



State of the Art. Work Stream 3 – the Danish Report

Militants from the Other Side. Anti-bodies to hate-speech and behavior in Denmark

Siim, Birte; Larsen, Jeppe Fuglsang; Meret, Susi

Publication date:
2014

Document Version
Early version, also known as pre-print

[Link to publication from Aalborg University](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Siim, B., Larsen, J. F., & Meret, S., (2014). State of the Art. Work Stream 3 – the Danish Report: Militants from the Other Side. Anti-bodies to hate-speech and behavior in Denmark, No. 461002, 38 p.

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AALBORG UNIVERSITY
DENMARK

Hate speech and populist othering In Europe: Through the race, age, gender looking glass

Militants from the Other Side: Anti-bodies to hate-speech and behaviour in Denmark

State of the Art: SOA Work Stream 3 – Danish Report

Birte Siim, Jeppe Fuglsang Jensen and Susi Meret

Aalborg University, Denmark

May 2014

Introduction

The purpose of the State Of the Art (SOA) is to gain knowledge about the Danish Context of organisations, groups and movements in civil society countering hate speech, institutional racism and exclusionary practices and to identify gaps in national research on the issue that can be explored through field work, interviews and group discussions/dialogues, possibly to be debated at roundtable convening in the autumn of 2014.

The SOA gives an overview of the role of the state, institutions, the political parties and social movements in combating racism, discrimination hate-speech and exclusionary behaviours. It will first give a brief overview of the historical context in Denmark before WWII and after Denmark joined the EU in 1972, focusing on the different referendum and on the implications of the four Danish opt-outs to the Maastricht Treaty in 1994. Then it will discuss the role of the State and of the formal institutional organisations featuring what we define the 'anti-bodies', which combat racism, discrimination, hate-speech and exclusionary behaviours. The focus is on the implementation of UN, EU and CoE regulations and policies, foundation of legislation related to gender and minority groups (ethnicities, religious minority groups) as well as to decision makers (parties etc.).

The main-stream political parties, the Social Democratic Party (Socialdemokraterne), the Social Liberals (Radikale Venstre), the Conservative Party (Det Konservative Parti) and the Socialist Leftwing (Socialistiske Folkeparti) are characterised by relatively similar approaches and strategies towards the EU, racism, hate-speech and discriminatory and exclusionary behaviours. The Danish Peoples' Party (DPP) is the 'odd one' in the Danish political system representing today EURO-sceptical and anti-immigration positions. The DPP is also the party which most explicitly argues for abolishing the so-called 'racism' or 'discrimination' paragraph¹ (see Danish Populism. Analysis of Interviews, WS1). This position contrasts with the Socialist

¹§266b, the so-called 'racism' paragraph, or 'discrimination' paragraph, of the penal-code adopted in 1971. It says: *"Everyone who publicly or with intent, expresses statements or another information in public, by which a group of persons is threatened, insulted or degraded because of their race, color, national or ethnic origin, faith or sexual orientation must be punished with a fine or prison up till 2 years". Stk.2. At the assessment of the character of the punishment it is of particularly serious circumstance, if the statements have the form of public propaganda.*

People's Party and the Red-Green Unity List (Enhedslisten) which are more positive in terms of immigration and less restrictive in terms of integration, being also more supportive towards policies that aim at strengthening the struggle against racism, discrimination and hate-crimes.

Finally, the report will look more into detail at the role of social movements/NGO and other initiatives 'from below' in the struggles against racism, discrimination, hate-speech and exclusionary behaviour. A few relevant questions will be directly addressed: Who are the active social movements/groups in Denmark today?; What are these movements and groups' policies and strategies to combat hate-speech and exclusionary behaviour?; What kind of activities have they been engaged in?. Our interest will also focus on collaborations, negotiations/networks and alliances between anti-body groups as well as on collaboration between these groups, as well as on the struggles involving anti-bodies against groups practicing hate-speech/behaviour. This part aims to discover gaps in our knowledge about what is going on –at national level and beyond and to some extent also below the nation state – at the local/urban level.

I. Brief historical overview of Danish democracy

1. Democracy: 'Denmark for the People' (*Danmark for folket*)

The Danish constitution dates back to 1849 and established a parliamentary monarchy; it granted the vote to men above the age of 30, having their own household. It only covered about half of the population, since "Women, poor people, criminals and fools" gained the right to vote as late as 1915. Since 1920, the country has had a parliamentary democracy and the present Constitution dates back to 1953. It has only one chamber [Folketinget], with 179 seats – two seats are reserved for members from Greenland and two for members from the Faroe Islands. Formally, the main power is in Parliament and the Government must step down if it does not have the support of the majority. Danish democracy is *majoritarian* in the sense that Parliament is the most important institution compared to the judiciary and executive powers.

Denmark does not have a constitutional court, and the High Court has been extremely reluctant to try the laws in relation to the Constitution (Kelstrup et al 2008).

Denmark has during the last 100 years developed a *participatory model of democracy*, with a strong tradition for bottom-up initiatives from peasants, workers and women organized in the folk-high school movement, the social movements and trade unions. A large part of the population is organized in *voluntary organizations*, SMOs and NGOs; there is also a rather established tradition for using *popular referenda*, especially in relation to the EU and the EU treaties, and a strong *local democracy* based upon decentralization of power to elected municipalities and regional counties. Till January 1, 2007 there were 270 municipalities and 14 regional counties. A structural reform has reduced the number of municipalities to 98 and created 5 regional councils; the latter is without the power to tax.

Since 1901 the country has had two major governing blocks: One led by the Liberal Party [Partiet Venstre] in coalition with The Conservative Party, and the other led by the Social Democratic Party [Socialdemokratiet], often in coalition with the Social Liberals [Det Radikale Venstre]. The first Social Democratic led government came to power 1925 and from 1929 till the German occupation April 9, 1940, the country had a coalition Government of the Social Democratic Party and the Social Liberals.

During the 1930s, the Danish Social Democratic Party succeed in conquering the support of the people also from other ideological and political convictions , by making the nation the foundation for a *social* democracy (Korsgaard 2004; 2013). The Social Democratic Program from 1934 was titled 'Denmark for the People', which became the party's ideological slogan. This understanding contrasted with the meaning of the people in influential ideologies, such as Communism or Nazism. During the 1930ies both emphasized the social welfare aspects of the nation state, but did not connect welfare and democracy. *The Social Democratic Party thus changed from a party representing the working class to a party representing 'the people' by accepting the existence of national feelings and combining two concepts: the people and the nation state.* According to Korsgaard (2004), who has written the most detailed historical

overview of the struggle about the meaning of 'the people' in Danish society, this Social Democratic understanding strongly contributed to a national Danish compromise between the meaning of the state, the nation, people and democracy. This became an important ideological foundation for the building of the welfare state after WWII according to a mix of socialist and liberal principles (ibid., 465-67).

During the 1930ies the Danish coalition government led by the charismatic Social Democrat T.H. Stauning with the Social Liberal P. Munch as the Foreign Minister had practically demilitarized the country. Without a proper army, German forces occupied Denmark without any resistance on their way to Norway on April 9 1940. The occupation lasted 5 years till the liberation by the Allied forces May 5, 1945. In the aftermath of WWII there was a new struggle between competing political projects, especially about the importance of welfare and democracy. One influential position argued that it is the democratic political values that bind people together, and understood democracy as a way of life, and emphasized that democracy starts in the family and civil society 'from below' (cf. Hal Koch in Christensen & Siim 2001). The other position had a more traditional understanding of democracy, focusing primarily on political institutions and representative democracy 'from above' (cf. Alf Ross in Christensen & Siim 2001).

In the years that followed the war, the Danish version of democracy came to be understood not just as a way of governing but also as model of community and as a way of life. The Social Democratic Party defended the 'demos-strategy' formulated by T.H. Marshall in 'Citizenship and Social Class' (1950), which stated that European democracy had developed through three phases from civil to political to social rights. The third phase was citizens' struggle for social rights and a social democracy which socialists across Europe were fighting for after WWII. According to Korsgaard, the Danish welfare state is a product of this extended understanding of democracy (Korsgaard 2013; 54-60). The Danish Social Democratic Party was after the War the driving force in this 'demos strategy' which aimed to give the state a social form and develop a welfare state to secure that every citizen had economic and social security in the form of access to health care, education etc.

2. Citizenship

In terms of citizenship, the Danish model is a mix of a civic-assimilationist and an ethno-cultural citizenship model (Mouritzen 2006; Siim 2007). The country has during the last 150 years been relatively homogeneous in relation to religion, language and ethnicity, and the political culture is characterized by a cultural monism. Denmark has a union with Greenland and the Faroe Islands, former Danish colonies. Immigrants have the right to vote in local elections after 3 years of residency (since 1981) and are generally better represented at the local than at the national level (Togeby 2004); some municipalities have set up Integration Councils as consultative for integration issues, as for example in Copenhagen and Aarhus (Bak Jørgensen & Emerek 2009; 2010).

Since the loss of Norway in 1814 and Slesvig-Holstein in 1864 Denmark became a relatively small state with a population today of 5.634.437 million people. In 2012 about 89, 6 percent of the population was of ethnic Danish origin, defined as having at least one person born in Denmark or with Danish citizenship. Many of the remaining 10, 4 percent are immigrants and descendants (142 000 second generation migrants) born in Denmark.²

In terms of migration/integration, Denmark has moved in the last decades from what was considered as one of the most liberal models to one of the most restrictive, this has taken place between 1983 and 2002. The liberal approach was first adopted by a new Alien Law from 1983, but soon modified in 1985. This Act granted residence permits to Convention and so-called *de facto* refugees, making family reunification a legal right, and granting free access to asylum procedure. The Social Democratic and Social Liberal coalition in power since 1991 lost the power to the Liberal and Conservative Parties in the elections in November 2001. The

² Of the 590.000 immigrants or descendants 200 000 (34%)¹ have a Western background, which includes Norway, Germany, Bosnia and Herzegovina, The UK, Poland and Iceland; all EU countries, as well as non-EU countries, Nordic countries, Andorra, Liechtenstein, Monaco, San Marino, Switzerland, Vatican State, Canada, USA, Australia and New Zealand. 390 000 (66%)¹ have a non-Western background. This includes Turkey, Iraq, Jew, Romani, Somali, Pakistan; all other countries) (<http://www.statistikbanken.dk/02>).

two parties formed a new coalition Government with the parliamentary support from the Danish Peoples' Party [DPP, Dansk Folkeparti] an anti-migration right-wing Party in government till 2011.

The immigration issue played a crucial role particularly in the election campaign of 2001 and in May 2002 the new majority adopted a restrictive Alien Act. This law explicitly aimed to restrict the access to Denmark for immigrants, while at the same time intensifying efforts to integrate migrants living legally in the country. Denmark had already adopted a stop for immigration in 1973, and since then immigrants could only gain legal access to the country as refugees or as part of family unification. Following the new integration policies adopted by the Centre-liberal government in 2002, immigrants have to have lived legally in the country for nine years before they can apply for citizenship, and integration laws have gradually been tightened. One example is the adoption of citizenship tests examining immigrants' knowledge of Danish language and values (Mouritzen 2006).

Immigration became a heavily debated topic particularly from 1997 (although previously already put on the political agenda by the protest and anti-tax Progress Party), when the then-Social Democratic led government appointed the former mayor of Aarhus, Simonsen as Minister of the Interior. In 1998, Simonsen introduced the first coherent immigration and integration law (Siim 2007). The law demanded that a person in Denmark, who wished to unite with a spouse, should have lived in the country for at least six years, and the spouse residing in Denmark needed be able to financially support his/her partner as well as to provide adequate housing for the two of them. Asylum seekers were to receive a so-called introduction payment, which was lower than the basic social welfare payment [*kontanthjælp*]. This introduction payment was later declared to be against international law and therefore suspended.

Immigration became again a central theme of the election campaign of the Centre-Right coalition, which came to power in 2001. With the support of the DPP, the minority Liberal and Conservative coalition argued in favor of stricter immigration laws. In Summer 2002, the

government with the DPP passed a law stating that family unification was only possible for people over 24 years of age. The law also established that in order for a couple to be reunited in Denmark, they had to prove that their connection to Denmark was stronger than their connection to any other country [the so-called *tilknytningskrav*, literally 'belonging requirement']. The law also declared that people must have lived legally in Denmark for seven years in order to obtain permanent residence; previously, it was five years. In 2003, the regulation governing a couple's connection to Denmark was changed, mainly because a large number of ethnic Danes with foreign partners were caught in the rule. From 2003, a person who had lived in Denmark for more than 28 years could unify with a spouse in Denmark regardless of their connection [*tilknytningskrav*] to Denmark. Denmark currently has one of the restrictive immigration laws in Europe.

3. Gender Equality becomes a key value in the national political culture

During the last 30 years, women have increasingly been included on the labor market and in the political elite. Gender equality has become part of the Danish citizenship model, and the present government defines gender equality as a key aspect of Danish democracy and as a special 'Danish' value. Gender equality and women's rights have become politicized in the struggle for control over migration, and the discourse of gender equality has increasingly been used by the government and their support party as the means to legitimize discrimination and stigmatization of ethnic/racial and religious minorities, for example in relation to forced and arranged marriage, family unification and veiling.

In Denmark and the other Nordic countries, there has been a gradual development from a small to a large minority of women in the political elite during the last 30 years, and the political representation of women is higher at the national than the local level. After the last Danish elections in 2011, Denmark got a new Coalition Government of the Social Democratic Party, The Socialist Peoples' Party and the Social Radical Party with the small Red-Green Alliance as the parliamentary support necessary to reach a majority. With Helle Thorning Smith, the country got its first female Prime Minister and the youngest government in the history of Danish politics, with an average of 43 years. The number of women elected rose

from 38 to 39 percent at the national level; 35 percent at the regional level, and 32 percent of representatives in the municipalities. Only Sweden has a higher representation of women in Parliament, with 45.3 percent. The number of female Ministers peaked after the last election with 39 Per cent; 9 out of 23 Ministers; whereas the previous Centre-Right government had 29 percent female ministers. Women's representation in the European Parliament is 42 percent. The political opportunity structure has been relatively open to women, and in contrast to Norway and Sweden, no political parties have retained quotas for women. The Social Democratic Party and the Socialist People's Party both adopted quotas (for women) in the 1980s but abandoned them again during the 1990s.

Gender equality is institutionalized as part of public politics and of the official political discourse. Gender equality became a policy area in the middle of the 1970s, and in 1975, a Council of Equal Status was established. Equality politics is, however, low politics, and Denmark has been more reluctant to establish gender equality policy machinery than Norway and Sweden.

Despite political consensus about increasing women's labour market participation and support of women-friendly social and welfare policies such as extended public childcare, gender equality is still absent from major arenas of society, significantly in leadership positions in the private labour market, the media, and academia (Fiig & Siim 2008). The lack of women in leadership positions has become a contested political issue, but in contrast to the Norwegian government, which has introduced gender quotas to support women's advancement in leadership positions, the political parties as well as the present Social Democratic led government opted to solve the problem by voluntary means.

In 2000, there was a shift in Danish equality politics as the mainstreaming principle of integrating equality in all public planning and administration became institutionalized as part of new EU equality law; this law also obliged public institutions to draft equality reports every other year. With the Treaty of Amsterdam, equality of opportunities of men and women as

well and gender mainstreaming as a principle became part of EU/EC primary law (Mokre & Borchorst 2013).

The new active Danish policy did not last long. The Council of Equal Status was dissolved, an administrative unit attached to the Ministry of Equality was established instead and an independent Knowledge Centre for Equality was set up. The equality skeptical Centre-Right government in power between 2002 and 2011 dissolved the Knowledge Centre again with a change in the Equality Law in 2002. Since then, the dominant political discourse claims that ethnically Danish women have already achieved gender equality and gender equality is primarily perceived as a problem for women from ethnic minorities. The previous Minister of Employment and Equality, Inger Støjberg, therefore found that gender equality policies should be targeted towards integration of ethnic minority women oppressed by their culture and religion, in the labour market, politics, and society (Siim 2007).

The new Centre-Left government in power from 2011 changed the emphasis of the gender equality policy from a focus on ethnic minority women to a focus on class, i.e. single mothers and unskilled men, including young immigrant men, who lacks behind in education. The equality Minister is presently the social-liberal Manu Saaren, born in India; the first ethnic minority Minister in Denmark.

3. EU membership³

Denmark voted about joining the EF in 1972. In the debate both the Right wing and Leftwing politicized concepts like 'the people', 'the nation' and 'democracy' in the arguments against joining the EF. In spite of this, a majority of Danes voted for membership of the EF. Following a binding referendum on 2 October 1972 Denmark acceded, as the first Nordic country, to the European Community (EC) on 1 January 1973. Per cent of the Danish population voted in favour and 36,7 percent voted against membership of the EC. Greenland joined the EC

³ http://www.eu-oplysningen.dk/euo_en/dkeu/

together with Denmark, whereas the Faroe Islands decided to stay outside the Community. In 1982 Greenland decided to leave the EC.

Denmark had already applied for membership in 1961 and 1967 together with Great Britain, Norway and Ireland, but the French president at the time, Charles de Gaulle, vetoed British membership, and Denmark did not wish to enter the EC without Great Britain. However, on 1 January 1973 Denmark, Ireland and Great Britain entered the EC.

The referenda

Denmark has a long democratic history of referenda about EU issues. The Danish population has since the first binding referendum in 1972 been called to vote to six EU-popular referenda. The second referendum was about Denmark's accession to the EC package (European Single Act) (consultative referendum) in 1986. The third and most dramatic was Denmark's accession to The Maastricht Treaty in June 1992. This was a relatively close vote between 40, 5 % voting yes to the accession to the Maastricht Treaty and 41, 7 % voting against. As a result Denmark did not access the Maastricht Treaty. There was, however, a new (fourth) referendum in 1993 where 48, 6 % voted in favour and 37 %, voted against the country access to the Maastricht Treaty, supplemented by the so-called Edinburgh Agreement. This new referendum resulted in a so-called national compromise among the political parties about Denmark's position in the EU. It was later followed by a new decision, where Denmark joined the Treaty but with specific opt-outs.

The fifth referendum was Denmark's accession to the Amsterdam Treaty in 1998. Here 41, 3 % voted in favour and 33, 6 % voted against accession to the Amsterdam Treaty. As a result Denmark joined the Amsterdam Treaty. The last referendum was about Denmark's accession to the single European currency September 2000. The result was that 46, 8 votes in favour and 53, voted against with the result that Denmark is not part of the single European currency, the EURO.

In contrast to these referenda, the Treaty of Lisbon was passed as a regular bill in the Danish Parliament, on April 24, 2008 and with the signing of the bill by the Danish Head of State Queen Margrethe II. Denmark ratified the Treaty of Lisbon in accordance with section 19 in the Danish Constitution (international agreements can only be entered into with the consent of the Parliament). The ratification bill was passed 24 April 2008 in the parliament by a majority of 90 votes for, 25 against and no abstentions.

In spite of this democratic tradition there has been a Euro-skepticism in the Danish population, illustrated by the first no to the Maastricht Treaty, which resulted in the national compromise agreed by the major political parties in parliament, except the Danish Peoples' Party and the Red-Green Alliance. This compromise resulted in the four Danish opt-outs, which as the basis for the new successful referendum in 1993.

EURO-skepticism: the Danish Opt-Outs⁴

In response to the Danish no-vote in the Maastricht referendum in 1992, Denmark was granted four opt-outs from European co-operation. The opt-outs concern *defense policy, justice and home affairs, the euro and union citizenship* and paved the way for the Danish yes-vote in 1993.

After the Danish no-vote in the Maastricht referendum, in October 1992 seven out of eight of parties of the Folketing agreed on the so-called "National Compromise". The agreement was the starting point of the Danish Government at the negotiations with the other EU-member states.

All four Danish opt-outs were implemented in the Edinburg Agreement and supplemented by a special Protocol attached to the Treaty of Amsterdam. Denmark's opt-outs cannot be changed without Danish consent and will be maintained for as long as Denmark wishes. In November 2007, the Danish Government announced its ambition to put the opt-outs to a referendum in the course of its present four year term. The ambition was confirmed by Danish

⁴ http://www.euo.dk/emner_en/forbehold/

Prime Minister Helle Thorning Smith on several occasions, but a referendum date has not yet been announced.

The Danish Parliament (*Folketinget*), has commissioned the Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS) to produce a report on the consequences of the Danish opt-outs in the context of subsequent developments in European co-operation with a particular focus on the past decade. The report was published by DIIS on 30 June 2008⁵. The opt-outs are maintained in the Treaty of Lisbon, ratified by Danish Parliament in April 2008. Yet the Treaty has opened the possibility that Denmark's opt-out regarding the cooperation on justice and home affairs in the EU can be changed, subject to approval by referendum. If approved, Denmark will be able to co-operate in justice and home affairs on a case-by-case basis.

II: Political Parties and democratic anti bodies

The Danish electoral system is representative, and the party system plays the key role in the political process, but no single party has been able to gain a majority in Parliament, and Denmark has either been administered by minority or coalition governments. This is the basis for the *consensus model of governance* between the political parties, which often includes representation of all involved parties. There are presently seven parties in Parliament. After WWII, the Danish governments have either Centre-Right coalitions led mainly by the Liberal Party, or Centre-Left coalitions led by the Social Democratic party.

The current government coalition (in power since 2011) is a Coalition Social Democratic Party and the Social Liberals [Det Radikale Venstre] led by Social Democrat, Helle Thorning Smith. It is a minority government depending on the support from both the Socialist People's Party [Socialistisk Folkeparti], which left the government in the spring of 2014, and the Red-Green Unity List [Enhedslisten]. The previous government (in power between 2001 and 2011) was a Centre-Right coalition government of the Liberal Party [Det Liberale Venstre] and the Conservative People's Party [Det Konservative Folkeparti] led first by the Liberal Prime

⁵ [http://www.euo.dk/upload/application/pdf/97ca9e4c/EU08_Executive_Summary\(en\).pdf%3Fdownload%3D1](http://www.euo.dk/upload/application/pdf/97ca9e4c/EU08_Executive_Summary(en).pdf%3Fdownload%3D1)

Minister, Anders Fogh Rasmussen (now General Secretary of NATO), and from 2010 by Lars Løkke Rasmussen. This government was a minority cabinet depending on the parliamentary support of the right-wing populist anti-migration party, the Danish People's Party [Dansk Folkeparti]. The Social Democratic Party has traditionally been the dominant party, but it now competes with the Liberal Party about being the largest party. The Liberal Party, The Conservative Party, The Danish Peoples' Party and the small Liberal Alliance presently form the opposition.

Scholars in general agree that integration policies have moved from the liberal pluralist pole towards the assimilationist pole (Togeby 2003; Mouritzen 2006; Siim 2007). Integration initiatives, and ways of speaking about immigrants and their descendants, have been closely interlinked with assimilationist ideas. In March 2006, the Danish government changed the immigration laws. Immigrants now have to sign a declaration in which they oblige themselves to respect 'Danish values'. They must sign a declaration stating that they acknowledge a number of specified 'Danish' values and rules for the Danish society. [”Lov om ændring af integrationsloven og udlændingeloven. Integrationskontrakter, erklæring om integration og aktivt medborgerskab, skærpede betingelser for tidsubegrænset opholdstilladelse, uddannelsespligt for unge nyankomne udlændinge, sygeopfølgning over for sygemeldte introduktionsydelsesmodtagere m.v.].

Immigration is still a contested and polarizing issue: One position argues that immigrants are treated as second class citizens (e.g. the current government and the support parties, i.e. left wing parties); another position claims that they are treated fairly, i.e. not being discriminated against (e.g. the Centre-right wing opposition, especially the Danish Peoples' Party). The Institute of Human Rights argued that immigrants do not have the same status of living, same rights, or receive same treatment as white, ethnically Danish citizens (reference).

III: State institutions and democratic-anti-bodies

The Danish Institute for Human Rights⁶ has played a key role in the struggle for human rights, including combating racism, discrimination, hate speech and behavior. Denmark has a long tradition of supporting and addressing human rights. Over time, various governments have focused on different areas such as freedom of expression and religion, eliminating racism, children's rights, torture, and more recently, corporate social responsibility (CSR).

In 1987, the Danish Parliament created the Danish Centre for Human Rights, which was restructured and renamed in 2002 as the Danish Institute for Human Rights (Danish: *Institut for Menneskerettigheder*). The Institute is Denmark's NHRI (National Human Rights Institute), and as such has counterpart NHRIs in other countries.

As a member of the United Nations, Denmark has been a party to the adoption of a number of human rights treaties such as those to abolish torture or to strengthen the rights of persons with disabilities.

Denmark has also been a party to the adoption of a number of European documents on human rights, two of the most important being the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), and the creation of the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR or ECHR) in Strasbourg.

1. Human Rights in Danish law⁷

Denmark signed and ratified a number of international human rights treaties. The objective of the Danish Institute for Human Rights is to assist in ensuring compliance with those treaties. To that end, the Institute monitors and analyses developments in the area, for example, by monitoring whether and how Denmark implements international treaties and EU legislation in practice.

⁶ <http://www.humanrights.dk/about-us/human-rights-in-denmark>

⁷ The presentation of human rights in Danish Law is based on the home-page of the Human Rights Institute: <http://www.humanrights.dk/about-us/human-rights-in-denmark>. The Institute has investigated hate-crimes in Denmark and published one of the few reports about hate-crimes in Denmark: *Hadforbrydelser i Danmark –vejen til effektiv beskyttelse* (2011) [Hate-crimes in Denmark – the road to effective protection].

The Institute also monitors the rulings delivered by bodies such as the UN committee system and the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR or ECtHR) on Denmark and other states where the ruling has implications for Denmark. The Institute is also mandated to advise the Danish Government and Parliament on how the human rights obligations can be embedded in legislation and practice.

As part of this work, it publishes an annual status report. In this report we shed light on the principal human rights challenges in Denmark. The report is drafted with reference to bills, rulings and judgments, statements and initiatives from national authorities and the aim is to raise awareness of both positive and negative impacts on human rights in Denmark.

The Constitutional Act of the Kingdom of Denmark

Grundloven, the Constitutional Act of the Kingdom of Denmark, was adopted on 5 June 1849 and has subsequently been amended three times – most recently in 1953. The Danish Constitution guarantees various human rights and related rights, primarily civil and political rights, such as, freedom of expression (Section 78), freedom of association (Section 97) and freedom of assembly (Section 67)

The Constitution and the human rights it enshrines are accorded special status and are regarded as the supreme source of Danish law because they were adopted according to a special procedure (see Section 88 of the Constitutional Act). Thus, the rights guaranteed in the Constitution take precedence over other conflicting statute law or case law.

The European Convention on Human Rights

The European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) was ratified in Denmark on 3 September 1953, but was not implemented in Danish law until its incorporation on 29 April 1992. The Act came into force on 1 July 1992 and is the only human rights treaty incorporated in Danish law to date. Incorporation means that ECHR is a part of Danish law. ECHR primarily guarantees a number of civil and political rights such as: Article 5 – Right to liberty and security, Article 6 – Right to a fair trial, Article 9 – Freedom of thought, conscience and religion, Article 10 – Freedom of expression. Economic, social and cultural rights, however, are provided for in the European Social Charter of 1961.

United Nations Treaties

In 2001, the Danish Ministry of Justice appointed an incorporation commission to examine whether Denmark should incorporate additional treaties. The Commission recommended in 2001 that the following treaties should be incorporated into Danish law: The UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR); The UN International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD); The UN Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (the Torture Convention). The Commission also recommended that these should not be incorporated: The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC); The UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW); The UN International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR).

The current (2014) Government's position on the incorporation question is that Denmark is legally bound to comply with the treaties once Denmark has ratified an agreement. The Government also holds that non-incorporated treaties may be invoked and applied in the Danish courts, as they are regarded as valid sources of law. As a result the position of the present Danish Government (2014) is that incorporation is not judicially necessary.

In December 2012, the Danish Government appointed a commission to reconsider the question of Denmark's fulfillment of human rights obligations, and whether additional treaties are to be incorporated in Danish law. The Commission is due to make its recommendations in the spring of 2014.

2. Institutional anti-bodies

Under EU auspices, Denmark endorses the human rights initiatives of the European Parliament. A number of measures and bodies exist to protect civil rights, such as The Danish Parliamentary Ombudsman⁸, The Board of Equal Treatment, The Refugee Appeals Board⁹, Danish Refugee Council¹⁰, DRC (independent, private institution based on human rights

⁸ <http://www.ombudsmanden.dk>

⁹ <http://www.fln.dk>

¹⁰ <http://www.flygtning.dk>; http://www.flygtning.dk/De_frivillige_raadgi.1285.0.html

treaties and working against racial discrimination)¹¹, LGBT Denmark - The Danish National Organisation for Gay Men, Lesbians, Bisexuals and Transgendered Persons¹² and the Women's Council in Denmark,¹³. Denmark **has only** a few independent institutions, such as DRC (private institution based on human rights treaties and working against racial discrimination).¹⁴ The leader of DRC was selected for an interview for WS 1.

The Board of Equal Treatment (*Ligebehandlingsnævnet*)¹⁵

The Board of Equal Treatment was founded in 2009 as an independent body, taking decisions on matters concerning discrimination by combining all protected reasons for discrimination in one administrative complain board. The background was that the previous government wanted to improve the possibilities to complain in cases of discrimination within and outside the labour market and create a more uniform access to get treating complains treated by establishing a common administrative basis for all protected criteria, gender, race/ethnicity, religion, sexuality, age and handicap. Before the board of equal treatment was established, there were two administrative complaints boards: *The Equality Board*, which treated complains on the basis of gender and the *Complaints Board for Ethnic Equality* that treated cases about discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin. Cases about age and handicap could only be decided by the normal court system¹⁶.

IV. Social Movements and democratic anti-bodies

Denmark has a long tradition democracy 'from below', which includes public support for establishment of voluntary associations and social movements. We find both right-wing,

¹¹ <http://www.drcenter.dk>

¹² <http://www.lgbt.dk>

¹³ <http://www.kvinderaad.dk>

¹⁴ <http://www.drcenter.dk>

¹⁵ <http://www.ligebehandlingsnaevnet.dk>

¹⁶ The Complaints Board has 12 members: The chair and 2 co-chairs are all judges and nine members are all lawyers. More than 1275 cases were brought before the board, about half of th cases were decided. About 300 cases concerned gender discrimination, about 200 concerned discrimination according to age and handicap and only about 100 cases concerned ethnic discrimination: <http://ast.dk/naevn/ligebehandlingsnaevnet/tal-og-statistik-fra-ligebehandlingsnaevnet>

mainstream and left-wing social movements. The left-wing social movements have been strong since the 1960s and 1970s, while right-wing political movements have traditionally been relatively weak. However, the left-wing social movements, such as the peace and the environmental movements have lost momentum and have today become either fragmented or since the 1990s institutionalized .

While left wing social movements lost some of their impact on society, New rightwing environs started to emerge and increase their influence. Since the 1990s, new right-wing intellectual organisations such as The Danish Association (started in 1981), directed primarily against the presence of Muslim migrants and the threat from Islam to Danish values, have become visible (Siim et.al 2008; Eurosphere Report). A more recent example today is the *Danish Association for Freedom Speech* [Trykkefrihedsselskabet] from 2004 (interviewed for WS 1), which has gained momentum in the public debate. There are, however, also new more loosely structured transnational network organisation Denmark's Social Forum (from 1991) focusing on class and race.

1. The Women's Movement.

The New Women's Movement was active from the late 1960s and mobilised as a strong grass root movement during the 1970s and 1980s. It called itself the *Redstocking Movement*¹⁷ [Rødstrømperne] with inspiration from the US. The Danish version of the Redstocking Movement was a mix of radical feminism and socialism with the motto: 'No Class Struggle without Women's Struggle'. The big issues were Equal Pay and Abortion and Sexual Liberation. Abortion was made legal in Denmark in 1973. Equal pay became part of the collective agreements in 1973, and was adopted by law in 1976 after Denmark joined the EF¹⁸.

The women's movement is illustration of the trend towards fragmentation and institutionalization. It has more or less disappeared as a strong collective entity since the

¹⁷ <http://www.kvinfo.dk/side/1047/>

¹⁸ <http://www.kvinfo.dk/side/1050/>

1990s. Instead *The Women's Council in Denmark*, [Kvinderådet], an old established organization (from 1899), solidly integrated in the corporatist political tradition has acquired a new role in relation to the EU and in international politics. A national umbrella organization for immigrant women has recently been formed (founded on Sep. 26th 2009) with the name *Ethnic Minority Women's Council* with the active support of the national umbrella organization for majority women, The Women's Council. The new organization is an independent organization, yet strongly linked to the Women's Council (Pristed Nielsen and Thun, 2010).

Another influential women's organisation is *KVINFO: Denmark's Centre for Information on Women and Gender*¹⁹. It was started as an independent organization in 1984 and directed by Elisabeth Møller Jensen. KVINFO offers information and resources on women and society in Denmark, gender research, legislation, women's history, notable women and much more'. KVINFO is a hybrid between a think tank and a SMO/NGO. In 2002 KVINFO established a successful Mentor-Network, which matches women with refugee and immigrant background with women of Danish origin active in Danish society. Since January 2012 KVINFO also offers men with ethnic minority background a mentor²⁰. KVINFO has received public support for its many activities and during the last 30 years it has become the most powerful and visible woman's organization in the public debate.

2. LGBT Movements²¹

Denmark also has a long tradition for the struggle for gay rights, reproductive rights and sexual enlightenment dating back to the 1930es. During the 1960s there was a new mobilization around sexual freedom, reproductive rights and gay rights. One example is *The Association Sex and Society* [Sex og Samfund], which is a private association founded 1956 under the name The Association for Family Planning. The association works for the right to sexual pleasure, reproductive health and sexual enlightenment as a human right irrespective of age, gender religion, civil and social status in Denmark and internationally. In 2005 it

¹⁹ <http://forside.kvinfo.dk/om-kvinfo/historie>

²⁰ <http://mnw.kvinfo.dk/>

²¹ <http://lgbt.dk/english/>; <http://ilga.org/ilga/en/countries/DENMARK/Movement>

changed the name to Sex and Society²². The association is a NGO without religious and political affiliation that cooperates with other associations and organizations, which works for similar goals. It is a member of IPPF (International Planned Parenthood Federation) and administers several counseling: Sex-line, AIDS-line, HIV-info and Immigrant consultancy.

LGBT, Landsforeningen for Bøsser, Lesbiske, Bi- og Transseksuelle i Danmark, the National Association of Gay, Lesbian, Bi- and Transgendered in Denmark, also has a long history²³. It dates back from 1948 founded under the name *The Association of 1948* [Forbundet af 1948], which started as an association working for homo- and bisexuals. Since 2009 the association has been a broad organization, which works for lesbian, homo and bisexual and trans-persons' political, social, cultural and labour market equality on all level of society.

In Denmark, the gay movement was mobilized during the 1970s both within and outside The Association 1948. From the end of the 70's local branches of the association and it opens diskos and cafes in several cities, the so-called PAN-clubs until 1994. *The Liberation Front for Gays* [Bøssernes Befrielsesfront] was founded in 1971. *The Lesbian Movement* [Lesbisk Bevægelse] was founded in 1974 of active lesbian from the *Redstocking Movement* and the Association of 1948. It arranges a lesbian week in the Femø-camp and is active in the Women's High-school. It loses momentum around 1990.

Denmark was the first country in the world to recognize registered partnership and two legal parents of the same sex in 1994. LBL takes initiative to organize homosexual ethnic minorities in Copenhagen, at Salon Oriental, in 2005. From 2006 cultural, political and social activities for LGBT with ethnic minority background is carried on in *Sabaah* (meaning new day, or new beginning).

LGBT established an international branch to take care of relations to ILGA (The International Lesbian and Gay Association) and ILGA-Europe, to EU, The Council of Europe, OSCE and UN. *ILGA, the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association*

²² http://da.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sex_%26_Samfund

²³ <http://www.lbl.dk/>

publishes national annual reviews²⁴. The latest report from 2014 takes up a number of policy areas, such as bias-motivated violence and equality and anti-discrimination. The report concludes: *“Several positive legal evolution in the field of family law was secured and proposed by NGO-activists in the field of anti-discrimination law. Even though Danish laws on biased-motivated crimes don’t consider gender identity as basis for those crimes, the perpetrator of a spiteful attack against trans-women was successfully convicted. However, parliamentarians refused to declassify ‘trans-sexualism’ as a mental disorder.”*

On Equality and anti-discrimination the report states that 16 major anti-discrimination NGOs working on the grounds of age, disability, ethnicity, gender, religion, sexual orientation and gender identity asked the government to work towards a uniform anti-discrimination law. (Currently, only discrimination on grounds of gender and ethnicity is outlawed outside of employment or occupation.) All 16 organizations proposed including gender identity among protected grounds. In May, Manu Sareen was one of 11 EU Member States’ equality ministers to co-sign a call for the European Commission to work on a comprehensive EU policy for LGBT equality (see European Union).

LGBT Denmark has also put hate-crimes on the agenda²⁵. They define hate-crimes as physical, psychological and verbal attacks which are carried out by persons against other based on assumptions or knowledge about this person. Everybody can be the victim of hate-crimes but often it is persons, which are a minority group with a different cultural, religious or political background, gender or sexuality. In contrast to other European countries, Denmark does not do any special efforts to combat hate-crimes and there is no clear documented knowledge about hate-crimes. It is therefore necessary to see what the experiences have been in neighboring countries. An investigation from 1999 shows that in Sweden up 24 percent of all lesbians and up to 36 percent of all gays have experiences hate-crimes. In Finland it is 60 percent of all homosexuals that have experienced hate-crimes. The same is the case in the UK.

²⁴ http://ilga.org/ilga/en/article/ex_d75c1e2a-d9d8-11e3-97a4-feff00005bea

²⁵ <http://lgbt.dk/politik/hadforbrydelser/>

Both Sweden and the UK have adopted legislation. LBGT in Denmark thus wants legislation, which states that it is the victim that alone decides whether a reported crime should be treated like a hate-crime or not, similarly to the UK. The association argues that this would result in a registration of hate-crimes and an investigation which is directed against hate-crimes. LBGT Denmark thus works for a correct registration of reports which are based on hate-crimes. LBGT works on developing a clear definition about “LBG-competences” by the police in the form of a clear and specific knowledge about sexuality and gender identity, hate-crimes etc. as well as knowledge about hate-crimes and LBGT for emergency personal in order to provide the same treatment as women who report rape.

3. Immigrant Organizations

Increasing immigration from countries outside the EU since the 1970s has sparked the establishment of new voluntary organizations (cf. Mikkelsen 2003). During the first phase the social and political organization and mobilization of immigrants was in close cooperation with Danish voluntary associations based upon solidarity- friendship and support. From the 1970s immigrants started to form organizations to take care of their own the social, cultural, economic and religious interests both in relation to the new country and their country of origin. The mobilization of immigrants was influenced both by the Danish states accept and support – or lack of support – for immigrant organizations and by international tensions and political conflicts in their country or origin (Mikkelsen 2003: 115-117).

During the 1960s and 70s many guest workers came from Turkey, Yugoslavia, Pakistan and Marocco. Most of the Danish immigrants were Muslims and religious centres were formed from the start During the 1970s and 1980s the organization of Islamic-religious organizations was characterized by pluralism. One early attempt to establish a meeting place for Muslims in Denmark is *the Islamic Cultural Centre* in 1971. In 1976 an umbrella organization of guestworkers was formed of diverse national groups, which changed its name to ‘*Indvandrernes Fællesråd*’. 1981 another competing umbrella organization of diverse

immigrant organizations was formed titled: 'Indvanderforeningernes sammenslutning i Danmark': *IND-sam*.

During the 1990s a number of new Muslim organizations, groups and networks were formed often initiated by young second generation immigrants, some of them with a more radical interpretation of Islam. Most of the organizations are dependent on public support from state and municipality. One example is the new umbrella organization of ethnic minorities formed in 1993: *Paraplyorganisationen for de etniske mindretal*: POEM, when a number of immigrant organisations left IND-sam. Another umbrella organization was *De Etniske Minoriteters Landsforening* (ELO) formed in 1999, which was a cooperation between IND-sam and POEM. Mikkelsen (2003 163-65) concludes that most immigrant organizations are not political, but focus on social, economic and cultural problems. The organizations' capacity for social and political mobilization makes it possible for marginalised immigrants to take care of their interests and to a certain degree get heard in the public debate. They also serve as a link between the dominant society and ethno-national minorities and play a key role for integration.

Racist and anti-racist movements

According to Mikkelsen (2003; 159-163) the inspiration for a Rightwing Radical racist movement was conflicts that happened in the 1980s between ethnic Danes and asylum-seekers. In 1987, a group of citizens wanted to establish a political party to fight immigration to Denmark and strengthen 'Danish values' and 'danishness', but instead of a political party they formed 'The Danish Association' [Den Danske Forening]. There has been a politicisation of collective violence and nazification of the Right-wing Radical movement after 1993, but a fall in the overall number of radical rightwing actions. This is explained by the contra-mobilization by the broad anti-racist alliance that kept neo-nazists away from streets and public places and made it difficult for neo-nazists to recruit new people (Mikkelsen 2003; 162). The last racist actions took place after the terror-attack in the US September 11, 2001.

One of implications is that authorities since 2001 have strengthened control with Islamic groups and that the tone in the public debate reached new anti-Islamic highs after the election of the new Centre-Right government dependent on the parliamentary support of the anti-migration and Islam-critical Danish Peoples' Party (Meret & Siim 2013c).

It is only in recent years that we witness to a proliferation in the number of studies looking at the phenomenon of right-wing extremism, mapping some of its core characteristics, organisational and mobilisation strategies, developments and transformations in ideology (cf. Karpantschhof 1999; Karpantschhof and Mikkelsen 2004 and 2008; Lyng 2007; Holmsted Larsen 2011). This has been followed by a strengthening of the police awareness in registering and reporting extremist motivated criminality. Since 2009, police departments in the country register all extremist criminality, which besides racist acts (against ethnic minorities, but also Danes) include also: religious, political, sexual and other less clear form of extremist law-breaking. The available statistics for the period 2005-2010, show for example that there was a significant increase in criminal acts in 2009 and 2010 (306 and 334 respectively) compared to 2008 (175). This, also according to the Danish Intelligence Service (PET) reports, was only partly justifiable by the widened spectrum of registration. Of the 334 cases in 2010, 2/3 are considered of doubtful character (195 out of 334). The remaining 139 criminal records were classified as being: 62 racist (largely racism against ethnic minorities); 37 political; 30 sexual; and the remaining religiously motivated extremist criminality. Racism against minorities still represented the largest group and the doubtful cases a category that needs further investigation.

However, in the Nordic countries it was particularly the aftermath of the terrorist attacks by Anders B Breivik in Norway in July 22, 2011 that academic research, political accounts and security and social services became more concerned in the field of right wing extremism. The Norwegian case demonstrated that the magnitude of the phenomenon cannot per se be considered a direct measure of the danger to society. After July 2011, the Danish PET intensified the attention towards individual terrorist threat (PET 2012) but also right wing extremist milieus in general, while the Danish government has commissioned expert reports

to map the phenomenon at the regional and local levels (2011; 2013). The Norwegian case also demonstrated the need to study far right extremism beyond its traditional methods of organisation and mobilisation, paying more attention to how far right milieus (mis)use the internet and social media also to disseminate hate speech and discriminatory discourses. In this respect it will also be relevant to study how the anti-bodies counteract new forms of racism, hate speech and exclusionary behaviours on digital media.

V: Mapping contemporary "antibodies" and grass root initiatives

This mapping of contemporary anti-bodies focuses on grass root initiatives, voluntary associations/groups/organizations of young people, which have emerged 'from below' to fight discrimination, racism and hate-speech during the last 10-15 years (since 2001). The objective is to provide the basis for the selection of two three cases to be studied in more detail through focus groups discussions and field-work.

There is a multitude of small and larger organizations and associations working around these issues. In the Danish case we find a certain overlap between the so-called 'victim-organization', interviewed in WS 1, and anti-body organizations to be investigated in WS 3. They are difficult to differentiate since they work with similar issues, such as refugees, anti-racism and gay rights, and the majority of both types were started by ethnic Danes and are usually dependent on public support. They may, however, have different forms of organizing and different membership.

The following provides a brief overview of some of the most visible anti-body associations and grass root initiatives, based mainly upon their homepages, since research is still lacking. The organizations address the following three areas: 1) Refugee and asylum; 2) Anti-racism, 3) Ethnic Minorities, including LGBT-groups. Most of the associations are national organizations, sometimes with local branches, but two anti-racist organizations, ENAR, - the European Network against Racism- and SOS-against Racism, are transnational organizations.

1. Associations directed at Refugees and Asylum Issues

The Trampoline House²⁶ [*Trampolinhuset*]

The Trampoline House is a more recent initiative directed towards and run by voluntary refugees, which strives to improve the everyday life of asylum seekers in Denmark by offering a space where they can engage in activities together with Danish citizens on equal terms. The house aims to create meaningful meetings and agency based on mutual respect, democratic learning, knowledge exchange, and network building.

The Trampoline House describes itself as a non-profit, self-organized, user-driven culture house, where asylum seekers, Danish citizens and anybody else can meet, share experiences, and learn from one another on equal terms. The house is located in the center of Copenhagen, and was established in October 2010 by more than 100 volunteering asylum seekers and Danish asylum activists in reaction to Denmark's asylum policies.

The idea to establish the Trampoline House was inspired by a number of workshops titled 'Asylum Dialogue Tank' in 2009, organized by the artists Morten Goll, Joachim Hamou og Tone Olaf Nielsen. The workshops were a meeting place for 20 inmates from different asylum-centers and 20 artists, social workers journalist- and anthropology students from all over the country. The goal was to find a way to improve the lives of asylum seekers in Denmark. They believed that it would be too difficult and slow to change the Danish asylum politics and therefore the solution was to find an alternative to the asylum-centers. They wanted to found an asylum-newspaper and an independent cultural house where you could meet and learn from each other. From March 5.-15 2009 they borrowed a gallery in Copenhagen in order to find out how a user-led cultural house could work. This house was named the Trampoline House, because the aim was that the house should function as a trampoline that should give the users the support and energy that they needed to change their lives for the better. In this house asylum-seekers should experience basic rights, which they

²⁶ <http://trampolinehouse.dk/>

had lost in the asylum camps. The temporary trampoline house was a huge success with 50-100 visitors a day.

Thanks to the hard work of 50 voluntary asylum seekers with diverse professional backgrounds and more than 50 Danish artists, activists, lawyers, socialworkers, writers and theoreticians ADT received a generous offer from OAK Foundation Denmark²⁷ which secured a permanent address, Skyttegade 3, in Copenhagen. November 27, 2010 was the official opening of the permanent house.

Activities

The Trampoline House offers a number of activities with a dual aim:

1. To break the isolation that most asylum seekers find themselves in – and to provide them with the agency and tools needed for them to improve their social and legal situation.
2. To inform the Danish public about the conditions of refugees and asylum seekers in Denmark, in an attempt to motivate the public to work for improving refugee and asylum policies and make them more just and humane.

The house is open four days a week, Tuesday to Friday and Saturday (for women and young people). It offers social and juridical guidance, lectures and debates, medical and dental care, movies and concerts, language classes, it-courses, workshops and art exhibitions, pay-what-you-can-hairdresser and make-up courses, children- and youth programs, women's programs, journal production, guided tours to different asylum centers, yoga, pay-what-you-can soup kitchens and entertainment each Friday night. All activities are free.

Grandparents for asylum [*Bedsteforældre for asyl*]

The association was founded December 10. December 2012 with one goal: To change Denmark's asylum policies so that refugees who are refused residence permit and cannot go

²⁷ The Trampoline house is supported by the OAK Foundation Denmark, Bikubenfonden (sponsor of all children and youth programs from 2011-12). Besides a great number of foundations, organizations and institutions as well as micro-donors have sponsored the house and its projects.

home do not have to live for years in uncertainty and hopelessness. As an alternative they must have the right to live an ordinary life among people with the right to education and work.

Members and Activities

The organization consists of senior citizens (ethnic Danes) who can speak with the weight their age, experience and the long perspective can give. It is based on individual membership can give independent of political groupings and other NGOs, so everybody who agrees with their goal can become a member. Members of all groups can join the organization as individual if they agree with its goal. Instead of aggressive slogans the organization aims at other forms of demonstration characterized by convincing argumentation. This is the reason why they stand every Sunday in front of three asylum centers Sandholm, Avnstrup and Kongelunden. In order to reach more broadly they use other forms of actions, such as of letters to the editor land distribution and handbills. They also give lectures and take part in debates.

Asylum Right [*Asylret.dk*]

Asylum right is a support group for refugees of humanists and leftwing activists, of whom many have been active in other refuge organizations. Some of the members of Asylum Right have worked for 20 years with refugee issues and juridical questions, and the organization has great experience in asylum cases. The organization cooperates across borders with Swedish, Norwegians, German and English asylum groups. They cooperate with 'the initiative against stateracism' [Initiativet mod Statsracisme], 'the Committee Refugees underground' [Komiteen Flygtninge Under Jorden] and other individuals to improve the quality of life for asylum seekers.

Activities

Asylum Right ret works with the following five areas: 1) Juridical guidance for refused asylum seekers; 2) Juridical guidance about humanitarian residence permit, 3) Juridical guidance about family unification; 4) Care for asylum seekers; 5) Lectures about Denmark and EU's

refugee policies. According to the facebook side the organization also participates in different festivals and demonstrations.

Refugees Welcome

Refugees Welcome was founded in 1986 as The Committee for Refugees Underground [Komiteen Flygtninge Under Jorden] when Danes helped an Iranian friend who was refused asylum. They managed to change this verdict and have since then helped many others.

The first many years they only worked with refugees who had gone underground – for example with doctors' care before Red Cross' Clinique for undocumented refugees opened in 2012. Lately the organization has focused on guidance both to newly arrived asylum seekers and to refused asylum seekers who live in the refugees Centers. So the name was changed to Refugees Welcome.

Financing and Economic Support

The association is based upon voluntary work. Some of the members have educations in law, anthropology social work, and others have gained knowledge about the refugee issues themselves. The emphasis is on giving fair guidance about the refugee issues, and they cooperate with other associations and with a number of lawyers. Refugees Welcome is an independent organization that cooperates with the Trampoline House, where they borrow rooms for guidance/counseling and hold introduction lectures about the asylum system. The association is dependent on private donations and on the homepage they give information about how to donate money.

Activities

Refugees Welcome works with two areas: a) Legal guidance and help to asylum seekers, b) debate and information about Danish asylum policies. They offer good advice and support through the process for newly arrived asylum seekers and help those who whose case has been rejected and examines if there are any possibilities to have it re-tried or residence on

another ground. They state on the homepage that they have solved many difficult situations and been able to avoid many mistakes, although some cases unfortunately are hopeless. Refugees Welcome also participates in debates and meetings about asylum politics, respond to legal changes in asylum legislation via hearings, publish reports and give lectures. They also give out a newsletter.

My Asylum (refugees in danger) [*Mit Asyl (Flygtninge i fare)*]

My Asylum is an association and support group that offers happiness in the form of vacations, outings and social activities for refugee children and young people with special needs.

The association helps refugees who are caught in the asylum system. It documents the lack of legal rights some refugees suffer in Denmark, when they seek asylum. For the people who are caught, it is often a matter of life or death. Through the years the association has managed to save some asylum seekers from being sent back to countries where they will be victims of torture.

Activities and Members

The association organizes recreational trips for children in asylum centers in order to get the children away from the centers. They also help to file complaints to the system and have a special focus on children and young people. The people behind My Asylum are primarily ethnic Danes who have earlier been involved in voluntary work in refugee centers during the War in Ex.-Yugoslavia, the members of the association are, however, young people who have themselves grown up in Danish asylum centers. My Asylum is independent of politics and does not receive public support. They receive support from funds and private donations.

Danish Refugee Help (DFH) [*Dansk Flygtningehjælp*]

Danish Refugee Help is a private umbrella organization for 29 member organizations and voluntary groups. It was started in 1956 with the objective to help Hungarian refugees in Denmark, but has since taken on the work of helping new refugee groups on the national and international level. The organization is open for national and international humanitarian

organisations that are not connected to party politics and work on a democratic foundation according to Danish Refugee Help's objective.

DFH writes on their homepage:

"Danish Refugee Help offers guidance for asylum seekers and refugees in matters concerning asylum- and integration, speaks their case, defend their rights and thus strengthen their legal right. On Learn Danish, which is Denmark's biggest network of language centers, we teach foreigners the Danish language and give knowledge about society and culture. And through cooperation with our integration network, municipalities, private companies and institutions get adapted solution about even the most difficult employment tasks and psyko-social initiatives."

Activities and Members

Danish Refugeehelp's asylum guidance offers guidance to all asylum seekers in Denmark. The guidance answers questions about the asylum procedure, the Danish immigration legislation, rules about expulsion and the regulations of the Dublin-conventions. The Guidance is based on an up-dated knowledge about the situation and rights of refugees and about the areas they have recently escaped from. They also offer guidance to newly arrived refugees in asylum centers in Center Sandholm²⁸. DFH is a private, humanitarian organization with money from collections, donations and the organization gets money from the Budget.

Red Cross [Røde Kors]

The Danish branch of Red Cross had the job of housing refugees since 1984 and they are responsible for the majority of the asylum center. It works to give asylum seekers in Denmark a safe, meaningful and dignified waiting period while they are waiting for the authorities to access their request for asylum. Red Cross is responsible for offers concerning education and activation, health and the psyko-social activities for inmates at the centers. This is

²⁸ There may be an association to the Documentation- Councilling Center about about Race-discrimination (DRC), since an email for contact to Danish Refugeehelps asylumbranches is called: advice@drc.dk .

understood as a translation of the RED Cross humanitarian principles – in practice.

According to the homepage, the organization tries continually to influence the development in order for life at the asylum centers – for example by daily dialogue with authorities and the police - can go on in a dignified and acceptable way. The asylum branch has no economic interest in the asylum work. The state gives a yearly grant to the running of the centers, which is 100 percent dependent on the number of asylum seekers. The economics of the asylum branch is separated from Red Cross' other activities.

2. Associations working with Anti-racism Issues

SOS against Racism²⁹ [*SOS mod Racisme*]

On their facebook page you can read that SOS against Racism was founded in 1988. It is an international cross-political movement with branches in Europe, Africa, North and South America. SOS against Racisme, Denmark, works to strengthen dialogue and understanding among people. It works to disclose and fight against discrimination. They fight against xenophobia and racism and fight for equal right and equal worth and for friendship between people. In Denmark SOS against Racisme is a national organization with local branches in Copenhagen and Randers shares an office space with DRC.

Activities

The organization publishes a journal for members a couple of times a year. Here they write about different issues related to racism and human rights. Sometimes you find articles written by researchers. Generally it is ethnic Danes who write about racism and only rarely first hand experiences from people who have experienced racism.

SOS against Racism organizes many meetings in order to inform and debate different issues connected to racism. They have held an evening debate about the Danish 'racism-paragraph' because of its 75 year anniversary, and it has organized debate evenings about hate-speech

²⁹ <http://www.sosmodracisme.dk/>

where they have invited well-known people from the Danish public debates. A large part of their work is concerned with information about racism, one example of this is a separate homepage for high school education in human rights. It also organizes debates about trafficked women, which is not necessarily anti-racist work, but rather information about humanitarian cases. In addition it is co-organizer of demonstrations but this does not seem like their primary activities.

Members and financing

It has not been possible to find a registration of members of SOS against Racism. It has 370 "likes" on their facebook page. To become a member of SOS against Racism you have to become a member and pay yearly dues. An introduction offer costs 50 DDK the first year and the yearly payment is 150 kr. DDK for people under education, unemployed and pensioners and 250 DDK for people with normal jobs. Young people below 25 pay only 50 DDK.

It seems that it is ethnic Danes who are members of SOS against Racism³⁰. It is not formed by 'victims' but rather by ethnic Danes who work to support knowledge about racism and about anti-discrimination work. This is mirrored in the national leadership, where all the names, except one, have ethnic Danish sounds. It is also visible on the facebook pictures, where all persons are white. It is also visible in the publication which the organization publishes, where all contributors are mainly ethnic Danish.

ENAR - Denmark³¹

ENAR- Denmark is a part of the European Network Against Racism. It was founded in 1998 of a group of grass root activists. ENAR's vision is a Europe free for racism and intolerance, where each has equal opportunities to participate in society. ENAR finds that a coordinated cooperation with ngo'er can contribute significantly to combat ethnic and religious discrimination. The organization works for creating understanding of the problems

³⁰ National leadership: The chair is Jette Møller; Vice-chair Anne Nielsen; Landskasserer John Udo Ukpo; Landskontakperson Birgitte Nielsen; Chair for SOS Copenhagen is Steen Eriksen

³¹ ENAR Denmark was interviewed as part of WS 1 under victim organizations: <http://enar.dk/om-enar/>

with racism and discrimination at the European level. Evolution in the understanding of racism in Europe is important for two reasons: First to strengthen learning and knowledge about what racism and discrimination is and how you combat it. Secondly to develop common tools across the EU to fight this phenomena. Experiences from the last 10 years have demonstrated that national governments can be convinced to act on the European level, at times when they have not been ready to move forward alone.

Activities

A large part of ENAR's work is participation in European conferences. There is very little information about specific work of the Danish branch. However, ENAR also participates in demonstrations, such as UN's International Human Rights Days. A number of people marched under ENAR's, Young for Human Rights Banners as well as Think with the Heart Banners. The main function is to contribute to the cross-national knowledge about racism and discrimination to their member organizations in Denmark.

Members and financing

It is not possible to find out how many members the organization has or names of personal members except Bashy Qureshi, who is the chair. Niels-Erik Hansen from DRC is also listed as a member of ENAR's board, i.e. at the board of ENAR's main European organization³². ENAR is an umbrella organization for other organizations. It does not say what it means to be a member of ENAR as an organisation. It seems to be enough if the organizations can benefit from the knowledge which is created across the European countries.

Documentation and Counselling Center about race-discrimination (DRC)³³

³² ENAR is initiated and supported financially by the EC. A great number of organizations are listed as members of ENAR in Denmark: [BRUN](#); Committee for Ethnic equality; Danish-Pak Friendship Society; Dansk Ekko; Demokratisk Fællesskab; [Dokumentations- og rådgivningscenter om racediskrimination](#); Ethnic Debate Forum; Fair Play; [Indvandrer Kvindecenretret](#); Jewish Muslim Network-DK; Komiteen for Retssikkerhed; [Missing Voices](#); Mor-Dan Venskabs Forening; Multi-etniske Forening; Nordic Minority Group; Radio Salam; Rådgivning for Udlændinge; Romano; [SOS mod Racisme](#); [Unge for Menneskerettigheder](#); [Universal Peace Foundation](#)

³³ The leader of DRC, Niels-Erik Hansen, was interviewed as part of the victim-organizations in WS1.

(Dokumentations- og rådgivningscenteret om racediskrimination)

DRC is an independent institution organized as a fond and which on the basis of the human rights conventions works against race-discrimination. DRC examines race-discrimination and gives advice, guidance and legal advice to persons that have suffered race discrimination , or have witnessed race discrimination.

DRC is the only organization in Denmark which on the basis of specific requests and complains fights against race discrimination and for ethnic equality. According to the homepage, this work offers unique opportunities to communicate experiences with race discrimination, discriminating barriers, positive initiatives, the juridical praxis in the field as well as national and international developments within this major social arena.

In addition DRC works on changing attitudes through conferences, seminars, courses and debating meetings. From the homepage you get the impression that DRC is busy and has many requests, also from ethnic Danes that seek legal help at DRC in relation to family unification.

Members (the board)

DRC is led by a board of 15 members, of whom 8 must belong to ethnic minorities. They are selected on the basis of their engagement and knowledge about human rights questions – with an emphasis on preventing and counteract race discrimination in all its forms.³⁴

Immigrant Counselling [Indvanderrådgivningen] (www.antiracisme.dk)

According the homepage, the immigrant counseling has existed in 14 years, but it is not clear whether it is up-dated. It is also difficult to find out about the establishment of the association.

³⁴ Morten Ejrnæs; Antony Sylvester Fakhra Shaheen, chair: Christian Horst, co-chair ; Shahin Laghaei; Henrik Karl Nielsen; Nadia Mouna Cakmak; Yildiz Akdogan; Mustafa Hussain; Foday M. Sankoh; Kirsten Schalburg; Nadeem Farooq; Mira Skadegaard Thorsen; Tim Jensen; Line Barfoed

Immigrant Counseling offers free anonymous counseling/guidance all over Denmark. It is a private association (NGO- they have employed people who give counsel every day) and has a large experience with counseling and guidance of immigrants and Danes married with immigrant. It is an immigrant counseling, which offers counseling about family unification, educational conflicts and 'forced marriage', "the Swedish model" (a way to avoid the 24 year rule), violence towards foreign women, refugee matters, residence and work permit, visa and they offer to give lectures and help corporations which have problems with integration.

The Immigrant Counseling has had local branches in Århus, København, Aalborg and Odense³⁵. At the moment it is only the Århus-branch, which is also the mother organization, which still exists as a physical counseling place. Part of the immigrant counseling offers guidance in relation to experience with racism and discrimination. This takes place at the home-page: www.antiracisme.dk. Here you can get help to report discrimination and racism to the police.

Antiracistisk Youth [*Antiracistisk ungdom*]

Antiracistisk Youth has a facebook page: <https://www.facebook.com/ARUKBH> According to this page they were founded January 10, 2013. The page has 1.007 likes. Antiracistisk Youth describes itself in the following way: *Antiracistisk Ungdom is an anti-racist group with base in the capital and not connected to any political party or groups, but cooperates with all anti-racists.*

They work against racism no matter where, in the street, in the media, in the municipalities in Parliament. The slogan is that racism should not have a platform. This also concerns racist organizations with a so-called democratic legitimacy. We want to create a platform where young people from all backgrounds can become active and organize against racism. We want people to break with the antiracist environments traditional target group and reach people who do not normally consider themselves politically active. It is not our vision to work as an

³⁵ In Århus (Indvandrerådgivningens moderforening): Leif Randeris (kontorleder af Indvandrerådgivningen), Maja Jensen, Anna Krosnowska.

anti-racist coffee club, we want to work in practice against racism. Words without action are worth less.

Activities

The organization is based on demonstrations. They participate in and plan antiracist demonstrations and counter demonstrations, for example directed against neo-nazists. In addition it organizes against fx nynazister. In addition it organizes diverse event aimed at creating solidarity and understanding between different cultures and ethnicities. They have for example organized soccer tournaments with food from different cultures. The focus is on Copenhagen. It is not possible to get the names of the members but judged from their facebook pictures, the members seem to be young ethnic Danes, who are members and participate in demonstrations.

Give racism the red card [Giv racismen det røde kort]

The player's campaign for diversity and positive integration focus on combating racism in the soccer environment. The main activities are **Stadium events** – in cooperation with the players, the clubs and fan clubs mark 'Give Racism The Red Card against racism'. The players march on the court with campaigns and banners and give racism the red card together with the audience. The stadium speaker emphasises the message by telling about the campaign and urge everybody to support it. Taken together it can give a strong message at the stadium and for the television-viewers. The campaigns and stadio events are part of in DANGER [I FARE] Action Week. DANGER Action Week is a common European initiative against racism, where sports organizations during one week together fight racism and discrimination.

School Visits [Skolebesøg]

When **Give Racism the Red Card** visits schools the purpose to put racism and discrimination on the agenda and thereby support the positive integration and the message about diversity. During visits the campaign representatives and soccer ambassadors enter into dialogue with the young people and teach them to discover racism and discrimination. With his personal

perspective and experience with racism the soccer ambassador serves as a role model. During the dialogue and through the teaching material concepts like racism and discrimination are made meaningful for the young people, who are the older pupils of 12-16 years. Each year a minimum of 5.000 pupils are visited.

Racismefree city [Racismefri by]

It is difficult to find information about this association "Racismefree city". It has an official Facebook page, which does not inform about what they stand for; what activities they participate in; their economics or who the members are. It is obvious that many of their activities are directed towards participating in and arranging different demonstrations and counterdemonstrations. Their focus is directed at fighting against groups at the extreme Rightwing and their activities, which the counterdemonstrations try to fight.

3. Associations and Organizations focusing on Ethnic Minorities Issues

Sabaah³⁶

Sabaah means "new day", "morning" or "new beginning". Sabaah is an association for homo-, bi- and transgendered with another ethnic background than Danish and others who sympathise with the group and its activities. The association Sabaah was founded 2006 with the objective to work to support homo-, bi- and transgendered with another ethnic background than Danish.

The background for the establishment of the association was to create a social community about being homo-, bi- or transgendered with another ethnic background than Danish. The social community aims to support and guide with the problems you meet as being homo-, bi- and transgendered with another ethnic background than Danish. The problems concern identity, "to jump out of the closet", religion, loneliness, family conflicts, parents, people's reactions, partners/couples and the homosexual environment.

³⁶ <http://sabaah.dk/>

Sabaah is conscious about that people who are homo-, bi- and transgendered with another ethnic background than Danish often have special needs and that it is necessary to make a special effort together with this minority group. Sabaah works for to make a special effort through information, counseling and creation of a social community where it is possible to meet people that you can identify with.

Sabaah wants to create a social community where it is possible to exchange adventures and experiences with others in the same situation as themselves. Sabaah aims to work at the cultural, political and social level to support and strengthen homo-, bi- and transseksual with another ethnic background than Danish, and to give persons with another ethnic bakground the opportunity to experience Danish culture. Sabaah sees this as an opportunity to create greater understanding and respect about each other's' cultures and strengthen integration. It is a basic goal for Sabaah to involve young people with ethnic minority background in the Danish tradition for voluntary work, strengthen their experiences with organization, planning, coordination, sharing of responsibilities and thereby develop their knowledge and experiences with democratic associational work.

Sabaah is not interested in creating a revolution or a revolt against their culture, family and community. Sabaah finds on the contrary that there is a strong need to work discretely and offer their members safely and security. Many of the members of the association are religious people who are proud of their culture. The need and conflict is to unite culture, religion and sexuality. It is Sabaah's hope that they will be accepted in their own environment one day in the same way as homo-bi- and transgendered with a Danish background are in their environment.

Economics

Sabaah is an association run by voluntary and was self-financed from 2006 to 2009. Since the level of activities has grown the association has strengthened their fund-raising activities. Between 2009 and 2013 Sabaah had a cooperation with Copenhagen Municipality

and has received a yearly grant of 480.000 DDK. It is possible for members to support the association with 50 DDK a year, but all Sabaah's activities are also directed at non-members. And it is not required to become a member in order to participate in the activities. It is not possible to find info about the number of members on the homepage, but on facebook they have 1715 "likes".

Activities

The majority of the activities initiated by Sabaah is a way to give homo-, bi- and transgendered with another ethnic background than Danish the possibility to meet others in the similar situation and exchange experiences. Sabaah also has a function as counsellor and offers anonymous telephone counseling to ethnic minorities LGBTs. On the homepage there is also a forum where it is possible to write anonymously about problems, such as with family and friends or with their love life. Sabaah's homepage has information about how you technically can stay anonymous on the internet so that others cannot trace your activities on the net.

In addition to counseling of LGBT ethnic minorities Sabaah offers lectures, where it is possible to book them to lecture at elementary schools, high-schools to speak about being LGBT with another ethnic background than Danish. Every Thursday the organization arranges a cafe night where pictures are banned. The idea is that it should be possible to participate anonymously and get a chance to meet new people. Sabaah participates in Copenhagen Pride, a yearly festival for LGBT'ers. In addition Sabaah arranges parties.

LGBT Asylum

LGBT Asylum is a group of LGBT-persons – asylum seekers, Danish citizens and persons with residence in Denmark. LGBT Asylum works for the rights of LGBT-persons in the Danish asylum-system. LGBT-persons are an overlooked group in the asylum system who meets special challenges. Many experience social isolation, as well as hate and assaults in the camps. Knowledge and information about the possibilities in these types of asylum cases is practically non-existent in the Danish asylum-system – this concerns the personal in the

camps, the administrative personnel in the Immigration Service [Udlændinge Service] as well as the asylum seekers themselves. And this can influence not only the situation of the asylum seekers during the application procedure but also the result of the specific cases.

Ethnic Minority Women's Council³⁷ [*Etnisk minoritetskvinders råd*] (EMKR)

This association was created in 2009 at a general meeting with 60 ethnic minority women representing about 25 associations. The goal is to function as a uniting forum for the associated in order to strengthen cooperation between the associations.

EMKR's objectives are:

- To make visible ethnic minority women vis-a-vis authorities, public institutions and political parties and society.
- To unite, coordinate and support the work of ethnic minority women's work.
- To focus on and work to improve the situation for ethnic minority women and their participation and position in society, both in Denmark and internationally.
- To contribute to secure ethnic minority women's rights and their social, cultural, professional and economic interests.

The vision is that all women with ethnic minority background will become citizens on equal terms with all women and men, politically, socially, economically and culturally. The mission is that EMKR works to get direct influence on the political agenda formulated by and of ethnic minority women. They aim to create new realistic pictures of ethnic minority women. EMKR is a member of the European Women's Lobby.

Activities, Members and Financing

EMKR works as form of umbrella organization for all associations started by ethnic minority women in Denmark. EMKR offers telephone counseling with voluntary social workers, case workers, job consultants, lawyers and other groups take the calls. They guide ethnic minority women about rights, immigrants and the social legislation, education and jobs, family

³⁷ A member of this organisation was interviewed as a 'victim' organization as part of WS 1.

relations, including children and young people, personal affairs and discrimination. EMKR offers counseling about establishment of associations. This seems to be the exception to the rule: An organization run by and for ethnic minority women. The price to join EMKR is 250 DDK. per year, and if you join as an individual member it is 100 DDK. per. year. In 2013 EMKR received 24.000 DDK. for rent of rooms in The Women's Building [Kvindernes Bygning] by Women's Building Fund [Kvindernes Bygnings Fond].

Muhabet

Muhabet is a drop-in center for psychic sick refugees and immigrants established 2003 at Vesterbro, in Copenhagen. The objective is to create a place where this group can find peace to and meet other people and become visible to the public. Muhabet is a café with an open kitchen and many small corners, sofas and tables. There is a big basement where children can play, a computer workshop and a big room which is used both for belly-dancing and praying.

Activities, Members and Economics

During Muhabet's daily opening hours the guests, the volunteers and the workers meet over a cup of tea or coffee. It is possible to get guidance in the form of help to call public persons, translate letters etc.. Or you are allowed to sit by yourself or take a nap in the sofa. You are not registered, you can remain anonymous. There are no hidden agenda, no association with political or religious groups or parties. It is an association which is led by the needs of ethnic minorities who function as 'hosts' and the users are their 'guests'. Muhabet is supported by many private corporations, funds and organizations, and they are also supported by public funds like 'Satspuljen'.

Conclusion

On the basis of this mapping of voluntary associations, the Danish team has selected three cases for anti-body organizations, which addresses three different issues: Refugees; Racism and Immigrants/LGBT. The selected cases are: *The Trampoline House*, a meeting place for

refugees, *SOS against Racism*, the Danish branch of an international organization and *Sabaah* inspired by the Danish LGBT movement. Together they can contribute to illustrate the strengths and weaknesses of the bottom-up Danish political culture, democratic traditions and present migration and anti-discrimination policies. The cases will be examined through focus group interviews with activists from the three meeting places and organizations. We also plan to have a formal interview The Danish Institute for Human Rights, which in 2011 published one of the few reports on Hate-crimes in Denmark. This report was the inspiration for the Handbook for the police about effective protection against hate-crimes³⁸.

One interesting issue is to explore is who the members are; how do they work; what are their strategies to fight discrimination and racism and what means do they use to combat racism and discrimination? To what extent they were founded by or for the people using them, by public authorities or ethnic Danes? And to what extent do they negotiate and collaborate with organizations with similar goals and to what extent they struggle with anti-democratic forces?

³⁸ *Hadforbrydelser i Danmark – vejen til effektiv beskyttelse*, [Hate-crimes in Denmark- the Way to effective Protection], Udredning Nr. 8, Institut for Menneskerettigheder 2011. *Hadforbrydelser. En håndbog til politiet* [Hate crimes a handbook for the police], 2011.

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