

The Internet has become widely used by racist organisations as their propaganda and networking tool. While public and media racist statements are punishable by law, Internet has no such restraints. There is a need to deal with this problem very vigorously as is the case for websites inciting people to terrorism.

Terrorism has been at the forefront of political, media and public discussions in Denmark since 2001. But lately it has taken such a disproportional importance in the minds of Danish people that the previous government used this fear factor to push for one of the most draconian anti-terrorism laws, giving the Danish intelligence services (PET) unprecedented powers. The report outlines the terrorism and anti-terror hysteria as well as the created paranoia within Danish society.

In this report, we have focused on Islamophobia - not only as a phenomenon but also how it manifests in all walks of life including employment, education, politics, the media and public debates. The concept of freedom of expression versus protection of religious minorities is still discussed vigorously but from a majority perspective, while minorities have no say in such debates.

The lack of any visible NGO role in policy making, monitoring, lobbying and influencing decision makers is also examined. This explains why NGOs have not contributed in any significant way in becoming partners with politicians in the parliament, municipalities or local level of democratic processes.

No report is useful if it only provides negative criticism without offering any alternatives to government policies. That is why we have listed a number of concrete recommendations on various issues of concern to minorities. Our hope is that politicians, ministers and local authorities will take minorities' integration and participation in society as a serious challenge. This is a challenge both for the harmony of society as a whole and in ensuring a sense of belonging among minorities.

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3. Introduction

In Denmark, until its defeat in September 2011, the governing Liberal Party wanted to strengthen itself and make a last ditch effort to win the election with the help of stringent anti-minorities and anti-Islam policies. This harsh anti-minority rhetoric was an important part of the former Prime Minister Mr. Rasmussen's speech to party members a few months before the elections.

Political observers were united in their comments that the Prime Minister was trying to outdo the right-wing nationalist People's Party – DF – by adopting their tactics and blaming minorities for its own failed socio-economic policies of the last years.

The Danish Institute for Human Rights, Amnesty International, Nordic Council countries, the European Commission and the UN Human Rights Commission did criticize the former government of the Liberal party and its partners for using cheap political populism in the country against minorities in the name of conserving cultural values and national identity.

Unfortunately, the Danish People's Party was not the only political party which was openly expressing its xenophobic and anti-Islam views through a willing media. Even the opposition Social Democrats and their political coalition party – SF – at that time fell victim to the same method of electioneering. Time and again, topics of ghettos, parallel societies, ethnic youth crime, family reunion, forced marriages, honour killings, lack of integration, religious extremism of Muslims and Islamic terrorism were mentioned while discussing ethnic and religious minorities and their socio-economic situation. The Danish People's Party went as far as to come out with a public statement that the party planned to fight Islam as a religion in future.

In addition, there was and still is no official reorganisation and appreciation of the enormous contributions made by ethnic minorities in businesses, cultural life, sport, the labour market, the services sector, financial regeneration and ethnic mixing.

Looking at the political landscape in Denmark in 2011-2012, only two political parties kept a healthy distance from the populist atmosphere, namely the Radikale Venstre and the Enhedslisten. They advocated that parties must discuss real issues of the whole society and not only focus on minorities. Their voice however was ignored and they had no way of pressuring the main parties, the one in government and the other in opposition, with whom they would form the new government, if the opposition won the 2011 elections. Fortunately, voters had a better sense of the situation. They voted in huge numbers in support of these two above mentioned parties and gave them greater influence to change the course of Danish policies with respect to ethnic minorities, resulting in a far more sober tone and respectful mention soon after the present government was inaugurated. There are however signs that the old rhetoric of blaming minorities has started to resurface in some circles among the Social

Democrats.

As if political opportunism of the main political elite was not enough, many Danish newspapers and a few television channels as well as Internet media also adopted an anti-minorities discourse. That gave an open platform to rightwing politicians to vent their opinions, without any constraints and repercussions.

In our view, the main political parties in the Parliament have very few solutions to increasing unemployment, failing economy, company bankruptcies, deteriorating social services, a crumbling health system and an archaic education system. All these are problems to which experts are asking the government to pay serious attention, but politicians are not ready to listen.

In short, ethnic and religious minorities have become the football everyone in the field is kicking, some harder and other a bit more tactfully. The aim is the same, kick the ball in the goal of the opposite team; first it was to win the election and now to cling to power.

What can minorities do in such a hopeless situation? To start with, they can organize themselves politically and remember to vote for the parties which are willing to defend their rights and listen to their genuine worries, not when the elections come around but on a regular basis. Pressure on rightwing political parties is a course minorities themselves can chalk out by making alliances with those movements which are democratic, humanist and likely partners in their struggle.

In the last 12 years, ethnic and religious minorities, especially those Denmark describes as non-western, have not learnt their lesson of lobbying and if they continue being politically inactive, the future will be bleak. Their possibilities of establishing a family, having a nice job, decent housing, a functioning social life and a safe future of their children will be difficult, if not impossible.

This scenario would not be welcome for the majority society or for those groups, who would find themselves left out of a shared common future and a democratic process of participation.

4. Significant developments in the country during the period under review

As described in the previous chapter, the most significant development in Denmark has been the transition from a right-wing government, which ruled Denmark from 2001 to 2011, to a Social Democratic led government. For the past decade, immigration and integration have been the most debated elements in Danish politics. During the 10 years tenure of the Liberal-Conservative (VK) government and its ally, the fervently anti-immigration/anti-Islam Danish People's Party (DF), the rules for residency permits, family reunification, asylum and citizenship changed constantly – nearly always becoming stricter – and the immigration debate became more and more charged. The tone of the debate was very harsh and Islam became the constant target for populist politicians who used it to appeal to voters and thus create an atmosphere of fear.

The infamous Ministry of Immigration, Refugees and Integration, which under various hard-line ministers had played such an important yet negative role in Danish debate and in thousands of people's lives was disbanded. At the same time, the Immigration Service, which had been an independent institution and where so many ethnic minorities queued up with stacks of documents and hopes was also reshuffled. The Ministry of Immigration, Refugees and Integration and the Immigration Service's 300 employees were absorbed into the Justice Ministry and Social Ministry, among others.

The post of the Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Integration was abolished and a new Ministry was established under a 'Social and Integration Minister', and a progressive person like Karen Hækkerup was given the post.

Abolishing this Ministry of Immigration, Refugees and Integration has had enormous symbolic significance for the country. In one stroke, Prime Minister Helle Thorning-Schmidt's government defused the word 'immigration' and effectively 'integrated' immigration issues into the larger contexts of justice and social life. To a very large degree it signaled a break with what the Ministry had come to stand for in the public debate – namely, absurdly unfair rules. If the symbolism was not clear enough, the new coalition government's Common Policy and Political Programme, an 80-page document spelt it out in plain words: "the divisive tone in the immigration debate was over, the vast majority of immigrants in Denmark do not have problems integrating. They are completely normal members of Danish society."¹

Among the concrete changes described in the Common Policy Paper are:

¹ <http://radikale.dk/public/upload/Filer/Regeringsgrundlag2011.pdf>

1. The elimination of the 'points system' for family reunification
2. Dramatic reductions to the cash security and application fees
3. New freedoms and work privileges for asylum seekers
4. Equalisation of welfare benefits for immigrants and Danes
5. Guaranteed citizenship for all children born and raised in Denmark, regardless of their parents' citizenship or their own criminal records
6. A thorough revision and softening of the rules affecting children's family reunification
7. Eased requirements for permanent residency and naturalisation, including – notably – the new possibility of dual citizenship.

These changes are widely appreciated by Danes and minorities. The government seems to have borrowed some ideas from Sweden's successful asylum and citizenship programmes. Psychologically, the effect of dividing the Ministry's work up into different departments shows that this government doesn't see immigration as a problem.

Besides the rule changes, the S-R-SF coalition's Policy Document promised more transparency and accountability in the administration of cases and said that the laws would be clear and fair, the administration transparent and predictable. Regularity and respect are the foundation for integration.

Transparency and regularity were two things the disbanded Immigration Ministry was not particularly known for. In March 2011, the then immigration minister Birthe Rønn Hornbech was fired after it was revealed that she had directed Ministry staff to reject citizenship applications from nearly 400 young people of Palestinian heritage who were born and raised in Denmark, despite being aware that doing so violated the UN Convention on Stateless children's rights.

The ministry came under strong criticism from the UN and the EU for failing to uphold human rights, and the UN launched an independent inquiry. With rule changes almost every year – sometimes twice in a year – and residency approvals and rejections based on subjective criteria such as 'potential to integrate' and 'attachment to Denmark', the Ministry's case handling was also criticised by political parties.²

²

www.nyidanmark.dk/da-dk/Nyheder/Nyheder/udlaendingeservice/2011/Oktober/ministeriet_nedlagt.htm

5. Special focus: Islamophobia

Denmark is a small country, both in terms of geography and population. According to the latest data available from the Ministry of Integration and the Danish Bureau of Statistics, the figures on ethnic minorities as of the 1st January 2012 were as follows:

Total population of Denmark	5 575 863
Total number of immigrants and their Descendants from western and non-western countries	562 517

The Danish State makes a clear distinction – both statistically and ideologically – between European and non-European residents in Denmark. In its calculations, children born in immigrant families are considered descendants even if they have acquired Danish citizenship. In public debates, children of non-European families are often referred to as second and third generation immigrants.

There is no exact official data available on the number of Roma or Greenlanders or on the number of children adopted from countries outside the western hemisphere who are also victims of racism in Denmark. However, according to the office of the Danish delegation to the European Roma and Travellers Forum, there are over 20 000 Roma and Roma descendants in Denmark, compared to the official figures listed by the Council of Europe of 1 500 (a figure which may derive from old estimates on the number of Roma in Elsinore municipality)³. Generally most ethnic minorities live in big cities where they constitute 10 to 20% of the population. 60% of ethnic minorities live in rented social housing compared to only 14% of native Danes.

The American International Survey and Research Center, the PEW Forum, estimates the number of Muslims in Denmark at about 144 000 out of a total number of 480 000 immigrants in its March 2012 report.⁴

It must be mentioned that in Denmark the focus of racist and discriminatory practices has shifted from colour and ethnicity to culture and religion. Of course the physical appearance of all ethnic minorities is noticed and acted upon in Denmark but more and more, the political discourse, media debates and even laws that are being put in place focus in particular on minorities with a Muslim background. The word 'Muslim' in itself is used as an ethnicity or a category. For example, it is common to read in the media 'Muslim arrested for stabbing a Dane'.

From guest workers to Islamist

When Muslim minorities came to Denmark as cheap labour, they were called Guest workers. It was changed to foreign workers, which overtime was

³ Jean-Pierre Liégeois, *Roma, Tsiganes, Voyageurs*, p.34, Conseil de l'Europe,

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Romani_people_by_country

⁴ <http://features.pewforum.org/religious-migration/map.php#/Destination/None/all>

replaced by the word immigrants. In the nineties, NGOs fought to replace the word immigrant by ethnic minorities, which authorities reluctantly accepted. But a relentless media campaign by the largest tabloid newspaper, Ekstra Bladet, under the title 'The Aliens' brought the word 'immigrant' back on the scene. After the 9/11 terror attacks in the USA, the word 'immigrant' was slowly replaced by the word 'Muslim' in media coverage and by politicians in their statements, and the public debate became very poisonous. The Danish People's Party was the biggest contributor to this anti-Islam shift but other actors played an important part too.

Although there are no official figures on how many people with a Muslim background live in Denmark or their percentage of the total population, the latest Danish Statistics can give a rough figure.

We have calculated the minorities – immigrants, refugees and their descendants - from predominantly Muslim countries who are living in Denmark. This official figure does not include asylum seekers.

As of 1.1.2012, the total number of people with a Muslim background in Denmark is: 224 341.

From Asia: 110 310

From Africa: 29 000

From Europe: 85 031⁵

Even if we add another 10% to this figure, which could include asylum seekers, people who come from other European countries through EU rules and those who come from Christian countries like Nigeria, the figure would still not exceed 250 000. This is less than 5% of the total Danish population.

But the negative discussions about Islam, Muslims and their cultures have been prevalent in the country for the last decades. It started in the eighties with the demonisation of Islam by the chair of the Progressive Party Mogens Glistrup's use of the word 'Mohammadans', which was taken up by other politicians and the media, especially by Pia Kjærsgaard of the Danish People's Party and became an accepted discourse under the right-wing government of Anders Fogh Rasmussen and is a part of Danish reality today.

Long before the 9/11, in 1998, a Danish social scientist, Prof. Goul Andersen, from Aalborg University, undertook an analysis of the Danes' attitudes towards Islam,⁶ using a scale of 0-10, where 0 meant "No sympathy at all" and 10 the most sympathetic attitude. It showed the following results with corresponding percentages in brackets to the scale:

0 (46%)

1 (10)

2 (9)

3 (8)

⁵ <https://www.nyidanmark.dk/da-dk/Statistik/SearchStatistics.htm?searchtype=statistics>

⁶ Goul Andersen, Jørgen (2002), *Danskernes holdninger til indvandrere – en oversigt*, AMID Working Paper Series 17/2002, [http://vbn.aau.dk/en/publications/fremmedhad-eller-tolerance-danskernes-forhold-til-indvandrere\(44c20930-9c2d-11db-8ed6-000ea68e967b\).html](http://vbn.aau.dk/en/publications/fremmedhad-eller-tolerance-danskernes-forhold-til-indvandrere(44c20930-9c2d-11db-8ed6-000ea68e967b).html)

4 (7)
5 (11)
6-7 (5)
8-10 (4%).

It is a well-known fact that in a secularised society such as Denmark, the general population does not have much understanding or sympathy for any religious dogma - including Christianity. However, it is also amazing that no other religion is attacked and ridiculed on regular basis by the media and the political and cultural elite in this society, but Islam.

Goul Andersen's analysis revealed that even in a country like Israel, that has had conflict with surrounding Muslim societies since its creation, the population is far less negative towards the religion *per se* as a cause of conflict than in Denmark.

On an Index of 100, Goul Andersen noted that Denmark appears on the top of the list among all the developed countries with a position 64, Norway and Sweden less than 50 and Israel at 35.

On the basis of his own research on ethnic relations in Denmark, the sociologist Mustafa Hussain has concluded that Denmark was one of the most anti-Muslim nations on earth in the aftermath of 9/11.⁷

In Denmark, we even have private clubs of anti-Islam activists - not to mention numerous anti-Islam movements (bevagaegelser) on whose membership list there are people like the former minister of Internal Affairs, Karen Jespersen, special advisors to the government, former editors and popular writers etc.

Interview with sociologist Mustafa Hussain, February 2012

We can divide the problems which the Muslim communities are facing in Denmark in 5 distinct categories: socio-economic, political, media, religious and legal matters.

- **Socio- economic**

There is widespread unemployment among ethnic and religious minorities, depending on the ethnicity of the group. Jobs are denied just by looking at the names of applicants. Many employers are reluctant to give jobs to Muslims because of stories of crime, emotional temperament, lack of qualifications and the perceived link with terrorism.

- **Political**

There are constant political statements portraying Muslims as a homogeneous group, unwilling to work, or integrate. There is no recourse or remedy to this because it has moved from far right parties and racist movements to mainstream parties – both on the left and right of the political spectrum.

⁷ See his contribution in Shiekh, Mona et.al.(2003) Islam i bevaegelse, published by Akademisk Forlag)

Politicians very cleverly use the media's thirst for sensational stories and an easy way to claim that they are only presenting the views of the common man and woman in the country. Politicians also know that there is very little legal accountability to what they say, so they are becoming bolder in their rhetoric.

- **Media**

The media has become a willing agent in spreading political messages. Journalists often hold the microphone in front of racist politicians and do not want to ask difficult questions. The media thus not only misinforms the public but also helps to cement Islamophobic prejudices in people's minds. In the absence of normal use of laws, which should protect Muslims against hate speech, there is no fear of prosecution.

- **Legal matters**

Although there are laws against blasphemy, racial propaganda, differential treatment and discrimination, in the judicial system of Denmark freedom of speech weighs heavier than the protection of minorities – ethnic and religious. This has resulted in Muslims groups not going to court. The best example is the Attorney General's refusal to allow a law suit against Jyllands-Posten for insulting Muslims in Denmark.

On the religious front, the situation is as follows:

1. Islam is not recognised officially as a religion in Denmark, only some congregations are approved by the State to give advice, perform marriages and hold prayers.
2. There are no purpose built mosques or any financial support for establishing mosques. Muslims are indirectly made to pay for the upkeep of churches through taxation.
3. There is no training of imams. Imams can be sent home if they are found to be preaching extremism or glorifying terrorism.
4. Christianity, not religion, is a subject in schools, and the Church Minister has proposed singing hymns in the morning at the start of school.
5. Church affiliated officials approve/disapprove names for Muslim children.

Another interesting point to make is that all anti-Islam and anti-Muslim speeches, statements and articles are called Islam-critic and defended under freedom of expression. In Denmark one often hears the term Islam criticism when heated discussions relate to Islam as a religion, Muslims as communities or even the Islamic world as a single civilisation unit. This innocent sounding terminology is exclusively used to cover aggression towards Muslim communities in the form of negative political statements, prejudicial reporting, Islamophobic academic research and even utterances from Christian priests.

Coming back to the period in review, we note some recurring problems as well as slow progress for Muslim communities in Denmark. Strong anti-Islam organizations have sprung up in the country, with nearly 1 600 members only

for Danish Defence League. Lecturer Chris Holmsted from RUC University is in no doubt that anti-Islam forces are on the forward march.⁸

The opinions of Danes about Islam and Muslims were assessed in a survey by Megafon and commissioned by the newspaper Politiken. The survey among 1 253 persons revealed that:

48% of Danes have never had a dinner with a person with a Muslim background;

16% of Danes have a person with a Muslim background in their circle of friends;

10% have a person with a Muslim background as a work colleague.⁹

In another detailed article series, Danish attitudes towards minorities from 2001 to 2011, the newspaper Politiken asked foreign correspondents living in Copenhagen to describe Denmark's reputation in the world under the previous governments. Politiken asked 66 correspondents and here is what they said:

52 out of 66 said that in their country, Danes are considered as xenophobic;

38 said that Danish reputation deteriorated in that period;

48 said that in their opinion the bad reputation would improve.¹⁰

In another survey conducted by the religious newspaper Kristeligt Dagblad among 1 230 Danes, 55% Danes said that they consider a multi-cultural society as dangerous.¹¹

The anti-Islam reputation and an unrestricted demonisation of Muslims in Denmark are appreciated among racist movements and individuals across Europe. The Norwegian mass murderer Anders Breivik actually praised Danish strict policies and its cultural fight against foreigners in the central court in Oslo on April 20, 2012.¹² The Danish People's Party was not only defiant after the Norwegian terror attacks but also publically announced that it would change its rhetoric against Muslims after the carnage in Norway.¹³

Anti-Islam statements by other DF politicians are very common on social networks. On 17th April 2012, the former MP and the present councillor of Funen for the Danish People's Party, Tina Petersen, shared via his Facebook profile an Islam hostile image where Muslim women were compared with black trash bags. Tina Petersen wrote the following comment under the picture link "Hej. Remember these bulky bags tomorrow".

Tina Petersen was not alone. Birthe Jensen, a former leader of the ultra-right Danish Defence League, wrote to Tina: "Remember, it must continue to the

⁸ <http://www.kristeligt-dagblad.dk/artikel/440854:Kirke---tro--Ekstreme-islamkritikere-paa-fremmarch-i-Danmark>

⁹ www.politiken.dk – 14 June 2011

¹⁰ "Danskerne blev fremmedfjendske under Fogh - men med Thorning lysner det!", www.politiken.dk – 19 November 2011

¹¹ www.kristeligt-dagblad.dk

¹² <http://www.dr.dk/Nyheder/Udland/2012/04/20/094635.htm>

¹³ www.b.dk/node/15643119/print

municipality's chemical disposal plant, as it is hazardous waste" and Tina Petersen replied to Birte Jensen's comment with the following: "oh yes they did. I just forgot to mention. Humour or whatever haha ;)".¹⁴

Soon after their defeat in the 2011 elections, the Danish People's Party started yet another campaign against Muslims in the media. According to the party's top politicians and member of Danish Parliament Martin Henriksen, Muslims are bad for integration and create parallel societies and enforce Sharia zones in the cities.¹⁵

It is next to impossible to have anti-Islam statements punished in the Danish judicial system today. Freedom of expression is considered above anything else. A clear example of this is that while the Supreme Court considered Lars Hedegaard's statement of 2009, "girls in Muslim families are raped by their uncles, their cousins or their fathers", as illegal, it found him not guilty. The Supreme Court nevertheless chose to dismiss charges of racism against the chairman of the Press Freedom Society. The opinions were brought in an interview on the website Snaphanen.dk, but according to the Supreme Court's assessment, there was no proof that Lars Hedegaard knew that the statements would be published. All seven Supreme Court judges were behind the judgment which overturned the Eastern High Court judgment of 2011. The High Court reasoned that Hedegaard "should have known" that his statements would be published.¹⁶

¹⁴ <http://www.p77.dk/radikalisering/danmark/703-df-politiker-sammenligner-muslimere-med-affald>

¹⁵ <http://jyllands-posten.dk/politik/article4629531.ece>

¹⁶ <http://www.b.dk/nationalt/hedegaard-frifundet-for-racisme-i-hoejesteret>

6. Access and full participation in all collective areas of society

Living standards are among the highest in the world; the share of ethnic minorities among the total population is only 5%. Non-European ethnic groups normally do not work in those labour sectors where most Danes work. This is also true in the housing market and social areas.

Despite this, indirect discrimination in the labour market, housing, education, health services and the media is widespread. The policies of the previous rightwing government in the form of the strict asylum, family reunions and citizenship laws in Europe have given the society very wrong signals. The debate in the public arena on the concept of a superior Danish culture versus primitive minority cultures has poisoned the atmosphere to the extent that many Danes truly believe that every one coming to Denmark must adopt Danish norms and way of living.

Most Danish governments have focused a lot on cultural differences between minorities and the native Danish society instead of working against discrimination and racism which is prevalent in all areas of society and prevents full participation of immigrants and refugees, especially those Danes call non-western immigrants. This disproportionate attention and allocation of large funds on issues such as forced marriages, arranged marriages, crises centres, ethnic youth crimes and religious movements, diverts attention from access to housing and jobs or ethnic minorities, and from ensuring their social inclusion.

In nearly 10 years, the previous rightwing government, with the support of the anti-Islam and anti-minority Danish People's Party pushed through a number of laws, which made life difficult for non-western minorities, especially those with a Muslim background. In its last days, that government agreed to assess how many non-western ethnic minorities come to Denmark and how the population would look in 2050. The aim was to further tighten entry into Denmark through asylum and family reunion. The study also aimed to scrutinize immigrants living in Denmark for 40 years and how they 'fit in' culturally. The Danish Statistics Office presented a projection according to which in 2050 there would be 610 000 Danes with roots in the Middle East, Africa or Asia in 2050, compared to 360 000 non-western immigrants now living in this country.

But the new social and Integration Minister Karen Haækkerup (S) decided to cancel the study. She said: "Now is a new time where fortunately the Danish People's Party will not define Danish integration policy. The Government will implement an integration reform to get more people into work and ensure that fewer end up in poverty. As part of the reforms we shall make a public integration barometer, which among other things, will show immigrants and descendants a path of employment. Therefore is the study is no longer

needed.”¹⁷

6.1 Racism and related discrimination in employment

6.1.1 Manifestations of racism and related discrimination in employment

Denmark has also been affected by the international economic crisis. Fortunately, because of its know-how, small to medium scale industries and very organised labour force, unemployment has not hit so hard. Having said that, unemployment among ethnic minorities from non-European countries is much higher than among native Danes, East European workers or immigrants from EU countries.¹⁸

Immigrants from non-Western countries have had the harder on the job market, according to a new report from Danmarks Statistik. By comparison, employment of persons of Danish origin is just under 74 percent, while the immigrants from other western countries reached 59 percent on average. The worst situation is for immigrants from Afghanistan and China. Among male Afghans the employment rate fell four percent from 52 percent to 48 percent.¹⁹

In the country's largest municipality, Copenhagen, the situation is as follows: The employment gap between ethnic Danes and immigrants remains high, and there is an over-representation of work willing immigrants who are unemployed. 38 percent of non-western immigrants are on public welfare, compared to only 24 percent of the adult population between 16 and 64 years. This is especially the case for 50-59-year-old non-western immigrants living on welfare or unemployment allowances.²⁰

To tackle this, in several of the country's larger municipalities, the municipal job centres have moved to deprived neighbourhoods, where many immigrants live. Politicians have stated that activation of non-western immigrants in the labour market can cut up to 15 months of the period spent on welfare. The last five years statistics show that the municipalities have sent non-western immigrants on early retirement, which rose by a total of 51 percent. In an analysis, Kasper Frandsen said on the Parliamentary blog Altinget.dk: “One has this suspicion that it is not health problems which are behind early retirement of ethnic minorities but it seems that municipalities wish to solve socio-political problems in this way”.²¹

Mette Fenger, an expert on diversity management and integration of ‘nydanskere’ (‘new Danes’) at the Centre for active employment efforts, CABI explains: “They often work in factories, in cleaning or in canteens, where the

¹⁷ <http://nyhederne.tv2.dk/article.php/id-47207285:undersogelse-af-indvandring-aflyst.html>

¹⁸ <http://www.b.dk/nationalt/koebenhavn-vil-droppe-tvungen-aktivering>

¹⁹ http://borsen.dk/nyheder/politik/artikel/1/230116/flere_kinesere_i_danmark_staar_uden_job.html

²⁰ http://borsen.dk/nyheder/politik/artikel/1/230116/flere_kinesere_i_danmark_staar_uden_job.html

²¹ <http://www.alinget.dk/artikel/eksplosion-i-antallet-af-indvandrere-paa-foertidspension>

risks of job losses are greatest. Thousands of industrial jobs have been moved out of the country during the crisis, and when the belt must be tightened, it will be choked down the canteen or cleaning. When companies need to save, it is often in the production and support services, that the cut happens. And it is the employees with visible challenges, for example the language, who are often listed first. It is non-western immigrants that companies believe, they can do without. In other words, new Danes have a very vulnerable job situation.”²²

One sector in which many persons from various ethnic minority groups have found employment and economic progress is the taxi business. This has been the practice for many decades. To own a taxi business in Denmark, you have to be a registered owner of a taxi company called Taxivognmand. In October 2011, the Taxi Commission of Copenhagen introduced a point system, which would be used to give preference to those persons who showed professional business education and leave the others in the back of the line.

This selective discrimination affects ethnic minorities because most taxi drivers in Copenhagen have a minority background, of which only 30% have the prerequisite qualifications, while 98% of native Danes do have such education. The Institute for Human rights has criticised the action of the Taxi Commission and advised it to reconsider the point system, which indirectly discriminates against ethnic minorities. The Commission for Equal Treatment has also judged the system illegal. As a result, the Taxi Commission will examine the whole point system and decide their further Plan of action.²³

Highly-skilled foreigners wait and wait

This bad treatment of the non-Danish workforce is even visible in the way people on the Green Card Scheme are treated. The so-called green card scheme was meant to attract highly specialized labour in order to increase competitiveness and create new jobs. To attract the best, there is a 'maximum waiting ' is of one month, which the Agency for Recruitment under the Ministry of employment promises, but in reality, the waiting time is up to one year. This results in people giving up.²⁴

Many firms and companies exploit workers from Eastern Europe

Many cleaning employees went without pay, faced threats and lived in terrible conditions. For example, a series of investigations by trade union magazine Fagbladet 3F has uncovered the systematic exploitation and squalid living conditions of Romanian cleaners in northern Zealand. They received no payment for their work, and lived in a apartment that had no electricity or water and workers were reduced to eating food they found in the trash.²⁵

²² <http://politiken.dk/erhverv/ECE1551593/indvandrer-arbejder-i-de-mest-usikre-job/>

²³ <http://politiken.dk/erhverv/ECE1423708/taxinaevn-frasorterer-indvandrer/>

²⁴ <http://jyllands-posten.dk/politik/article4659236.ece>

²⁵ <http://cphpost.dk/news/international/romanian-workers-systematically-exploited-zealand>

6.1.2 Facilitating factors or protective measures to combat employment challenges

Companies want to be diverse

According to Sales Chief for HR & Management, Rikke B. Ørum, every third company is actively working for the recruitment, proper pay, and promotion without any regard to race, religion, gender, age, disability or sexual orientation. "It is very positive that companies want to mirrors the surrounding society. We see it as valuable for both company and individual enterprise that takes advantage of the various resources. It can help to create new angles and new values."²⁶

6.2 Racism and related discrimination in education

6.2.1 Manifestations of racism and related discrimination in education

Education in Denmark is free and mandatory up until the 10th class. The public schools are good but some ethnic minority groups feel that they do not live up to the needs of minorities in terms of cultural education and information about other religions, especially Islam. There have been many instances of harassment, taunts and conflicts between Danish and minority children. One of the consequences has been that minority parents prefer private minority schools. In 2007/8 the number of minority children going to ethnic schools was 3175. In 2011, it jumped to 3967, which is an increase of 245,9 % in 4 years.²⁷

According to new research conducted by anthropologist Annette Ihle for Copenhagen municipality, minority schools – often referred to as Muslim schools by the media, politicians and even teachers – are much better than public schools in terms of standards, integration in society and the achievement of good results. She noted that: "Minority children are not looked at as a problem by the teachers, but as someone who can learn. There is also an acceptance of minority children's culture and religion." Unfortunately, in spite of such good results, up until October 2011, the political climate in Denmark was so negative that minority schools were put under tight control and scrutiny by the Education Ministry of the previous anti-immigrant rightwing government.²⁸

The unwillingness of the Danes to accommodate foreigners has also crept into higher education. This is the picture that emerged from the study 'The good welcome' by the Youth Analysis Unit of the Danish Students Federation. The study, based on a survey of 1 026 international students in Denmark, showed that 62 percent of respondents said that it was difficult to come to

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<http://www.danskerhverv.dk/presseOgNyt/Dansk-Erhvervsavis/avisarkivet/Documents/DE.Avis.2009/de.avis.24.pdf>

²⁷ <http://politiken.dk/indland/ECE1524407/nydanskere-fravaelger-folkeskolen/>

²⁸

<http://www.ugebreveta4.dk/2007/42/Baggrundoganalyse/MuslimskeFriskolerBedreEndFolkeskolenTilIntegration.aspx>

grips with Danish students. Nearly a third are not satisfied with the degree of sense of community between Danish and international students in their local environment. According to senior analyst and author of the study, Mads Engholm, there is clear evidence that more should be done to treat students from abroad well. The number of foreign students amounted to almost 26 000 in 2011.²⁹

One positive aspect is that more and more ethnic minority youth are getting an education compared to previous years. In 2011, almost 76,9% of minority youth were in the education process, an increase of 10%. The same trend could be noticed in university education.³⁰

6.2.2 Facilitating factors or protective measures to combat education challenges

Funding boost for schools with high immigrant enrolment

Schools with high proportions of bilingual and non-ethnic Danish children will receive extra funding to help raise students' language skills. The initiative, outlined in the government's 2011/12 budget, would give one million kroner per year over three years to each of 14 national schools whose student make-up is comprised of at least 40 percent of non-ethnic Danes. "It's incredibly important to strengthen our integration efforts," Christine Antorini, the Minister for Children and Education, told Politiken newspaper: "Schools with high proportions of children from non-Danish ethnic backgrounds need extra economic help."³¹ Christine Antorini has announced that more schools should offer minority languages as an optional language as early as the 7th Grade. According to her, minority children should have a better chance to use their mother tongue competences and even use it to pass exams.³²

6.3 Racism and related discrimination in housing

6.3.1 Manifestations of racism and related discrimination in housing

Because of being in the low income category as well as being unemployed, many ethnic minorities live in poor neighbourhoods in the cities or in far flung suburbs which were built for working class Danes in the fifties and sixties under social democratic governments. Very few ethnic minorities live in well to do areas where White Danes live. First because they cannot afford to buy houses in those areas and secondly the renting of apartments is done through Housing Societies and municipalities in Denmark.

²⁹ <http://www.metroxpress.dk/nyheder/studerende-fra-udlandet-fler-sig-ensomme/KObkIn!Y09Ks4KokYZM6/>

³⁰ <http://www.cefu.dk/emner/aktuelt/cefu-i-medierne/flere-dreng-opdager-uddannelse.aspx>

³¹ <http://cphpost.dk/news/national/funding-boost-schools-high-immigrant-enrollment>

³² <http://www.altinget.dk/artikel/antorini-indvandrersprog-paa-skemaet>

There is usually 16 to 20 years waiting time for rented accommodation. Ethnic minorities are often sent to live in socially deprived areas where poor Danes also live. These places are then termed as ghettos by the press and the politicians, thus in the eyes of the public, it has become an ethnic issue, coupled with crime, high social problems, lawlessness and even an alleged parallel system. There are often demands from political parties to fix a quota for the number of ethnic minorities who can live there.

Looking at the realities on the ground, the picture is totally different. According to a survey by the CFBU (Center for boligsocial udvikling - Centre for social housing development), crime in 13 of the country's most deprived areas has fallen drastically. People feel very safe and comfortable living in those areas which are termed ghettos.³³

Besides low crime rates, another myth has also been broken by a survey undertaken by Copenhagen municipality in 2011. It shows that unemployment and living on social welfare is not so high in areas which are normally perceived as ghettos. From 2007 to 2011, the percentage of people on welfare was only 10,4 instead of 16 % a few years back. An initiative which has helped was that the municipality also started sending people with a high income or students to these areas. This mixing of income groups helped. This development had a very positive effect on previously deprived areas. All of a sudden, many well to do families were lining up to get an apartment in these areas, because the accommodation is spacious, cheap and centrally located. As an example, in Askerød, in the south of Copenhagen, renovation, positive media coverage and a visit by the Prime Minister made the area very attractive to live in.³⁴

One special area of concern is homelessness among ethnic minorities, foreign nationals on short visits and divorced ethnic people, who lose their residence. Nearly one in five homeless people in Denmark are foreigners. Even in shelters, it is difficult for them to have a place. In June 2011, the shelter 'A warm bed' was closed, which had always welcomed homeless foreigners who are normally barred from publicly funded facilities. It was a private initiative that opened its doors in 2010 at the outset of a harsh winter. Homeless Danes are supported by the Ministry of Social Affairs emergency funds to provide places for them to sleep. But it is not possible to get public funding to support hostels or shelters for migrants who come to Denmark. Generally speaking there are not a lot of resources to help homeless people who are not Danish citizens.³⁵

6.3.2 Facilitating factors or protective measures to combat housing challenges

Denmark, as a welfare state, has very little private or NGO say in such matters. There are no diversity instruments being implemented in housing

³³ <http://www.cfbu.dk/projekter/cfbu-undersogelser/tryghed-i-udsatte-boligomraader/>

³⁴ <http://www.b.dk/nationalt/faerre-i-ghettoerne-paa-overfoerselsindkomst>

³⁵ <http://cphpost.dk/news/national/no-home-go-foreign-homeless>

organisations and there is no anti-racism work and intercultural competence campaigns targeting landlords. Ethnic homeowners are very few so they do not contribute in countering discrimination in housing. There are however communal and housing society initiatives, which are often directed towards ethnic minorities and seldom involves native Danes.

6.4 Racism and related discrimination in health

6.4.1 Manifestations of racism and related discrimination in health

In Denmark, a sizeable chunk of tax money goes into the health service, which is efficient, professional and an example to the rest of the EU. Ethnic and religious minorities are treated on an equal footing to native Danes and the majority of the health sector treats minorities with respect and care. However, some issues have been surfacing from time to time and have been dealt with in a discriminatory manner.

Health outcomes are not shared equally among all sectors of the population. Immigrants and minorities have lower health outcomes partly because they are disproportionately represented among lower socio-economic groups and partly because of the additional disadvantages they face as immigrants.

A new rule was introduced in July 2011 whereby everyone who has been living in Denmark for seven years and does not speak Danish was obliged to pay for the services of an interpreter at each medical consultation. The fee was 150 DKK (approximately € 20), but as concerns hospital admission, the fee was only paid once. This rule hurt the chances of ethnic minorities with disabilities, mental problems and/or who are chronically sick.³⁶

According to experts and doctors, this law forced minorities, especially the elderly, to use their children or grand children as interpreters. That is not a good solution because they lack competence and professional background to help. Bad interpretation also causes waste of time, wrong diagnoses and is a danger to the health of the patient.³⁷

The Danish authorities informed ECRI that torture victims and mental health patients were exempt from this provision. ECRI highlighted the importance of patients receiving information on health issues in a language that they understand, particularly given the risk of misdiagnosis when immigrants do not have access to interpretation. It therefore welcomed the Danish authorities' information that the Health Act was amended on 21 December 2011 and that the provision concerning the interpretation fee for medical consultation was repealed. This change came into effect on 1 January 2012.³⁸

³⁶ <http://www.handicap.dk/handiklip/psykisk-syge-uden-tolk-er-i-klemme>

³⁷ http://www.ugeskriftet.dk/portal/page/portal/LAEGERDK/UGESKRIFT_FOR_LAEGER?public_visningsType=15&public_nyhedsId=78385

³⁸ <http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/ecri/Country-by-country/Denmark/DNK-CBC-IV-2012-025-ENG.pdf>

Another issue which has come to the surface in 2011 is the fact that the right-wing government, which ruled Denmark from 2001 to 2011, with the help of the Danish People's Party, systematically discriminated against seriously sick minorities by refusing them Danish citizenship even if they have lived in Denmark for many years but could not live up to the strict conditions of language and cultural knowledge. The new social democratic government has however liberalised the strict conditions and allowed 701 rejected applicants to have their cases reviewed.³⁹

6.4.2 Facilitating factors or protective measures to combat health inequalities

There have been some positive developments in the health sector in Denmark.

Undocumented immigrants have every chance of being sent home if they seek treatment in a Danish hospital. The Danish Red Cross Medical Association and the Danish Refugee Council have taken the matter into their own hands and opened a private healthcare clinic in Copenhagen in August 2011, where undocumented immigrants can get treatment free of charge. They now have up to 80 volunteer doctors, specialists, dentists, midwives and nurses at the clinic. These NGOs believe that it is a human right to get medical help.⁴⁰

In January 2011, the previous Danish government allocated 7,5 million Danish Kroner to help traumatized refugees and immigrants. According to the Ministry of integration, the money would go to 8 projects, which would focus on these two particular groups and their children. The aim of these projects is to help traumatized ethnic minorities to integrate in society and be active on the job market. The projects are not directed towards an individual but to the whole family as a unit.⁴¹

Just before the Danish national election of September 2011, the opposition parties called for multi-lingual health campaigns. Because all information to the public is in Danish language, it often bypasses those who do not master or are not proficient in Danish. According to the Social Democrat and Radikal Liberal parties, such practices ignore the needs of minority groups. Lone Dybkjær, the health spokesperson of the Radikal said: "We have to use a language that people understand. It is no use that we only run campaigns in Danish when immigrants account for 7.5% of the population". Her party proposed to spend 15 million Kroner to launch health campaigns aimed at reaching immigrants in their native languages.

³⁹ <http://politiken.dk/debat/skrivdebat/ECE1685824/boer-alle-syge-udlaendinge-kunne-faa-dansk-statsborgerskab/>

⁴⁰ <http://politiken.dk/indland/ECE1299545/laegeklirik-vil-hjaelpe-illegale-indvandrere/>

⁴¹ <http://www.nyidanmark.dk/da-dk/Nyheder/Nyheder/Integrationsministeriet/2011/August/Nye+projekter+for+traumatiserede.htm>

6.5 Racism and related discrimination in access to goods and services

The Commission for Equal Treatment, which was established in January 2009 to deal with discrimination cases based on gender, ethnicity/ race, faith/religion, age, sexual orientation and disability, has proved toothless. DRC, the NGO which helps ethnic minorities in their complaints against discrimination has experienced that the Commission has rejected many legitimate cases it has brought to their attention and action. Besides the DRC, many other NGOs and the Danish Institute for Human Rights also pointed out that the Commission cannot take cases of discrimination on its own initiative, which leaves a lot to be desired. The Danish Disability Organisations and the Council for Women Affairs are also critical of the Commission's work.⁴²

There are reports, although very difficult to confirm that many banks in Denmark do not extend credit to persons without Danish citizenship. The same is true with private businesses, which service ethnic minority businesses like restaurants, kiosks and greengrocers. Such rejections are individual based and seldom come out to the surface.

Somalis in the Aarhus area are considering filing a lawsuit against the owner of an indoor playground in Brabrand, a suburb of Aarhus, after Legeland owner Thomas Vestergaard banned Somalis from the playground. After meeting with another Somali group, the Somali Society of Denmark, Vestergaard rescinded his ban, which would have turned Somalis away for the next six months. The ban ultimately lasted for only one day.⁴³

Taxes and pensions are universal and the state makes no difference between native Danes and ethnic minorities. However, when it comes to elderly ethnic minorities, there are two distinct issues which require our attention.

First, many municipalities send non-western immigrants on early retirement instead of qualifying them for the job market or giving them job opportunities. In the past five years, the number of non-western immigrants on early retirement increased significantly. Calculations by Fyens Stiftstidende showed that nationwide, the number of early pensioners from non-western countries increased by 51 percent. Alone in Funen the increase is as much as 68 percent.⁴⁴

Second, many older ethnic minorities are so disappointed with their life and lack of support from the system that they have started moving back to their old homelands. The number of immigrants seeking help for repatriation has doubled. Most are older people who want to spend their old age in their home

⁴² www.information.dk/272758

⁴³ <http://cphpost.dk/news/local/somalis-consider-lawsuit-against-playland>

⁴⁴ <http://www.denoffentligesektor.dk/nyheder/flere-indvandre-ender-pa-fortidspension>

country. A statement from the Danish Refugee Council shows that 613 refugees and immigrants travelled home voluntarily in 2011 against 370 in 2010. Two-thirds of the returnees are pensioners, and the organization receives in general more inquiries from immigrants who want to explore the possibility to grow old at home.⁴⁵

When it comes to court cases, foreign language speakers have no chance or guarantee of having the same conditions as Danes. The department of Business and Social Sciences of Aarhus University has conducted a survey which focused on the quality of interpretations in court cases. Three out of four judges said that they experienced problems with qualified interpretations in their court cases. They further pointed out that interpretation was not correct, interpreters were not neutral and they did not know the legal terminology.⁴⁶

6.5.2 Facilitating factors or protective measures to promote equality in accessing goods and services

In 2011-2012, there was no visible effort by the authorities to enhance diversity in the above mentioned areas. Anti-racism trainings and intercultural competence being given to new employees in bars, clubs, the public transport system is unheard of.

ECRI in its latest 2011-2012 report mentions that the Danish authorities have informed them that an initiative to raise discotheque doormen's awareness of issues pertaining to racial discrimination has started.

6.6 Racism and related discrimination in political participation

There are no restrictions to ethnic and religious minorities becoming a member of a political party, holding office, standing as a candidate, being elected as a city councillor or a member of a regional post. One has to have a permanent residence in the country and not be convicted by the court. When it comes to being a member of the Danish Parliament or European Parliament, one has to have Danish nationality.

In the last few decades, ethnic minorities have made many strides in being visible in the political landscape, establishing NGOs, joining trade unions and standing for elections. But still, compared to the proportion of ethnic and religious minorities within the total population, they are still under represented in the political field. There are many reasons for this, including language competences, disunity among groups, lack of training, lack of enthusiasm

⁴⁵ <http://www.kristeligt-dagblad.dk/artikel/457737:Danmark--Flere-indvandrere-vil-vaere-gamle-i-hjemlandet>

⁴⁶ <http://politiken.dk/debat/ECE1579885/gaelder-den-danske-retsstat-ogsaa-for-de-fremmedsprogede/>

among the political parties to recruit among minorities and unwillingness to share power.

In the last Parliament election in Denmark, which took place in September 2011 and heralded a Social Democratic government, only four out of 179 members have a minority background. Still, the new government chose a minister with a minority background for the first time in Denmark and gave him the portfolio of Churches and Equality. It is interesting to note that the Social Democrats have no member with a minority background while the leftist Unity party has never put forward a minority candidate.⁴⁷

The situation at municipality level is a bit more encouraging. Many parties tactically put forward minority candidates in those areas where most ethnic minorities live. In Copenhagen municipality, two mayors have minority roots. Since 2009, Ayfer Baykal, of Turkish/Kurdish background, is Environment Mayor and Anna Mee is Integration's mayor. She is adopted and has South Korean background.

When it comes to facilitating diversity in the political arena, Denmark is against any specific measures to advance this cause. It is against quotas, positive measures or even campaigns directed towards minority communities. In our meetings with political parties, we have always requested them to open up and take special steps to encourage minorities to take part in the political process but such requests are considered as undemocratic and favouritism.

6.7 Racism and related discrimination in the media

Danes in general do not trust the media. Less than 25% Danes have great or positive trust in the national media. This grim reality was revealed by a survey undertaken by You Gov analysis institute on behalf of Communication Bureau Burson-Marsteller. The survey involved 1009 people from 18 – 74 years of age. 50% of Danes believe that the media focuses on sensations and conflicts. When it comes to covering ethnic and religious minorities, the situation is even worse.

The media in Denmark has both a powerful influence on people's attitudes and perceptions and a weighty responsibility to contribute to this process of change. It can contribute to the social integration of ethnic minorities. Unfortunately a great deal of media attention in Denmark is given to the seemingly insurmountable differences that divide people, religions and cultures. This leaves minimal focus to highlight the efforts made to overcome the differences. Media has the means, will power and technology to build bridges between the majority and ethnic minorities living in the country. They can help people to understand that diversity can be a powerful source of social development. An important beginning would be to eliminate

⁴⁷ <http://politiken.dk/politik/ECE1397362/kun-fire-i-det-nye-folketing-har-indvandrerbaggrund/>

stereotyping based on religion, culture, gender, race, class, nationality and ethnicity from media programming.

A large section of professional journalists are aware of the very powerful role the media plays in both the dissemination of information and the shaping of attitudes in our modern society. The majority of journalists know that as providers of information and perspectives, they hold a trusted and important role. Sadly not all journalists wish to live up to this great ethical responsibility. That is why many ethnic and religious minorities in Denmark complain that usually their campaigns and issues are underrepresented and their views misinterpreted by the media. On top of this, media is very selective as to whom it wants to project and whom it wants to ignore. On the other hand, the media also often complains that minorities are unprofessional, or that they want to manipulate journalists to enhance their position.⁴⁸

A recent study conducted in part by Ny-Dansk Ungdomsråd, an organization representing the interests of ethnic minority youth, found that although ethnic minorities made up more than 10 percent of the Danish population, they were represented in less than 5 percent of sources quoted in the country's news coverage. In those rare cases where immigrants are interviewed, they are rarely asked about everyday life in Denmark. Rather than fielding questions concerning taxes or education, minorities are more likely to be asked to comment on crime, social benefits, immigration or forced marriage.

Nearly 50 percent of news stories concerning minorities and integration focus on crime and drugs. Samira Nawa, chairperson of Ny-Dansk Ungdomsråd said that reporters needed to make an effort to ask immigrants the same questions they would pose to white Danes. "It is important that journalists understand that if they are taking a poll about something like the congestion charge that they need to also interview those who may look a bit different or have an unusual name and not just Mr and Mrs Jensen," she said.

Michael Johnson, also with the Ny-Dansk Ungdomsråd, said the goal of the study is not to distort reality, but to underline that minority Danes are "normal citizens who contribute positively to society". "We have no problem with facts," said Johnson. "We realize that people with immigrant backgrounds are over-represented in crime statistics, but only a small percentage of immigrants are involved in crime."

The study concludes that while minority men may be under-represented in the Danish press, minority women are nearly non-existent. The study looked at news stories from the eight newspapers and two TV stations researchers believe are Danes' primary sources of news. Radio and the internet were not examined. The survey was commissioned by press association Ansvarlig Presse, Ny-Dansk Ungdomsråd and designed and published by Kontrabande.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ <http://nyhederne.tv2.dk/article.php/id-48914578:danskerne-stoler-mindre-på-mediernes.html>

⁴⁹ <http://cphpost.dk/news/national/minorities-underrepresented-media-study-finds>

According to Tarek Omar, the debate editor of one of the top Danish newspapers, Politiken, all national newspapers have nearly cut the debate on Islam and integration related issues to 50%.⁵⁰ A survey by Megafon showed that 61% Danes were tired of the Islam debate in the media and society.⁵¹ Chief editors of Denmark's two leading dailies - Berlingske and Ekstra Bladet - welcome this development, while the Chairman of Responsible Press, Aydin Soei described this as a positive evolution.

Looking at statistics from Infomedia, one can see the decrease. In 2006, there were 25 420 articles about Islam and integration in the 5 main newspapers in Denmark. In 2011, it came down to 13 160 articles. Infomedia used the following words as markers to collect the data about Islam coverage: Muslims, Islam, immigrants, refugees, mosques, headscarves, burkas, new Danes, Halal and circumcision.⁵²

6.8 Racism and related discrimination in criminal justice

6.8.1 Policing and ethnic profiling

One of the Copenhagen police's own video recordings has been used by DRC in its report as one of many examples of discrimination in visitation zones. The report for the first time linked the police's own statements together with interviews with 20 men searched. Its conclusion is clear: "Despite several initiatives by the police, discrimination against minority Danes is still significantly overrepresented in the thousands of searches the police has conducted in and around Copenhagen." According to police figures, half of all searches conducted against people of a different ethnic background than Danish - and even though the group only accounts for roughly 20 percent of the Danish population in Copenhagen.

All respondents reported experiencing police behaviour in visitation zones as rude and discriminatory, but it does not surprise professor of legal policy and criminology at CBS, Vagn Greve. He said: "It is a common feature that the police operates with ethnic profiling and a particular view of how an offender looks like. When the police saw no results because of ethnic visitations, they must have said to themselves that the picture is far away from reality".

This continues to happen despite the fact that in 1999, the police for the first time formulated a strategy that aimed to improve relations and confidence among ethnic minorities. In this context it is important that perceptions of crime among police employees are not based on people's appearances and behaviour or stems from the negative experiences they have had with criminal immigrants. The police strategy emphasizes the importance of 'ethnic groups perceiving the police as fair, helpful and non-discriminatory'.

⁵⁰ 03.03.2012. "Debatten om islam og integration er i frit fald": Politiken, 1. sektion, side 3

⁵¹ "Debatten om islam og integration er i frit fald": Politiken, 1. sektion, side 3, dated 03.03.2012 refers to Megafon survey

⁵² <http://www.infomedia.dk/?gclid=CNvpxdL4tLUCFS56cAodIDwAmA>

Among respondents to the survey, many also agreed that police officers with different ethnic minority backgrounds are the worst when it comes to discrimination against ethnic minorities. In connection with searches, the report found that these ethnic officers were extra harsh in order to earn the respect of their ethnic Danish colleagues.⁵³

The Minister of Justice must – according to the Danish People’s Party — guarantee that immigrants without Danish citizenship should not be allowed to become police officers in Denmark. DPP integration spokesman, Martin Henriksen, called Justice Minister, Morten Bødskov (S) for a meeting in the integration committee where the Minister was asked for a guarantee that immigrants without Danish citizenship could not become policemen in Denmark. The Minister of Justice clearly rejected the proposals.⁵⁴

Danish Government and DPP looking to sort foreigners

The Danish government appears to be selectively tightening immigration rules following an Integration Ministry report that restrictions imposed since 2001 have saved public coffers some DKK 5.1 billion each year. The report showed that non-western immigrants and their descendants cost the Danish state some DKK 15.7 billion each year while western immigrants and their descendants contribute some DKK 2.2 billion to public coffers each year.

“Now that we can see that it does matter who comes into the country, I have no scruples in further restricting those who one can suspect will be a burden on Denmark. On the other hand I am happy to let more of those in who obviously can and will contribute to improving the Danish economy,” Integration Minister Søren Pind told the Jyllands-Posten.

The Danish People’s Party, which has been behind most of the restrictions imposed by the government in its nine years as a loyal support party, is happy with the new report. “We now have it in black and white that restrictions pay off. We have saved the public coffers some DKK 5.1 billion each year,” DPP Finance Spokesman Kristian Thulesen Dahl told the Newspaper Jyllands-Posten.

The Social Liberals, on the other hand, are appalled at the prospect of sorting foreigners, saying the idea is undignified, discriminatory and deplorable. Social Liberal Integration Spokeswoman Marianne Jelved called such moves “degrading in a democracy that has a basic value of equality. What is happening in Denmark? A certain group of people is being denounced and being blamed for our deficit. Being made into whipping boys. We might just as well have asked how much early retirees cost and why they are not on the labour market.” Mrs. Jelved added that at companies such as ISS some 50 per cent of employees are non-western immigrants taking jobs that Danes don’t want.⁵⁵

⁵³ <http://politiken.dk/indland/ECE1350876/rapport-politiet-overvisiterer-minoritetsdanskere/>

⁵⁴ <http://www.b.dk/politiko/df-kraever-garanti-mod-betjente-uden-dansk-statsborgerskab>

⁵⁵ <http://politiken.dk/newsinenglish/ECE1267205/govt-and-dpp-looking-to-sort-foreigners/>

Custody of children in Denmark

Distressing stories about the Danish state preferring Danish parents over foreign parents in custody disputes are nothing new. Even if the Danish parent is abusive, a deadbeat or kidnapped the child, the Danish state will award him full custody and ignore the doctor's reports about sexual abuse on the child. In some cases, children will be abducted by a Danish parent and then the foreign parent will be deported. In some cases, the parents will have joint custody but the Danish parent can have the other parent deported if they claim that they are deadbeat or uninvolved with their children.⁵⁶

Both the European Union Court of Human Rights and the United Nations have accepted Tammy's case and several others as human rights abuses worthy of official investigation. Official investigations are being launched from both organizations into Denmark's practices with respect to treatment of foreign parents in the Danish family law system. Denmark will have to provide open access to the various investigators. It is possible that Denmark could be fined, not to mention the media attention from the world press.⁵⁷

6.8.2 Racist violence and crime

Danish right-wing infiltrated by extremists

A network seems to have been able to infiltrate the Danish People's Party, Den Danske Forening and racist and violent groupings. A secret network called ORG, which has sought to 'clean' Denmark of immigrants and have a showdown with 'traitors' who have made immigration possible, has been active in infiltrating political and right-wing organizations, according to documents newspaper Politiken has obtained.

ORG, which has some 100 members, was started by a small group of men, several of whom have held leading positions in the Danish People's Party, or been election candidates for the party, while at the same time taking part in Ku Klux Klan-type events and exerting influence on extreme right-wing organisations. Several ORG members have said they are willing to use violence against immigrants, and have praised the Hells Angels support group AK81 for 'beating provocative wogs'.

Jesper Nielsen, who is the head of ORG, has refused to be interviewed about the organization. "ORG has not wanted the publicity concerned as we assume that the non-public character of the association will be misconstrued and misused to ascribe surreptitious motives to its closed nature," ORG's Board says in a message.

Confronted with Politiken's information, the Danish People's Party's Party Secretary Poul Lindholm Jensen said that ORG's Chairman Jesper Nielsen has been part of the party leadership in Aarhus and that another ORG member has been a parliamentary candidate for the Danish People's Party.

⁵⁶ <http://adventuresandjapes.wordpress.com/2012/04/04/custody/>

⁵⁷ http://portal.foreignersindenmark.dk/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=3888&PN=65

While ORG has managed to keep the organization secret for more than 20 years, Politiken has obtained internal ORG documents. The documents include ORG's organizational setup and tasks, several years of communication between the network's leading members on a closed Internet forum as well as examples of the network's extensive 'traitor archive', which is called 'The Great Memory'. The documents show that ORG monitored political opponents, certainly until 2009, and was ready to share its information with the Den Danske Forening association, which is vehemently opposed to immigration.

The secret network's Copenhagen leader, known as PUJ, received a suspended sentence in 2009 for having abused his position as a policeman to gather information on political adversaries.

A search of his home turned up correspondence with ORG's Leader Jesper Nielsen, but the lead was not developed during his court case. "Our view was that he had contacts with other people who shared his views," said Copenhagen Public Prosecutor Liselotte Nilas. This particular aspect of the case was handed over to the Danish Security and Intelligence Service PET, whose chief Jakob Scharf says in a written response: "PET has been involved in investigating this case, which led to a police employee being sentenced for illegally collecting personal information from police registers. The fact that the information was seemingly collected for an extreme right network was, and remains, the object of PET's attention."⁵⁸

Hate crimes in Denmark

The concept of hate crimes in Denmark is very new. The society and the legal system have always considered crime as an act committed by an individual or a group of people. Although the motive of crime plays an important part in solving it and punishing the guilty, hate crime has never before been considered an act with a clear motive, based on an ideology, religious discrimination or even hate.

Danish legislation does not include a definition of hate crime as such, nor is there an official definition. The police define hate crime as follows: "A hate crime is a crime motivated by hate against groups or individuals belonging to groups of people who the offender perceives as different from him/herself because of the victim's racial or ethnic origin, religious beliefs, sexual orientation or other similar circumstances. What makes a hate crime different to other crimes is the fact that there is a hate motive."

The relevant articles in the penal law regarding hate crime are 266 b (1) (hateful speech) and 81 no. 6 (hate motive as an aggravating circumstance). According to section 266 b (1) of the penal law, "any person who, publicly or with the intention of wider dissemination, makes a statement or imparts other information by which a group of people are threatened, scorned or degraded on account of their race, colour, national or ethnic origin, religion or sexual

⁵⁸ <http://politiken.dk/indland/ECE1357122/den-danske-hoejrefloej-er-infiltreret-af-hemmeligt-netvaerk/>

orientation shall be liable to a fine or to imprisonment for any term not exceeding two years."

According to section 81 no. 6 of the penal law it must, when sentencing, be considered an aggravating circumstance if an offence is based on the victim's ethnic origin, religion or sexual orientation, etc.

The provision prohibiting racist speech dates back to 1939, where section 266 b was introduced in the Danish Penal Code in order to protect society from anti-Semitic statements and counterattack increasing anti-Semitic views throughout Europe. In 1971 section 266 b was amended to fulfil the requirements of the international Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. It has moreover been amended in 1987 (inclusion to prohibit discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation), 1995 (aggravating circumstance if the dissemination can be conceived as propaganda) and 2002 (inclusion of the possibility of punishing legal entities). Section 266 b prohibits the dissemination of expressions of racial prejudice.

Despite these provisions, hate crimes in Denmark have generally been treated as criminal acts, such as vandalism, arson, assault, or murder. Consideration that such crimes were committed against someone because of his or her race, religion, sexual orientation, ethnicity, disability, age, or gender was not part of the justice process. In the case of hate crimes against Muslim communities, the authorities have until now shown a particular lack of interest.

This has however changed in recent years because of EU guidelines and international acceptance that in a hate crime, the person is selected because of a characteristic that he or she cannot change. Hate incidents are thus taken as actions motivated by prejudice.

However, distinguishing between what is legal and illegal can be confusing, because we also know that our Constitution protects our freedom of speech, expression, and thought. No one wants to punish people for their beliefs or for what they say. But we do want to ensure the civil rights of all individuals and punish behaviour that violates these rights.

Hate crimes against Muslims

In the case of Denmark, hate crimes against Muslims have a direct link with hate speech by political parties, the development of far right violent movements like the Nazi party, propaganda against Islam in the media and especially the spread of hateful blogs and social media. When one wants to explain the rise in anti-Islam attitudes and hate crimes against Muslim communities, no single explanation can suffice. This development must be seen in the national context, taking into account its history and political culture.

From 1965 until today, Denmark allowed small populations of migrant workers from non-European countries and later refugees to come and settle. These people were called guest workers in the beginning, but contrary to the expectations of the majority society, they stayed and became immigrants. In

public debates, political debates and media discourse, the term migrant is now replaced by the word Muslim.

In Denmark, it began with voters' shift in 1973, which broke ranks with the established party political system and sent the Progress Party into parliament with 15.9 percent of the vote. The Progress Party was formed in 1972 as a revolt against the tax burden and bureaucracy. After its rapid unpopularity among voters in 1984, the Progress Party's charismatic leader Mogens Glistrup launched a campaign for a "Mohammadans free Denmark".

The year before had been a heated debate about immigration and 'foreigners' in which the then Conservative Minister Erik Ninn-Hansen had talked about the danger of Denmark's existence as a nation, while the upcoming star and later head of the Danish People's Party, Pia Kjaersgaard, came up with opinions on "luxury refugees" and Denmark as an "asylum paradise".

After the Progress Party split and the formation of the Danish People's Party in 1995, several prominent people, including Pastor Søren Krarup and Søren Espersen from the extreme right national organization, the Danish League, helped to shape the Danish People's Party's rhetoric and political attacks on Muslim minorities. Numerous statements by leading members of the Danish People's Party bear witness to negative propaganda and stigmatization of Muslims and are designed for political purposes to systematically categorize an entire group, as a less dignified and harmful foreign element, which the Danish society must get rid of.

In the 2001 elections, right-wing parties came to power and the Danish People's Party gained a position from which it could shape the foreign and integration policy in a much more direct way, with consequent restrictions on Muslim minorities' social and civil rights.

The sharp attacks on Muslim communities from the Danish People's Party became a regular event with nationalist terminology, such as "the fatherland", "the Danish heritage", "Christianity", "people's lives" and other national benchmarks and symbols being used in a more systematic and nationalistic manner. This strategy is not only signs of populism, but must also be seen as reflecting a growing movement. Since the return to the old biological racism is anathema in Denmark, an alternative is developed which is ethno-nationalist and neo-racist, based on the idea of mono-cultural identity versus Islam. The argument is that to preserve people's unique national character, it must be segregated, because mixing of people leads to the extinction of cultures. Immigration from Muslim countries to Denmark is considered by the Danish People's Party as a threat to Danish culture and ethno-national identity and threatens, ultimately, national cohesiveness.

It must be mentioned that the level of regular extreme physical violence against Muslim communities has been very minimal.

Nevertheless, there have been some murders of Muslim males walking in the street in the daytime in the last three years. Shootings of Muslim minority

youth were given a religious colour by Hells Angels representatives in media interviews in 2010. In November 2010, a group of Danish men armed with knives and baseball bats tried to force its way into a newly established refugee centre housing teenage asylum-seekers from Afghanistan. Prior to that incident, some of the men attacked three youths on the street with bottles and racist slogans.

Hate crimes against Muslim communities took real shape after the 9/11 terror attacks and London bombings. Incidents of verbal insults, media propaganda, populist political statements, campaigns from extreme rightwing anti-minority movements, graffiti, harassment in schools, desecration of graveyards, prayer houses and lately youth gang fights with racial and religious motivation have been part of Danish reality for many years.

After Roma treatment in the Czech Republic and the treatment of Somalis in Finland, Denmark has the worst record of hate crimes. 31% of Somalis have experienced intimidating harassment, threats and physical attacks. This alarming situation is reported by EU's Fundamental Rights Agency - FRA's EU-wide discrimination survey, which was issued in January 2010. The report is based on 27 000 interviews. The report also mentions that 93% of the intimidating and harassment and 74% of the physical attacks are carried out by Danes.⁵⁹

PET (Security Intelligence Services) has registered a 15% increase in hate crimes from 2010 to 2011. Muslims were the victims of most religious hate crimes in 2011. According to the new report, from 2010 to 2011, Denmark saw an increase in hate crimes. The increase is 50% up compared to the previous period, which is an increase of 15%. In particular, political and religiously motivated hate crimes have increased. According to PET, and their recording of hate crimes related to ethnicity and race, it is first and foremost people of Muslim background who are exposed to racist hate crimes and discrimination in Denmark.

According to PET's statement, when we look at specific religious groups and rigorously motivated recorded crimes, most hate relationship against in 2011 were again against Muslims.

Here is the comparison of total recorded hate crimes because of religion.

Against Muslims: 11 %

Against Christians: 7 %

Against Jews: 5 %

Against Buddhists: 1 %

Thus the religiously motivated ratio of hate crimes is approx. 12% of the total hate crimes, so it comes down to 24 out of the 195 incidents. In 2010, religiously motivated hate crimes were approx. 7%, which is 10 out of 139 incidents. The number of religiously motivated crimes has more than doubled from 2010 to 2011. Approximately 83% of situation deals with general

⁵⁹ European Union Agency for Human Rights, *EU-Midis at a Glance*, available at http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/EU-MIDIS_GLANCE_EN.pdf accessed 20 September 2010

propaganda (12 issues) and harassment (8 issues). Hate incidents targeting both Muslims (11 incidents), Christian (7 incidents), Jews (5 incidents) and Buddhists (1 incident) include insulting opinions on the Internet, as part of the conditions seen to be related to the debate on mosques in Denmark.⁶⁰

Reporting on hate crimes needs to be improved

Since 1992, the Danish Secret Service - PET - has been receiving reports from local police stations about criminal cases with racist motives. But according to Mandana Zarreparvar, from the Danish Institute for Human Rights, Denmark has given too little attention to hate crimes. Police should have better training on how to react to complaints of hate crimes. Minorities should also be aware of their rights and know where to complain. The Institute is also working on a Danish report on hate crimes.

Indeed, in April 2009, the Justice Ministry published a survey of victims of violence and other crimes, covering the period from 2005-2008. The survey showed that 10% of the people have experienced hate crimes based on racism. The survey puts the figure for hate crimes in 2008 at 12 000 but the number of cases which reached courts was only 10.⁶¹

In 2009, PET ordered all police stations to be more systematic in their reporting of hate crimes. Mayor Jacob Hougaard - Copenhagen municipality - is aware of the problem and had discussions about this problem with his colleagues. He believes that there should be campaigns to raise awareness among citizens.⁶²

In January 2010, the opposition Socialist People's Party - SF - tabled a Bill in the Danish Parliament to strengthen the police's efforts against hate crimes. SF's spokesperson for Equal Rights, Kamal Qureshi, who tabled the Bill, was angry with the Justice Minister, who expressed his satisfaction regarding the small number of cases that had been heard in court. 'How can the Government be so callous about the colossal difference between what the victims experience and what comes up in court?' he asked.⁶³ This bill was however not passed because of opposition from the Danish People's Party.

Recording incidents of hate crimes by Muslim communities NGOs

Although there are many local and national NGOs in Denmark which work for the well-being of Muslim minorities, there are very few NGOs capable of

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<https://www.pet.dk/Nyheder/2013/Pressemeddelelse%20om%20hadforbrydelser%202011.aspx>

⁶¹ Flemming Balvig & Britta Kyvsgaard, Udsathed For Vold Og Andre Former For Kriminalitet Offerundersøgelserne 2005-2008 available at

http://www.justitsministeriet.dk/fileadmin/downloads/Forskning_og_dokumentation/Offerrapport_2008.pdf

⁶² *Politiken*, 27 January 2010, 'Danskere er hårde ved mindretal' available at <http://politiken.dk/indland/article888321.ece> accessed 13 September 2010.

⁶³ *DKR*, 'Offerundersøgelse' 2009, available at http://www.dkr.dk/det_kriminalpraeventive_raad/emner/undersaaelser/offerrundersaaelse_2009/composite-873.chtm.

keeping records or establishing a database on racial violence, hate crimes and hate speech.

In our 30 years experience with NGO work, we have very seldom seen or heard any concrete data collection effort by NGOs in Denmark. Especially when it comes to documentation of the occurrence of racist violence and violent attacks on Muslim minorities, it is very difficult to assess because of a number of reasons:

- Muslim communities are not aware of the concept of hate crimes, thus do not report
- NGOs do not have financial or human resources and recording systems
- NGOs have very little trust in the official system so they do not see it useful to carry out the exercise of mapping and collecting data
- It is forbidden to collect and store data by non-governmental agencies, based on religion.

6.8.3 Hate speech

Denmark has a legal paragraph in its penal code (§ 266b), also called racism paragraph, which relates to hate speech and racist propaganda. Although very few cases have been brought to courts under this paragraph, many anti-minority forces – political, lawyers and academics – want to remove this protection. Before the election and the change of government in Denmark, both the ruling parties were ready to look at a proposal from the liberal think tank CEPOS to change 266b to a less restrictive version within the international framework. CEPOS' new formulation proposes to remove the criminalisation of "insulting and degrading statements", but only criminalise statements which "lead to justified fear of disturbing the public order".

The proposal was well received by the Danish People's Party and the Liberal Alliance, which had previously criticized the clause and argued for changes or simply abolishing it. The conservative legal spokesman Tom Behnke stresses that the party is basically satisfied with the current article. "But it is clear that a proposal for how we can still observe the meaning of the clause, while strengthening freedom of expression is interesting", he said. The Radical's Manu Sareen believes that the new wording removes the protection of the individual against hatred, smear campaigns and racism. "The racism paragraph prohibits not attitudes, not racist attitudes, but it prohibits agitation against the population," he explained.

Luckily, any proposal to abolish the racism paragraph has so far been rejected with regard to Denmark's international obligations to regulate so-called 'hate speech'.

Niels-Erik Hansen, Director of the Documentation and Advisory Center on Racial Discrimination, believes that in fact this clause is used too infrequently. "Which expressions have been punished, as we want to protect? I think conversely that the clause is interpreted very narrowly, because you can get

away with the most outrageous things. When Kjaersgaard compared Somalis to rapists, she was not prosecuted. We have also filed a complaint against a man who shouted "death to all Jews" at Copenhagen Central Station, but without success", says Niels-Erik Hansen - who adds that previous surveys have generally shown strong public support for the current article.⁶⁴

6.8.4 Counter terrorism

Denmark has not seen the kind of visible terrorism that some EU countries have experienced. There have been individual acts of terrorism against the newspaper JyllandsPosten, the cartoonist Westergaard, and other minor incidents have also taken place.

It is either because the Danish Secret services have been very successful in their work or because terrorists have not focused on the country in a coordinated manner. As far as funding for anti-terrorism is concerned, it seems to be unlimited and no one so far has had an overview of the cost of the effort.

The project researcher at DIIS, Peter Hansen, thinks that the Danes are usually preoccupied with whether the government is getting enough out of tax money but when it comes to the security issue, some special conditions prevail, and the word 'terrorist' has almost become a 'sesame' to get the Treasury to open up. The fight against terrorism is one of the few public areas that are not subject to constant evaluation.

In total there are about 25 public authorities which are in one way or another involved in the fight against terrorism, with the Security Intelligence Service (PET) and the Defence Intelligence Service (FE) as the two largest players. Both services have grown significantly since 11 September 2001 and now have a total budget of over 1.3 billion kroner. But there are a large number of other smaller institutions and centres, which are involved in preventing anything from attacks with biological agents to attacks on Danish ports. It has puzzled Peter Hansen that no public authority has previously tried to calculate the total price for fighting terrorism.

According to the Head of the Defence Intelligence Service (FE), Thomas Ahrenkiel, it is ultimately a political question, how much money society will sacrifice to fight terrorism. "But one should not make a mistake because of the cartoons crisis Denmark is high on the list of countries that terrorists would like to attack. The threat is real. We have managed to prevent a number of attacks in Denmark, which indicates that the effort has been successful".⁶⁵

One very unfortunate effect of the anti-terrorism climate in Denmark is that some Danish politicians would be ready to use torture in the fight against terrorism. The Conservative spokesman Tom Behnke said "Danish police officers must be ready to apply physical pain to suspects. If the infliction of physical pain is necessary in this situation to obtain information, I expect the

⁶⁴ http://www.cepos.dk/soegning/?tx_indexedsearch%5Bsword%5D=racism+paragraf&tx_indexedsearch%5Bsubmit_button%5D=S%F8g

⁶⁵ <http://politiken.dk/indland/ECE1374291/kampen-mod-terror-koster-milliarder/>

police to do what is necessary. It will be what one would typically associate with torture".⁶⁶

The rule of law is at stake in terrorism cases where the suspects are not able to get the name of either the judge or tribunal who are going to judge them. In selected cases of terrorism, the Security Intelligence Service, PET, blackens the names of both the judge and the court. This means that the accused terrorist is not able to verify that he has been bugged on an illegal basis. In Denmark, it has otherwise been a principle that judges stand by the decisions they take, and that their names be apparent from the judgments and orders. Therefore, it awakens also criticism that some judges are secret. The Procedure Act allows secret lawyers when PET must have the authorization to intercept, but there is nothing in the law about the possibility of secret judges or courts. Nevertheless, the scheme has existed for years, including in the Copenhagen City Court. The Bar Council is considering raising the issue with Justice Minister Morten Bødskov (S).⁶⁷

The Danish Secret Service operates with 3 general categories when it comes to right-wing extremism in Denmark:

1. Nationalist organisations
2. Neo-Nazi parties
3. Anti-Islam movements

Right-wing extremists, according to PET, number a few hundred members in Denmark, of which a limited number have violent intentions and capacity to be a risk to national security. Violent actions are spontaneous and carried out by individuals or groups consisting of a few people. PET also evaluated the extremist environment concerning political motives and concluded that a small section of violent extremists are preparing an ideological plan for a future racial war in Denmark and are ready to use violence. Persons connected with such ideological thinking are actively learning to use weapons and martial arts as well as establishing contacts with like-minded groups in other European countries.

PET further evaluated that foreign contacts could increase the capacity of such groups and radicalize these further. As an example, terrorism attacks in Norway could inspire Danish extremists.⁶⁸

In this context, ENAR-Denmark wrote a letter to PET, which dealt with some of the above-mentioned issues. PET did not answer the letter. ENAR encouraged PET's management to keep an extra eye on Danish and European violent groups, also because according to Europol's reports, 99% of terrorism and acts of violence are committed by Europeans and not people with a Muslim background. PET should also consider reviewing the linguistic terminology they use, such as Jihadist, Islamist and radicalism. These words are not only misleading, but also provide nourishment to those who abuse

⁶⁶ <http://www.b.dk/politiko/behnke-danske-betjente-skal-vaere-klar-til-at-torturere-0>

⁶⁷ <http://www.b.dk/nationalt/danmark-har-hemmelige-dommere>

⁶⁸ [http://rucforsk.ruc.dk/site/da/clippings/pet-vil-oegge-overvaagningen-af-ekstremister\(2352fa19-3972-499c-995f-4d341989979c\).html](http://rucforsk.ruc.dk/site/da/clippings/pet-vil-oegge-overvaagningen-af-ekstremister(2352fa19-3972-499c-995f-4d341989979c).html)

religion to justify their own warped thinking and political agendas. Terrorism and extremism have no religion, whether Islam, Christianity or Judaism.

In the aftermath of the massacre in Norway by right-wing extremists Anders Breivik, everyone was asking how such a cruel act could happen in a peaceful and well-functioning society like Norway and can it happen in Denmark? Ethnic minorities, especially with a Muslim background, which we have spoken to are very worried that the same tragedy could occur in Denmark, where it has now emerged that there are ultra-extremist groups, whose goal is an immigrant-free Denmark which they will introduce with violence and force, if necessary.

PET has made efforts to prevent terrorism and extremism, especially among a small portion of extremists of Muslim background. Because of their thorough work, Denmark has so far been free of destruction and loss of life. That said, until now, PET has focused almost exclusively on Islam and Muslims and very little on domestic extremists who have operated under great names, political contacts and through secret meetings.

7. Civil society assessment and critique in ensuring protection of fundamental rights

UN grilling highlights concerns about the way the government treats and speaks about foreigners

In May 2011, a representative of the Danish government faced three hours of questions regarding the country's human rights record at the United Nations' Human Rights Council in Geneva – the first of two grillings the state faces as part of a UN appraisal of which the results were released in September 2011.

In preparation for the questioning, the government had prepared a 23-page report about human rights in Denmark. However, the UN examiners were free to choose which direction the questions to the permanent secretary for foreign affairs, Claus Grube, should take.

“The general view among the Council's member states is that they are worried about the way Danes speak about foreigners, immigrants and the issue of integration,” Jonas Christoffersen, head of the Danish Institute of Human Rights, told the Newspaq news agency. “There is a perception that this debate is very sharp and direct in Denmark, and that it would benefit the country to soften it up a bit and to increase efforts to promote understanding.”

During the examination Grube told the council that globalisation was responsible for a huge rise in immigration to the country, which has presented Denmark with challenges in relation to human rights.

The second part of the appraisal was a 48-hour dialogue with the UN's Human Rights Council secretariat. The UN recommended that Denmark should abide by its obligations and came up with 133 concrete recommendations. Denmark only accepted 84 of the recommendations and rejected 49.⁶⁹

Prior to the first part of the appraisal, several NGOs, including ENAR-Denmark, pointed out that the government's report painted an unrealistically rosy picture of Danish human rights. They said the report left out areas on which Denmark has been criticised for not living up to or complying with UN recommendations. “The report is very uncritical. It doesn't deal with the country's current problems,” Dorrit Ree Akselbo, a legal advisor at the Rehabilitation and Research Centre for Torture Victims (RCT), told Politiken newspaper. “It's just a description of the current situation, not a critical assessment.” Save the Children Denmark (SCD) agreed that the government is being too uncritical in its report. “The whole point is that the nations should be self-critical and reflective, so that things can be improved upon. Denmark hasn't done that,” said SCD's secretary general Mimi Jacobsen. The two organisations have, along with seven others, released a statement pointing

⁶⁹ <http://www.fnforbundet.dk/aktuelt/danmark-har-brug-for-handlingsplan-for-menneskerettigheder->

out several omissions in the report. One such issue is the case of the stateless Palestinians who were wrongfully denied Danish citizenship.

Another is that the government, particularly the Immigration Ministry under the leadership of Birthe Rønn Hornbech, repeatedly rejected and ignored several of the points of criticism from the Refugee Appeals Board regarding matters such as repatriation contracts for fugitives, starting allowances, and the rights of fugitives' children. "The government has consistently ignored the criticism it has faced over the past year. It really is a careless way of dealing with reality," said Jacobsen.

The NGOs are also critical of the way the report was compiled. The report states clearly that the public has had the opportunity to add suggestions, but according to the NGOs a vast majority of these have been ignored. The Liberal foreign affairs spokesperson, Michael Aastrup Jensen, repudiated the criticism of the report. "Although there are minor issues we may need to adjust, it is still clear that we are a country where everyone has world-class human rights. I'm sure they'll tell us that we have some of the world's best human rights." he said.

8. Good practices

In Denmark, NGOs, especially those which work with ethnic and religious minority issues, are very few. Until 2001, there were over 500 NGOs in Denmark, which were established and run by minorities. After the right-wing government took over in 2001, one of its first acts was to abolish funding for these NGOs. That practically put an end to the work these organisations were doing to help minorities, in the form of advice, organizational setups, awareness raising campaigns about laws, holding training seminars, cultural events, workshops, acting as interpreters and offering other practical assistance.

On top of this, Denmark being a welfare society, NGOs have very little say in decision making, solving socio-economic problems of minorities and being a partner for authorities. Another problem in gauging NGO work is the lack of a central organisation with staff and personnel as well as finances to do some worthwhile work.

ENAR-Denmark is the only network which has tried to create contacts among anti-racist organisations. It is vital that the lack of good practices by NGOs in Denmark is understood in this context.

Example of NGO Good Practice in Employment

A place for them, who have no place

In the centre of Copenhagen, the borough of Nørrebro is famous for its multi-ethnic population mix. Because of high unemployment, especially among ethnic minority women in the area, Trine Alette Pantou started a sewing workshop, 'Place de Bleu'. Place de Bleu is a sewing workroom where minority women from a wide range of third world countries meet to sew and receive training in various needle work techniques. After a training period, it offers the women a job contract. According to her, it is a socio-economic business, which aims to find work for minority women who are miles away from the regular labour market. The profit is reinvested in the workshop.

<http://cphmade.org/members/place-de-bleu>

Example of NGO Good Practice in Education

In the fall of 2011, Denmark's first bilingual college opened its doors. It started with 55 Turkish boys and girls and is independent of political, religious or financial interests. The parents of the students want their children to learn more and be free from the alcohol culture and other bad influences that may prevail in Danish colleges.

<http://www.kristeligt-dagblad.dk/artikel/420823:Danmark--Gymnasium-for-tosprogede>

Example of NGO Good Practice in Housing

One such initiative is in Frederiksberg, where the local organization has started a project for ethnic minority youngsters. The aim is to attract youth from street life and crime and give them hope for the future. Youth from socially deprived areas learn to be busy and at the same time be a bridge between local native Danes and minorities.

<http://www.metroxpress.dk/kultur/pa-fodboldbanen-er-der-ikke-forskel-pa-folk/KOblei!WQY4DDf4SJyVA/>

Example of NGO Good Practice in Health

A very praise worthy NGO initiative was taken by doctors in Denmark, when they opened a clinic for undocumented people in Denmark, who had their asylum cases rejected or came as tourists and had no way to go back home. The Danish health system only treats emergency cases if a tourist is in a life threatening situation. Doctors and nurses service the new clinic on a voluntary basis. Fortunately, both the Ministers of Health and of Integration decided not to intervene, but the Danish People's Party did ask the police to arrest those who came to the clinic for treatment. The police also refused to do so.

<http://politiken.dk/indland/ECE1358918/laeger-aabner-klinik-for-illegale-udlaendinge-i-danmark/>

Another project worth mentioning is the "Mother to mother" advice service by ethnic minority mothers to other mothers. The service offers advice regarding children's welfare, development, outdoor activities, neighbourhood help and talking with educators and teachers. <http://bydelsmor.dk/>

Example of NGO Good Practice in Promoting Political Participation

While there is no concentrated efforts by NGOs, especially with ethnic minority background, in 2011 there were many manifestations of political participation, in the shape of political campaigns, taking part in elections as independent or minority party candidates as well as meeting with parliamentarians and municipality mayors, arranging political rallies, marches, celebration of UN Day of Human Rights in December, Interfaith Harmony day in February, UN Day against racism in March and a common front against religious harassment involving the Danish Church, the United Muslim Council, the Jewish Society and Copenhagen City Council.

<http://www.jyllands-posten.dk/protected/premium/indland/article4504823.ece>

Example of NGO Good Practice in Media

A monthly magazine entitled 'Opinion' was started by Zaman - a Turkish organisation. It has proved a successful medium. www.opinionen.dk

Another NGO Larm Film produced a film in 2011 entitled 'Word catches'. First it was presented to an audience of nearly 1 000 people with a mixed

background, with the Minister of Churches and two national politicians in attendance, and then it was shown on national TV. The film narrates the last 25 years of harsh tone of politicians and media towards minorities.

<http://www.filmstriben.dk/fjernleje/film/details.aspx?filmid=9000000650>

Example of NGO Good Practice in Criminal Justice

DRC and SOS mod Racism in Copenhagen, Legal Help for Foreigners in Århus and Randers and organisation Romano in Helsingør offer practical help, take cases of discrimination to the Commission for Equal Treatment, contact the authorities and provide legal information to clients. The Institute for Human Rights, which is an independent organisation, is also very active in this field. It has published a Complaint Guide regarding discrimination, makes surveys about discrimination and has an office of Equal Treatment Advice.

www.menneskeret.dk/klageguide/klageguide

In 2011, DRC published a very important report concerning police's visitation practices in cities. The report was entitled 'En Afrikaner med rød øjne!'. It documented how police is involved in ethnic profiling and selective visitations.

<http://politiken.dk/indland/ECE1350876/rapport-politiet-overvisiterer-minoritetsdanskere/>

In November 2011, another NGO, Mindlift, conducted an NGO seminar on awareness-raising about discrimination and equal treatment in Denmark.

<http://www.mindlift.net/>

9. National recommendations

Employment

1. Affirmative action must be put in place for improving the employment situation of ethnic minorities at par with gender equality efforts.
2. Employment applications should be sent without a name or photo but a social security number, so that minority applicants are not sorted out from the start.

Education

1. An evaluation of qualifications obtained by immigrants and refugees in their countries of origin so that they do not have to start all over again.
2. Introduction of obligatory mother tongue education in schools to improve the learning skills of students and give them a sense of worth.

Housing

1. Stop calling socially deprived areas ghettos, as this stigmatizes residents of these areas.
2. Housing societies should allot accommodation to ethnic minorities in those areas, where only ethnic Danes live. It will improve interaction among minorities and the majority population.

Health

1. Official interpreters should be provided to elderly minority people so that they get proper medical treatment, diagnosis and advice from health workers.
2. Information campaigns on the importance of early warning signals of sicknesses, knowledge of common diseases, dietary regimes and regular check-ups should be targeted at ethnic minorities.

Access to goods and services

1. Laws against discrimination at bars, discos, clubs and in public transport facilities should be strengthened and monitored.
2. People without Danish citizenship but having permanent residence should be able to get bank loans and purchase luxury items on instalments.

Criminal justice

1. Ethnic, religious and racial profiling by the police and secret services should be prohibited. Terrorism should not be linked to Islam as a religion.
2. Intercultural education at the police academy should also include religion sensitive courses and lectures by critical NGOs should be considered.

Media

1. Freedom of expression under responsibility is enshrined in the Danish constitution but courts often neglect the responsibility part, especially when the media demonizes Islam and Muslim communities. This practice should be re-evaluated and updated accordingly.
2. In journalism colleges, a special subject should be introduced, which will enable journalists to learn to use proper terminology, when describing minorities, especially Muslim communities. At the same time, it is important that ethnic and religious minorities are used as societal sources of information and not only on issues which are related to ethnicity and religion.

10. Conclusion

No report on racism and discriminatory practices in Denmark can be compiled if we do not take into account the opportunities and possibilities, which lie ahead to redress the complicated situation.

With all its recent turns towards right-wing policies, tightening of official policies, ignoring international criticism and not listening to NGO voices, we are still hopeful that the negative developments have stopped and the upward going curve of blaming the victims has been halted.

There are many factors which contributed to this positive approach. First, the public got tired of the negative and harsh tone, which was constantly used to target ethnic and religious minorities, especially Muslim communities. They showed their displeasure by booting the right-wing government out of office in the September 2011 election and thus put an end to the anti-Islam Danish People's Party's hate campaign. This signalled a new start in Danish politics.

Secondly, Denmark has done reasonably well during the economic crisis, thus tightening the "minority screw" was no longer an option. The coming generations of ethnic minorities are doing well in higher education, securing well-paid jobs and establishing themselves in businesses. This has removed a big stumbling block on the road to progress.

Thirdly, criticism and close attention to governmental policies by the Danish Institute for Human Rights, Amnesty International, UN UPR examination, the Council of Europe's ECRI, the UN High Commission for human rights, EU institutions and various other institutions seem to have made an impression on politicians. They have started looking into UN conventions, EU anti-racism directives and the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, when legal matters are discussed in the Parliament and laws are formulated.

Fourthly, once in a while, the media has also played a vital part in revealing irregularities in policies, practices and implementations of laws. This has forced politicians to take note and act quickly to contain the damage. In 2011, the Minister of Integration in the previous government was relieved of her duties because of the massive coverage in the media that she did not allow the children of Palestinian refugees to attain citizenship even if it was their right.

The new government has made the Institute for Human Rights an independent entity, with more powers and finances. This will enable the IHR to work even more diligently, thus acting as a monitoring mechanism for legal remedies.

The Justice Ministry has also established a Human Rights Commission, which will look at all human rights areas because it wishes to live up to its international obligations to ratify and implement conventions. This

Commission will suggest how Denmark can make sure that it lives up to its promises.

The IHR's Committee for Equal Treatment, which comprises NGOs, including ENAR-Denmark, has drafted a proposal for the Danish Parliament's consideration. This proposal asks the Parliament to table a new law, which will forbid discrimination in all areas outside and inside the labour market. This act could fill the void which the judicial system in Denmark operates under. The idea is to create a common horizontal legal remedy against discrimination as is the case with laws against gender discrimination.

There are also suggestions that the official Complaints Committee, where victims of racism can complain and get their cases taken up should be strengthened by more finances, competence and manpower. The Institute for Human Rights has also established an office, where people can lodge complaints against discrimination.

Copenhagen, the largest municipality in Denmark, with most ethnic and religious minorities in its area, has launched many initiatives to combat discrimination and other municipalities are following this example.

The European Commission is asking all EU Member States to inform its offices of the implementations of EU equality Directives. Denmark is also taking notice of this request.

In short, we can see that there is a forward movement on the anti-discrimination front. Things are changing slowly but surely.

Bibliography

In preparation of this report, the author has consulted with many anti-racist NGOs, the Institute for Human Rights, the Documentation and Advisory Centre, the Danish Refugee Council, Advice - Danish branch of EU initiative – For diversity - against discrimination, the Islamic Christian Study Centre, the Jewish Muslim Co-operation Platform and many more organisations. The author also examined many other useful reports, sources, surveys and newspaper articles.

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 - www.Catinet.dk
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 - Immigration Service and Ministry of integration www.nyidanmark.dk
 - Complaints Committee. www.klagekomite.dk
 - Parliament's EU information office in Denmark www.euo.dk
 - Danish Parliament <http://www.ft.dk>
 - SOS mod racisme. <http://www.sosmodracisme.dk/>
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Annex 1: List of abbreviations and terminology

ECRI - European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance of the Council of Europe

OHCHR - Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights

CERD - Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination

FRA - Fundamental Rights Agency of the European Union

ODIHR - Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights under the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe - OSCE

DRC - Documentation and Advisory Centre

Ethnic minorities

This report uses the term ethnic and religious minorities or simply minorities to describe people who have come to Denmark from outside Europe, first as migrants in the sixties or refugees in the eighties and nineties.

In Denmark the media and authorities uses the word 'Indvanderer', which means immigrant, for anyone who does not have a native Danish background. Even the children of early immigrants and refugees are called second or third generation immigrants.

"Perker" is a derogatory word used by Danes for non-White minorities. It is derived from Pakis and Turks

Racial profiling

Amnesty International defines racial profiling as the targeting of individuals and groups by law enforcement officials even partially on the basis of race ethnicity national origin or religion except where there is a trustworthy information relevant to the locality and timeframe that links persons belonging to one of the aforementioned groups to an identified criminal incident or scheme.

