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**Active Civic Participation  
of Immigrants in  
Denmark**

## POLITIS – a European research project

### Project information

POLITIS is short for a research project with the full title: *Building Europe with New Citizens? An Inquiry into the Civic Participation of Naturalised Citizens and Foreign Residents in 25 Countries*. The European Commission funds the project that mainly seeks to improve our understanding of different factors that promote or inhibit active civic participation of immigrants. A unique project construction is developed that includes workshops with foreign-born students who are recruited as discussants and interviewers. National experts in all 25 EU countries have prepared country reports on the contextual conditions and state of research concerning civic participation of immigrants. These reports can be downloaded from

[www.uni-oldenburg.de/politis-europe](http://www.uni-oldenburg.de/politis-europe)

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## **Abstract**

Issues related to integration of immigrants have been widely discussed in Denmark since the beginning of 1970s. But the new millennium was the climax of the mutual acquisition between polarized coalitions in the Danish public and politics regarding the responsibility for what has been addressed as “the failure of integration policy.”

After winning the governmental power in 2001, the new Liberal – Conservative coalition introduced a fundamentally different attitude to migration and integration that includes fundamental changes of Danish policy. The new policy has already created many institutional and administrative changes and has probably the greatest impact on immigrants’ participation in civic and other areas. It seems that the scope, the content and the intensity of the debate as well as the overall discursive structure and institutional setting are changing.

Describing the state of art on immigrant population, the pattern and variation of their participation and the areas of focus in the political, academic and public debate in the country, this national report attempts to provide some perspectives on the future scenarios of immigrant participation in Denmark.

Apart from the empirical description of the state of art, and a review of the most important literature on immigrant’s participation, this national report includes considerations such as formal institutional setting framing or hindering immigrant’ participation, the changing opportunity structure, that makes equal and substantial participation to a daily practice of democracy, and the impact of the dominant discourse and institutional practice on the scope and the pattern of immigrants’ participation.

Based on the study this country report will present a rather cautious conclusion (or a hypothesis): Growing religious identification among immigrants and attachment to religious organisations and associations as well as development of the so called “parallel Society” during recent years seems to reduce immigrants’ overall participation in democratic processes. Such a hypothesis is supported by Putnam’s studies (1993) on diffusion of democratic participation and the role of religion. The empirical challenge would be to find out whether the new Danish policy on migration and integration together with the dominant discourse in Danish media and public debate leaves the religious and ethnic identification and participation as an attractive mode of civic and political participation among immigrants. Variation of representation among different immigrant groups indicates a possible connection: The most active immigrants in politics measured by representation at local and national level and in media are individuals who can contribute, be it in constructive or polemic manners, to discussions on Islam. That excludes certain immigrant groups with no or little religious affiliation. Danish policy of contradiction (that is formal openness and substantial closure) leaves the ground open for non-democratic forces.

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## **Part I. Understanding the conditions for immigrant participation**

### **I.1 Key events and demographic development in the integration history of Denmark**

The history of the new immigrants in Denmark began in the late 1960s and early 1970s: A few thousands people from Turkey, Yugoslavia and Pakistan, seeking for vacancies at the bottom of the labour market, chasing their dreams of fortune, found their ways to “the country up north”, Denmark. The international and national industry was growing rapidly, the Danish welfare state and the public sector were expanding, the educational system was flourishing and the willingness of the national labour force to getting hired down the occupational hierarchy was low. Many other structural changes were taking place (Goli, 2002). Immigrant workers could help by filling out the gaps, at least for a period of time until the economy could be restructured and adjusted to new circumstances. This conception was a matter of consensus between many actors such as the Danish government, trade unions, the public and the media in Denmark (Würtz Sørensen, 1988).

During the first years of 1970'ties, it was then both the expectation of the Danish society in general, the Danish government, trade unions, employee organisations and not to forget the immigrant population themselves, that they would go back to their countries of origin. They would expectedly do so either when new circumstances with no more need for them in industry occurred, or they had saved enough money to improve their life conditions back home (Goli, 2002, Würtz Sørensen, 1988). Due to this widespread expectation the immigrant population were named foreign workers/guest workers (Fremmed-/gæstearbejdere) in the public debate, explicitly underlying their status as temporary residents in the country. As guest workers nobody expected any participation from them apart from the one in the labour market, and even though they already were covered by some welfare benefits, their political rights were not put on the agenda. Their participation in civic life was extremely poor and limited. They were the unknowns – the strangers.

Shortly after, in the following years of economic recession, further structural changes in industry, the gradual decrease in manual work, the oil crises and increasing unemployment specially in industry, where immigrant workers were concentrated and made up “Last hired – first fired”, it became a matter of fact, that guest-workers not only had decided to stay in Denmark, but they actually had begun bringing their relatives to Denmark to make a new life. Realising the situation and the sudden and extensive unemployment especially among immigrant workers the Danish government introduced the first ‘stop for immigration’ to the country. The stop was announced as a temporary measure, but became a permanent settlement in practice, but not an effective one (Hjarnø 1996). Due to their right to family reunification under the protection of law the number of immigrants kept on growing. Years after, waves of national and international unrest brought groups of refugees to the country. The number of immigrants grew further.

1980s became then the decade of political mobilization among immigrants, supported by public funds and by left-wing parties and trade unions (Mikkelsen 2002, Goli, 2002).

By mid-1990'ties the immigrant population (people with refugee background included) demanded through lobbying for being considered “ethnic minorities” (Goli, 2002). Nowadays in the public debate the term “ethnic minorities” refers exclusively to immigrants and descendants with origin in “non western” and Non-EU countries. Ethnicity became a major issue and culture a battlefield in the public debate (Schierup, 1994).

The new millennium began with an intensified, from time to time ideological, polarisation and hectic political and public debate on migration and integration. The election in 2001 was the climax of the mutual acquisition regarding the responsibility for the failure of integration policy between polarized coalitions in Danish public and politics - somehow the majority of the Danish electorate broke with the Danish social democratic and social liberal migration and integration policy. The winning coalition, Liberals and Conservatives, were then helped in office by right wing party's (DF) parliamentary support. The far right party had become the third biggest party of the country. A new, in many respects, fundamentally different attitude to immigrants, and a rather fundamental change of Danish Policy on migration and integration, obviously supported by the public, was then introduced. The new policy has already created many institutional and administrative changes with rather great impacts on the political atmosphere, the immigrant populations' life, and the conditions of civic participation in Denmark. But who are:

### *Immigrants in Denmark*

By the first January, 2004 the immigrant population in Denmark (immigrants, refugees and descendants from all countries) made up 442.036, or 8.2 pct. of the total Danish population of 5.397.640 people. The immigrant population includes people of both "western" (29.2 pct.) and "non-western" (70.8 pct.) origins. In order to understand the statistical materials in this report as well as understanding the content and the discourse of the Danish political and public debate on integration, migration and immigrant participation a brief specification of some core terms might be useful.

Statistical materials in Danish context contains several terms/categories, usually used as identical terms or supplementary specification, implicitly underlining the socioeconomic status of different immigrant groups:

**"Immigrants"** refers to people of foreign descent in general. The word does not necessarily refer to the status of citizenship. Immigrants are born in a foreign country.

**"Descendants"** refers to individuals, neither of whose parents is a Danish national born in Denmark.

**"Foreigners"** refers to all immigrants and descendants from both western and non-western countries. Used as statistical categorisation the term "Foreigners" does not refer to citizenship status of the individuals or groups. Statistically the term "Foreigners" is usually identical with "Immigrants and descendants".

**"Immigrants and Descendants"** as well as "Foreigners" consists of several subdivisions: The most important ones are: "Immigrants and Descendants from western countries" and "Immigrants and Descendants from non-western countries". The last category is identical with "Immigrants and Descendants from Third countries".

**"Western countries"** includes: EU countries, Nordic countries, USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Andorra, Liechtenstein, Monaco, San Marino, Switzerland and Vatican

"Non-western countries include all other countries.

**"Danes"** refers to individuals with at least one of the parents being a Danish national born in Denmark.

**"Ethnic minorities"** is not a statistical category, but widely used in public debate, referring to visible minorities among immigrant population, explicitly or implicitly characterised by among other things features such as a low socio-economic status, overrepresentation among people on welfare benefits, marginalised, mono-ethnic orientation in social interactions, significantly different cultural and religious backgrounds, priorities, principles and living stan-

dards, concentrated in poor usually suburban residential complexes and poor participation in the labour market.

By 1. January 2003 the frequency of occupation among immigrants from third countries was only 47 pct. In comparison the same rate for Danes was 77 pct. But the rate of frequency of occupation shows considerable divergence among specific categories of immigrants - be it due to their national backgrounds or other demarcation factors. Immigrants with origin in Somalia, Lebanon, Afghanistan and Iraq have the lowest attachment to the labour market.

#### *Major immigrant groups*

The so-called original/working-immigrants; Turks, Pakistanis and Yugoslavs, are still among the largest immigrant groups in Denmark, but by time also people from other countries whose residence is mainly due to their status as refugees, like people from Iraq, Iran, Somalia and Bosnia, have become considerable populations. Tables below show the share of the largest immigrant groups as a share of the total immigrant population (including immigrants from western countries.)

**Table 1: Immigrants and their descendants by origin, 1.1.2004**

Origin	Immigrants		Descendants <sup>1</sup>		Immigrants and descendants	
Nordic countries	35,861	10.6%	4,921	4.8%	40,782	9.3%
EU	51,363	15.2%	5,914	5.7%	57,277	13.2%
North America	7,185	2.1%	1,060	1.1%	8,245	1.9%
Third countries	243,393	72.1%	92,339	88.4%	335,732	75.6%
All	337,802	100.0%	104,234	100.0%	442,036	100.0%

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Foreigners in Denmark, 2004. Ministry of Integration)

**Table 2: Major immigrant groups by origin in Non-western countries**

Country of origin	Immigrants	Descendants	Percentage of total immigrant population
Turkey	30,887	23,370	12.3%
Former Yugoslavia	30,416	8,305	8.7%
Iraq	20,701	4,970	5.8%
Lebanon	12,101	9,689	4.9%
Pakistan	10,689	8,561	4.4%
Somalia	11,774	5,589	3.9%
Iran	11,730	2,483	3.2%
Vietnam	8,643	3,812	2.8%
Sri Lanka	6,815	3,509	2.3%
Afghanistan	8,986	1,247	2.3%
Morocco	4,948	3,851	2.0%

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Foreigners in Denmark, 2004. Ministry of Integration

**Table 3: Participation in the labour market**

Country of origin	Main occupation 2003				Base
	In job	Unemployed	Outside labour force	Total	
Lebanon, Palestine Stateless	34.1%	11.0%	54.9%	100.0%	<b>90</b>
Former Yugoslavia	45.9%	9.9%	44.2%	100.0%	<b>256</b>
Turkey	51.1%	9.8%	39.1%	100.0%	<b>280</b>
Somalia	17.0%	15.4%	67.6%	100.0%	<b>75</b>
Iran	60.2%	7.0%	32.8%	100.0%	<b>86</b>
Iraq	31.1%	8.4%	60.5%	100.0%	<b>111</b>
Pakistan	50.5%	6.4%	43.1%	100.0%	<b>105</b>
Total	44.2%	9.6%	46.2%	100.0%	<b>1,002</b>

Source: Mikkelsen 2003

This explains much of the variation with regard to membership in trade unions: Among immigrant of Iranian background 51% are members of a trade union, while only 14.2 % of Iraqis and 17.6 % of Somalis are members.

### *Foreign nationals and Citizenship*

40.4 pct. or 178 491 of the total immigrant (including descendants) population in Denmark are today (2004) Danish citizen of a different ethnic/national background. Up to 2003 a growing number of immigrants and descendants applied for and became Danish citizens. In 1994-1995, 2 658 immigrants and descendants became Danish nationals; the number for 2001-2002 was 9 378. A year after in 2002-2003 there was a rather dramatic reduction by 77.2 pct in issued citizenship. But the development in the following year (2003-2004) shows a modest growth. In 2003/2004, 4 885 individuals became Danish nationals. The tendency towards adopting Danish citizenship seems to be much more widespread among descendants, where 64.5 %, almost twice as much as immigrants, are Danish citizens.

The dramatic reduction mentioned above, is due to the fact that the requirements for becoming a Danish national have been hardened in 2002 by the government. The new requirements that immigrants should meet to become Danish citizen include documentation of certain levels of excellence in Danish language, familiarity with the Danish society and its basic values, culture and history. Besides the applying immigrant typically must prove a minimum unbroken residence of nine years in the country. (The requirements are different and depend, among other things, on the applier's national background or the status of his/her residence. (For refugees 8 years and for nationals of Nordic countries two years.) Table below shows the development in the number of foreign nationals with certain national backgrounds:

**Table 1: Foreign citizens as of January 1, 1980, 1993-2002 (in nominal terms)**

	1980	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Foreign citizens total	99,796	180,103	189,014	196,705	222,746	237,695	249,628	256,274	259,357	258,629	266,729
Scandinavia, the EU and North America	54,667	59,531	61,843	64,971	68,563	72,298	75,330	77,698	78,764	79,668	80,911
Immigrant countries total	41,940	79,020	82,289	84,143	87,216	92,927	96,392	99,081	99,615	99,424	101,063
Refugee countries total	3,189	41,552	44,882	47,591	66,967	72,470	77,906	79,495	80,978	79,537	84,755
Considerable immigrant countries total	29,555	54,280	55,517	55,395	56,632	59,758	60,769	61,316	59,394	57,126	55,285
- Turkey	14,086	33,653	34,658	34,967	35,739	36,835	37,519	38,055	36,569	35,232	33,383
- Former Yugoslavia	7,126	11,154	11,311	10,800	11,073	12,804	12,759	12,495	12,137	11,530	11,474
- Pakistan	6,400	6,259	6,368	6,401	6,552	6,736	6,934	7,135	7,115	7,071	7,160
- Marocco	1,943	3,214	3,180	3,227	3,268	3,383	3,557	3,631	3,573	3,293	3,268
Refugee countries total	3,189	41,552	44,882	47,591	66,967	72,470	77,906	79,495	80,978	79,537	84,755
- Afghanistan	26	667	835	1,038	1,296	1,637	1,982	2,357	2,878	4,200	7,061
- Ethiopia	74	436	441	507	498	517	544	540	558	521	520
- Iraq	102	4,385	5,280	6,041	7,077	8,066	9,419	11,294	12,687	13,821	16,541
- Iran	215	8,248	7,939	7,678	7,363	7,029	6,844	6,330	5,702	5,013	4,906
- Former Yugoslavian states <sup>1</sup>	0	152	307	524	17,008	19,380	21,172	21,961	22,925	23,424	23,880
- Lebanon	156	4,203	4,364	4,402	4,438	4,368	4,421	3,834	3,418	2,538	2,349
- Romania	49	997	1,068	1,126	1,173	1,117	1,095	1,046	1,099	1,106	1,176
- Somalia	102	2,089	3,638	5,125	6,925	9,683	11,890	13,138	14,265	14,447	14,585
- Sri Lanka	181	5,672	5,782	5,769	5,736	5,415	5,409	5,114	4,851	4,293	4,112
- No citizenship	965	10,185	10,427	10,421	10,452	10,166	9,902	8,721	7,588	5,532	5,020
- Vietnam	1,319	4,518	4,801	4,960	5,001	5,092	5,228	5,160	5,007	4,642	4,605

Source: Statistics Denmark, "Statistical briefings - Population and Election", 2002:5, together with The Danish Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration Affairs' database in Statistics Denmark, bef1.

<sup>1</sup> Former Yugoslavia states include Bosnia-Herzegovina, The Yugoslavian Federation, Croatia, Macedonian and Slovenia

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Foreigners in Denmark, 2002. Ministry of Integration)

The following table shows development in the number of naturalisation among certain national categories of immigrant and descendants in Denmark.

**Table 5: Naturalisations by national background 1993 – 2002**

Former nationality	Year									
	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Europe (A)	1,671	2,630	2,083	2,704	2,298	3,160	5,072	5,900	5,342	7,340
- <i>Yugoslavia (former.)</i>	138	806	413	629	291	695	709	1,523	1,137	3,413
- <i>Turkey</i>	560	915	797	917	1,036	1,243	3,154	2,787	3,130	2,418
Africa (B)	343	266	311	466	269	711	903	2,371	1,751	3,396
- <i>Morocco</i>	168	136	122	201	110	248	322	485	213	313
- <i>Somalia</i>	5	7	12	32	17	159	215	1,189	1,074	2,263
North America (C)	44	81	46	48	81	76	58	53	65	74
- <i>USA</i>	35	67	36	33	66	56	51	38	38	60
- South and Latin America (D)	98	71	94	130	134	161	149	255	251	334
Asia (E)	2,256	2,026	2,202	3,069	1,998	4,531	4,765	7,844	3,631	5,137
- <i>Afghanistan</i>	27	20	24	29	15	101	98	276	215	301
- <i>Iraq</i>	241	166	177	339	244	718	918	2,210	871	1,161
- <i>Iran</i>	710	491	531	829	553	969	914	1,105	437	519
- <i>Lebanon</i>	234	237	216	314	160	811	601	1,099	309	376
- <i>Pakistan</i>	192	203	145	220	149	284	463	545	297	573
- <i>Sri Lanka</i>	370	515	635	765	376	613	523	819	365	594
- <i>Thailand</i>	32	27	56	65	44	85	137	214	124	172
- <i>Vietnam</i>	169	125	137	200	126	365	439	647	318	508
Oceania (F)	14	10	8	7	16	29	19	16	13	13
Stateless/others (G)	611	652	516	859	686	1,594	1,450	2,372	849	1,006
All (A+B+C+D+E+F+G)	5,037	5,736	5,260	7,283	5,482	10,262	12,416	18,811	11,902	17,300

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Foreigners in Denmark, 2004. Ministry of Integration

### *Residence*

The growth in immigrant population in recent decades (that is from 3.0 pct of the total population in 1980 to 8.2 pct in 2004) is mostly because of the growth in the number of immigrant from third countries, and is mainly due to growth in three categories:

- People who have attained temporary and/or permanent residence in the country on the basis of their status as political or de-facto refugees.
- People who have residence in the country in accordance with their right to family reunification and/or marriage.
- And finally people who are born in the country (descendants)

The reason for residence in Denmark that has been statistically registered since 1995 shows that refugees and family-reunified persons by 1. January 2004 count for 75.7 pct. of all individuals with origin in a foreign country.

The following table specifies the basis for residence for selected immigrant groups:

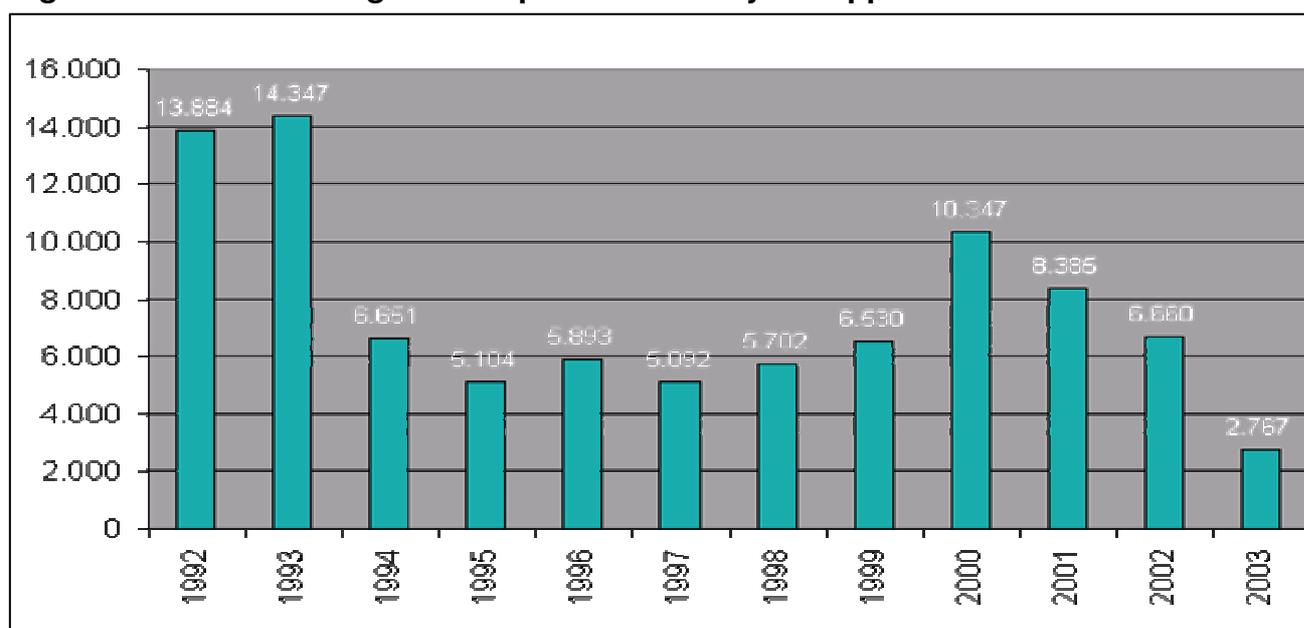
**Table 6: Basis for residence for immigrants from selected non-western countries**

Country of Origin	Family Reunifications		Refugees		Others		Total	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
Iraq	7,313	37%	12,181	61%	496	2%	19,990	100
Bosnia-Herzegovina	1,681	9%	16,107	89%	339	2%	18,127	100
Turkey	14,466	89%	92	1%	1,607	10%	16,165	100
Somalia	4,812	35%	7,918	58%	899	7%	13,629	100
Afghanistan	2,278	25%	6,608	73%	164	2%	9,050	100
Former Yugoslavia	2,882	43%	3,443	51%	376	6%	6,701	100
Lebanon	2,262	38%	3,053	51%	649	11%	5,964	100
Pakistan	3,289	65%	74	1%	1,692	33%	5,055	100
China	1,640	33%	263	5%	3,103	62%	5,006	100
Iran	1,947	40%	2,595	54%	305	6%	4,847	100
Other countries	38,434	45%	11,095	13%	36,832	43%	86,361	100
All countries	81,004	42%	63,429	33%	46,462	24%	190,89	100

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Foreigners in Denmark, 2004. Ministry of Integration

Going back to the new Danish migration and integration policy and its electoral promises on reduction of newcomers, the Ministry for Refugees, Immigrants and Integration (usually called Ministry of Integration) reports that residence permits, grounded on asylum, family reunification or marriage, have been reduced through recent years. According to the ministry the number of residence permits on ground of family reunification in 2004 is 3 013. In 2003 there were 4 791, and in 2002 8 151. The Figure below shows the development in spontaneous applications:

**Figure 1: Number of Registered spontaneous asylum applicants 1992-2003**



Source: Statistical Yearbook of Foreigners in Denmark, 2004. Ministry of Integration

Also the number of applications from spontaneous asylum seekers fell from a level of 5100 – 10300 in the period 1995-2002 to 2757 in 2003. In 2004 the percentage of acknowledgement (asylum seekers who get a positive answer to their application for asylum) was 9 %. The figure below shows the number of registered spontaneous asylum seekers in the period 1992-2003.

Statistical forecast regarding the share of immigrant population of the total Danish population indicates a further growth from the contemporary share of immigrants and descendants from non-western countries (5.8 pct.) to 11.4 pct. by 2050.

### *Illegal immigrants*

There is no systematic and reliable estimation of the number of illegal immigrants in Denmark. But it is acknowledged officially and publicly that illegal immigrant workers, especially from Eastern Europe, or new member EU countries, are occasionally employed on a temporary basis under inferior working conditions in specific branches such as building, small enterprises, houses or in agriculture. Another group of people without a legal residence permit are asylum seekers, whose applications for asylum have been turned down, but who refuse to leave the country and instead make a living illegally in enterprises owned by immigrants of their own ethnic background or other immigrants (Rezaei, 2004). In regard with the issue of illegal immigrants the Danish political and public debate during the last decades has almost exclusively focused on illegal economic activities among immigrants from non-western countries. Now it seems that illegal activities among immigrants from western countries are going to be included in the agenda.

## **II.1 Major issues discussed with relation to immigration**

From the very beginning the core of the Danish policy debate has somehow been circulating around the rights and duties of the immigrant population toward the Danish state and society (Würtz Sørensen 1988, Goli, 2002). With the new liberal-conservative government that came to power in 2001 some researchers argue that a new era of migration and integration policy has begun (Torfing, 2003). They refer to a process of discursive change that is regenerated and reproduced through daily practice. Obviously the Danish public and politicians are that is on a daily basis, negotiating the boundaries between immigrants' rights and obligations. Torfing (ibid.) refers to the situation at hand as a shift from welfare paradigm to a workfare paradigm, a shift from the attitude of "what can we do for you" to the attitude of "what can you do for us and for yourself", a shift from qualifying immigrants for the demands of the labour market through a long process of education and cultural adjustments, to a policy of making productive individuals out of immigrants, if possible from the first day of residence in the country.

Discursive shift or not, this might be able to explain the dramatic change of the integration policy that has been introduced and institutionalised by the liberal-conservative government, and which from time to time have brought Danish policy on integration and migration on the front page of media around Europe and the world. The fact is that in spite of much resistance from the oppositional coalition in Danish politics, there has not yet been demonstrated an alternative, what so ever, that could question the new policy, neither any convincing efforts to move the Danish median voter's preferences and perspectives in regard with migration and integration. The successfully changed attitudes towards the dilemmas of migration and integration, and the rather apparent extensive diffusion of the new political preferences seem to support the idea of ongoing discursive changes, which include a large number of new and somehow controversial/contested policies and practices. Much of major elements in the Danish public and political discussion with relation to immigrant population in Denmark *are* about the new policy and its actual and plausible consequences.

Being a democratic country, demands for changes in policy are articulated through public debate in Denmark. Media plays a major role. That is beyond any doubt, especially in a country where the social contact between immigrants and natives are rather limited. Taking a close connection between politics and media as a premise is one way to investigate, recognise and identify the major issues of the contemporary Danish discussion is to look at the government's policies and programs, in other words, the major political programs and visions of the government. The other is to look at the topics preferred by media:

### *The current political agenda*

Matters related to the immigrant population involve many aspects, such as political, judicial, economic and labour market, social, cultural and so on. Obviously the different ministries deal with certain aspects regarding immigrant populations' life in the country, but the main responsible ministry has a central role in initiating and communicating new policies. Few years ago the policy of integration belonged to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, but now is designed, coordinated, and supervised by Ministry for Refugees, Immigrants and Integration, publicly called Ministry of Integration. The minister Mr. Bertel Haarder, has been a very active contributor to the public debate on immigrant related issues.

Clicking [www.inm.dk](http://www.inm.dk) (The homepage of the ministry) you will see a site that tells the story of what is considered important and what is going on. The site presents the main political areas with relation to immigrants and integration: The areas include:

- Residence in Denmark
- Integration
- Denmark and Schengen
- Danish Urban Regeneration Program
- Repatriation
- Citizenship
- Labour market
- The Think Tank on Integration
- Danish Language Education.

A brief look at "The Latest News", by 3. January 2005, the first Monday of the New Year shows a status on what agendas have found their way to the most important home page on migration and integration related issues. The Latest News are:

1. Conference: Denmark needs highly skilled people from all over the world
2. The integration effort in municipalities can be improved.
3. A seminar: Get inspired to better integration by prize winners, researchers and leaders.
4. Evaluation report on "the use of consultants with knowledge about immigrants, and some other specially designed measures to improve immigrant's chances to get a job.
5. Voluntary efforts in the field of integration have positive outcomes.
6. Agreement between Danish Folk Party (DF) and the government about policy initiatives in the field of foreigners.

7. Status report on the work with deportation of asylum seekers whose applications has been turned down.
8. Year Book on foreigners in Denmark 2004 – status and development.
9. Somalis in job – Best practice report about getting Somalis integrated in the labour market.

FAQ on site reflect what occupies the minds of ordinary people, journalists, politicians or others with interest in integration policy. FAQ are related to:

- The number of asylum seekers that Denmark receives each year.
- The percentage of spontaneous asylum seekers who get residence in the country.
- The share of asylum applications that Denmark receives compared to neighbouring countries.
- Problems regarding the settlement of refugees in the country?
- The number of positive response to applications for family reunification.
- The number and the pattern (for instance gender, age, education) of immigrants and descendants in the country.
- Matters related to immigrants and descendants becoming Danish citizens.
- The number of refugees and immigrants who get support to leave the country in accordance with repatriation programs.
- The pattern of immigrants' participation in the labour market and in different municipalities.
- The impact of immigrants and foreign nationals on the Danish economy.
- The amount of money that asylum seekers and foreign nationals under integration law receive from the state or municipalities?

### *Media debates*

Deciding what the main topics have been on the agenda of the media is relatively subjective, specially in Danish context, where very few publications have had the specific focus on the agenda of the Danish media and the question of immigrants: Based on an empirical investigation of the daily news flow on ethnic affairs in the dominant news media, Hussain (1997, 2000) argues that Danish media have played an important role in the (re)production of a prejudiced discourse on ethnic minorities. In this discursive process, Moslem minorities have been the primary victims, argues Hussain (ibid.): “In the absence of social interaction between the majority population and minority groups, the cognitive frame of reference through which members of the ethnic majority premise their arguments is largely based on mental models of ethnic events that are constituted by media-mediated themes and topics on minority issues in the daily news flow of the national media.”

Referring to 9/11 as a focal point of implicit reference, Hussain identifies the major issues discussed in Media at the beginning of 2005 as following:

Since 11. September 2001 the Danish media's focus on Islam have been intensified. Most issues discussed in relation with immigrant population, are in one way or another related to question of Islam. Among issues that specifically are highlighted in media, Hussain underlines:

- The question of cultural integration of immigrants and descendants into Danish values.

- The role of Muslim religious leaders (Imams) in integration process.
- The question of gender-relation among Moslem immigrants.
- Arranged and/or forced marriage.
- Divergence and convergence between immigrants' and Danes' values.
- Dilemmas related to collective and individual freedom, freedom of expression, speech and associations.
- The limits of tolerance. (Interview with Hussain)<sup>2</sup>

A brief look at the newspapers and electronic media during the last years seems to support Hussain's conception. A review of the media coverage in Denmark in summer 2001 where 800 articles were studied shows that 95 pct. of them were about Islam, normally giving a rather negative image of Islam and Moslems (NEL, 2002).

But in recent years other issues, not specifically related to Moslem immigrants, seem also to have received much media attention. Among these, we would like to mention:

- The question of ghettos and their impact on immigrants' cultural and societal integration
- The shadow economy, untaxed activities and other illegal transactions through mono-ethnic network among immigrants.
- Youth crime and urban gangs among descendants.
- The future of the Danish welfare state and the role of immigrants.
- Institutional problems and challenges related to immigrants' participation in the Danish labour market.
- The worrying gap between immigrants' and descendants' educational preferences and behaviour, and the actual and future needs of the Danish labour market.

Also other practical and institutional issues like the question of discrimination; the possible and actual impacts of the state's and municipalities' policy toward integration have been highlighted in media repeatedly.

Lack of current scientific empirical research on media debate related to immigrants and integration taken in account, we summarize that four major topics dominated the media debate during the last years:

- Islam, Danish values and integration values
- Ghetto and concentration.
- The shadow economy and it's relation to immigrants' possibilities for socio-economic mobility.
- Labour market and immigrant children's education

### **I.3 Institutional setting framing/hindering immigrant participation**

Following the move of the median voter to the right during late 1990's, the failure of migration and integration policy, liberal and conservatives came to power in 2001 among other things on explicit promises about reducing the number of asylum seekers, stopping arranged

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<sup>2</sup> Interview with mr. Mustafa Hussain, 12.dec. 2004

and forced marriage among immigrants, and fundamental changes of the premises and objectives of the integration and migration policy. Since then a series of major institutional changes have been introduced, and it seems that the implementation of the new policy has been successful in the sense, that the practice of integration and migration policy has followed the desired political changes. Facilitating active participation of immigrants and descendants was put on the top of the political agenda from the beginning of the Liberal - Conservative coalition government.

The goals of the new integration policy are: to encourage and create participating and tax-paying citizens, who are equal with other citizens in every manner. They should be guaranteed equal rights and formal and substantial opportunities for participation in the society's political, economic, social, religious, and cultural affairs. The political desire is that the individual immigrant develops an understanding of the basic Danish values and norms. And the goal of public servant is to make sure that the individual immigrant becomes economically self-sufficient, the sooner the better (The law on integration, 2001).

### *Framing conditions*

New immigrants from non-western countries with the perspective to stay in Denmark get "Citizen in Denmark" (Published by Ministry of Integration, also available on [www.inm.dk](http://www.inm.dk) in text and spoken version in different languages, [www.inm.dk](http://www.inm.dk)). Apart from much practical information, the publication describes the rights and obligations of citizens of the country. The new-comer will during the first month of residence in a municipality take part in an "introduction program", that is free for charge and is meant to help the new-comer to learn Danish language, to get familiar with Danish society, and to consider his/her own possibilities through labour market related activities. Being on the Introduction-benefit (Introduktionsydelse) the newcomer signs an individually designed contract with the municipality where he or she lives, and is obliged to participate in the program, being at the same time available for and focused on the labour market. The individual aspect of the 3 years contract take individual qualifications, competencies and preferences regarding career plans and education into consideration. The dominant discourse encourages the public servant at municipalities to stay focused on the potentials of the individuals rather than the barriers. It is about making good tax-payers out of immigrant population rather than producing clients on the welfare.

"Citizen in Denmark" presents Denmark as the land of opportunities and emphasises that immigrants can practice their religion as they wish, start an association or join one to fulfil their individual or collective goals, and there are lots of activities, be it political, cultural, societal, religious etc. they can participate in. The newcomers are encouraged to take part in the political and societal life of their municipality. Since 1981, they have the right to participate, both as voter and candidate for seats in local elections after three years of residence. After 9 years of residence in the country they can apply for Danish citizenship, implying the right to vote in general elections and run for parliament seats. The applications are granted depending on how far they have been behaving appropriately and fulfil certain other requirements (like being over the age of 18, not having criminal records, not owing money to welfare institutions etc.).

Following the law of integration of 1999, municipalities with a certain size of immigrant population have been able to establish Local Integration Councils (Integrationsråd). By 2001, 48 local "Integration Councils" were established around the country. The task of the councils is to give advice on local integration policies. They can also be an arena of political participation of immigrants on integration issues.

Among other information to newcomers are the freedom of religion, freedom of media, freedom of speech, and freedom of association. Also part of the Danish constitution is highlighted: Citizens have the right in concert to worship God according to their belief. According

to the publication there are 150 big and small religious communities in Denmark. 90 religious societies, Islamic and Buddhist included, are acknowledged the right to marry couples. They have the right to hire priests, imams, rabbi and others, to build mosques, churches and so on and to facilitate churchyards according to their belief. They can run schools and publish their ideas freely. Such encouragements follow the principle of participation in democratic processes which are highlighted in the publication (ibid. p. 61).

All citizens have the right to start an organisation or association. The only requirement is to hold a meeting, a general assembly to decide the objectives of the association. Danes are famous for their tendencies to facilitate and participate in associations and according to the publication 73 % of the Danish population are member of more than one association. The newcomers are encouraged to participate in associations as these are considered as keys to the Danish society. According to this welcome-publication there are about 200 association whose activities are specifically ethnic related including cultural, political and friendship-associations. The objectives of many of these associations are typically to strengthen the ties between immigrants and Danes. Also participation in media debate is underlined, and there are radio and television broadcasting on a local level for different immigrant populations, highlighting and dealing with their specific problems. Immigrants are known statistically and publicly for what is considered culturally founded talent and potential for establishing themselves as entrepreneurs, creators of small businesses. The government has introduced several institutional measures to develop that talent.

Before the shift in policies in 2001, immigrants' participation in the society was not only encouraged by a fast track to legal equality and equal welfare rights, but also by substantive subsidies to immigrant associations. These measures to encourage participation have been reconsidered and mostly stopped.

#### *Hindering factors*

The change of integration policy includes among other things, a differentiation among people with regard to social rights. The Introduction-benefit (introduktionsydelse) is about 52 % - 77 % of the benefit for people on welfare. This reduction has been explained by the government as attempt to facilitate further and greater economic incitement to get a job as quickly as possible. Togeby (2003) characterises the actual outcomes of the policy as reduction of poly-ethnic rights and weakening of those resources that must be in place before immigrants, or any others, actually can use their formal and equal rights to participation.

A second part of the new policy is related to a new set of conditions that have to be met before family-reunification and marriage. The new requirements indicate that both parts are above 24 years old, that they shall fulfil some other economic requirements, and that they shall prove that the sum of their common ties/attachments to Denmark and Danish society, all factors taken in to account, are larger than their ties to a second country. This policy too has been criticized on the same grounds (among many others by UN human right organisations, and European Human Rights commissioner Alvaro Gil-Gobles, (DR Nyheder, 14.juli). It is considered as a reduction of immigrants civil rights, even the law is not directly addressed to immigrants.

”The requirement that the spouses' aggregate ties with Denmark are stronger than those with another country hits immigrants and second-generation immigrants particularly hard, including those who have lived in Denmark for most of their lives and have become well integrated in society” (Gil-Robles, ibid.) Explaining the objectives if the new policy, Bertel Haarder, Minister of Integration said: “Everybody knows that it's not about Americans. But unfortunately we must not discriminate. We shall require the same from all. And I mean *unfortunately*” (Jyllands-Posten 17.april 2003).

According to the new policy the spouse (the possible new-comer) cannot receive any benefits from the welfare state, and all her/his life-expenses must be covered by the husband or the wife during the first seven years of residence. There should be no doubt that the economic incitement for getting a job, what so ever, is very high. As little doubt is there that the economic pressure does not leave much place for getting involved in any other relations that do not help the economy of the new immigrant family. The economic incitements are also strengthened by the principle that indicates that people with stronger ties to the labour market can get unlimited residence faster than others.

Dealing with the shift in the integration policy Togeby (2003) concludes that in spite of the formally declared goals of the government for furthering cultural diversity, following the change of policy in 2002, the cultural openness in substantial manner has been under pressure: "The absence of poly-ethnic rights make it difficult for ethnic minority members to actually unfold their cultural diversity." More specifically poly-ethnic rights such as having substantial government subsidized facilities to learn mother tongues, run own Free Schools, run own organisations and so on. Protecting these types of rights has obviously not been the new policy. On the contrary, many of these rights have been abolished or restricted in practice. At the same time immigrant associations and organisations as a part of the new policy have lost public financial support.

It is probably too soon to have any idea of whether these measures are framing or hindering immigrant participation. The absence of group rights for ethnic minorities, especially in situation where the ethnic belonging is highly politicized and where institutional discrimination is a matter of scientific fact, (Banton 1994, Hjarnø 1997, Goli, 2002, Rezaei 2004a, Mikkelsen, 2004) have not been considered encouraging to participation.

The ongoing discussion on Moslem population's right to have and to run a cemetery in accordance with their own religion seems to be a good example: According to the law the minorities have the right to exercise religious priorities, including running their own churchyards. But at the same time the institutional setting indicates involvement from the public administration to initiate and realize such projects. This involvement has shown to be a very complicated one. After a long period of negotiations there has been issued a license to facilitate a Moslem graveyards in areas belong to Copenhagen municipality. Evidence shows that the municipality of Copenhagen had required overprice and the case came for the court.

The focus of political and public debate on Islam and Moslems has generated new and more religious grounded mobilisation among Moslems.<sup>3</sup> Recently Danish a Moslem organisation has announced an active participation in the next election in favour of opposition and against the liberal-conservative government, they have sued the Danish national public service television for propaganda against Islam by repeatedly showing the assassinated Dutch director Van Gogh's documentary and recently (6. January 2005) has demanded a publicly administered mosque-tax similar to church-tax, those members of the Danish national church pays.

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<sup>3</sup> Reflecting on the lack of substantial opportunities for practice of cultural priorities and engagement on different premises Integration consultant in Copenhagen municipality, author of a publicly debated book on arranged and forced marriage between among immigrants, Manu Sareen, argues: "The young immigrants and descendants feel like being pushed out of the Danish society and they withdraw themselves increasingly and seek in to their own parallel society, and that movement makes integration a rather impossible project. Politicians must go the opposite way, they should let young immigrant and descendants enter the society on their own cultural and religious premises. (*Jyllands-Posten*, 29/12/03).

The institutional setting that influence premises for participation seems to rather encourage to exit than voice. Dealing with new measures introduced by government Hussain (2000) emphasizes that the state subsidies to the migrant associations and other anti-discrimination NGOs were stopped already from the January 2002 with the approval of the financial budget. No special policy measures were, however, introduced to integrate the ethnic minorities into the media and communications. By eliminating funding for such associations and organisations, Hussain argues, the minorities' own production of media is feared to be severely effected by the new policy, whose results are yet to be seen.

## **Part II. The focus of literature on active immigrant participation in Denmark**

Attempting to find out what the contemporary and future focus of the Danish literature on immigrants' participation is one cannot ignore the key role of the institutional setting for research. The institutional setting in Danish context can be characterised by a triangle:

One is the political and practical priorities, often expressed through declaration of intentions, and presentation of general ideas about courses of actions by the political and the administrative systems. Discovering the causes of the vast immigrant unemployment and lack of participation in the economic sphere, and empirically founded policy advice on how to resolve these problems are both the main focus of literature and a widely appreciated research strategy.

For example, in November 2000 the Danish Government appointed the Think Tank on Integration in Denmark. The Think Tank shall analyse the integration of immigrants and descendants in the Danish society, the future population development and its economic consequences.<sup>4</sup>

The second one is the academic ambitions often expressed by junior and senior researchers at the national level, which is characterised by a desire for discovering fundamental relationships, developing theoretical framework, comparative theoretical and empirical studies etc. A good example here could be: What is the relationship between ethnicity and participation in the host country's formal institutions? The development of empirically founded theoretical perspectives is also a rather academic focus.

The third type of focus of the literature is determined by public, media debate and opinion polls. The last one among the three determining factors brings up widespread gossip and hypothesis, usually expressing subjective ideas or prejudices about certain relationships between immigrants and specific social phenomena such as: A relationship between crime and ghetto, between crime and religiosity, or between ghetto and fundamentalism.

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<sup>4</sup> During the last four years the Think Tank has produced following publications:

1. Educational choices of immigrants and children of immigrants (2004)
2. Immigration and Integration Policies in Denmark and Selected Countries (2004)
3. Immigration, Integration and the National Economy, (2003)
4. The Integration of Foreigners in the Danish Society, (2002)
5. Population development 2001-2021, (2002)
6. "The Integration of Foreigners in the Danish Society (2001)

Dividing the areas of immigrant participation in **the political, the economic, the social, the cultural and the religious ones**, it is beyond doubt that immigrant participation related to the economic sphere of life is the area that receives the very prime attention. It is due to the idea that self-sufficiency in economic matters is the fundament of civic participation. With regard to immigrant participation in the political sphere of life, it seems that quantitative surveys on participation of immigrants in politics at national and local level have received some attention, especially during the last 3-5 years. But immigrants' participation in politics cannot be considered as a high priority area of focus.

Due to a consensus established and reproduced from the very beginning of the new history of migration in Danish context in the 1970's, the question of immigrants participation in the economic sphere of life has traditionally been closely tied to two concerns: Firstly the concerns about the Danish welfare state, the efficiency of it, the future of it, possible reforms of it and so on. Secondly the economic participation is usually studied as a parameter closely connected to the structure of the Danish labour market. The areas of focus include very often aspects like incitement structure, motivation to work, discrimination and recently the opportunity structure as a product of interconnection and interplay between three factors: The Danish welfare state, the structure of the Danish labour market, and the possibilities that are products of development of the "ethnic society" it self. The last is recently referred to as "The Parallel Society".

In the following we will highlights the major focus of Danish research on immigrant participation. Firstly, the design of the most comprehensive set of studies on immigrant participation is described. Then, different topics are discussed in more detail.

The paradox of integration and other works by Fleming Mikkelsen (2002, 2003, 2005 Forthcoming) represent some of the major contribution on immigrant participation in different areas of integration and civic participation. Concluding on a vast material Mikkelsen argues: "The marginalization of immigrant in the public and private labour market have a determining influence on immigrants income and therefore a great impact on their possibilities in several areas of activities such as housing market (concentration/dispersion), activities in the private sphere, in the civic society and in politic" (Mikkelsen, 2001: 23). Mikkelsen argues that marginalization of immigrants and the following unjust/unequal income distribution have a much greater impact on immigrants' lives and attitudes than their cultural heritage and characteristics." The type of social and ethnic network that immigrants are engaged in is both an effect and a cause of their activities in different spheres of life. The paradox that Mikkelsen refers to is that immigrants, in spite of being marginalized in the Danish society, in general express a sense of satisfaction with life in Denmark.

The data material for Mikkelsen's description and analysis include 4692 telephone interviews with immigrants and descendants over age of 15 in four quarters in 1999-2000. The sample includes immigrants and descendant both with and without Danish citizenship (25% of the respondents were Danish nationals with immigrant background.) The population of the surveys have their national backgrounds in 7 countries (Turkey, Pakistan, The former Yugoslavia, Somalia, Iran, Iraq, and Palestine) makes up a very large share of the total number of immigrant and descendants from non-western countries in Denmark: Besides the sample have been supplemented by series of qualitative data on immigrants, employees in municipalities and other public institutions.

Beside the descriptive data, the study includes among many other issues experienced discrimination, the public policy in integration, how Danish media handle migration and integration issues, description of the immigrants' socio-economic profile, educational behaviour and status, views on business enclaves, income mobility. Among issues more directly related to the question of civic participation, Mikkelsen presents data on immigrants' attitudes toward

authorities and police, schools, associations, spare time activities, social contacts and friendship networks, marriage and whether they understand themselves as Danes, meaning how far they share the sense of common national belonging. Beside the study provides data on immigrants' participation in national political parties, perspectives of establishing "ethnic" parties, immigrants' political behaviour in elections, their attitudes towards media etc.

Mikkelsen 2005 (Immigrants social, religious and political mobilisation in Denmark – an international perspective) follows up the line from *The Paradox of Integration* (2001) and other publications (2001-2004). The forthcoming publication will include a discussion of different forms and types of collective strategies and evaluate research strategies and compare competing intellectual and theoretical framework to the study of immigrant mobilisation and participation. One of the main focuses of the new study will be immigrant organisations in Denmark, an area of study that has been suffering under lack of academic attention. Mikkelsen will then describe post-war social movements in Denmark and focus on exile organisations. The study at hand will contribute with the historical and contemporary status of immigrants and ethno-nationals and deal with cross-ethnic participation in immigrant organisations in Denmark. The study attempts to provide explanations on why, how and where immigrant organisations were created, and what has made their success or failure during the last decades. Historical and chronological as the study is designed, it would review the history of immigrant organisations from friendship clubs at the beginning of 1970'ties to nationally wide-spread organisations as IND-Sam (Umbrella organization of Immigrant organizations, 1981), POEM (Umbrella organisation of Ethnic Minorities, 1993) and ELO (Ethnic Land Organisation, 1999). Beside the study will include a deeper look at religious organisations, political mobilisation, political coalition between immigrants and natives, social and political protest movements among immigrants, and finally the mobilisation of immigrants as a social class and a national minority. Also specific immigrants groups' associations and organisations would be studied at the cross field between politics and integration: It includes Turkish and Kurdish-Turkish, Pakistani, Yugoslavian, Iranian, Tamils, Somali organisations and associations. Another crucial focus of the study is how religious and political mobilisation has contributed to the development of immigrant participation in Danish context. Also the question of immigrant youth is dealt with. Mikkelsen would then discuss the shift from culture as the creator of the sense of community among immigrants to the growing impact of ethnically crosscutting religious communities and how the international situation influence the scope, extent and direction of immigrants' mobilisation in Denmark. One example is US politics in Middle East, another future of Turkish possible membership of EU. Mikkelsen attempts to include immigrants' trans-national relations and network as a supplement to Togeby's (previously discussed) more institutional explanations of immigrants' participation.

### **Political participation**

About 1.5 % of the total electorate have an immigrant background. Participation of immigrants in local elections is much lower than the average. A bit more of 1 % , or 49 of the total seats of municipality committees around the country have an ethnic background, while 1.1 % of the total number of seats in the national parliament are occupied by individuals of immigrant descent.

The homepage [www.olestig.dk](http://www.olestig.dk) is probably the only site which continuously and historically presents immigrants active participation in national and local politics. There are plenty of statistical materials that include immigrants' participation in national and local parliaments, participation in election and in national parties. The homepage is run by a private person, journalist and writer/speaker Ole Stig Andersen. Here you can, among many other (non scientific) statistical materials, find information on how many individuals with immigrant background have been running for national and local parliaments/Council through years, how many im-

migrants and with which national backgrounds run in the next elections, and estimations on their chances to succeed. By now only two members of the national parliament are immigrants/descendants,<sup>5</sup> but 56 immigrants have seats in local parliaments/Councils around the country as follows:

Turkey 24, Pakistan 6, Lebanon 5, Former Yugoslavia 4, Morocco 2, Sri Lanka 2, Iran 2, India 2, Somalia 1, Afghanistan 1, Syria 1, Algeria 1, Ghana 1, Taiwan 1, Uruguay 1.

In the national election 2001 there were 14 immigrant and descendants running for a seat in parliament. In the election to the national parliament 2005, there were 21 immigrants and descendants running for a seat. They are from following national background:

Pakistan 5, Turkey 5, Morocco 3, Syria 2, India 2, Taiwan 1, Lebanon 1, Uruguay 1, Somalia 1.

Togebly (2003) has contributed a major study of immigrants' participation in political spheres. The study is empirically primarily based on a survey (by Schmidt & Jacobsen, 2000) on the young immigrants and descendants of Turkish, Pakistani and former Yugoslavian origin at the age of 28-36 with more than 20 years residence in Denmark. The study is supplemented by a closer look at immigrants as actors in Danish politics. Starting with the immigrant participation in politics at the national level it is established that participation in election is generally lower than average for Danes (Togebly, 2003). In areas with high concentration of immigrants, like Copenhagen and Aarhus municipalities, participation in election is 26 % and 22 % lower than average. But that is the general picture: Under the surface there is much variation among different ethnic communities with Pakistanis in Copenhagen and Turks in Aarhus as at the positive end of the scale. Togebly presents some interesting perspectives and frameworks for the study of immigrant participation. Using the institutional setting as a major point of reference the framework includes possible ways to explain variation in political participation among immigrants and have focus on relationship between political rights and political resources on the one hand and the substantial participation on the other. Also the question of identity is included.

Togebly (ibid.) explains the variation as a product of collective mobilisation that has been taking place among certain immigrant groups prior to the election. According to Togebly (ibid.) the impact of collective mobilisation in Danish context should be understood as a product of the structure of the election system, namely that the number of the personal votes a candidate receives can determine the individual candidate's chances for getting a seat in the parliament. Togebly (ibid.) establishes a rather obvious relationship between the total number of immigrant population in an area on the one hand and the number of elected representatives on the other. Urban areas where the immigrant population makes up more than 6 pct. of the electorate have the number of representatives they are supposed to have. It could, all other things being equal, mean that immigrants are underrepresented in municipalities where they make up a rather small minority. Based on this observation Togebly underlines the impact of the residential patterns among immigrant population.

With regard to political participation, other than national and local election, Togebly finds a lower participation and representation among immigrants: They are less often members of political parties, less often member of unions, less often members of voluntary organisations, read less often Danish newspapers, and so on. But there is also much variation here. Descen-

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<sup>5</sup> The latest national election (February 2005) brought on more representative with immigrant background in the parliament.

dants and second generation immigrants seem to have a rather average participation in political parties, unions and grassroots associations (Togebly, 2003).

In order to explain the lack of participation and the variation among immigrant groups Togebly (2003) highlights the following factors:

- The cultural background of immigrants.
- The economic and social integration of immigrants in Danish society.
- The size and concentration pattern of specific immigrant groups.
- The Danish political institutions.

In a different publication Togebly (2000) concludes in rather general terms, that the political institutions of the host country have a greater impact than the cultural traditions of the country of origin on immigrants' behaviour.

In the publication "Impression Management and Political Entrepreneurship in Denmark" Necef (2002) presents a comparative study of some specific immigrant elite strategies to influence the policy and the public debate. It brings Necef about a closer look at the institutional and discursive structure of the channels of political influence for immigrant political entrepreneurs. Outlining the political opportunity structure, the dominant discursive environments, and the election system in Denmark, Necef discusses the conditions and circumstances that ambitious immigrant political entrepreneurs must deal with in order to become successful. Necef sees a very tight link between strategies of success and talent for making good management of impression together, and the talent to mobilise the potential political capital among immigrant population and natives.

"Khader's (the prominent example of success in Danish context) strategy, argues Necef, can be seen as a successful adaptation to Denmark's political opportunity structure, that is, mainly, to the electoral and party system." Necef, (ibid. P.13) then outlines two key elements of this political opportunity structure, the electoral system and the system of neo-corporatist interest intermediation. As far as the individual entrepreneurs' electoral strategies are concerned the alternative strategies include Ethnic polarisation, consensual accommodation/integration, and Mixed strategies.

Necef concludes: "The Danish political opportunity structure opens basically two formal strategies of elite-level participation for political entrepreneurs of ethnic minority origin: the electoral system and the system of neo-corporatist interest intermediation. When employing these strategies the entrepreneur can choose to be consensual or confrontational. However, entrepreneurs taking the electoral way, especially on the national level, have to be consensual due to the specific conditions in Denmark, i.e. a well-developed welfare state, a neo-corporatist system, no concentrations of individual ethnic minorities large and unified enough to be able to send a candidate to the parliament, whose election promises are mostly directed at his/her ethnic background" (Necef, 2002:30).

Other studies show that immigrants engagement in their own organisations are carried by the elite, and many immigrants feel that their concern and political preferences are not represented in a satisfactory manner by Danish political institutions. That is considered as the main reason why immigrants turn to their own societies and establish their own organisations (Amid, 2002: 100).

### **Migrant and Ethnic Minority Volunteering**

Discussing the meaning of the word voluntary, Hjørne (Center for Voluntary Social work, 2003) refers to the nature of organised voluntary social work as activities that take place

through organisation that are established on a voluntary basis. Voluntary organisations and associations operate on a non-profit basis. The activities of these organisations and associations are based on voluntary work – either on the supervisory board or in the organisation’s daily activities. They are furthermore characterised by voluntary membership and members’ participation in the organisation’s activities of their own free will. According to this definition Hjære excludes trade unions, where immigrant passive participation is relatively high. (Immigrants participation in and their understanding of voluntary association can differ from these definitions in practice, see below)

Hjære concludes that voluntary work and formation of associations among ethnic minorities is a highly neglected research area in Denmark. Our knowledge of volunteering is very insufficient on individual, organizational as well as on social level, i.e. in relation to the participation of refugees and immigrant in associations, how and to which extent they form associations – and what characterizes them – and what the Participation and forming of associations means on a broader social view, for instance in relation to the issue of integration (Hjære, 2003).

Hjære also concludes that the extent of literature on immigrant voluntary work is characterised by insufficiency. She refers to two studies that specifically focus on voluntary activities by immigrants. One is “Channels of Influence of Ethnic Minorities” by Hammer and Bruun (2000). The other study is “The Political Organising of Ethnic Minorities in Denmark” by Mustafa Hussain (2002). The article giving an overview of the political organising of ethnic minorities in Denmark since the beginning of the 1970s, argues that the organised interests of the immigrants’ associations and multiethnic umbrella organisations have been marginalized in the political decision-making process (Hjære, 2003).

Neither the poor engagement of immigrant population in voluntary social activities, nor the insufficient extent of literature on immigrants participation in voluntary activities, Hjære argues, should be taken as expression of inadequate effort from public authorities in this regard. Explaining the poor participation and the poor literature Hjære argues that many projects that aim at improving immigrant participation for instance within the housing sector are running in the most underprivileged residential quarters. Here all actors in the local community are involved; citizens, local institutions, business, church networks and of course, the associations.

A yet not fully published study with a population of 3000 (SFI; Danish National Institute of Social Research, Inger Koch-Nielsen) indicates that 35 % of the Danish population are engaged in voluntary work, that men’s and women’s participation are almost equal, and young and middle-aged people are more active. It does not seem that a more specific focus on immigrant population is included in the study, but by other factors, such as age, education, residential areas, it would probably generate ideas to hypothesis about immigrant participation in voluntary work.

### **Levels of participation**

Schmidt (2003) looks at how immigrants spent their time (Time application among Pakistanis, Turks and Somalis – a perspective of integration (SFI6 2003). The focus of the study is who young immigrants from three specific immigrant groups in two specific urban areas in Denmark (Copenhagen and Aarhus). The pattern of time application is considered as an indicator of immigrants’ participation in the society. Schmidt discusses what preconditions must be met before participation can take place. She looks at labour relation, family relations and the internal labour division, activities in free time, in mono- and cross ethnic networks. Being statistically non-representative in relation to immigrant population, and limitation of the scope

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<sup>6</sup> Danish National Institute of Social Research

and the design of this study for instance the selected population, it is rather uncertain how the study can contribute to highlight the participation of immigrant population in more general terms in the Danish integration or migration context.

Dealing with immigrants' participation in organisations and association Mikkelsen differentiate between two roles of the association: Firstly as creators of social community largely autonomous from state and market. Secondly as creator of reciprocal trust between individuals and collectives. Due to the structural and institutional conditions the participation of immigrants in trade unions exceeds their participation in any other associations and organisations. Referring to a study (Tireli, 1997:80) Mikkelsen emphasizes that immigrant members of trade unions are surprisingly invisible in activities, also in organisations where immigrants and descendants make up a majority, close to majority or considerable minorities of some unskilled trade unions.

Also according to Mikkelsen's data the participation of immigrants in civic associations and associations is very poor: 7.1 % participate in Parent committees in schools, 3.4 % in association in housing sectors, and 8.5 % in free time association such as clubs, 11.7 % in cross-ethnic associations, and 1.2 % in political associations. The level of activities is 0.36 for the whole population. But there are major variations in the level of participation among different categories of immigrants.

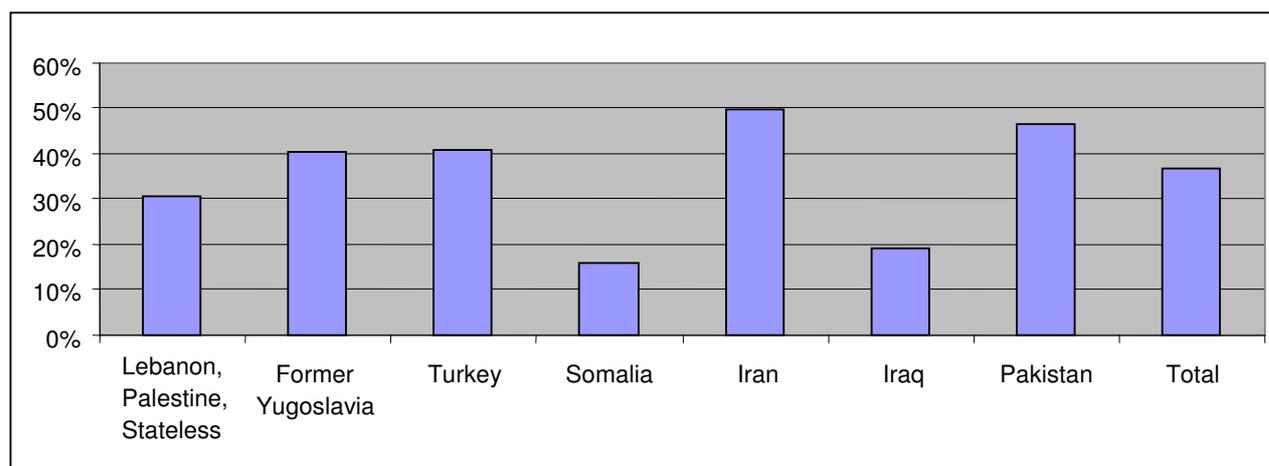
The highest level is represented by immigrants of Iranian descent (0.61) the lowest among immigrant of Pakistani descent (0.21) if one excludes one specific aspect of participation in trade unions. Immigrants from Iranian and Pakistani descent who represent the opposite ends of engagement in associations are on the other hand very close to each other when it comes to spare-time activities. Both represent a very high level of engagement in clubs (such as sport clubs etc.) while immigrant of Turkish descent seems to prefer participation in more ethnic oriented forums. Mikkelsen concludes: 21% of immigrants are engaged in spare time activities that involve people of Danish descent, while 45 % prefer activities that one way or another excludes people of Danish descent (p. 117) and 34 % are active in spare time activities that are mixed (Danes and immigrants).

Mikkelsen then shows the type and extent of friendship between immigrants and Danes: 12 % of immigrants have only Danish friends, while 30 % have both Danes and immigrants as friends. But a majority of 58 % can't count any Danes among their friends. On the basis of the type and extent of activities and the type of friendship and other social contacts, Mikkelsen present different immigrant categories' subjective conception of whether they consider themselves as integrated or not integrated in the Danish society. A majority of immigrants (56 %) feels that they are well integrated, and a minority (13 %) consider them selves as not-integrated. Iranian, Pakistanis and Turks score highest among immigrants who consider themselves as well integrated.

### **Labour market related civic participation**

37 % of immigrants are members of a labour market organisation (2003). Participation in labour market organisations is dependent on many factors, specially the character of the tie that the individual immigrant has to labour market, length of residence and many other factors (Rezaei, 2004, Mikkelsen 2001).

**Table 7: Immigrant membership of trade unions by country of origin**



Source: Mikkelsen 2001

Mikkelsen (2001) shows that, as far as immigrant participation in labour market organisations is concerned, the trade union representation of immigrants from Iran, Pakistan, Turkey and former Yugoslavia are above the average, while especially immigrants with origin in Somalia, Iraq and Palestine are below the average.

Taken the institutional structure of the Danish labour market in to account, Mikkelsen (ibid.) emphasizes that immigrants' membership of a labour market organisation cannot be taken as an indicator of active participation.

### **Housing-related participation**

Another aspect of immigrant participation that seems to receive a growing attention from decision makers and community actors is connected to participation in housing areas. Iversen (2001, see Amid, 2002) show that participation of immigrants in matters connected to their housing is rather poor. The study shows that in some urban areas where immigrant population make up about 50 % of residents only about 18 % of the members of residents committees were individuals of immigrant background. Other studies indicate that immigrants on the national level only make up 1-2 % of the total number of residential committee members. (Togeby 2003) Interviews with members of these committees (Iversen, ibid.) indicate that decision makers and other institutional actors consider immigrants' participation very important due to ambitions for strengthening democratic participation and also with regard to the societal and political wish that immigrants must be represented in matters important to the place they live. Decision makers in formal institutions seem to show a growing attention on the reason for immigrants' lack of participation and representation. Iversen (Ibid.) explains the reason for the unsatisfactory level of immigrant participation with reference to immigrant populations' lack of knowledge about the mechanism and procedures that characterise the Danish democracy, too much talk and too little activity, and that immigrants' experience these forums as not really be in charge. Politicians, that are supposed to be the receivers of good advice from these committees seems not to pay enough attention and priorities to these forums.

### **Membership in immigrant and Danish associations**

Dealing with immigrants' voluntary and active participation in organisations, Mikkelsen shows a relatively much lower participation in organisations and associations, both measured as membership of a Danish and/or immigrant association. The following table shows the de-

velopment of immigrant organisations among different immigrant groups from the beginning until now<sup>7</sup>:

**Table 8: Immigrant Organisations 1965 - 2004**

Ethno-national group	Year							
	1965-1975		1981-1985		1991-1995		2001-2004	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
Turkish	8	10.8%	36	17.3%	71	16.6%	72	16.7%
Kurdish-Turkish	2	2.7%	10	4.8%	18	4.2%	15	3.5%
Kurdish					11	2.6%	10	2.3%
Pakistani	12	16.2%	28	13.5%	40	9.4%	33	7.7%
Yugoslavian	13	17.6%	18	8.7%	11	2.6%	8	1.9%
Former Yugoslavian					14	3.3%	24	5.6%
Somalian			1	0.5%	20	4.7%	31	7.2%
Tamil					18	4.2%	16	3.7%
Arabic	3	4.1%	3	1.4%	11	2.6%	19	4.4%
Iranian	1	1.4%	4	1.9%	19	4.4%	13	3.0%
Iraqi					11	2.6%	13	3.0%
Indian			6	2.9%	11	2.6%	9	2.1%
Moroccan	3	4.1%	3	1.4%	9	2.1%	10	2.3%
Chilean	4	5.4%	7	3.4%	3	0.7%	2	0.5%
African	3	4.1%	22	10.6%	31	7.3%	26	6.0%
Other ethno-national origin	9	12.2%	48	23.1%	64	15.0%	65	15.1%
Multiethnic	16	21.6%	22	10.6%	65	15.2%	64	14.9%
<b><i>n</i></b>	<b>74</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>208</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>427</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>430</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

*Source: Organisations-databasen. Mikkelsen, Forthcoming*

The following table shows the type of organisations in which immigrants participate:

<sup>7</sup> In an interview Mikkelsen informs that the data must be looked at cautiously because of the fact, that it's has been impossible to register whether an organisation is still active.

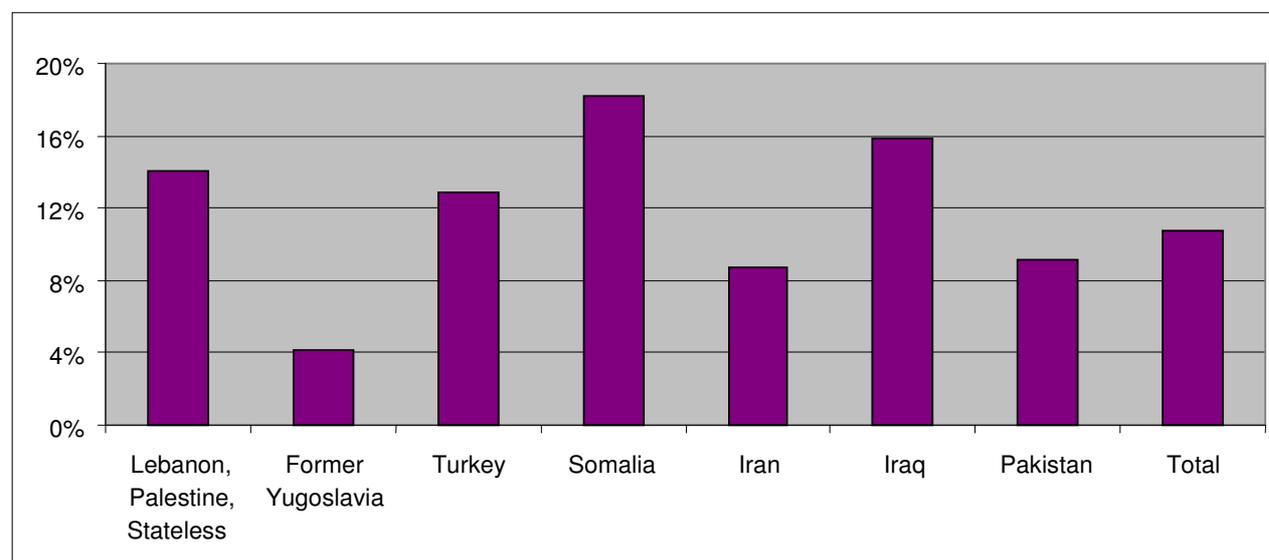
**Table 9: Type of organisations 1965-2004**

Organization type	1965-75	1981-85	1991-95	2001-04
Regional Association	5.4%	3.8%	3.1%	2.5%
Club	44.6%	5.3%	3.3%	1.9%
Cultural Association	20.3%	49.5%	52.2%	49.1%
Professional Organization		1.0%	2.6%	2.8%
Religious Organization	9.5%	10.6%	8.0%	8.3%
Youth Association		4.3%	5.2%	7.9%
Female Association		3.8%	6.1%	6.0%
Sport Club	1.4%	2.4%	3.3%	2.5%
Political Organization	18.9%	16.3%	10.4%	13.0%
Other		2.9%	4.7%	6.1%
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
<b>Number of organizations</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>208</b>	<b>423</b>	<b>432</b>

*Kilde: Organisationsdatabasen., Mikkelsen, forthcoming*

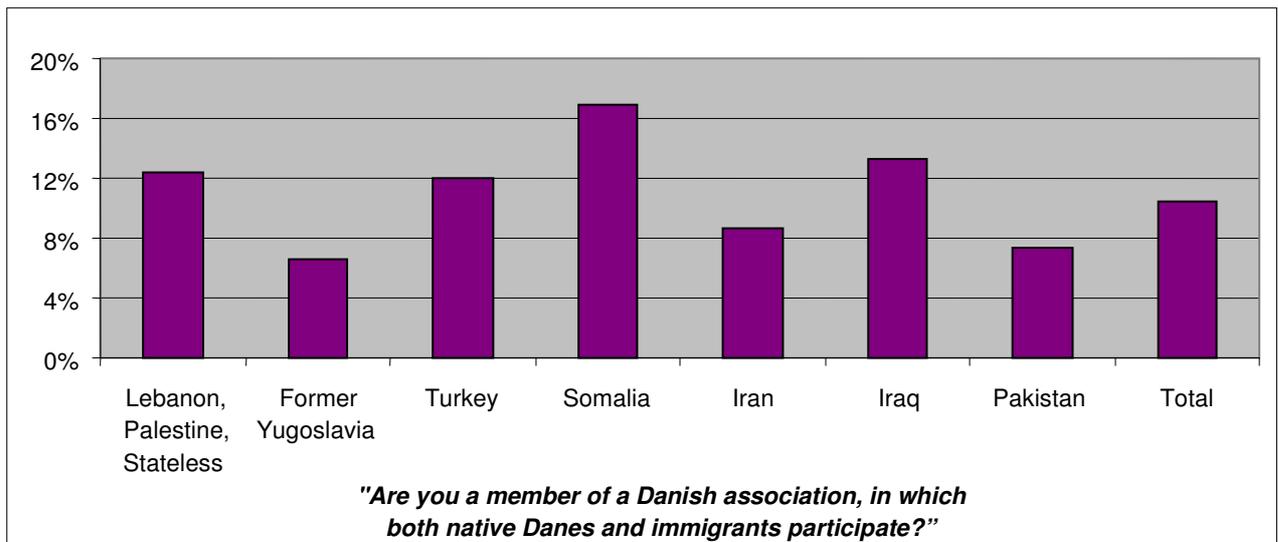
The following tables show immigrants' membership and/or participation in an immigrant association and membership and/or participation in a Danish association:

**Figure 3: Membership of/ participation in an ethnic association**



Source: Mikkelsen 2003

**Figure 4: Membership of/ participation in a Danish association**



Source: Mikkelsen 2003

Immigrants with background in Somalia, Iraq, Palestine and Turkey have the highest membership with immigrants of former Yugoslavian origin at the bottom. Mikkelsen observes that neither gender, religion, religious attitude, length of residence, the degree of integration, family structure, professional status, education, income, or linguistic competencies can explain the extent of active participation in voluntary organisations. Based on empirical observations Mikkelsen (ibid.) argues that the explanation must be found in a variable like whether the individual immigrant has been involved in political and voluntary organisation in country of origin, or has a strong network in Denmark. The citizenship status of the individual immigrant also seems to have a positive impact on the individual immigrant's active involvement in associations.

**Table 10: Membership of Danish and ethnic associations**

		Membership of ethnic organization		
		Yes	No	<i>n</i>
Membership of Danish organization	Yes	32	72	<b>104</b>
	No	76	810	<b>884</b>
	<i>n</i>	<b>108</b>	<b>882</b>	<b>990</b>

( $\chi^2 = 45.3$ ;  $p = .0001$ )

Source: Mikkelsen, 2003

Mikkelsen concludes that 'social capital' should be addressed as the explanatory factor. Further he documents a difference between immigrants' membership in mono-ethnic and cross-ethnic organisations (membership in organisation and association dominated by Danes). Specially membership in Danish dominated associations seems to be explained by whether the individual immigrant is a Danish national, and/or has a feeling of being discriminated, has Danish friends or previously has been engaged in political organisations. On the other side,

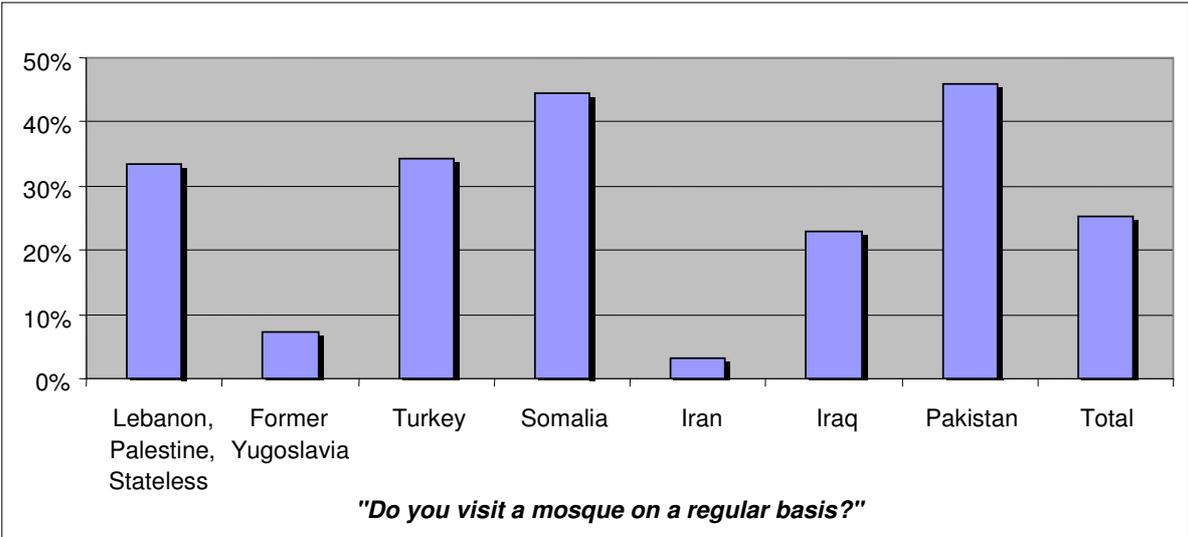
Mikkelsen concludes that membership of mono-ethnic associations can be determined by the individual immigrants wish to get back to his/her own country. This is the general tendency.

**Religious participation**

Mikkelsen (2003) has emphasized the impact of religious organisations and associations, specifically the Islamic ones as creators of identity among immigrants. During the last years, probably due to the polarised public debate on Islam, internationally and nationally, and the politicization of Islam, not least by majority politicians, Islam seems to become a major unifying factor among specific Moslem immigrants. The participation in Islamic political and non-political organisations and associations is different among immigrant groups. Much about the patterns on immigrant participation in religious and non-religious organisations are to be discovered. Some steps have been taken: A forthcoming study by Mikkelsen would investigate the pattern of organisations among different national background among immigrants.

Dealing with immigrants’ activities in the religious sphere of life Mikkelsen shows that 10 % of immigrants go to a religious association, while 25 % (mostly immigrants of Somalis, Pakistani, Turkish and Palestinian background) goes often to a mosque (Iranians and Yugoslavians are very rare visitors of a religious association).

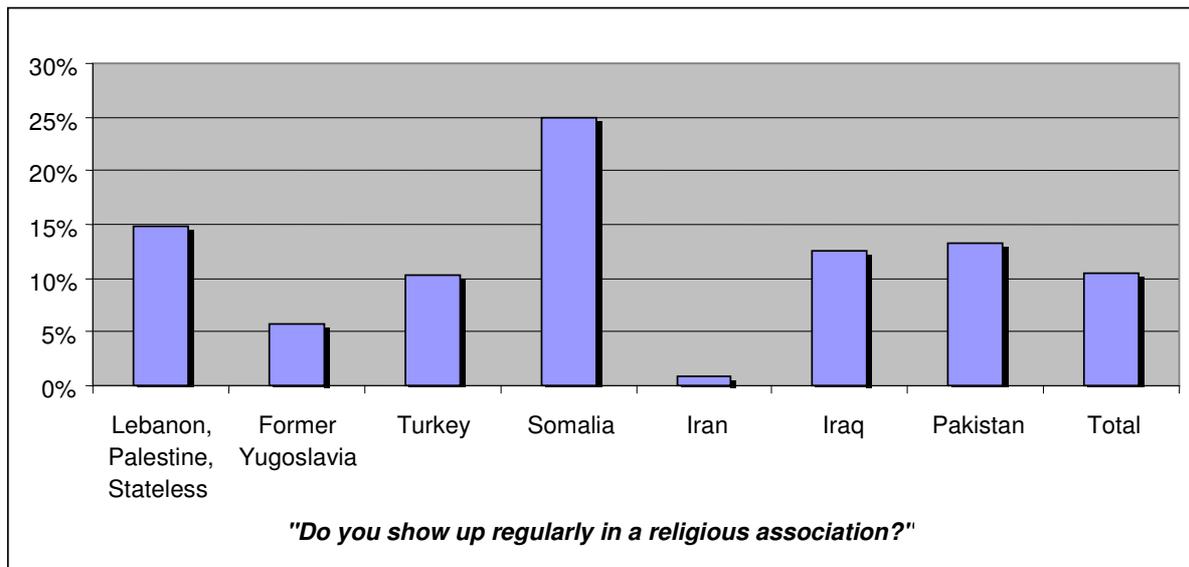
**Figure 5: Membership/participation in mosques**



Source: Mikkelsen, 2003

The figure below shows the use of religious associations by different immigrant groups

**Figure 6: Use of religious associations among immigrant population**



Source: Mikkelsen, 2003

Immigrants with stronger ties to religious associations and mosques are typically characterised by loose ties with Danish population, by difficulties with Danish language, and the question of integration does not seem to occupy their minds very much. Many of them wish to get back home, in spite of very long residence (more than 20 years) in Denmark or being born in the country. Rezaei (2004) has shown that the same segment usually invest their money in the country of origin.

### Relations between types of participation

Table 11 (Mikkelsen, 2001) shows the statistical relationship between the active participation in different types of voluntary organisation: Aside from the obvious relationship between participation in mosques and religious associations, there is a positive relationship between participation in ethnic organisations and Danish associations, between religious associations and ethnic associations, and between participation in mosques and ethnic associations.

**Table 11: Statistical relationship between organizational types ( $\chi^2$  test)**

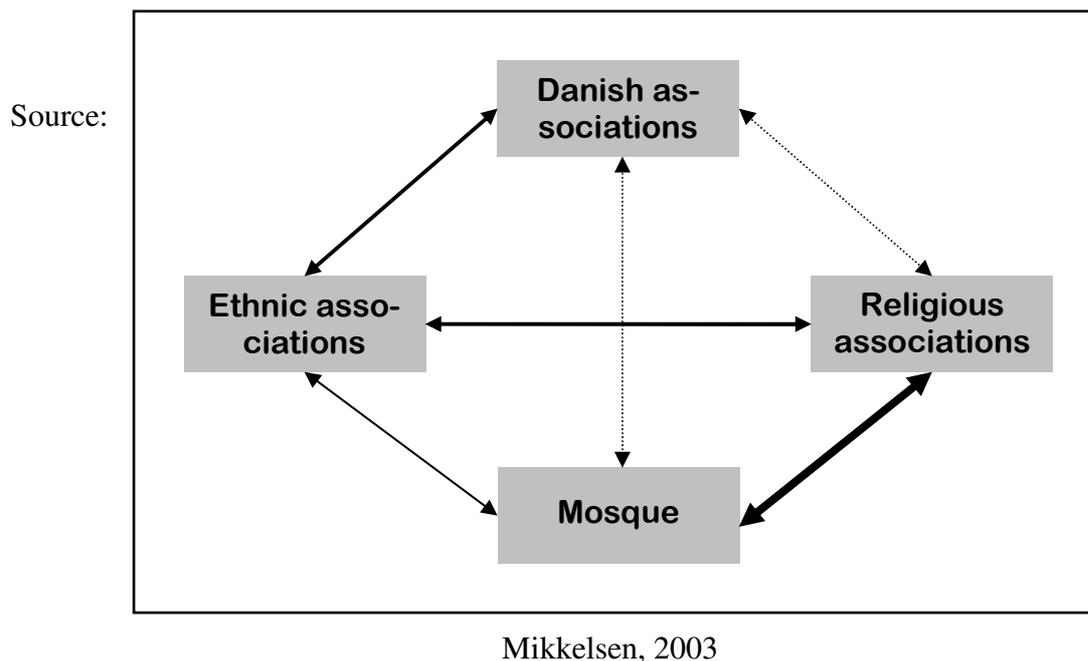
	Mosque	Religious association	Ethnic association	Danish association
Danish association	3.5	7.7	45.3**	-
Ethnic association	30.4**	42.1**	-	-
Religious association	154.6**	-	-	-

\*\*.) level of significance:  $p < .0001$

Source: Mikkelsen, 2003

This pattern is demonstrated below:

**Figure 7: Connections between types of associations**



### **Links between economic participation and civic participation**

In spite of political declarations in favour of ethnic equality, ethnic inequality persists in state and public institutions in Denmark. The study “Discursive Inconsistency and Institutional Deficiency” (Goli, 2002) focuses on the practice of human resource offices in the central state’s bureaucracy and departments towards bringing about ethnic equality in employment in the public sector. The main empirical question of this study is: Why this great failure is the case, despite of all good intentions from the political system, the unions, the administrative system, the immigrant population and their organisations?

One of the main empirical findings of the study is that the efforts made and the strategies taken by unions, politicians and immigrant organisations who have tried to make ethnicity to a socially relevant factor have a negative impact on the chances of ethnic minority individuals for participation on normal terms or in normal jobs. A normal job is defined as a job that is not directly linked to administration of ethnic minority relations. How?

Answering that question involves a consideration of two contesting schools of thought with regard to ethnicity and its impact. “The primordial/essential discourse” and “The Instrumental/Rational Choice discourse?”

The core theoretical findings of the study indicates that: “Under conditions where a political and societal will and demand for change in a institutional practice has been mobilized, and where the will and demand is explicitly declared, institutional deficiency in bringing about the appropriate responses can be explained by discursive inconsistency between political ideals and institutional realities”. And further: “An inconsistency between on the one hand the discourse which justifies political and institutional declarations of intention, and on the other hand the discourse that dominates the formal institutional practice will create a dilemma for the institutional actors. This dilemma will influence the pattern of institutional adoption, diffusion, adjustment and implementation. Due to this dilemma the institutional actors who are charged to make ideas to realities through systematic diffusion will publicly support the ideas. But in practice they will inevitably ignore the political declarations that are incompatible with the institutional discourses, under which they operate.” (Goli, 2002: 9)

As far as the policy of “managing cultural diversity” or further participation of immigrants in the state institutions is concerned the certain definition of above mentioned rationales is shaped by the primordial discourse of ethnicity.

Actions in accordance with the principals of primordial discourse would put the collective based differences in focus. All other things equal it would minimize the chances of “ethnic minority person” to participate in the mainstream labour market or in other spheres on mainstream terms. The empirical study shows that belonging to ethnic minority groups in the Danish context is a disqualifying factor in relation to mainstream positions. In Danish public labour market the ethnic image means lack of knowledge about Danish culture, disloyalty to the Danish culture and Danish society, lack of knowledge about how to behave, and how to handle a position in a Danish manner. As a Danish public servant, who paradoxically is in charge to improve ethnic equality and the chances of ethnic minority individuals with regard to participation in the mainstream labour market, expresses it: “Ethnics [individuals who belong to ethnic minority groups] are those who are not from Europe and America. Ethnics mean foreign workers, those we have problems with (Goli, 2002).

The development in recent years has added a new issue to the Danish public and academic debate on immigrant participation. It’s widely acknowledged that many immigrants spend most of their lives in a so called “Parallel Society”. Compensating for the marginal position in the labour market and other societal spheres immigrant population seems to have found alternative ways of participation. It goes through the informal economy, where welfare benefits are combined with illegal incomes. “The parallel society” means that immigrant population turn back to their own communities, informal institutions and associations and network to improve their life situations.

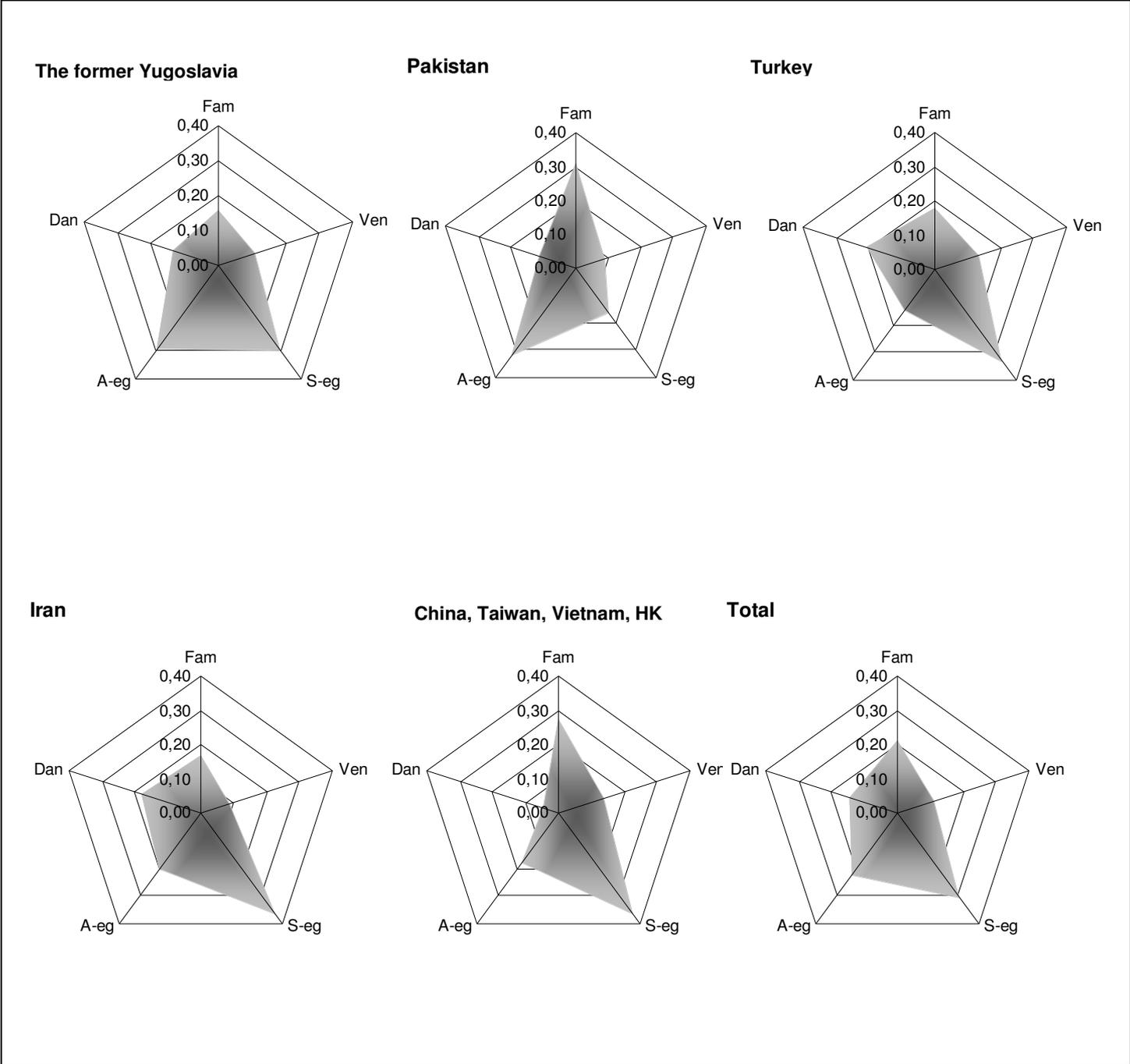
Studying the dilemma between informal economic practice and the socio-economic mobility of immigrants Rezaei (2004 B, C, D, and 2005 forthcoming) explores the pattern of immigrant enterprise owners’ engagement in the informal labour market. The focus of the study is how the position of immigrant population in and outside the mainstream labour market affects their attitudes, and their preferences regarding engagement in exiting alternatives of civic, social, economic and political engagement. Using Banton (1996, Goli, 2002) the study presents a rational model of explanation to the question of immigrants’ participation: In the Danish context the role of education has been underlined as the main road to socio-economic mobility and integration.<sup>8</sup> Rezaei shows that among immigrants and descendants who are involved in the informal economy and networks, there is a widespread subjective idea that there is no relation between educational merits and socio-economic mobility in Denmark as far as immigrant population is concerned. (The statistics on this case are contested.) Neither that there is any positive relation between affluence, type of enterprise, size of investment in Denmark or in homeland and so on. There is no reliable data that can prove or falsify such a hypothesis. But it is a matter of fact, shows Rezaei, that highly educated individuals of ethnic background have had to find occupations down at the bottom of the business hierarchy. The socio-economic situation is discussed and evaluated on daily basis in the loosely organised ethnic networks and association on the edge or beyond the law. These typically mono-ethnic and closed networks and associations operate on the basis of different standards of exclusive mutual trust as responses to the situation, which almost permanently is politicized through political and public debate in media.

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<sup>8</sup> There is major variation of educational level among immigrant enterprise owners with an ethnic background. 37.8 % (10.4 % + 27.4%) of the total population have a higher or a middle-high education with a Danish diploma. Individuals with an Iranian national background are the highest educated: A majority of 75% of them are academics or have a middle-high education with a Danish diploma.

The figure below illustrates the preferences of immigrant owned enterprises regarding the recruitment: The employees are categorized in 5 groups; Family and close relatives, non family members who originate from the same area in the originate country, friends, persons who belong to other national origin, and finally Danes. The vast majorities of employees in immigrant owned enterprises are in family with the owner or belong to the same national origin:

**Figure 8: Patterns of recruitment in Immigrant owned businesses (n=89)**



### Plot values:

			The former Yugoslavia	Pakistan	Turkey	Iran	China	Total
n			15	16	27	19	12	89
Fam	Family and close relatives	PV	0.16	0.31	0.18	0.17	0.27	0.21
		SD	0.162	0.335	0.129	0.109	0.135	0.194
Ven	Friends from the same area	PV	0.11	0.09	0.14	0.09	0.14	0.11
		SD	0.158	0.139	0.096	0.074	0.067	0.111
Seg	Same ethnic origin	PV	0.30	0.16	0.33	0.36	0.36	0.31
		SD	0.282	0.276	0.211	0.298	0.234	0.265

Source: Rezaei, 2004

Plot values in the figure are counted for each national background as the average of the share of each employee-category in relation to the total number of employee in each enterprise.

A different figure in the study shows that the pattern of leisure time interactions is quite the same.

The overall and alarming conclusion of the study is that the consequence of the failure of the private market and the Danish integration policy has been to push the immigrant population toward their own networks, shadow economy with possible disintegration from the Danish society as a consequence.

### The way ahead

A good deal of future research and probably the public debate on immigrants' participation is going to be shaped by those projects that get financed through the governmental research program called "Strategic Program for Welfare Research", that was announced during the last month of 2004. The aim of the program is to study the effect of welfare states efforts in the area of social policy, labour market policy, and integration of immigrants. The total budget is about 13 million Euros that would be given to relevant research institutions over four years. With regard to immigrants the program includes measuring the effects of institutional efforts that aim at improving immigrants' participation in the labour market, in education and in housing areas. Also comparative norm-related studies and social and ethnic segregation in ghettos are in focus.

With the participation in labour market that has been studied continuously as the exception there is only sporadic research on immigrants' participation in other spheres.

### Most prominent immigrants active in public life

Listing the most prominent immigrants according to their active participation in public life is inevitably a matter of controversy. Opinion formers of immigrant descent change faces, names and characters due to the space they get in public media. Following existing alternative strategies outlined by Necef, mentioned above, opinion formers can be categorised into three groups:

- The oppositionals, who participate in debates because of their talent for polarising the debate.

- The consensuals/ corporationals, who are practical, pragmatic and creators of reconciliation.
- And finally actors who mix both strategies.

During time each of these groups has brought prominent individuals to the surface of public and political debate. Among the most famous one can mention: (The examples below are typical insofar as politically active immigrants in Denmark often come from Islamic countries).

Naser Khader (MP) writer of the best-seller "Honour and Shame" and other books on Islam and immigrants, member of the Social Liberal party (R), of Syrian origin. Khader is probably the most famous immigrant politician in Denmark. He participates actively not only in immigrant related issues but in many others too. A brief look at Khader's personal homepage convinces you that you here have to do with a politician who has ideas and proposals about many things. He is a prominent example of a consensual politician that performs continuously in several public arenas including political, societal, cultural, and many others. ([www.khader.dk](http://www.khader.dk))

Kamal Qureshi, (MP) a doctor (medicine) of Pakistani origin, member of Socialist People Party (SF). Kamal Qureshi is also engaged in many other issues, for instances rights of minorities such as homosexuals and other equality related issues. Qureshi is often guest in media and is involved in other issues than the political ones. Improving possibilities for active civic participation of immigrants, extending the scope of substantial freedom, equality and other citizenship rights seems to be on the top of Kamal Qureshi's priorities and he enjoys widespread respect from media. Put in to Necef's terminology Qureshi can be an example of the mixed strategy. ([www.kamal.dk](http://www.kamal.dk))

Mona Sheik, 24-year old university student, a good representative of the oppositional immigrants. Mona Sheik changed membership from Central Democrats Party to the Social Liberals and, after only 3 weeks of membership in the new party, wanted to be nominated a candidate to the national elections. Being at the same time member of an orthodox Islamic group, *Min-haj-ul Koran*, Sheik's competitors succeeded to discredit her by encouraging the journalists to ask her questions about capital punishment and gay rights, a destiny she shared with some other prominent and promising Moslem political entrepreneurs. She then lost her trustworthiness in the eyes of selectors in the Social Liberal Party, who refused to elect her as candidate. Since then Sheik has been participating actively in the debate on Moslem immigrants and have been writing books and essays on Islam. Sheik represents a modern Moslem who clearly is unsatisfied with the status quo in Danish political and public debate on integration. (<http://www.just-well.dk/monateter.htm>)

Fatih Alev, Imam, MLO (Moslems National Organisation). Fatih Alev, an Imam of Turkish descent, has demonstrated a very active and often pragmatical participation in the public debate on Islam and Moslems rights in Denmark. Alev represent a critical form of reconciliation-attitude, demanding respect for Moslem minorities' life preferences. As a moderate and well articulated Moslem leader he already has introduced some major challenges to a dominating discourse that labels Moslem immigrants as intolerant and reactionary. Instead he, together with other Moslem leaders tries to get the same, not formal, but substantial rights for Moslems as it is the case for Danish church. ([www.alev.dk](http://www.alev.dk))

Hamid El Mousti, Social democrat, teacher and consultant, Member of Copenhagen municipality Council (The local parliament) since 1989, member of different municipality council, among them many not specifically related to immigrant issues. El Mousti has been living in Denmark in decades. He is of Moroccan origin and represents a moderate Moslem who seeks practical solutions to dilemmas of integration with pragmatism and reconciliation under the condition of mutual respect between majority and minority population. Occasionally he per-

forms as a Moslem leader too. On his home page he declares that there is a lack of love and compassion in Danish politic! According to him self El Mousti has dedicated his life to knowledge, education and to help other people. (<http://www.kbhbase.kk.dk/kbhbase/pegasus.nsf/url/mousti>).

### **Part III Expert assessment**

Based on the data and description in this report, the following tendencies can be lined out and qualified as more or less secure knowledge, as indicated.

#### **The main fields of civic participation**

The strong polarisation of the public debate, especially around the question of Islam, seems to influence the pattern of participation among immigrants. Immigrants' participation in mainstream organizations and associations is clearly poor, if one ignores the more individually motivated participation in activities such as sport clubs and so on. The participation in the labour market is specifically poor, with the participation in informal economy as an exception. Traditionally immigrants demonstrated and still demonstrate relatively high participation in ethnic related organisations and associations, especially if one takes into account immigrants' different conception of organised participation (Mikkelsen, 2005, Forthcoming). Removing public support to ethnic organisations the substantial possibilities for participation in such organisations and associations is falling.<sup>9</sup> The gap seems to be filled by stronger participation in religious associations and political mobilisation along with religious lines.

Participation in mainstream political parties seems to be relatively high and growing.

#### **Variation in immigrants' participation**

The variation in immigrants' participation in this report taken into account a rather cautious conclusion or a hypothesis could be that religious identification among immigrants and attachment to religious associations, that has been growing during recent years (Mikkelsen 2004) reduces immigrants overall participation in democratic processes. Such a hypothesis is supported by Putnam's studies (1993) on diffusion of democratic participation and the role of religion. The empirical challenge would be to find out whether the new Danish policy on migration and integration together with the dominant discourse in Danish media and public debate leaves the religious identification and participation as an attractive mode of civic and political participation among immigrants. Variation of representation among different immigrant groups indicates a possible connection: The most active immigrants in politics measured by representation at local and national level and in media are individuals who can contribute be it in constructive or polemic manner, to discussions on Islam. That excludes certain immigrant groups with no or little religious affiliation. Iranians are most participative in labour market and civic (non political) areas, Pakistanis and Turks are excellent in participation in political parties and political/ethnic/religious ethnic associations.

#### **Comparing minority and majority participation**

Participation in the labour market, measured by the share of immigrants and Danish who are in job or in the labour force are much higher for majority population than for immigrant minorities (Ministry of Integration, 2004). Political participation is much higher among majority population than in the immigrant population in general, but it depends what segment of immigrant population it is compared to and what type of political participation we refer to. For in-

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<sup>9</sup> This is also confirmed by a former vice-president of an umbrella immigrant organisation

stance participation of immigrants in national election is much closer to the average of majority, while participation in local elections is considerably lower. Membership in a political party among majority population is much higher than for immigrant population, while participation in demonstrations is much higher for immigrant population. On the other hand the participation of descendants or 2. generation immigrants is much closer to the level of majority population (Togeb, 2003: pp 90-92).

### **Engagement in migrant organisations vs. mainstream society organisations**

According to Mikkelsen (2003) there is a positive relationship between membership in Danish associations on the one hand and membership of ethnic associations on the other:

### **Important issues in the field**

Decision on the importance of issues in the field is a rather difficult one as it depends on the position of the observer or that of the actor. It seems that the government and municipalities, also the administrative system consider immigrants' and descendant's lack of participation in the labour market and the educational system as the most crucial issues. Other important issues include residential marginalization (ghetto), lack of adoption to Danish cultural values and democratic principles, and off course how the future of the Danish universalistic welfare is affected by the burden of not-integrated immigrants.

### **Major research gaps**

At the moment there is a lack of sufficient knowledge of the impact of the institutional setting on the pattern of participation among immigrants, on their behaviour and on their strategies. Danish research on immigrant participation is mainly channelled through networks and lobbies and connections between certain academics or private research agencies and certain schools of thoughts with central bureaucrats. That might at least be part of the explanation of the very poor development of theories and lack of perspectives that includes other concerns than those of the next election. Much of the research is characterised by ad-hoc actions that aim at providing policy advice that can be put in practice and implementation tomorrow or even already today. Some more concrete and strongly underdeveloped research fields are the formation of the public opinion, the role of media, the institutional setting that affects the process of formation of the public opinion. A very large number of immigrants and descendants are not included in the Danish labour force. Why? We do not really have good answers. Why is the Danish political, societal and labour market opportunity structure so (relatively) closed? We do not know. Our knowledge about what makes the success and what the failures are rather limited.

## Annex

### Leading research institutions and immigrant participation

In Danish context the issue of immigrant participation is usually addressed to within the framework of Danish integration policy. The issue of immigration on the other hand is usually dealt with within the so called “udlændinge-politik” or “foreigners’ policy”.

Immigrant participation and immigration as policies as well as research areas have been linked to each other through decades. The widespread conception among political, societal and other actors is that the outcome and consequences of one policy has an impact on the other. But in spite of this politically and academic constructed interconnectedness and interdependence it is possible to distinguish these issues, as far as the identifying of leading research institutions is concerned.

Due to the marginalised position of integration and immigration related issues in the overall social and political research landscape, the inclusion of these research areas in the “main-stream” for instance that of general civic participation is rather new.

It should be emphasized that much of Danish academic research on immigrant participation and immigration, and also the work of many leading scholars is organised/facilitated/directed through public or semi-public research institutions:

### Active civic participation of immigrants

#### 1. AMID (The Academy for Migration Studies in Denmark)

Tel: + 45 96 35 80 80, e-mail:amidamid.dk Website: [www.amid.dk](http://www.amid.dk) ,

Director: Ulf Hedtoft

Relevant researchers: Flemming Mikkelsen, Ruth Emerek

AMID is a Consortium consisting of researchers at research centers representing three institutions of higher education and two research institutes. The Academy is based at Aalborg University. AMID was established on a 5-year grant by the Danish Research Council for both the Humanities and the Social Sciences. It began its activities on January 1, 2001. The Consortium consists of experienced researchers with expertise in different aspects of migration, ethnic questions, marginalization, citizenship and nationalism.

#### 2. AKF (The institute of local government studies)

Tel: +45 33 11 03 00, e-mail: akf@akf.dk, Web: [www.akf.dk](http://www.akf.dk)

Director: Niels Groes

Relevant researchers: Hans Hummelgaard, Kræn Blume Jensen, Eskil Heinesen

AKF is a socio-scientific research institute. The Institute investigates problems of interest to the public sector and its users; in particular, problems relevant for Danish counties and municipalities. The research staff has expertise in the fields of economics, sociology, political science and psychology. The group working on "The Individual and Society" carries out research in educational, social and labour-market issues based on data-driven,

empirically founded research methods. The Institute covers a number of different research areas, one of the most important being ethnic minorities.

**3. SFI (The Danish national institute of social research)**

Tlf: + 45 33 48 08 00 e-mail: [sfi@sfi.dk](mailto:sfi@sfi.dk) web: [www.sfi.dk](http://www.sfi.dk)

Director: Jørgen Søndergaard

Relevant researchers: Garbi Schmidt, Vibeke Jacobsen, Niels Ploug

SFI was set up in 1958 and is an independent institution under the Ministry of Social Affairs. The Institute is directed toward both Danish and European research and conducts and disseminates research on social policy, labour market conditions and living standards among the population in general and among minority groups such as immigrants and refugees. The Institute contains a group of researchers focussing on the latter area.

**4. AARHUS UNIVERSITY, DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**Tel. + 45 89 42 11 11 e-mail: [ps@ps.au.dk](mailto:ps@ps.au.dk), web: [www.ps.au.dk](http://www.ps.au.dk)**

**Director: Ole Nørgaard**

**Relevant researchers: Lise Togeby, Peter Nannestad**

In recent years, the department has conducted and directed research regarding refugees and immigrants in mainly two areas: First, studies of Danes' attitudes toward refugees and immigrants, and, second, analyses of immigrants' citizenship in Danish society. In addition, analyses of the media coverage of refugee and immigrant issues have been carried out.

**5. Roskilde University (RUC): The Department of Social Sciences**

Tel: + 45 46 74 00 00 e-mail: [ruc@ruc.dk](mailto:ruc@ruc.dk) web: [www.ruc.dk](http://www.ruc.dk)

Head of department: Bent Greve

Relevant researchers: Shahamak Rezaei, Marco Goli, Anders Ejernaes

The Department of Social Sciences is one of the largest units within Roskilde University (RUC). It was founded in the mid-1970's as a multidisciplinary unit and established with the purpose of undertaking academic and policy oriented research within the fields of public administrations and business economics. The research on immigrant participation is mainly carried out within the framework of Comparative Welfare studies.

## **Immigration**

The issue of immigration as a research area has been overshadowed by the public, the media and the political focus on immigrant participation. The three research centers mentioned above (AMID, AKF, SFI) are usually charring studies on the factual and possible impact of the Danish immigration policy.

1. SFI (See above)

2. AMID (See above)
3. AKF (See above)
4. Hans Kornø Rasmussen is probably the most famous researcher with specific focus on immigration in Denmark. Tlf: 3314 1026, Tlf.: 3314 1026, [kornoe@post11.tele.dk](mailto:kornoe@post11.tele.dk),

5. The Danish Institute for Human Rights

Tel: +45 32 69 88 88, e-mail: [center@humanrights.dk](mailto:center@humanrights.dk), web: [www.humanrights.dk](http://www.humanrights.dk)

Relevant researchers: Hans Otto Sano

Excutive director: Morten Kærø

The work of DIHR includes research, analysis, information, education, documentation, and complaints handling, as well as a large number of national and international programmes. DIHR takes a multidisciplinary approach to human rights, and the DIHR employ staff from the areas of law, political science, economics, and others.

### Civic participation

#### 1. Copenhagen University, Institute of Political Science.

Tel: + 45 35 32 33 66, e-mail: [polsci@ifs.ku.dk](mailto:polsci@ifs.ku.dk), web: [www.polsci.ku.dk](http://www.polsci.ku.dk)

Director: Lars Bille

Relevant researchers: Jens Hoff, Henrik Bang

Since 1996 Jens Hoff has led the project *Democracy from below* (with Professor Jørgen Goul Andersen; Aalborg University) and two projects in relation to the Danish Power Study: *IT, Power and Democracy*, and *Who Governs Revisited* (the last with Associate Professor Henrik Bang ).

Henrik Bang is the director of the Center for Studies in Public Organization and Management (COS) at the University of Copenhagen. The center is co-ordinating ph.d.- educational activities within political science for all Danish universities and major political science sector institutions (see [www.cos.dk](http://www.cos.dk)), and is also conducting and co-ordinating multi-institutional and multi-disciplinary research programmes.

#### 2. Roskilde University (RUC): The Department of Social Sciences

(For practical information see above.)

Relevant researchers:

Allan Dreyer Hansen has democracy/ citizenship and participation as his main focus. The work on democracy and citizenship is partly on consequences of present processes of fragmentation and decentring of institutions, identities and communities and their consequences for democracy and citizenship, partly on broader discursive political struggles. Politics in localities includes considerations on local citizenship and its relation to questions and problems of participation.

John Andersen has been doing research on social participation in deprived urban areas, politics of inclusion and empowerment, Social exclusion and inclusion in globalized cities, empowerment, gambling politics and successful entrepreneurialism, and social mobilisation.

Eva Sørensen has her academic focus, among other subject related to participation, on Democracy and the political identities of citizens, administrators and politicians.

Jacob Torfing has presented some major contribution to the understanding of structural and discursive conditions for participation.

### **3. Aalborg University, Institute of politic, economy and administration**

Tel. + 45 96 35 80 80 e-mail: [aaau@aaau.dk](mailto:aaau@aaau.dk), web: [www.socsci.auc.dk](http://www.socsci.auc.dk)

Director: Jan Holm Ingemann

Relevant researchers: The research on civic participation at Aalborg University is concentrated in the research program that focuses on democracy and citizenship. (DEMOS)

Jørgen Goul Andersen is a leading sociologist with many years and many publications on several aspects of civic participation.

Karin Hansen has focus on institutional conditions for participation.

Lars Torpe has focus on Democracy, citizenship and political participation, also voluntary associations and social capital.

### **4. Aarhus University, Institute of political Science (For practical information see above).**

As the director of “The analysis of democracy and power in Denmark” that deals with many different aspects of participation Togeby is a very central figure in the research on participation.

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