



European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions

**Intercultural Policies and Intergroup Relations
in the City of Copenhagen**



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September 2009

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Foreword

This report is part of the Eurofound project “Cities for Local Integration Policy” (CLIP), which started in 2006. Copenhagen is one of the by now 30 European cities that cooperate in exchanging information on their Integration Policies. In a first round of city studies housing policies were the special topic (for Copenhagen see Penninx 2007). In a second round Diversity Policy in Employment and Service Provision has been the comparative topic of research (for Copenhagen see Penninx 2008). This third module studies Intercultural Policies and Intergroup Relations in the city of Copenhagen.

The project aims at collecting and analysing innovative policies and their successful implementation at the local level, supporting the exchange of experience between cities, thereby encouraging a learning process within the network of cities and beyond.

The CLIP network involves also a cooperation between cities and research institutes. Six research institutes collect the data for the cities, analyse these and report on their findings: efms in Bamberg, IMES in Amsterdam, ISR in Vienna, FIERI in Turin, IIS in Wroclaw and CMPR in Swansea in this third module.

The Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES) of the University of Amsterdam is responsible for this report on Copenhagen. Together with the contact persons of the city of Copenhagen, Karima Isert, Eline Feldman and Rune Kier Nielsen, I have collected the data for this report. During my field visits I interviewed many city officials and representatives of civil society in Copenhagen: see the list at the end of this report. Several of them also commented on earlier drafts: see note 1. I want to thank all of them for their time and efforts.

Rinus Penninx

June 15, 2009.

Introduction to the study.

As usual within CLIP, this study on intergroup relations and cultural and religious diversity has been prepared by a preliminary study (Heckmann 2008) that outlines what the scientific literature has to offer, defines the basic concepts to be used and proposes an approach for the study. On that basis a questionnaire has been developed for the cities through which the cities supply detailed answers on their policies and deliver detailed data related to the field in general and the policies in particular.

In the case of Copenhagen, however, the gap between the official definition of this area of policy and the approach (and questionnaire) proposed by the researchers turned out to be difficult to bridge. The answers of the city to the questionnaire did give a clear picture of official policies, but not of policy practice. Also the supplementary material, such as that related to civil society in general, immigrant organisations and specifically religious organisations was essentially lacking, a consequence of the fact that official policies do not include these as relevant fields in their policies.

This initial finding obliged the researcher to take a different approach, both in terms of data collection and in terms of reporting. As to the first: quite a number of interviews have been done with politicians, policymakers and policy practitioners in the city on the official framing of this part of integration policies of the city on the one hand, and the field practice of policies on the other. Furthermore, systematic data have been collected on relevant topics such as the practice of State-Church relations, civil society in the city, immigrant and religious organisations by using existing research on these topics and doing a number of interviews with researchers and actors in these fields.

The structure of the report reflects the data collection: in chapter 1 the general background of Denmark is outlined, including a special paragraph on Church-State relations. Chapter two sketches the city background of Copenhagen, including its integration policy. The development of official policy in relation to intergroup relations and cultural activities is outlined in chapter 3. Chapter 4 goes deeper into the 'framing' of policies in Copenhagen through interviews with two policymakers. The actual practice of such policies and relations of civil servants with civil society is the topic of chapter 5. Chapter 6 is devoted to immigrant organisations of different sorts in Copenhagen and their relations to the city. In chapter 7 we will look at interfaith relations in the city. Chapter 8 draws lines together in a conclusion.

1. Background information on the country¹

1.1. History of migration and composition of migrant populations

Denmark has known substantial immigration as early as the 16th and 17th century, including Dutch farmers and Jews, and a continuous inflow of Germans between the mid-17th and 19th century. In the second half of the 19th century many workers arrived from Germany, Sweden and Poland. In 1885 the foreign population of Copenhagen constituted 8 percent of the total population. The two world wars furthermore brought many East Europeans, Jews and Germans (Hedetoft 2006: 2)

Notwithstanding these past experiences, Denmark did not regard itself and still does not want to be an immigration country in the period after WWII. Actually in the early post-war period more people emigrated from Denmark (predominantly to the New World) than settled as newcomers, and the ones that came used to be from Nordic and Western countries. Denmark's post-war immigration started, like most of its neighbours, with the recruitment of 'guest workers' in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Compared to its southern neighbours, however, such recruitment was relatively late and small. Workers came mainly from Turkey, Pakistan, (former) Yugoslavia and Morocco. At the moment of the first oil crisis (and stop of recruitment) in 1973 their total number was only about 15,000.

After 1973 immigration in Denmark was predominantly supply driven. Firstly refugees from Chile and Vietnam in the 1970s, followed by refugee and asylum migration from Bosnia, Iran, Iraq, Somalia, Afghanistan and Lebanon since the 1990s. Secondly, family members and spouses of migrant workers and refugees came to Denmark in significant numbers. And thirdly, recent immigration comes from the new EU accession countries, particularly from Poland and the Baltic states, recently estimated at more than 15.000 for Poland alone. In 2008 Denmark issued more study and work permits than ever before (see: www.nyidanmark.dk).

These inflows have led to a significant growth of the immigrant population in the country, since the beginning of the 1990s coming predominantly from non-Western

¹ I thank Heaven Crawley, Jakob Hougaard, Martin Bak Jørgensen, Pernille Kjeldgård, Flemming Mikkelsen, Abdul Wahid Pedersen and Christine Lunde Rasmussen for their comments on the draft version. Responsibility for the text remains with the author.

countries². UN-publications give the following key data on residents with an immigration background, based on the criterion of place of birth outside Denmark:

Table 1. Total population and migrant stock in Denmark 1985-2005.

	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005
Total population*	5114	5140	5228	5320	5431
Migrant stock**	190	220	250	304	389
%	3,7	4,2	4,8	5,7	7,2
* in thousands					
** criterion is born outside the country					

Source: www.unpopulation.org

The percentage of immigrants in the total population was only 3,7 % in the mid-1980s. In twenty years (by 2005) that percentage has doubled: 7,2 percent of the total population of Denmark is an immigrant (i.e. has been born outside Denmark).

Alternative definitions³ indicate different percentages: as per January 1st, 2007 the number of registered foreigners (nationality criterion⁴) is 278,096 (5,1 % of the total population). The number of immigrants at that date amounted to 360,902, and descendants (2nd generation immigrants) was 116,798, totalling to 477,700 or 8,8 percent of the total population. Of this total, 330,525 (6,1 % of the population of Denmark) originate from a 'non-Western country'. Muslims from Turkey, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Egypt and Lebanon number around 200,000 and account for nearly half of all non-Western foreign residents in Denmark.⁵

The latest stock data of Danish Statistics (Statistisk Årbog 2009: 26) indicate that as per January 1st, 2009 526,000 'immigrants and descendants' resided in Denmark: 9.5 % of the total population; 7.3 % being immigrants and 2.3 % descendants. Of these

² According to Statistics Denmark, the number of resident persons from non-Western countries increased by 520 % between 1980 and 2005, forming 90 percent of the total increase of resident foreigners in that period.

³ Statistics Denmark has introduced two novel sets of definitions that are frequently used: the first one is that of Dane (at least one of the persons parents is a Danish national and was born in Denmark), Immigrant (person is born abroad) and Descendant (child of an immigrant born in Denmark). The second is that of Western (all EU-countries plus Iceland, Norway, USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Andorra, Liechtenstein, Monaco, San Marino, Switzerland and the Vatican State) versus non-Western Immigrant and Descendants (all other countries): see Ministry 2006b, 18/19.

⁴ Between 1995 and 2005 more than 54,000 foreigners acquired Danish citizenship (Hedetoft 2006, 2).

⁵ The website of the Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration Affairs sets the estimate somewhat higher at 210,000 Muslims (retrieved 17-08-2007). Hussain's (2007:5) estimates arrive at 175-200,000. He remarks that "reliable figures are not available, as Danish law prohibits the registration of citizens on the basis of their religion and ethnicity".

526.000, 54 % has a non-Western origin. The largest immigrant groups in the beginning of 2009 were of Turkish origin (58,191 persons), German, Iraqi, Polish, Lebanese and Pakistani origin followed with populations between 20,000 and 30,000.

As for their distribution in Denmark, the three largest cities have the highest percentage of 'immigrants and descendants': Copenhagen 19.8 %, Århus 12.9 % and Odense 12.4 %, against 8.5 % for the country as a whole in 2007. Non-Western immigrants and descendants in these same cities represent 13.9, 9.6 and 9.4 percent in that year.

1.2 National integration policy

As a general background it is important to realise that Denmark developed since WWII a welfare state based on high levels of public provisions in such areas like public health, education, unemployment benefits and old age pensions, accessible to all residents in the country. Policies relating to immigration and integration developed relatively late. From the mid-1980s on there were policy efforts to restrict immigration to Denmark. The Aliens Act of 1986 was devised to be able to restrict immigration and applications for asylum in Denmark. In 1992 the law regulating family reunification removed the automatic right to reunification and tightened up possibilities for entrance for this category, among others by imposing a 'breadwinner condition' for resident spouses.

In the 1990s the issue of immigration and integration developed into a controversial and politicised issue, particularly after the establishment of the Danish People's Party (DPP) in 1995 that mobilised electoral support on the immigrant issue above all others⁶. The party did so successfully, also in the electoral campaigns of 1998, 2001 and 2005. Although the DPP was never part of the government coalition, their influence on policies has been and still is great. In Hedetoft's (2006, 5) formulation: "It is particularly the DPP, supported by the media, which managed to keep the debate alive over the past 10 years and has been successful in placing it squarely at the centre of political attention. The strong support for DPP's articulate anti-immigrant policies has

⁶ In a recent article Karpantschov and Mikkelsen (forthcoming) show that in the late 1980s and early 1990 "the Danish racist right evolved from minor xenophobic subcultures into an effective racist movement consisting of right-wing nationalists, militant skinheads and neo-Nazi's" cumulating in very high density of violent action against immigrants in 1992/1993. From the middle of the 1990s on it was the Danish People's Party that offered an alternative political platform for this movement, leading to the isolation of these xenophobic cultures and decline of violence on the one hand, but also to the continuation of "nationalist propaganda, attacks on human rights and racist rhetoric".

meant that, by and large, all other parties in the Danish Parliament have chosen to mobilise on this issue and have prioritised migration and integration policy area in their policy statements and legislative proposals.”⁷

It was in this political climate that the Social Democratic-Radical coalition introduced the 1999 Integration Act. Important features were that it put the main responsibility for integration in the hands of municipalities in order to improve the management and coordination of formerly disparate governmental and private bodies (such as the Danish Refugee Council). The integration period for refugees⁸ was extended to 18 months, in which they should learn Danish, familiarise themselves with Danish history, culture and society, acquire skills and competences to find jobs. During that period refugees would receive a monthly integration allowance (that was in the original proposal lower than regular welfare benefits, but after strong protest changed to the regular level). Family dependents, EU and Nordic citizens and immigrants coming on the so-called Job Card Scheme, i.e. recruited workers, were not obliged to follow, but were allowed to join the introduction programme.

Under the Liberal-Conservative government that since November 2001 took over from the Social Democratic-Radical coalition, tougher governmental policies brought an end to what was labelled “lenient immigration policies and practices” of the former coalition. A new Ministry for Refugees, Immigration and Integration⁹ was formed, taking over the former tasks of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. This new minister prepared a legislative package on immigration and integration to the Parliament, the principal purpose of which was “to restrict the number of immigrants and refugees, to introduce tougher requirements on access to permanent residence and citizenship, to ensure the loyalty of newcomers to “Danish values”, and to speed up the integration of immigrants, particularly of women and young, second generation males, into the labour market” (Hedetoft 2006, 9). The lower monthly integration allowance that was rejected in 1999,

⁷ Although few discard the substantial influence of the DPP on the immigrant question, it is also indicated that other factors have made that influence possible, and that other parties obviously have bought into the content of the discourse. The phrase of ‘a firm and fair integration/immigration policy’ can be found in almost all party programmes. See also Frólund Thomson 2006. For an empirical analysis of the complicated relation between immigration, politics and the welfare state see Goul Andersen 2006.

⁸ The group of immigrants for which the municipalities have these obligations are “persons who 1) got residence permit after January 1st 1999, 2) were 16-64 years of age when they got their residence permit, 3) are from non-EU and non-Nordic countries, and 4) are refugees or family reunified” (Skifter Andersen, Heinesen & Husted 2005, 1).

⁹ See: www.nyidanmark.dk

was now re-introduced.¹⁰ These proposals were passed in Parliament in the summer of 2002 with the support of the DPP.

A number of concrete measures followed¹¹. In 2003 the minimum age for marriage migration was increased to 24 years, apart from other requirements like 'affiliation' (ties with Denmark)¹², economic independence and proper housing.¹³ Conditions for naturalisation, that used to be strict already because of the dominance of the *ius sanguinis* principle, were further tightened: requirements of nine years continuous residence, fluency in Danish, proper housing conditions and economic self-sufficiency were set. Similar requirements were introduced for acquiring a permanent residence permit. On the other hand, anti-discrimination instruments were introduced. In 2003 the Act on Ethnic Equal Treatment was adopted and the Act on Unequal Treatment in the Labour Market was amended in 2004. In 2003, the Danish Institute for Human Rights became the National Equality Body and established the Complaint Committee for Ethnic Equal Treatment to review individual complaints (Ministry 2006b, 70/71).¹⁴

As from January 1st, 2004 a new Integration Act and a new Act on Danish Courses for Adult Aliens and Others entered into force. It was based on an agreement with the social partners and local authorities on promoting integration in the labour market and fitted the general policy of the government of 'More people in Work'. The purpose of the new law was to secure flexibility and personal development for newcomers in relation to the labour market. The public sector's efforts were re-directed to three tasks: counselling and upgrading; job training in private and public companies;

¹⁰ Interestingly it was (re-)introduced as a general rule regarding 'all persons who have not lived in Denmark for the last seven years'. In practice few Danish citizens fall into that category, while most immigrants do. In 2006 the allowances corresponded roughly to 50-70 % of the normal allowances. "The incentive to take work is considerably enhanced by the new rates" (Ministry 2006b, 65). The qualifying period was by 2006 extended from three years to maximally seven years.

¹¹ For an overview of the categories of entrance and conditions attached to each see Ministry 2006b, 37-56.

¹² The website of the Department of Family Affairs of the Ministry of Justice (www.familiestyrelsen.dk) specifies this as follows: "Unless the spouse living in Denmark is a Danish national and has been so for 28 years, or was born and raised in Denmark, or came to Denmark as a young child and was raised in this country, and has stayed lawfully in Denmark for – in all essentials a consecutive period of – at least 28 years, the spouses' aggregate ties with Denmark must be stronger than their aggregate ties with any other country, cf. section 9(7), first sentence, of the Aliens Act." See also Jørgensen 2009.

¹³ This had consequences both for native Danish and foreign residents in Denmark who want to bring a spouse from abroad. Conversations in Malmö, the city in the south of Sweden that is very near to Copenhagen since the new bridge connects the two cities, indicated that many Danes use Malmö and the more lenient Swedish rules to evade the new Danish restrictions. The bridge is therefore nicknamed the 'love bridge'. Swedish authorities estimated that there were more than thousand 'Danish couples' living in Malmö in 2004 as a consequence of the 24-year-rule. Copenhagen city sources, however, suggest that it would be rather around hundred. See also Hedetoft 2006, 5 and Jørgensen 2009.

¹⁴ It was indicated that access to and competence of this Committee are limited. For example, the Committee can only accept complaints from trade union members, if the complainant does not get help from the union. The Committee may advise complainants to go to court, but cannot take itself cases to court.

and employment with a wage supplement. The duration of the formerly three year individual integration contract was extended (until the immigrant receives a permanent residence permit, which is normally after 7 years) and its form changed in order “to underline the responsibility of the individual foreigner for his or her integration into the Danish society” (Ministry 2006b, 61).

In May 2005 a new Integration Plan, entitled ‘A new Chance for Everyone’, was launched by the national Government, after approval by Parliament. The intention, in the words of the official summary (Ministry 2005a) is “to enhance its current integration efforts through several new initiatives intended to boost education and employment among immigrants and their descendants, counter ghettoisation in vulnerable neighbourhoods and prevent and combat crime.” The text is again framed generic – “for everyone” – but it will primarily affect people with immigrant background. As to education and employment new and more compulsory measures are proposed such as to 1) provide more pre-school training; 2) more vocational courses and apprenticeship schemes for youngsters; 3) oblige young people (18-25) who receive cash assistance to commence a job-qualifying course; 4) stimulate parents’ responsibility by adjusting the family allowance scheme “so that only young people of 15-17 years who have started a qualifying course or have a job with an educational perspective will be eligible for the allowance”; 5) “the Government suggests that where both spouses receive cash assistance, the cash assistance to one of the spouses should be replaced by a lower spousal allowance if that spouse has not had ordinary paid work for 300 hours in the preceding two year period”; 6) “In future, the local authorities must be obliged to provide offers to all recipients of cash assistance – also people who have passively received maintenance for several years”.

The (English) summary text of the new Integration Plan does not mention religion (nor specifically Islam) at all. It is obviously not part of the integration concept. There is a reference to “extremism and crime’ (that should be combatted), but that extremism is not specified as religion-based extremism.

Hedetoft (2006, 7) characterises the integration policies of Denmark as follows: “The official Danish position has been that ethnic minorities should be treated on an equal footing and that the ambition should be to have as few specially designed laws as possible (...) there is little sympathy for multicultural policies or positive discrimination (...) nor are there formalized rules for how institutions may adapt to cultural diversity. The ground rule is that minorities must learn how to come to terms with Denmark – not

vice versa.”¹⁵ Consequently, there is also little space for collective organisation of migrant interests. There is freedom to organise, but such organisations are not given much influence. The Council for Ethnic Minorities (CEM) at the national level, and the local Integration Councils at the local level are meant to be sounding boards to governmental agencies.

The general picture of national immigration policies of the last two decades is thus one of consistent efforts to restrict further immigration, the only exception being the Job Card Scheme of 2003 that made it easier for highly skilled migrants to enter Denmark.¹⁶ Integration policies are based on a specific approach: generic policies of equality in the domains of education and labour - increasingly mandatory for newcomers to fit into Danish society; policies to be implemented at the local level. Acquisition of Danish citizenship has become more difficult (since 2005) and more dependent on criteria of actual integration. General anti-discrimination policies are an important pillar of such a generic policy. Cultural and religious factors are in a formal sense not part of the integration concept, and if they appear in policy documents it is in their negative forms (of undermining social cohesion): crime, ghettoisation and problems of new religions the values and practices of which may counteract integration.

1.3 State-Church relations and their consequences for immigrants

Like all liberal democratic European societies Denmark allows its citizens the freedom of religion. The literal quotation of an information sheet of the Danish Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs reads as follows:

“Denmark enjoys freedom of religion. This means that people are allowed to form congregations of worship of God in a manner according with their convictions. It is a condition, however, that nothing is taught or done that is contrary to good morals or public order; see section 67 of the Danish constitution.” (Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs 2006: 1)

The form that State-Church relations have historically received, however, is remarkably different from most European countries. Firstly, the Danish system recognises a National

¹⁵ Jørgensen (2008: 6) adds an interesting strategic element of the policy to this analysis: the *quid pro quo*-principle. It means that “extra efforts of migrants should be rewarded and the opposite punished”.

¹⁶ Data seem to confirm that on the one hand the government is successful in restricting the unsolicited immigration, but that on the other hand demand driven immigration increased in recent years. The Copenhagen Post (February 2007, 9-15, p. 7) reports that 46,500 aliens were given a temporary residence permit in Denmark in 2006 “nearly 30,000 of those coming either for work or study. In 2001 that number was a mere 13,000, making up only one third of all residence permits issued.”

Church of Denmark, namely the Evangelical-Lutheran Church. The preferential status of the National Church has substantial implications both for (believers of) other churches and congregations, but also for State-Church relations itself. Two features of his privileged status stand out.

The first is that the National Church has the right to collect Church tax for all inhabitants of Denmark that are registered as members of the National Church. About 82 percent¹⁷ of all inhabitants are registered as members of the National Church and the Church tax is around one percent of the income¹⁸.

The comparatively high percentage of membership of the National Church relates to a second feature: the National Church – that is its Church Offices - is mandated by the State to handle the registration of individual residents for the State. This tradition dates back to times, when church registrations were the only existing ones. In practice it means that every inhabitant (whatever his/her religious background) has to go the Church Offices of the National Church to register him/herself and his/her newborn children. Also official documents like birth certificates have to be applied for at these offices.¹⁹ These two particular features do have consequences: on the one hand the National Church is through its tax-support a powerful actor in civil society; on the other hand, it is through its monopoly position on registration a nearly unavoidable institution for all residents.

For other religious communities than the National Church, there are actually two regimes: the first is for “Recognised and approved religious communities”²⁰. The most important rights attached to this status are: 1) to perform marriage ceremonies with legal effects (recognised) under the Danish Marriage Act (like the National Church has); 2) the right to residence permits for foreign preachers under the Aliens Act; 3) the right for tax-

¹⁷ This figure was given by the Dean of the Evangelical-Lutheran cathedral of Copenhagen in an interview.

¹⁸ In 2009 it is expected that the members pay collectively around 5,5 billion DK in Church tax. Of this 4.7 billion to local expenses of parishes. Individual members will pay an average of 0,88 % of their income.

¹⁹ The Dean of the Evangelical-Lutheran cathedral of Copenhagen reported that this traditional procedure has been contested in recent times, both by native non-believers and by immigrants of different religious background. He told that this has led municipalities in South Jutland to do the registration itself. In other places, municipalities have created possibilities for residents who want to avoid registration with the National Church to do registration directly with the municipality. Nevertheless, these recent changes seem to be the exceptions to the still existing rule of registration through the National Church.

²⁰ Until 1970 such religious communities were recognised by royal decree. As from 1970, religious communities have been approved on the basis of the provisions of the Marriage Act, according to which other religious communities may perform religious marriage ceremonies. In practice, after such approval for the religious community, also the individual ministers have to be approved, before they can legally perform a marriage.

deduction for members who make financial contributions (not Church-tax)²¹; 4) the right to establish own cemeteries under the Danish Cemetery Act²² (Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs 2006; Dassetto et al. 2007; www.km.dk). According to Dassetto *et al.* 2007: 99) 18 Islamic communities have been approved in Denmark in 2007. The Department of Family Affairs of the Ministry of Justice indicates presently 22 registrations under the heading of Islamic organisations (of which the Turkish Diyanet has registered 28 different establishments in Denmark), plus Alevi's with six establishment under the heading 'Other'.²³

The second regime is for "religious communities and societies of a religious character" that did not seek approval or are not eligible for approval. "Such communities and societies exist under the general freedoms of religion and association without any requirement of public registration, but they do not enjoy any of the rights mentioned above" (Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs 2006: 2).

To manage and implement this specific policy of religion the State has instituted a special Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs (www.km.dk). It describes itself as "the governing body of the Danish National Evangelical Lutheran Church and administrates grants and appropriations to that part of the Danish National Church funded out of the National Budget. The most important task of the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs is to administrate the Danish National Evangelical Lutheran Church in conformity with current legislation." "The Ministry draws up the budget for the joint fund from which the joint expenses of the Danish National Church are defrayed. In order to meet the joint fund's deficit, the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs decides how much national church tax is to be paid and distributes this equally as a percentage of each member of the Danish National Church's taxable income." The Ministry draws up draft legislation and establishes general regulations within the area of Church administration through the issuing of Ministerial Orders and Circulars. In addition, the Ministry is responsible for

²¹ "In March 2006, the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs checked whether the recognised and approved religious communities make use of the possibility of obtaining approval under the rules of the Tax Assessment Act. Apparently, relatively few Islamic communities seem to make use of the Tax deduction possibility, while Christian religious communities and societies make far greater use of the possibility." (Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs 2006: 3).

²² "In September 2006, a Muslim cemetery was opened in Brøndby municipality near Copenhagen. This cemetery is owned and managed by Dansk Islamisk Begravelsesfond (Danish Islamic Funeral Foundation). Members of this foundation are about 25 Muslim communities and organisations. All Muslims in Denmark have the right to be buried at this cemetery". According to the same source there were at that same moment 10 special areas for Muslims in cemeteries managed by the Evangelical Lutheran Church and 5 areas in cemeteries managed by local governments (Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs 2006: 4).

²³ See www.familiestyrelsen.dk retrieved July 17, 2009. The registration counts 73 'Christian' communities (including a number that have an immigrant background indicated by a country of origin: Armenian, Russian and Rumanian Orthodox, Korean, Macedonian, etc.), 8 Buddhist, 8 Hindu and 3 Jewish.

settling matters pertaining to salaries and conditions of employment of the clergy and Church officers, employed as public servants. The Ministry must also approve the laying out of cemeteries for religious followers of other congregations and faiths.

Jørgensen (2009, 135) evaluates the relevance of this particular historical legacy of Church-State relations for the Islam in Denmark as follows:

“..we find a bit enigmatic that religious minority groups in Denmark have substantial rights in order to practice their religion. Practices as halal butchering for Moslems and Jews have been allowed since 1808. The citizens’ religious affiliation has not been registered since 1921 which indirectly points to a substantial freedom of religion. However, although the right to belief in a belief-system is equal for all, the rights of religious systems are not equal. The Lutheran Christian Church has a special status in Denmark as the official State Church; furthermore the head of the state must belong to the church (The Danish Constitution §4, §6). Other belief systems can seek to become ‘officially recognized belief systems’ that involves the right to marry and tax deduction among other things, but so far the only non-Christian belief system granted such status is the Mosaic belief system in Denmark. The reason is not direct discrimination but that the applicant belief system must conform to specific criteria involving a hierarchical structure, etc. This has created problems for many denominations, e.g. Moslems, Hindus who could not meet such criteria. In 1999 the Ministry of Church made a new set of guidelines making it possible to apply for a special status a recognized belief system with a limited set of rights, among these the right to perform marriages and create burial grounds. Both Moslem and Hindu religions have now acquired this status.”

2. Background information on the city and its integration policy

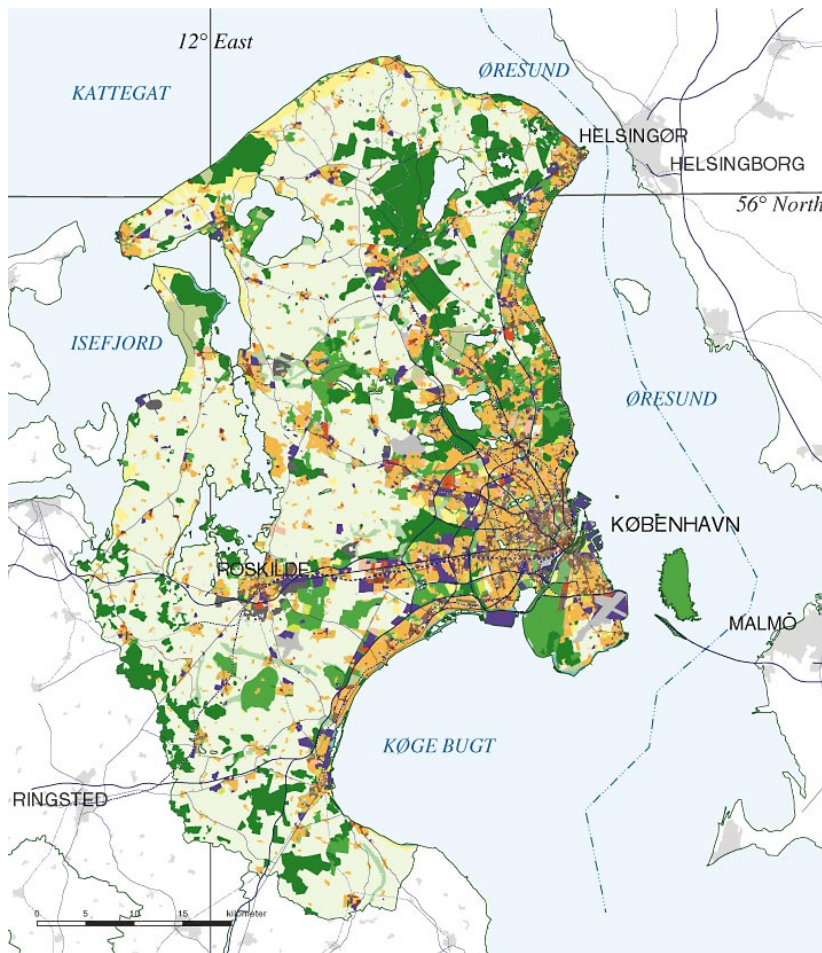
2.1. General structural data of the city

Copenhagen (literally Merchants’ Harbour) is situated on the eastern shore of the Øresund, the strait of water between Denmark and Sweden that connects the North Sea with the Baltic Sea. The city, founded in 1167, developed into an important trade city. During the Napoleonic wars Copenhagen was severely damaged in 1807, but recovery took place in the second half of the 19th century based on industrialisation, new crafts, trade and banking (Skifter Anderson et al. 2000).

Nowadays Copenhagen is the capital of Denmark and the country's political and financial centre, with 518,574 inhabitants as per January 1st, 2009. The limited physical size of the city – 91 km² - leads to a remarkable high population density of some 5,800 people per square kilometre. The economic profile of the city has changed significantly

in recent decades towards an international service based one: around the turn of the century the city had around 307,000 jobs, 28,000 of them in manufacturing industries, 48,000 in trade and tourism, and 191,000 in other services (Skifter Andersen et al. 2000, 15). Around 15% of the country's gross national product is produced in Copenhagen City. Among the larger and well-known companies are the Carlsberg Breweries, the Novo Nordisk pharmaceuticals, the Maersk shipping conglomerate, the Danisco conglomerate, and the FLS Industries.

Figure 1: Map of the City of Copenhagen and adjacent region.

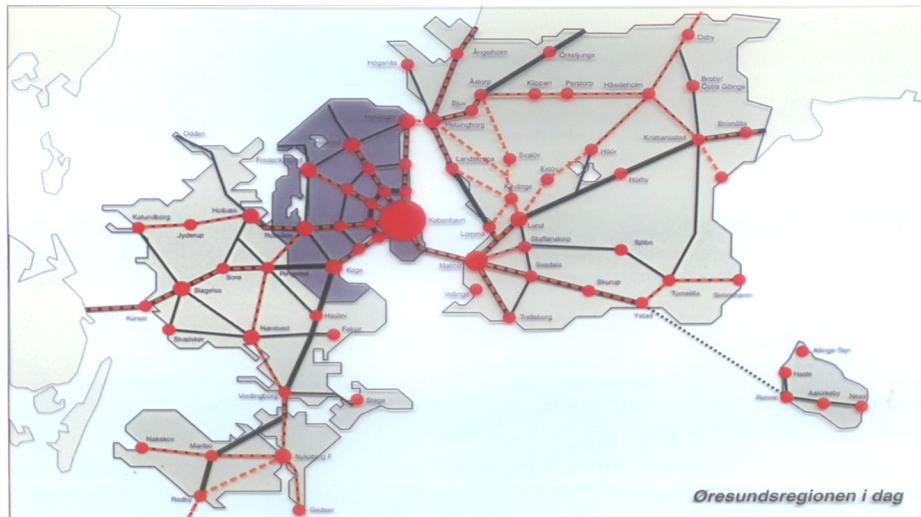


Source: Greater Copenhagen Authority

Together with the enclave municipality of Frederiksberg and 18 suburban municipalities, Copenhagen City used to form the Wider Territorial Unit for the Urban Audit, with a population of approximately 1.2 million inhabitants (23% of the country's population).

The Copenhagen Metropolitan Region, made up of the Wider Territorial Unit and the counties of Frederiksborg and Roskilde, constituted a still larger infrastructural and geographical entity with around one third of the country's population. This administrative structure has been changed as of January 1st, 2007 (see figure 2 below). Since 2000 the Øresund (railway and road) bridge connects Copenhagen with the south of Sweden, particularly Malmö, thereby creating a transnational economic Øresund zone, facilitating cooperation and exchange on all levels.

Figure 2: The new administrative division since 1-1-2007.



A few facts about Denmark and Copenhagen plus the surrounding region 2004-2005

	Area km ²	Number of Municipalities*	Dwellings 1.000	Population 1.000	Jobs 1.000
Municipality of Copenhagen	90	1	286	500	320
Copenhagen Region	2.900	29	900	1.830	980
Øresund Region	21.200	79	1.750	3.600	1.720
Danish part	9.800	46	1.200	2.440	1.230
Swedish part	11.400	33	550	1.160	490
Denmark	43.100	98	2.630	5.410	2.700

* 1.1.2007

2.2 *Municipal migration and integration – history and policy*

The growth of the national immigrant population as described before is reflected in the figures of Copenhagen, but on a significant higher proportional level: Copenhagen has always been the attraction pole for immigrants in Denmark. As per January 1st, 2009 67.548 of the 518.574 inhabitants were non-Danish citizens: 13,0 %. Alternatively, as per January 1st, 2008 103,907 of the 509,861 inhabitants of Copenhagen had a migration background (they themselves or their parents immigrated): 20,4 percent (www.sk.kk.dk).

Of all inhabitants 77,114 or 15,1 percent are immigrants in the narrow sense: born outside Denmark. 26,793 are children born to immigrants: 5.3 percent. The figures given in any recent policy documents, however, do not relate to immigrants as defined above, but to the target groups of policies: “immigrants, the descendants of immigrants and refugees from non-Western countries” (Ministry 2005a, 5), excluding Western immigrants and their children. This category counted 72,063 persons or 14.1 percent as per January 1st, 2008 (www.sk.kk.dk: Koncernservice).

Copenhagen’s integration policy has not escaped the general development and politicisation in the country described in par. 1.2. but the latest general municipal policy document entitled ‘Integration Policy’ (City of Copenhagen 2006) differs somewhat from the national documents in its framing and tone, thereby reflecting the different political orientation of the capital. Copenhagen’s vision in that document is summarised as follows: “Copenhagen will be an integrated city in which citizens are able to live together safely and securely, sharing a respect for diversity and common basic values such as freedom of speech, democracy and gender equality. Integration is a mutual process in which all citizens, irrespective of ethnic origin, create and form their society. Integration policy is designed to promote equal opportunities for all” (City of Copenhagen 2006, 5). Hints at ‘diversity’ and ‘the mutual process’ indicate the specific Copenhagen flavour of the policy, as compared to national policies. It is also more comprehensive than the national documents, including besides the classical topics of labour, education and housing also the domains of security, culture and leisure and health and care.

The three main principles of the city policy underline this: 1) integration is a joint responsibility; 2) integration requires diversity, and 3) integration must be attractive. These principles should be applied in five priority areas of policy for which concrete targets should be attained by 2010: employment, education and training, housing, safety and health and care services. However, the diversity requirement remains quite vague. The policy statement in the beginning of the document (p. 6) reads: “Ethnic diversity has the potential to improve Copenhagen’s status as a large city in a constantly changing, diversified world. The interaction of Copenhageners with different ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds makes the city a more rewarding place, and boosts the linguistic and cultural skills needed to face the challenge posed by globalisation.” In the rest of the document there is no translation of diversity as a positive contributor to integration or as part of policies. The concept ‘bilingual’ is used for children whose first language is not Danish; the policy is to teach Danish as early and as much as possible. The concept of

culture is translated in the document as greater participation in sports, and available culture and leisure activities. Religion is not mentioned even once in the 46 page document (apart from the reference to “religious backgrounds’ in the statement given above), not in a positive nor in a negative sense. It is obviously not part of the integration concept.²⁴

2.3. Organisation of integration policies in Copenhagen

The highest political authority within the city of Copenhagen is the City Council of 55 members, chosen for four years. The number of elected representatives with immigrant background is significant: based on the list of photo’s and names of chosen representatives in the 2002-2006 Council (City of Copenhagen 2002, p. 6-7) one can conclude that at least 9 of the 55 representatives probably have a migration background. They represent several parties. Jakob Hougaard, the mayor of the Employment and Integration Administration of the city of Copenhagen, reports in an interview that in the present Council 8 of 55 elected members have an immigrant background, of which 5 represent the Social-Democrat Party. It is remarkable, however, that these elected representatives of immigrant background were never mentioned by any interviewee²⁵. They do not seem to play a special role in discussions on integration.

The Council has a long tradition of being more left than the country as a whole. Since the 2005 elections the Social-Democrats have 21 seats, followed by Venstre (the Liberal Party) with 8 and the Socialist People’s Party and the Radical Venstre with each 7 seats. The Danish People’s Party that started in 1997 with 7 seats in the Council is now one of the smaller parties (2 seats), along with three more small parties.

²⁴ So there is no new official policy document in recent years (since 2006). When asked, the city reports three new policy programmes that signal the main direction of policy development. The first is the Hotspot programme (“Inspired by Amsterdam, Copenhagen has implemented a pilot area-based approach to crime prevention in 2009. It (..) aims at coordinating, evaluating and initiating projects addressing safety and crime prevention issues in a local area. A manager of Hotspot and 5 employees have been hired and are from February 1st working to coordinate the local problems”). The second is the Safety Index (“..measuring the safety of the citizens in Copenhagen in a triangular way by asking about reported crimes, exposure to crime and what crimes are judged most important in the neighbourhoods.” The index will be implemented in the summer of 2009. The third is an anti-radicalisation programme: “The city has decided to launch a targeted inclusion programme to prevent radicalisation and extremism by competence building of the front line staff. It will consist of a coordinating unit that will do phone counselling and advice as to the different methods possible and others available; a group of mentors that can help and support the front line staff in their work; it offers courses to help the front line staff in handling the challenge and arranging debates for the citizens about relevant issues. The programme will start in the summer of 2009.”

²⁵ The one exception to this was that civil servants of the Integration Office mentioned that one councillor, Hamid el Mousti, has been the motor behind a now established International Day, held in Copenhagen since 6 years: see chapter 5.

There are seven committees of this council. The first and most important one, chaired by the Lord Mayor, is 1) Finances; then there are six executive administrative departments, each having responsibility for a specific field: 2) Children and Youth; 3) Culture and Leisure; 4) Employment and Integration; 5) Health and Care; 6) Social Services; and 7) Technical and Environmental issues.

Before 2005 integration policies for immigrants had to be coordinated across these departments. After the elections of 2005 a special Office for Integration was formed, located in the new Department of Employment and Integration, in order to strengthen the coordination and implementation of policies. The Office for Integration monitors the implementation of the Integration Policy and cooperates with experts from other departments.

Copenhagen has an Integration Council since 1998. The Council used to consist of nominated representatives of ethnic organisations, experts and representatives of the social partners, housing corporations and education. The Council should a) 'attend to the interests of the ethnic minorities and act as their mouthpiece', and b) 'guide the politicians, the standing committees and the administration of the city on how to secure an efficient and coherent integration policy'. It is thus a consultative body with a specific domain. It advises directly to the City Council, the highest decision making body of the city.

The newest Council is different from the previous ones: it consists of 23 members. Fifteen of them are directly individually elected among the population of (non-Western) immigrant origin in officially organised elections²⁶ in November 2006. The other eight are nominated members from the social partners (Danish Industry and the Danish Confederation of Trade Unions), civil society (School and Society, the Federation of non-profit Housing Associations, the Danish Gymnastics and Sports Associations) and three 'experts'. Immigrant organisations as such are not involved.

²⁶ Notwithstanding a great investment of the city in the electoral procedure (making the lists of (non-Western) voters under conditions of protection of privacy, making different ways of voting possible, etc.) only 11,5 percent of potential voters actually voted. There have been complaints about too little information to the public and confusing messages and procedures. From circles of immigrants it is furthermore reported that the Council is not broadly accepted, partly because many do not feel represented and partly because the council is not seen as influential. The definition of who could vote was also a problem, since citizens with at least one parent with immigrant background could vote. This meant that a lot of citizens who already felt represented by the City Council did not want to take part in the elections. Other sources suggest that the low level of participation is also due to the fact that some local politicians have suggested abolishing the Council. (Since January 2004 such a local Council has become optional, while formerly it was an obligation (§ 42 of the 1999-law), if more than 50 adults of immigrant origin would request so).

Two elected members of the Integration Council that I interviewed (who both had chaired the Council) report that the functioning of the Council has been problematic in their eyes. Among the chosen members there is the feeling of not being taken seriously²⁷. The turnover in the Council is reportedly high: of the 21 members that started in 2006, ten have left in the meantime, five of which were elected members. The internal functioning is not stable: its first chairman after the elections stepped down and left the Council out of dissatisfaction briefly after I had interviewed him during my first field visit in February 2007. The chair was taken over by a Somali/Turkish duo. They in turn resigned and the trade union representative acts now as chair.

In 2007 the Council discussed and accepted a new model for its work to be implemented in 2008. It would take a more pro-active approach, working as a think-tank. However, that change did not seem to solve problems, at least not in the eyes of many members of the council. The Council is now being evaluated by an external bureau. A decision whether the Council will continue to exist after 2009 will be taken in June 2009.

3. The city's approach to intergroup relations and cultural and religious diversity: the framing in official policy documents and political statements

As it transpires from the general description of integration policies above, the city of Copenhagen does not have an explicit policy on intergroup relations and cultural and religious diversity. The city's policy is a) strongly focusing on socio-economic integration and participation in existing culture and leisure; b) directed towards individuals. Collectivities and organisations do not get a place in policies (as exemplified by the elections of members of the Integration Council); c) culture and religion of immigrants are not even mentioned, let alone defined as part of integration policies.

On the other hand, the city stresses that all citizens should be able to live together securely with respect for diversity and common fundamental values such as freedom of expression, democracy and equality. Therefore combating discrimination on the one hand and working to provide all Copenhagen residents with opportunities for participation in society's political, economic, business, social and cultural life on the other are important

²⁷ One of the ways that chosen members voice their critique (suggesting that the Integration Council has more a symbolic than a real function for local politics) is to refer to the unbalanced financial aspects: the city, they say, spent 3,5 million DK for the election of the Council and now they spend 250.000 DK more for an external evaluation, while the annual budget that the Council has to work on is only 150.000 DK.

elements of integration policy. These are anchored in an anti-discrimination agenda. Important actions in this agenda are to monitor discrimination and make it visible, combat discrimination in municipal services and promote equity in employment. This anti-discrimination agenda is implemented in cooperation with NGO's such as the Danish Institute for Human Rights. The organisation of this part of policies has been described elaborately in the earlier report on Diversity in Employment and Service Provision in Copenhagen (Penninx 2008).

In view of this specific official framing of integration policies both at the national and Copenhagen level, it is no wonder that the formal answers that we received from the city of Copenhagen on our elaborate questionnaire did not provide the information that it was supposed to deliver. A number of key questions on immigrant organisations and their official answers reflect this:

Some basic key questions and answers on Immigrant Organisations from the questionnaire:

Q.3-1: What is the city's general attitude towards ethnic or migrant organisations?

A.: *There is no general pattern or attitude towards ethnic or migrant organisations.*

Q. 3-4: What are the objectives of your city's policy towards the organisations named?

A.: *There are no clear objectives in the city's policy towards these organisations.*

Q.3-5: Are there activities by ethnic and religious (migrant) organisations which the city considers as a relevant support for the welfare of local migrant communities?

A.: *In the Danish context the state provides welfare and it is not left to the ethnic /religious organisations.*

Q.3-9: What are the major issues, demands and interests of (immigrant) groups?

A.: *Most ethnic/religious organisations are preoccupied with cultural or religious issues, as the Danish welfare model takes care of the social needs and education. There are occasionally initiatives to gather development aid. Sports are being taken care of on a voluntary basis, not related to ethnicity or religion.*

Q.3-10: What are the major demands and interests of ethnic and religious groups in your city?

A.: *There are very few actual demands not regarding the traditionally festive events. The three demands that can be said to be made on a regular basis are: 1) A mosque for Muslim worship, 2) influence on foreign policy, 3) separation of state and church.*

Q.3-11: Is there a specific position or policy of the city towards such demands?

A.: *There are no policies towards these demands, yet the VI KBH'R'-Campaign is supporting many of the festive and cultural events.*

Q.3-12: Does the city have any formal or informal regular and institutional contact with ethnic and religious organisations?

A.: *No.*

Q.3-15: Does the city have an explicit policy aimed at improving intercultural relations?

A.: *No – not a policy but a campaign (We Copenhageners) which has an intercultural approach to its goal to increase Copenhageners' sense of belonging to the city. The intercultural approach encompasses a joint working process together with different groups and associations when developing, organising and implementing activities within*

the framework of the campaign. The collaboration is from project to project and is not institutionalised in relation to the campaign.

Key questions on policies in relation to intergroup relations with faith-based communities received also answers that fit the secular character of immigrant policies:

Some basic key questions and answers on Intergroup Relations with faith-based Communities from the questionnaire:

Q.4-1: From the perspective of local integration policies, what migrant or minority religion is important?

A.: Jewish. This is mentioned as there are hate crimes and conflicts between certain citizens belonging to the Jewish society and citizens with Muslim background, which are important to solve for social cohesion to take place through integration policies.

Q. 4.2: What is the relative and absolute size of the population adhering to that religion?

A. We have no registration of this. It would be illegal according to the anti-discrimination law.

Q.4.11: What is the position of the city regarding the issues and interests (of both majority and minority population)?

A.: No position.

Q.4-12: Does the city have an explicit policy aimed at improving intercultural relations with religious groups?

A: No.

Q.4.13: Does the city have any formal or informal regular and institutionalised contact to these minority religion organisations?

A.: No, yet they are part of the resource group in VI HBH'R' (We Copenhageners).

Q.4-18: Does the city give support to the group (e.g. financial support, moral support, other resources, public space for religious symbols)?

A.: All organisations can apply for city support for events or other things.

Q.4-22: Are there activities by the religious group to improve intergroup relations in the city? Is the city encouraging or supporting such activities?

A.: If the organisations apply for support, they may get it and this is done regularly. Yet, we have no indications of results or measurements of success.

In the bloc of questions on Intergroup Relations and Radicalisation many questions remained simply unanswered, obviously because any form of official policy of the city is lacking. The ones that were answered reflect some awareness of problems, but little indication of policy intentions.²⁸

Some basic key questions and answers on Intergroup Relations and Radicalisation from the questionnaire:

Q.5.1: In the eyes of the city, are there any relevant forms of radicalisation in the local population that resent religious and/or ethnic minorities?

A.: There are certain rightwing movements that dislike immigrants and particularly Islam.

²⁸ Even the “Anti-radicalisation project of Copenhagen” that is being prepared now is not mentioned in any of the answers, maybe because it is not policy yet, but it could also be because it is seen as a project focused on individuals, in which organisations do not have a place.

Q. 5.2.: Is it mainly attitudes without being organised? Does it exist as informal networks, as political parties or formal organisations?

A: *There is little knowledge, but we believe that it is mostly informal networks and criminal gangs, although the rightwing does have formal organisations and (some would claim) established political parties.*

Q. 5.25: Is there radicalisation among migrants or minorities in your city? Is it mainly attitudes without being organised?

A.: *It is informal. Although Hizb ut-Tahrir is formally present.*

Q. 5.26: Does it affect integration and the social climate in the city?

A.: *It affects in the way that people are scared of this group and see them everywhere. This causes conflicts in itself and the group does by use of slogans and rallies, hate speech and pressure/discrimination.*

Q. 5.37: Are there organisations and groups in local civil society that are active against radicalisation among migrants?

A.: *Certain consultancies supply courses targeting this group, but no organisations or groups as such.*

Q. 5.39: Does the city cooperate with groups that address issues raised by radical groups among migrants?

A.: *Not presently, but should a relevant project arise, the city would.*

Q. 5.40: Are there groups among the migrants and minorities that actively mobilise against radicalisation among migrants or minorities?

A.: *Yes, certain, especially Muslim groups are active in this regard. They supply religious studies and arrange events debating the issue.*

The official answers to the questionnaire, as illustrated somewhat elaborately above, signal that the questions did not fit well into the Copenhagen framing of integration policies. In turn, because the questions are answered from an official perspective, they reflect the official framing of policies very strongly.

This preliminary conclusions led me to decide to change the research strategy in this module for Copenhagen. In order to get a picture of the relevant factors for (potential) policies of the City in relation to intergroup relations I decided collect additional material through interviews and available sources from research. The focus of that effort was to:

- 1) check my first (above) analysis of the 'framing' of the city's policies by using other sources than formal policy documents, particularly by interviewing the responsible mayor for these policies and the leader of the Danish People's Party in the Copenhagen Council;
- 2) interview a number of city civil servants involved in special projects that inevitably lead to contacts with immigrant groups and organisations to find out what relations exist between civil servants and immigrant organisations, religious or not.
- 3) try to get an impression of civil society in Copenhagen in general, and religious and immigrant organisations within civil society in particular. How civil society actors perceive the city government and its policies, and what initiatives in the field of intergroup relations are taken by these actors themselves. To answer such questions

interviews with the religious leaders such as the Chief Rabbi of Copenhagen, the Dean of the Evangelical Lutheran Cathedral in Copenhagen, and the most prominent Islamic leader, imam Pedersen are important sources.

4. The framing of integration policies and intergroup relations in politics.

To understand better the framing of integration policies in Copenhagen, I interviewed two important actors in policy making: the first one is Carl Christian Ebbesen, elected representative for the Danish People's Party in the Copenhagen Council since 2001, and collaborator of the Parliamentary Bureau of the DPP. The second one is Jakob Hougaard, Mayor of the Employment and Integration Administration of the city of Copenhagen and responsible for (the coordination of) Integration Policies of the city and member of the Social-Democrat Party. The essential elements of their views on immigrants and related policies are the following.

Ebbesen's and DPP's views on immigrants and integration

The starting point of Ebbesen's diagnose is that immigrants in Denmark and Copenhagen form parallel societies; they do not live an independent life; the Danish welfare state pays them.

Since 2001 the central focus of DPP has been "to break down these parallel societies". The dominant argument that the Party uses is: "if you want to get payment of the Danish state, you need to learn Danish, get educated and get a job".

This general problem of immigrants is even bigger within Muslim groups: women stay at home, do not go outside, and do not participate in society. "We need to break that circle by obliging them to learn Danish and to work outside." Ebbesen explains this further by stating that "Denmark has the highest participation rate in the labour market in Europe, a development since the late 1960s. Women participation is high. That is why we have right now this discussion on making kindergarten and preschool teaching to immigrant women an obligation. The reason why we have so much trouble with immigrants is their lack of education. We have a system in which it is common to send children to kindergarten from the age of three. We want that to be obligatory for immigrants. If we do that, we still have one problem left: families that do not enjoy state benefits, because we cannot force them."

Ebbesen finds the 2006 Copenhagen Integration Policy document “not good enough. We need stronger mandatory measures, particularly for learning the Danish as early as possible.”

In Ebbesen’s view, immigrant organisations are essentially part of parallel societies. That is why he does not believe that giving money to them solves the problem. Rather on the contrary. It is not groups or civil society that will solve the problem. His preference is to work with formulas such as Hot Spot (a project embedded within the safety and security chapter of policies that tries to locate and solve conflicting and insecure persons and situations by a cooperation of several departments of the city government): “that makes several departments of city such as education and welfare, work together on problems.”

In Ebbesen’s view integration policies is essentially a political fight: “when immigrants come to Denmark, we should try to make them accept Danish culture and combat those elements that do not fit into Danish culture”. In that sense “we are not in dialogue”, although we do have to respect the standard rights and freedoms. Asked what the specific things are that should be combated, his answer is: “the status of women and the free choice of girls”.

It is remarkable that Ebbesen does not refer to religion or Islam directly during the whole interview, only indirectly, for example when referring to specific treatment of women that can be frequently found in Islamic communities.

Mayor Hougaard’s views on immigrants and integration

When asked what the most important general goal of Integration Policies is, he answers: “People should have options to meet each other”. In implementing that goal, the policy should focus on “every day life meeting. That leads to a strong focus on housing and the place where people live: segregation is then a worry for us. People that share a low class status live together there. But it also leads to schools and the educational situation. More mixing and desegregation are important policy goals. The policy of promoting that mixing by ‘placement’ of certain pupils in certain schools has not been successful yet.”

“Where does civil society come into integration policies?” The first answer of the mayor is that Copenhagen has a rich mosaic of civil society. But the mayor explains immediately that the city mobilises that civil society in a specific way: “Each of the ten districts of Copenhagen has a local committee to organise cultural meetings locally. There is a budget of 5 million DK for that. Each committee has nominated

representatives of 7 political parties and 17 local organisations. In these committees dialogue takes place on local problems, for example of the local library.” They organise debates locally. “I do not see these committees as representing the district, but as a local mobilising force. They do not have administrative functions.” No mention is made of immigrant organisations in the committees.

When it comes to representation of immigrants, Hougaard’s view is that the elected Integration Council is in principle meant for that. But in reality he has found, that the Council has the wrong tasks, is a detour rather than a steppingstone for immigrants and has no real representative justification. The latter, the mayor concludes, because the election itself has not been a success and participation was low: only 13 percent of the non-Western population. On the basis of the experience until now the mayor sees a need to change the Council. In his view the function of the Council should be to help in formulating and implementing integration policies. “The Council should be a knowledge driven advisor to the city. Apart from that, on a different level, the Council should contribute to building trust. In the first phase this did not happen: it looked like a formalistic, ritualised body that had some formal involvement. But it should actually generate a general feeling among immigrants to be involved.”

As for the coordinating role of his department he states that it is “difficult to coordinate seven mayors of different departments. What we mainly do is make things visible by monitoring (the Integration Barometer) and developing initiatives. The Integration Office has limited funding: we need other mayors for cross-department initiatives.” But the mayor finds that “a coordinating department for integration is the best solution rather than the administrative coordination we have now – at least if we can not have a parliamentary structure with cabinet responsibility which is based on a political agenda and political control.”

The mayor states that the city of Copenhagen has found inspiration for new approaches in integration policies from the city of Amsterdam. On the one hand, the ‘We Copenhageners-project was inspired by the We Amsterdammers campaign. Also the new policy on combating radicalisation is inspired by Amsterdam.”²⁹

Although the two interviewees have a very different diagnosis of what the integration problem is, it is remarkable that their practical implementation ideas do have some basic features in common. Firstly, integration policies are supposed to be directed towards (a

²⁹ We will see later that both programmes have been adapted somewhat to fit into the overall Copenhagen integration policy.

category of) individuals; in the strongly area-based policy of the mayor, individuals should be able to meet others; in Ebbesen's view, individuals should be made independent from the state by obliging them learn the Danish way of doing things.

Secondly, immigrant organisations are thus not seen as a potential partners in integration processes; they are either neglected (Hougaard) or seen as a threat because they reinforce parallel societies (Ebbesen); 'representation' is supposed to take place through elected individuals;

Thirdly, integration policies should be implemented primarily through the city's departments and their institutionalised implementation units; civil society is not perceived as an important or necessary partner.

Fourthly, religion itself is not supposed to play any role in the city's policy, and religious organisations are not seen as relevant for policies.

5. City policy practitioners and civil society

Interviewed civil servants of the city (within the Integration Office and outside it) agree in general that "we are weak in relations with civil society". Asked why, they explain that an important reason is that the city has a lot of formal rules in getting in civil society actors in the implementation of policies. It also has to do with the fact that the city (institutions) itself are held primarily responsible (and hold themselves responsible) for policies and services³⁰. This was also expressed in one of the official answers to the questionnaire: "*In the Danish context, the state provides welfare and it is not left to the ethnic /religious organisations.*")

In practice, the consequence is ambivalence. On the one hand, there are many possibilities for civil society organisations to apply for subsidies for projects that fit into policies of the different departments of the city administration. Any organisation may apply and get subsidies for such projects. The content of the project is decisive, not the characteristics of the organisation that applies. Furthermore, the city is 'passive', in the sense that it simply awaits applications and evaluates them in a non-discriminatory way, but does not solicit such applications.

³⁰ Some of our interviewees signal a trend of 'privatisation' of specific tasks by the city. They add to that that this takes primarily place with private firms, professional institutions and sometimes NGO's. The case of language training is given as an example. Immigrant organisations, however, are not seen as candidates for such privatisation.

On the other hand, there seem to be specific consequences for integration policies and immigrant organisations. Firstly, this system of subsidising projects is applied in specific ways in different departments (like education or sports and leisure). Through the Integration Office, the City is increasingly making an effort to keep track of integration projects across the city, and it has recently been decided that uniform funding and evaluation criteria should be applied across the different departments. However, not all integration projects are registered in the data base of the Integration Office (*the Project Bank*), and differences in funding procedures certainly exist between departments. Secondly, from the perspective of immigrant organisations, this situation implies quite a long way of learning the trade of applying and getting subsidies under the right headings and in the right format. This was confirmed by interviews with two ‘entrepreneurial’ immigrants in Copenhagen (Nasib Farah and Abdul Wahid Pedersen) whose activities for immigrant groups are to a great extent financed by national or city subsidies, and sometimes by private foundations. They were both aware that there are a lot of possibilities to get certain activities - in some cases also in the sphere of the social function of religion - financed by national and local government, but that it takes a lot of knowledge how to do it successfully and it is always temporary funding. Several informants (civil servants, civil society organisations and researchers) estimate that the system makes immigrant and their organisations profit less from it (see also Jørgensen 2009: 137).

The integration Office has obviously become aware of these specific relations (or the absence of it) with the immigrant part of civil society. The Office has created a special Task Force in 2007 of 4 civil servants (two of them anthropologists) that should act as “link between the central administration and the field of integration”, in the words of two of these workers. Their mission is to find out what barriers exist in the relations between the target group and the administration, to find out what works successfully and to help both immigrants and their organisations, and administrative departments with practical solutions. They sometimes do also tasks for the Integration Office itself, when relations ‘in the field’ are important, such as the organisation of diversity manifestations in the city. The practitioners of the task force stressed that their work is typically ‘low key work’. They go out in the field (supposedly in contradistinction to civil servants that work from their official desks) and report back to the Integration Office.

One of the great advantages that the Task Force workers see in their job is that they may develop projects that fit in well within their specific task. Two of these projects in which their linking role is important, will be discussed here briefly.

5.1. The We Copenhageners-project

The VI KBH'R'-campaign, as it is originally called in Danish, is a three-year-project "to show the diversity in the city and make more Copenhageners feel accepted as equal citizens. We are all a part of a unity. We are all Copenhageners". The campaign, started in 2008, has two goals:

- 1) to strengthen inclusion and dialogue between citizens of the city;
- 2) to highlight and celebrate the city's diversity.

The key words/indicators of the campaign are: trust building, solidarity and participation. A resource group of 13 key persons is established³¹, a number of publicity activities have been organised. Concrete projects within the campaign are International Day, Dialogue benches (sponsored by companies), an Eid reception, a poetry competition and photo competition.

A most important instrument of the campaign ("to ensure ownership and local embeddedness") is a fund, called the VI KHB'R'-pool, that makes subsidies available (1 million DK for 2008) for events that show the city's diversity and are open for all citizens. Cultural and religious events that are already existent can also receive sponsorship, if they rethink their events in such a way that make more Copenhageners interested in participating. The larger projects (asking more than 30.000 DK of subsidy) should fulfil four conditions:

- a) they must highlight the fact that Copenhagen is a divers city;
- b) they must be based on cross-cultural cooperation;
- c) the activity must be locally anchored by including other local associations than the applier;
- d) the activity must be open for all citizens.

The We Copenhageners-campaign seems to have a rather ambivalent place in integration policies of the city as described earlier. On the one hand, the city refers to contributions that the city makes towards celebrating cultural diversity and cultural

³¹ This resource group represents in the words of the city the stakeholders in society: "Youth, headmaster of a school, the Institute of Human Rights, the Police, an ex-rabbi, a Christian priest, the Muslim Council, a social scientist, a business association representative, ethnic employers association, director of a theatre and a social street worker".

heritage, like the well established International Day “in which 52 associations participated last year”. It refers to support for “exhibitions displaying the history and life of minority groups both in classical museum institutions and within the framework of the We Copenhageners-campaign” and even to interreligious dialogue through a specific project within the We Copenhageners-campaign called ‘Open Roofs’. This sub-project has the objective of “creating a better understanding between religious and non-religious groups by inviting each other in and displaying the commonalities and differences in the rituals connected to life and death” in the Jewish, Muslim and Christian religion.

On the other hand, the city is engaged in such activities in a very specific way and with specific goals (as transpires from the quotations above), and stresses that the campaign is not an integral part of policies:

No, (Copenhagen does not have an intercultural) policy but a campaign (We Copenhageners) which has an intercultural approach to its goal to increase Copenhageners’ sense of belonging to the city. The intercultural approach encompasses a joint working process together with different groups and associations when developing, organising and implementing activities within the framework of the campaign. The collaboration is from project to project and is not institutionalised in relation to the campaign.

5.2. *The Anti-Radicalisation project in preparation*

Within the Integration Office plans have been developed for an Anti-Radicalisation project in Copenhagen. The ideas for such a project are generated within that part of the Office that occupies itself primarily with ‘safety’.³² The leader of this project in the making has the official title of ‘coordinator of targeted inclusion and prevention of radicalisation and extremism’.

The headlines of the project, as it has been developed so far, is that it is targeted at locations where the problem is and at agents that handle the groups (teachers, social workers, local police, a strongly area-based approach that fits in with the one that mayor Houggaard outlined in chapter 4). A major part of the planned activities goes under the heading of awareness raising: it will offer phone counselling, awareness courses for civil servants, debates, etcetera. It is foreseen that a group of mentors will be created that will act as guiders of discussion, contact and support persons. Furthermore, special courses for city personnel will be organised to learn how to recognise signs of radicalisation and

³² One of the civil servants commented in an interview: “Crime has become an integration issue here, especially immigrant crime. Politics has defined it that way. And it attracts funds...”.

know how to act upon it. The plans for the project will be decided upon by the City Council in June 2009.

In comparison to policies and plans in Amsterdam in this same field, the Copenhagen plans focus strongly on the civil servant agents. Whether expertise from and links into immigrant communities and organisations will be part of the project is not mentioned.

6. Immigrant organisations in Copenhagen

6.1. Outline of immigrant organisations³³

Immigrants in Denmark started to found their own organisations since the beginning of the 1970s in significant numbers, but a real boost - in terms of new organisations established each year - took place between 1980 and 1995. Most of these organisations were ethno-national associations having often culture in their name. In the early 1990s they diversified: women and youth organisations, sport clubs, etc. As a result nearly 500 organisations of immigrants could be counted in the period 1995-2000, of which some 65 percent was based in Copenhagen itself. The strong increase of organisations in the 1980s and early 1990s was clearly related to the positive attitude of the national and local government to immigrant organisations and the availability of subsidies. Mikkelsen's historical research³⁴ shows that in these heydays of immigrant organisation the state and municipalities financed 40 % of the total budget of these organisations. Until 2001, the city of Copenhagen had a clearly supportive policy towards immigrant organisations. That changed, however, after 2001.

The result of these developments is that, on the one hand, there is still a rich mosaic of immigrant organisations in Denmark and Copenhagen. On the other hand, the total number of immigrant organisations has stabilised on a level that is somewhat lower than in the late 1990s. The number of newly established associations has dropped and the level of activity has gone down.

From the beginning of the 1980 there have been umbrella organisations that also functioned as counterparts for governments: IND-Sam was the first in 1982. The early

³³ This section is strongly based on an interview with Flemming Mikkelsen and his publication on immigrant organisations in Denmark (Mikkelsen 2008, chapter 7, pp. 110-127)

³⁴ Based on the comprehensive archives of the Ministry of Interior that kept all files of applications of immigrant organisations; the total data base of Mikkelsen has 800 organisations in the period between 1965 and 2005.

1990s saw even an umbrella of organisations in which youngsters were dominant: POEM established in 1993-4). “They both had a clear voice, their influence being dependent on the colour of the government”. The change of policy by the liberal government since 2001 had severe consequences: financial support on the national level was practically abolished. Only project subsidies for certain activities have remained. The old umbrella organisations IND-Sam and POEM have closed themselves in the meantime in 2003 and 2004. In the vacuum, two new (competing) Islamic umbrella organisations have taken over (in 2006 and 2007: see 6.2).

Mikkelsen states that – as a consequence of support in earlier phases and probably also as a consequence of the strong public discourse, most of the organisations (some 60 %) calls themselves ‘cultural organisations’, which does not mean that they may not also have political or religious goals and activities. As a dominant trend through time, he sees a continuity of religious organisations and an increase of organisations for specific categories, like women and youth³⁵. He estimates that support that organisations receive from “the lowest levels of policy (i.e. departments of the city) is important for the survival of organisations”. He sees also a tension between official policies and implementation. “So you can easily find situations in which subsidies for religious organisations are made available, the compromise being for example that for rent subsidy certain square meters are subtracted from the subsidy as being for religious activities.”

6.2. Religious organisations in Copenhagen

The general picture of religious organisations in Denmark given in par. 1.3, is more or less applicable in Copenhagen. The Evangelical Lutheran Church is the most important one: out of 518.574 inhabitants of the city on January 1st, 2009 317.525 or 61,2 % were registered as Lutheran. The ‘People’s Church’ has 78 churches in Copenhagen.

According to the Chief Rabbi of Copenhagen³⁶ there are some 6000 people of Jewish descent (having a Jewish mother) in Denmark, 95 % of them living in Copenhagen. There are three streams within Judaism in Denmark. The largest is the Mosaic Faith Society, having some 2200 members. Then there is the small progressive Shir Hatzafon Association and a small orthodox Machsike Hadas Association.³⁷

³⁵ Jørgensen additionally observes that in recent years a new type of migrant organisations emerges that seeks independence of public funding and employs a discourse that emphasises labour market participation and the benefits of diversity management. Foreninge O.N.E. is one example (Danish-Turkish organisation).

³⁶ Interview with Chief Rabbi, Bent Lexner d.d. March 16, 2009.

³⁷ Shir Hatzafon would have 100 members; Machsike Hadas 200 members.

The development of Muslim organisations is rather recent.³⁸ In the earliest phase, before 1980, Muslims organised themselves as one group across their nationalities. In the period 1980-1985, however, they started to split up in national groups establishing their own mosques and their own schools³⁹.

After 1985 there have been several attempts to establish an umbrella organisation of Muslim organisations as an interest group, but it never really got off the ground. It was only after the cartoon crisis in 2006 that awareness of the necessity had grown and a select group of (now 13) organisations established the Muslim Council of Denmark. This organisation has been, according to Pedersen, 'recognised' in several ways. It also received project subsidies from the city of Copenhagen and from the National Government. (One of such subsidised projects is a campaign, presently implemented, against discrimination of Jews and Muslims.)

A year later, in 2007, a second umbrella, the Islamic Union of Denmark, was established, but it did not really consolidate itself yet, according to Pedersen. The two competing umbrella's are obviously based on rivalling streams within Islam, sometimes even country-of-origin bound forms of Islam. The Turkish state-oriented Diyanet, for example, is member of the Muslim Council of Denmark, while the Turkish Milli Görüş organisation is member of the Islamic Union.

According to Pedersen there are at the moment "at least 40 mosques (i.e. praying rooms for Muslims) in the Greater Copenhagen Area. Some of them are officially registered (which needs to be done if you want to receive subsidies), others are not."

Hindu and Buddhist organisations are scarce, as is information about them. As we have seen 8 organisations have been registered in Denmark for each of these religions. It is assumed that most of these are located within Copenhagen.

7. Relations between groups and with the city

³⁸ This section is strongly based on interviews with Abdul Wahid Pedersen and Flemming Mikkelsen (see also Mikkelsen 2008, chapter 7, pp. 110-127).

³⁹ Pedersen stresses that in the Danish context Islam has started early to organise themselves around schools. In Denmark (primary) schools that comply to State rules, may establish schools that are for 85 % of their budget subsidised by the government. They are not Islamic schools in the formal sense, "but private schools with Muslims children. These resort directly under the Ministry". The first one was established in 1982/3. Pedersen: "I have been involved in the establishment of three primary schools in Copenhagen: a Pakistani one that still exists, a Turkish one (a Milli Görüş school now) and a Somali school ("which was closed after it was taken over by Salafi's". Because they pay, so says Pedersen, parents do have high expectations from school. However, the Danish environment has become very hostile to these schools.

In order to get an impression of how religious organisations perceive policies of the city of Copenhagen and how they look at relations between faith groups in the city and what activities are actually undertaken, I use in this chapter three interviews with religious leaders: Chief Rabbi, Bent Lexner, the vice-bishop and dean at the Cathedral of the Lutheran Church in Copenhagen, Anders Gadegård, and Abdul Wahid Pedersen, Imam in Copenhagen.⁴⁰ I quote extensively from the interviews in order to do justice to their perspectives in the issues.

The Chief Rabbi of Copenhagen

The Chief Rabbi explains that the Jewish community in Copenhagen is relatively small but well established. It has a rich variety of organisations in all kind of fields: there are special clubs for women, youngsters, elderly and for sports, handicraft associations, etc. Some of these are also for special groups of origin, such as the Polish-Jewish elderly and youth club.

When asked about relations with the city, the first answer is: there are no relations with the city. When asked whether Jewish organisations are financially supported by the city, however, many of the mentioned organisations do get some support from the city for their activities. “That is the normal support that any organisation may get; it is not based on ethnicity or being Jewish. The general requirements are applicable”. The Chief Rabbi gives an example of how such support for their activities may lead to interesting negotiations and contacts with the executive departments of the city:

The Jewish community has taken the initiative to build a special Jewish home for elderly in Copenhagen. In the negotiations with the Welfare Department of the city, responsible for elderly care, an interesting solution was found for the financing: the city would pay the general costs of the building, but the Jewish community would bear the extra costs such as those for creating a kosher kitchen and other facilities that related to typically Jewish requirements.

“We have a long tradition of deliberations and compromises with the city, among other about provisions in hospitals. These are informal contacts. On the executive level, the city is keen to avoid precedents. But on the political level we have good contacts and close connections. If necessary I can call upon the mayor for such things. In that sense we are privileged.”⁴¹

⁴⁰ The interviews were held on March 16-18, 2009.

⁴¹ I ran into a good example of such close, but informal political connections: the first thing that the Chief Rabbi told me when I arrived at his house for the interview was: “that we had only an hour for our conversation, because the Minister for Integration would come to pay him an unexpected visit on an urgent matter within an hour.”

As to relations between different faith groups in Copenhagen, the Chief Rabbi reports that there are very few formal contacts with the Lutheran Church or with Islam, but there are incidental contacts and sometimes even cooperation. Some time ago there has been an initiative to establish 'dialogue meetings', but that has not been very successful. One of the more interesting forms of cooperation has been a project on schools in the Nørrebro-district that functions some 5 years now: "Jews, Muslims and Christians go out together and discuss interfaith questions and relations. The Palestinian question, for example, had raised all kind of questions that have to be dealt with. In working together on this, more awareness is raised, also within the Jewish community. Schools really open up through this activity."⁴² Lexner also refer to "a discussion that took place this weekend in the framework of the We Copenhagen campaign that focused on combating anti-Semitism and anti-Islamism".

On an informal level there are also frequent contacts with the Lutheran Church, particularly invitations from that church to give lectures on Judaism. The Chief Rabbi knows the Lutheran bishop personally.

The dean of the Lutheran Cathedral

The Lutheran church is aware of its specific position in Denmark and Copenhagen and the question how 'new religions' fit into Danish society has been a topic in the course of time. The Dean has a clear philosophy on this: "We hope to support the Muslims to establish a Danish Islam. Just like Lutheranism has become Danish. It would be important to establish a Danish Imam Education. Nowadays, imams are imported and then you may also import more radical streams. But at the moment there is no political will in Danish politics to do this. The faculty of Theology here in Copenhagen is ready for it. Prof. Nielsen, a specialist in Islam, prepared it all".

He also indicates concrete forms of action based on that principle. Firstly, the dean is chairman of the national Council of Churches. That Council has a Contact Committee with Muslims, actually with the present two umbrella organisations: the Muslim Council and the Union of Muslims. "Two basic issues are discussed there. The first is how to ensure that other religions acquire a legal position in Denmark, and the second is how to improve opportunities for meetings with each other." One of the main goals is also "to respond together to crises situations".

⁴² The project is implemented by volunteers, so there are only organisational costs. Part of these costs is financed by the National Government.

The national Council of Churches has also a Committee that is working on the equality of churches. A particular issue is that of tax deduction and Church Tax. According to the Dean the committee is “close to a solution”: the idea for that solution is that, if new churches may wish so, they may also use the Church Tax system, but this right is counterbalanced by requirements and obligations. The Dean is optimistic on this new development.

On relations with the city of Copenhagen, he explains that the Lutheran Church has a lot of organisations that are active in social work of all kinds, such as Kindergarten, work for the homeless, drug addicts, elderly and youth. “Much of that work cannot exist without the support of the city”. But in principle that support from the city is acquired on the same conditions as other groups get it.

Interestingly, the Dean mentions that the Church does play a significant role in resisting the restrictive policy practice of immigration. There has been a long and ongoing debate on asylum seekers and illegals, in which some pastors and parishes have taken explicit positions by organising reception for them and providing facilities, and sometimes even hiding them. One of the pastors has been sentenced for hiding illegals in the past. However, such action is not strictly church action: the Church itself has no official opinion on these matters.⁴³ The decentralised character of the Lutheran church allows some to take such positions.

The Dean remarks that “we do not have a Religion Council in Copenhagen⁴⁴. But what happened within the We Copenhageners Campaign was that a committee of religious leaders was formed with the former Chief Rabbi⁴⁵, the Dean and Imams. That would help particularly some projects in the campaign that explicitly involved religions, such as the Open Roofs project in which churches and prayer facilities of all religions were opened up to receive visitors. So the Dean’s conclusion is ”that the city of Copenhagen is trying seriously to mobilise the religious part of civil society, particularly last year. The number of initiatives and their effect is still modest though.” Asked what the Dean would expect for the future, he says: “I have not looked to the city in these matters so far, but I would like to. It is good that we all promote that groups are brought

⁴³ An outside observer saw two opposite movements within the Lutheran Church: one on the right wing that takes more explicit stances, also in religious debates, and one that is more engaged in immigrant and refugee questions (supporting clandestine immigrants and asylum seekers).

⁴⁴ The Dean suggests that mayor Hougaard has been criticised by political representatives like Karen Jespersen, because he would include “radical organisations”. That is why he would have cancelled the process of formally bringing religious leaders together.

⁴⁵ The former Chief Rabbi, Bent Melchior, has a reputation of taking strong stances on discrimination. Reportedly, he said publicly that antisemitism exists, but is low, but that the real problem of the moment is the discrimination of Muslims. “His mission is all dialogue”, one informant said.

together, not excluding groups in advance. We should be courageous. But I do not expect the mayor for Integration to take the initiative. Except for the field of safety and security: to combat radicalisation you should try to unite the Muslims and work with them”.

As for contacts between different religions, the Dean reports also earlier initiatives for inter-religious dialogue in Copenhagen than the recent ones mentioned above. There was an initiative of the Study and Research Centre in Nørrebro that the Lutheran Church has responded to. The basic idea was to explore commonalities between Christians and Muslims.

Views of Imam Abdul Wahid Pedersen

Pedersen is a native Danish Muslim who has been involved for decades in the fight for recognition of Islam in Denmark on the one hand, and in organising the complicated field of Islamic organisations in Denmark on the other. He is an imam (recognised by the State⁴⁶) and manages a prayer room and small shop in which he sells spiritual literature. He clearly represents a kind of mainstream Islam that should fit into a modern Western world and that should also be attractive for young people.

The first thing that Pedersen notes is that he is doing this work in an environment that has become very hostile in Denmark. This is reflected in political circles in which some politicians and political parties take stances that are very hostile to Islam⁴⁷. But the public image of Islam and the debates on it are also very much dominated by Danish media that play the anti-Muslim card. Nevertheless, there are also good examples, even in the media, like a programme on radio 1 that has nuanced debates on religious matters. In general, he sees that the negative image created in the media is only one part of Danish reality. “I am a high profile target in these matters. But I am happy to live here in this ghetto (Nørrebro, rp). I feel safe here and I have good relations with the police”.

His work in trying to get Islam in Denmark organised has involved himself in several initiatives to establish Islamic schools in Copenhagen, but first and foremost he has been engaged in bringing the different Islamic organisations together. That started already in 1982 when the first Danish Organisation of Muslims was established (which disintegrated around 1990). In the late 1990s, Pedersen was again involved in a movement that tried to bring imams together to establish “an Islamic practice that was

⁴⁶ During the long interview session a couple entered the shop to register their official divorce of a marriage that he had concluded earlier.

⁴⁷ He refers among others to a special website that has collected public statements that can be characterised as discriminatory and even as hate speech: www.humanisme.dk.

based in a Danish context, in Danish language (for prayer and preaching) and with people that consider themselves Danes. We wanted to define what Islam in Denmark should look like”. In 1987, he was also involved in the establishment of the Islamic Relief Organisation that engaged in concrete project of orphan homes, schools and development in countries of origin⁴⁸. The presently most successful umbrella that Pedersen is involved in, is the Muslim Council of Denmark, established in 2006, shortly after the cartoon crisis. The council brings together presently 13 Islamic organisations (some of which themselves are umbrella organisations, such as the Diyanet).

In Pedersen’s perception, this new Muslim Council has been ‘recognised’⁴⁹ by both the state and the city of Copenhagen in several ways: they receive subsidies from the state and the city for certain concrete projects. (One of them is a joint project with other religions against discrimination of Jews and Muslims). “The Council is also consulted in many ways by many partners.” This latter statement, however, was not confirmed in any of the contacts with city policy makers, as we have seen above. Such recognition and contacts with the city are indirect and informal, mostly taking place at the lowest level of policy implementation.

When it comes to contacts and cooperation with other religions, Pedersen reports that discussions have taken place with the Lutheran Church on a number of practical issues, among them the issue of registration through the Lutheran Church Offices. These were unofficial discussions, at least in the sense that government was not involved in it. In terms of common public action, relations with the Jewish community have been built up recently, particularly around the topic of combating anti-Semitism and Islamophobia. “At the moment we are establishing a platform for Jews and Muslims”.

The general picture from these interviews is that formal and institutionalised contacts and cooperation with the city is systematically avoided (by the city), but at the level of implementation cooperation exists: strongly with the Jewish and Lutheran community, to a lesser degree with Muslim communities.

Although there is not an institutionalised form of dialogue or cooperation, a number of initiatives and common activities of religious organisations and their leaders have been undertaken and are still ongoing. The city is not an active partners or even a promoter of this. Sometimes the city finances part of these activities.

⁴⁸ The organisation was closed in 2005 after false allegations according to Pedersen, and re-established as Danish Muslim Aid afterwards.

⁴⁹ It has been ‘recognised’ in the formal and legal sense, because the organisation is registered as a religious association. What is meant here, is the factual recognition as partner in civil society.

8. Conclusions

To understand relations between culturally and religiously different groups in Denmark and policies in this field, three basic features of Danish society should be kept in mind.

Firstly, Denmark is a country that understands itself primarily as a culturally and religiously homogeneous country. This perception is not only generally confirmed by Danish researchers in this field (Anderson 2006; Hedetoft 2006; Jørgensen 2009; Mikkelsen 2008), it is also confirmed by the strength of political mobilisation around the topics of immigration (tough restrictiveness, particularly towards immigrants perceived as culturally and religiously different) and integration (strong insistence on compliance with what is regarded as crucial “Danish values” in both integration and naturalisation policies). The Danish People’s Party has played an important role in this mobilisation since the mid-1990s on the one hand by channelling and mainstreaming claims of earlier more extremist groups in Denmark (thereby reducing their significance: see Mikkelsen forthcoming) and on the other hand by having a strong and obviously irresistible influence on most other political parties in Denmark, when it comes to immigration and integration of immigrants.

Secondly, institutional legacies of the past in the field of religion seem to reinforce this idea of homogeneity. The country has a “National Church of Denmark”, being the Evangelical-Lutheran Church. A large majority of Danes is formally member of that church. Although there is freedom of religion in the country both in terms of individual choice and the opportunity to form congregations for the worship of God, the factual arrangements of relations between the National Church and State gives the Evangelical-Lutheran Church a very privileged position, among others by enabling it to collect Church tax and by factually doing the population registration for the State. That same church is (historically and as a consequence of its privileged position) also a dominant actor in Danish civil society.

Thirdly, Denmark is a welfare state in a rather pronounced form. It has inclusive policies, not only for its citizens, but for all legal residents. The key fields of activity of the welfare state are defined as the hard fields of Labour en Income, Housing, Education, Health and Welfare. Culture and religion are not included as relevant fields of activity in integration policies. Equality and equal treatment of individuals are keywords in the

political discourse and policies. Combating unequal treatment and discrimination – again at the individual level - is thus also a logical priority.

Based on these three specific features, Danish immigration and integration policies have developed a specific flavour in a European comparative perspective. Immigration, particularly from non-Western countries, is predominantly seen as a possible threat to the welfare state on the one hand and in recent years also as a threat to Danish identity and values (mirrored in the discussions on 'parallel societies'). Immigrants of the Islamic faith are often singled out in public discourse as difficult to integrate, although official documents – on the principle of non-discrimination and on a particular conception of the (non-)place of religion in state policies – will never do this explicitly. Immigration policies are thus very restrictive, particularly for categories of immigrants that are perceived as embodying such threats. Official integration policies are based on a particular combination of three principles: a) they are targeted at specific, problematic individuals, identified and named by general socio-economic criteria, not by the ethnic, cultural or religious characteristics; b) they are formulated in general principles of equality; c) they are strongly oriented towards specific domains of work, education and housing. The combination of these principles leads to ambivalence – from the point of view of immigrant integration policies – on the target groups (immigrant is not the defining characteristic, but problematic characteristics of some of them; this is translated into the statistical category of non-western immigrants); it also leads a specific vision on the domains of culture, language and religion; these are not defined as policy domains in themselves, but appear predominantly as negative elements for integration. The Danish 'model' of integration of immigrants is targeted at individuals and based on generic principles as opposed to models that explicitly define (ethnic or immigrant) target groups and develop specific strategies that go with it.⁵⁰

A comparison of the national policy document on integration (Ministry of Refugees, Immigration and Integration Affairs (2006a) and the Copenhagen one (City of Copenhagen 2006) shows that Copenhagen's approach deviates from the national model in framing the integration process as a mutual process and naming diversity as a potential asset (see Penninx 2009), by stressing less the mandatory nature of measures and more the engagement of various actors in society. Nevertheless, it follows national policies generally in its priority of domains of activity and the absence of culture and religion as domains, in its focus on individuals in policy programmes and its hesitance to involve

⁵⁰ For an elaboration of such models and their internal logic see Penninx and Martiniello 2004.

organisations of immigrants. This latter element is expressed in the way consultancy on city policies is organised: the Integration Council consists of elected individuals with a migration background (15), plus nominated representatives of Danish civil society. It also surfaced when we analysed in our last report on diversity policies (Penninx 2009) what “engagement of various actors in society” actually meant: these actors come from the established Danish civil society (trade unions, employers unions, Danish organisations) and not from that part of civil society that immigrants have added to it: immigrant organisations, including religious ones.

Interviews with high level policy makers in Copenhagen indicate that, although their diagnosis of what the integration problem is, differs significantly, the practical implementation ideas do have some basic features in common and correspond to the principles mentioned above. Firstly, integration policies are supposed to be directed towards individuals, in the Copenhagen case in a strongly area-based form. Secondly, immigrant organisations are not seen as a potential partners in integration policies, by some even as a threat. ‘Representation’ is supposed to take place through elected individuals (although recently there have been examples of formal cooperation with religious based organisations, e.g. with the Muslim Council and the Mosaic Faith Association in connection with the Anti-Islamophobia and Anti-Semitism campaign). Thirdly, integration policies should be implemented primarily through the city’s departments and their institutionalised implementation units; civil society is not perceived as a main partner⁵¹. Fourthly, religion itself is not supposed to play any role in the city’s policy, and religious organisations are not seen as relevant for policies.

The formal answers that we received from the city of Copenhagen on our elaborate questionnaire reflected very much this specific official framing of integration policies. However, when digging into policy practice of the city and when exploring civil society and its initiatives, a much more nuanced picture of ‘policies in practice’ emerges. First of all, many contacts exist between the immigrant and religious part of civil society through a decentralised (and uncoordinated) system of project subsidies. There exists a generic system of financial support through such project subsidies for civil society organisations in general that are also available for immigrant and/ religious organisations if they fulfil the requirements. Immigrant organisations do use these opportunities, although it seems that lack of knowledge of the system and of established contacts within

⁵¹ In the report on housing of immigrants in Copenhagen (Penninx 2008) we have seen that housing corporations do play an important role in that specific domain. In view of the history of these institutions and their (still existing) strong links with local and national government, I would rather indicate these as QUANGO’s (quasi-non-governmental organisations) than as NGO’s.

the system puts them in a disadvantaged position in relation to the established part of civil society.

Secondly, the Integration Office seems to try and compensate the absence of formal relations with immigrant and religious organisations. For example, the Task Force of the Integration Office acts as a low key link between the city (its departments and civil servants) and these organisations. In at least one of the new policy programmes, the We Copenhageners Campaign, religious leaders are explicitly asked to participate, although the city does this by avoiding the suggestion of formal or institutionalised contacts.

As to the development of immigrant organisations in Copenhagen, it has become clear that a broad and variant field of organisations has been built up in the past, partly due to a supportive national and local policy before 2001. The lack of formal support since 2001 led to a stabilisation of the field. For many of the present organisations, however, the indirect support through project subsidies is still very important.

The attitudes and expectations of faith based civil society actors do seem to correspond to the policies described above: although they do have strong informal contacts, particularly the established organisations from the Lutheran and Jewish community, they do not expect that the city will invite or stimulate them to work on intergroup and interfaith relations. But these actors do take initiatives themselves, although there is not yet much of an institutionalised way of cooperation or dialogue.

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