

ISLAMOPHOBIA IN  
**DENMARK**  
NATIONAL REPORT 2017

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## The Author

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## Executive summary

The notion of Islam and Muslims being fundamentally in contradiction with Danish values has been reflected in several policies and laws. Among them is the statement by the leader of the Social Democrats Mette Frederiksen, that Muslim free schools are generally not a good idea due to their ill alignment with the majority culture. A campaign by the far-right Danes party encouraged Muslims to leave Denmark. A National Sanctions list of a dozen persona non-grata was introduced, 10 out of 11 being famous Muslim preachers. Several public campaigns have taken place to counter *negative social control*, all of them pointing it out as a Muslim phenomenon. According to the National Police about 20% of hate crime committed in 2016 targeted Muslims, while the group make up 5% of the general population, making Muslims the most targeted minority. A total of 39 physical attacks against Muslims were reported in 2016 and 2017. Moreover, Muslims receive the most hateful comments after politicians on social media. ReportHate (AnmeldHad.dk) registered 1100 online incidents during 2016 and 2017 out of which 98% targeted Muslims. About a third of the incidents have been categorized as hate crimes. Several media reports showcase the problem of established media not involving Muslims, seldom using them as sources. The harmful effects of the majority attitude towards Muslims has this year been highlighted in both a Phd dissertation from Aarhus University and in a UN report on Freedom of Religion and Belief. Civil society's response to Islamophobia increased this year, mainly through the Centre for Danish Muslim Relations that published the first Danish Islamophobia report and launched a campaign tackling Islamophobia in politics reaching out to about 350.000 people. To end the inflammatory rhetoric in the public discourse Muslims must both be recognized as a heterogeneous group and as targets of Islamophobia.

## Sammendrag

Opfattelsen af at Islam og muslimer ikke er foreneligt med danske værdier, har præget adskillige lovforslag og tiltag. Iblant dem er en udmelding fra Socialdemokratiets forkvinde Mette Frederiksen der omtalte muslimske friskoler som værende et generelt problem pga. manglende ligheder med majoritets-kulturen. En kampagne af det populistiske "Danskernes parti" opfordrede muslimer til at forlade Danmark. 10 muslimske prædikanter er blevet erklæret persona non-grata i en National sanktionsliste med i alt 11 predikanter. Flere offentlige kampagner med fokus på *negativ social kontrol*, har haft det til fælles at de alle udpeger det som hyppigst blandt muslimer.

Ifølge politiet var muslimer offer for ca 20% af hadforbrydelser begået i 2016, gruppen udgør kun 5% af befolkningen, hvilket betyder at muslimer er den mest udsatte minoritet i Danmark. Det blev registreret 39 fysiske overgreb mod muslimer i 2016 og 2017. På de sociale medier udgør hadefulde kommentarer og livstruende bemærkninger imod muslimer en meget stor del af online hadet. Muslimer er, efter politikere, den gruppe der modtager flest hadefulde kommentarer. Anmeld-Had.dk registrerede 1100 online incidenter, ud af disse var 98% rettede mod muslimer og en trediedel blev rubricerede som hadforbrydelser. Adskillige medierapporter illustrerer det problematiske ved at medierne ikke involverer muslimer og sjældent bruger dem som kilde.

De negative effekter af majoritetens holdninger til muslimer er blevet beskrevet i både en PhD afhandling og i en FN rapport om religionsfrihed i Danmark. Civil samfundets modsvar er stadig stigende på trods af det voksende had mod muslimer. Center for Dansk-Muslimske Relationer publicerede både en rapport om Islamofobi og lancerede en større kampagne, som modsvar til hadefulde politiske og islamofobiske ytringer. Videoen nåede ud til over 350.000 seere. For at den inflammatoriske retorik i den offentlige diskurs skal ændres skal muslimer både anerkendes som en heterogen gruppe, og som mål for Islamofobi.

## Introduction

Denmark hosts a Muslim population of approximately 5%; this is estimated to rise to around 10% in 2050.<sup>1</sup> Religious organizations have been divided by country of origin with Urdu, Arabic or Turkish as their main language. However, they are becoming increasingly Danish, which is demonstrated by the fact that a third of all mosques now conduct their sermons in Danish, a decade ago only one out of ten did.<sup>2</sup> Muslims are slowly becoming a part of society in other ways too; a Muslim graveyard has been established, Muslim chaplains are working in both prisons and hospitals and Muslims are becoming part of the mainstream with Muslim veil wearing women being employed as models and starring for big Danish brands.<sup>3</sup> Yet as is the case in many Western countries, the bias against Muslims has increased dramatically in Denmark after 9/11. For example, a survey in 2016 showed a third of Danes considering Denmark to be at war with Islam.<sup>4</sup> Among minorities, Muslims are the most targeted by hate crime.<sup>5</sup>

And while integration has been shown to be easier in countries in which obtainable criteria of belonging are emphasized like Sweden, France and the Netherlands it is harder in countries like Denmark where the non-obtainable conditions, such as religious and ethnic background, are emphasized. Research further shows that Muslims in Denmark are significantly more affected by political rhetoric than non-religious and non-Muslim immigrants. This in turn directly affects Muslims' trust in democracy and feeling of belonging.<sup>6</sup>

A Voxmeter poll showed 75% of Danes considering it possible to be Danish even though a person's parents are born in a non-western country.<sup>7</sup>

In his report on freedom of religion and belief published in February 2017, UN special rapporteur, Heiner Beilefeldt, noted that Muslims feel threatened by the

1. Conrad Hackett et al, "Europe's Growing Muslim Population", Pew Research Center, November 29, 2017, p 30. <http://www.pewforum.org/2017/11/29/europes-growing-muslim-population/>

2. Lene Kuhle et al, "Moskeer i Danmark II – en ny kortlægning af danske moskeer og muslimske bedesteder, Aarhus University, December 21, 2017, <http://samtidreligion.au.dk/moskeer-i-danmark-ii/>

3. Cecilie Vittrup Flensburg, "Natasha bærer tørklæde og er model for Noa Noa" DR.dk, August 10, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <http://www.dr.dk/levnu/psykologi/natasha-baerer-toerklæde-og-er-model-noa-noa> and Trine Munk-Petersen, "Danmarks første tørklædemodel - positiv mangfoldighed eller accept af ulighed?" Berlingske – b.dk, (Sept 21, 2017), retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <https://www.b.dk/kultur/toerklædemodel-positiv-mangfoldighed-eller-accept-af-ulighed>

4. Keld Vrå Andersen, "Hver tredje dansker mener, at Danmark er i krig med Islam", TV2.dk, (Jul 26, 2016), retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <http://nyheder.tv2.dk/politik/2016-07-26-hver-tredje-dansker-mener-at-danmark-er-i-krig-med-islam>

5. Nationalt Forebyggelsescenter (NFC), "Hadforbrydelser i 2016", Rigspolitiet, September 2017, p 13. <https://www.politi.dk/NR/rdonlyres/F49B206B-3638-4E5B-B3D3-C173BCDAE3FA/0/Hadforbrydelser2016september2017.pdf>

6. Kristina Bakkær Simonsen, "Do They Belong?", Politico, August 2017, p 46-47. <http://politica.dk/politicas-phd-serie/phd-afhandling-af-institut-for-statskundskab-aarhus-universitet/kristina-bakkaer-simonsen/>

7. Ritzau, "OVERBLIK: Dansker-debatten blusser op igen," Kristeligt-Dagblad, (May 5, 2017), retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <https://www.kristeligt-dagblad.dk/danmark/overblik-dansker-debatten-blusser-op-igen>

public debate about “Danishness” and “Danish values” and that it is a problem for the cohesion of society.<sup>8</sup>

## Significant Incidents and Developments

Islamophobia is not accepted as a valid term in the public debate but small steps to change the status quo were taken in 2017. The first Islamophobia report was published in April, leading to the term becoming more widespread, for example through a Wikipedia article on Islamophobia.<sup>9</sup> And the first online campaign #SlukforHadet (Eng.: #TurnoftheHate) challenging the Islamophobic rhetoric of especially the Danish People’s Party was launched in October 2017, the subsequent election results were the Danish Peoples party’s worst ever.<sup>10</sup>

However, the year began with the far-right Danish People’s Party, currently in government, trying to ban prayer rooms in public institutions making it harder for especially Muslim students to pray. In February, a bill was put forward in parliament, again spearheaded by the Danish Peoples Party; the V38 bill defined non-Western immigrants and their offspring as non-Danish, and asked the government to drastically reduce the amount of asylum seekers coming to Denmark.<sup>11</sup> The bill does not strip citizens of their citizenship, and are merely symbolical. An online campaign #JegErDansk (Eng.: #IAmDanish) designed to challenge the bill managed to put enough pressure on politicians to result in a re-vote; the new bill was not accepted by parliament.<sup>12</sup>

In May, a National Sanctions list – also known as the “Hate Preacher List” – was put into practice banning several Muslim preachers from entering Denmark. In

8. United Nations, “Report of the Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion and belief on his mission to Denmark,” A/HRC/34/50/Add.1 (December 28, 2016), retrieved February 13, 2018, from [http://www.un.org/ga/search/view\\_doc.asp?symbol=A/HRC/34/50/Add.1](http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/HRC/34/50/Add.1)

9. Center for Dansk-Muslimske Relationer, “Islamofobiske trends 2016,” retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <https://www.cedar.nu/islamofobiske-trends-2016/> and Wikipedia, “Islamofobi,” retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <https://da.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamofobi>

10. Nicolaisen, Peter Ali & Abbasi, Mujahed Sebastian, “Integration, Media, Politics and Discrimination Related to Danish Muslims,” Center for Danish Muslim Relations, Center base report 1 (2017), retrieved february 13, 2018, from: [https://www.sameksistens.dk/fileadmin/user/files/pdf/religion/2017/CEDAR\\_Islamofobirapport\\_2017.pdf](https://www.sameksistens.dk/fileadmin/user/files/pdf/religion/2017/CEDAR_Islamofobirapport_2017.pdf) and Louise Uberg, “DF afviser, at valget er et nederlag - men det er det i den grad, fastslår politisk redaktør,” TV2, November 22, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <http://nyheder.tv2.dk/politik/2017-11-22-df-afviser-at-valget-er-et-nederlag-men-det-er-det-i-den-grad-fastslaar-politisk> and Peter Burhøi, “Muslimer til valgurnerne: Vi er I 2017, vi kan ikke bare sidde ovre i hjørnet og være klassens sure dreng,” Berlingske, October 11, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <https://www.b.dk/nationalt/muslimer-til-valgurnerne-vi-er-i-2017-vi-kan-ikke-bare-sidde-ovre-i-hjoernet-og>

11. Folketinget, V38 om antal beboere i Brøndby Strand med indvandrerbaggrund, February 7, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <http://www.ft.dk/samling/20161/vedtagelse/V38/index.htm>

12. Folketinget, F43 Om, hvorvidt det er uforeneligt med at være “dansker” at være indvandrer eller efterkommer af indvandrere fra et ikkevestligt land, retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <http://www.ft.dk/samling/20161/foresporgsel/F43/BEH1-94/forhandling.htm>, In an interview with the author Alex Sabour from Gorilla Media claim their video reached 90% of the adult population within a few days. And an anonymous lobbyist confirmed to the author that it was the driving force behind a re-vote. Both interviews conducted in May 2017.

September, a renowned Professor Emeritus, Uffe Østergaard, stated he had changed his mind on foreigners, particularly Muslims. He used to welcome the influx of migrants, he now concluded: “Muslims must become Lutherans, or else we are screwed”.<sup>13</sup> It paved the way for a political paradigm shift by raising the “issue of Muslims” and just a few days later the former Minister of Foods, Dan Jørgensen, declared that the Social Democratic Party, the largest party in Denmark, had been wrong all along. He now claimed that foreigners and especially Muslims were a bigger problem than anticipated.<sup>14</sup>

Thus, bias against Muslims intensified with the Social Democratic Party shifting to a populist rhetoric joining the Danish Peoples party in their anti-Muslim efforts, while civil society presented new and innovative ways to counter the hate.



Figure 1: the Danes party distributed the fake tickets above in majority Muslim neighbourhoods, the tickets read; “Have a good journey home”; “From: Copenhagen, To:Far-away-stan”<sup>15</sup>

## Discussion of Islamophobic Incidents and Discursive Events

### Politics

In February 2017, a bill defining non-Western immigrants and their offspring as non-Danish was accepted by parliament with 55 against 54 votes.<sup>16</sup> During the parliamentary debate, Martin Henriksen, the Danish People’s Party, said that especially Muslim immigrants are a problem.<sup>17</sup>

And in an interview about the proposed bill he added: “The more [people] in Denmark with Muslim background, the greater the threat to Danish identity”.<sup>18</sup> Shortly after the introduction of the new bill,

13. Jeppe Elkjær Andersen, “Kendt dansk historiker vender på en tallerken: Muslimer må blive kristne, eller er vi på den,” BT, September 13, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <https://www.bt.dk/danmark/kendt-dansk-historiker-vender-paa-en-tallerken-muslimer-maa-blive-kristne-ellers>

14. James Kristoffer Miles, “Dan J.: Vi tog fejl om udlændinge,” Ekstra Bladet, September 16, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <https://www.pressreader.com/denmark/ekstra-bladet/20170916/281646780309461>

15. Source: “Danskernes parti uddelte billetter hjem til ‘Longbortistan’, Feb 19 2017, retrieved March 5 2018, from: <https://www.bt.dk/danmark/danskernes-parti-uddelte-billetter-hjem-til-langbortistan-svarene-er-helt-geniale>

16. Folketinget, V 38 Om antal beboere i Brøndby Strand med indvandrerbaggrund, retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <http://www.ft.dk/samling/20161/vedtagelse/V38/index.htm>

17. Folketinget TV, accessed June 20, 2017, from: <http://www.ft.dk/webtv/video/20161/salen/93.aspx punkt nr 5>

18. Cathrine Bloch, “Jo flere der er i Danmark med muslimsk baggrund, jo større er truslen mod den danske identitet,” Berlingske (February 10, 2017), retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <https://www.b.dk/politiko/jo-flere-der-er-i-danmark-med-muslimsk-baggrund-jo-stoerre-er-truslen-mod-den>

the Danes Party (a small and extreme right-wing political party) ran a campaign in neighbourhoods with a large Muslim population, where they distributed fake tickets to “Far-away-stan” promising to send immigrants “home”.<sup>19</sup> (Fig. 1) In June 2017, just a few months following the campaign the party shut down due to the party leader leaving the party.<sup>20</sup>

A political paradigm shift occurred in September, just two months preceding the local elections, when former Minister of Foods Dan Jørgensen, claimed the Social Democratic Party had been wrong all along; saying that foreigners and especially Muslims were a bigger problem than anticipated.<sup>21</sup> It might be explained by the steady stream of voters leaving the party for the Danish Peoples party.<sup>22</sup> Den Korte Avis (Eng.: The Short Newspaper”), a populist online medium, covered the news by declaring that the Danish People’s Party was spearheading a revolution by pushing the Social Democratic Party into a direction that had been unheard of in the rest of Europe. The news outlet declared that Denmark had become a pioneering anti-foreign country.<sup>23</sup>

In the run-up to the local elections Kim Hammer from the Danish People’s Party was reported to the police for saying that “Muslims destroy the Western world” at a school debate causing some of the attending schoolchildren to leave in tears.<sup>24</sup> The party achieved its worst results since 2001, losing most of its mayoral posts across the country.<sup>25</sup> (Fig. 2) A new populist party called Nye Borgerlige (Eng.: New Middle Class) claim the Danish People’s Party is too lenient toward Muslims and asks for harsher measures.<sup>26</sup> Just like the Danish People’s party, Nye Borgerlige had a poor outcome during the local elections.<sup>27</sup>

19. Flemming Christiansen, “I postkassen I Brøndby Strand: Så rejs dog hjem, fremmede,” *Politiken*, February 17, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <https://politiken.dk/indland/art5833445/Så-rejs-dog-hjem-fremmedes>

20. <https://www.ritzau.dk/nyhed/nyheder/vis/fbc0c373-176b-4ef1-8850-009deefb4687>

21. James Kristoffer Miles, “Dan J.: Vi tog fejl om udlændinge,” *Ekstra Bladet*, September 16, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <https://www.pressreader.com/denmark/ekstra-bladet/20170916/281646780309461>

22. Morthen Øyen, “DF henter vælgere tilbage fra Socialdemokratiet,” *Altinget*, August 14, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <http://www.alinget.dk/artikel/158773-dansk-folkeparti-traekker-vaelgere-tilbage-fra-socialdemokratiet>

23. Karen Jespersen & Ralf Pittelkow, “Kristian Thulesen Dahl er ved at skabe en politisk ‘revolution’, som man ikke kan se i noget andet europæisk land,” *Den Korte Avis*, (September 16, 2017), retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <https://denkorteavis.dk/2017/thulesen-dahl-er-ved-at-skabe-en-politisk-revolution-som-man-ikke-ser-i-noget-andet-europaeisk-land/>

24. James Kristoffer Miles, “DF’er chokerede små skolebørn med udtalelse om muslimer,” – *Ekstra Bladet*, October 10, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, <https://ekstrabladet.dk/nyheder/politik/danskpolitik/df-er-chokerede-smaa-skoleboern-med-udtalelse-om-muslimer/6862966>, the incident was reported to the Police by the ReportHate.dk portal.

25. Louise Uberg, “DF afviser, at valget er et nederlag - men det er den i den grad, fastslår politisk redaktør,” *TV2*, November 22, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <http://nyheder.tv2.dk/politik/2017-11-22-df-afviser-at-valget-er-et-nederlag-men-det-er-det-i-den-grad-fastslaar-politisk>

26. Mathias Mosskov, “Ny partiformand snart klar til valg: I værste fald kan det ende i borgerkrig,” *TV2*, August 2, 2016, retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <http://nyheder.tv2.dk/politik/2016-08-02-ny-partiformand-snart-klar-til-valg-i-vaerste-fald-kan-det-ende-i-en-borgerkrig>

27. *Politikken*, retrieved 13 February 2017, from: [http://politiken.dk/indland/politik/kommunalvalg\\_2017/](http://politiken.dk/indland/politik/kommunalvalg_2017/)



Figure 2: The president of the far-right Danish Peoples party claimed that the local elections had not been a catastrophe, fellow party members and most experts disagreed and called it the party's worst election til date.<sup>28</sup>

Danish People's Party called her "Fucking Muslim" during debates and asked her to remove her veil.<sup>29</sup>

## Public Campaigns

The issue of negative social control has been the subject of quite a few public campaigns in 2017 in which Muslim parents are singled out as the issue.<sup>30</sup> The municipality of Copenhagen launched a campaign about negative social control – "Love is a right" – as well as a 12-step approach to combat negative social control.<sup>31</sup> As a lead up to the municipality's campaign, a report was published in which young Muslim women were described as in need of help to stand up to their families.<sup>32</sup> On their campaign site, the municipality states that "Many young people with a different ethnic background than Danish cannot choose their partners". Under a picture of a young girl in a hijab, it is further stated: "If you know someone targeted by social

28. Source: "Tuller nedtur total", Nov 22 2017, retrieved March 5 2018, from <https://ekstrabladet.dk/nyheder/politik/danskpoltik/tuller-nedtur-total/6926662>

29. Interview with Noura Bendali by the author, 26th Nov 2017

30. Regeringen, "Forebyggelse af æresrelaterede konflikter og negativ social kontrol - national handlingsplan," October, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, from <http://uim.dk/file/integration/national-handlingsplan-forebyggelse-af-aeresrelaterede-konflikter-og-negativ-social-kontrol.pdf>

31. Ekspertgruppen til forebyggelse af social kontrol, Anbefalinger fra ekspertgruppen til forebyggelse af social kontrol (Copenhagen, TrykKeriet), Københavns Kommune Beskæftigelses- og Integrationsforvaltningen, May, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, from: [https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/uploaded-files/rapport\\_om\\_anbefalinger\\_fra\\_ekspertgruppe\\_til\\_forebyggelse\\_af\\_social\\_kontrol.pdf](https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/uploaded-files/rapport_om_anbefalinger_fra_ekspertgruppe_til_forebyggelse_af_social_kontrol.pdf) and Navigent, Beskæftigelses- og Integrationsforvaltningen i Københavns Kommune, Veje til et godt ungdomsliv (2013) retrieved from February 13, 2018, from: <https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/uploaded-files/Inspirationskatalog%20om%20veje%20til%20et%20godt%20ungdomsliv.pdf>

32. Ekspertgruppen til forebyggelse af social kontrol, Anbefalinger fra ekspertgruppen til forebyggelse af social kontrol (Copenhagen, TrykKeriet), Københavns Kommune Beskæftigelses- og Integrationsforvaltningen (May, 2017) retrieved February 13, 2018, from: [https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/uploaded-files/rapport\\_om\\_anbefalinger\\_fra\\_ekspertgruppe\\_til\\_forebyggelse\\_af\\_social\\_kontrol.pdf](https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/uploaded-files/rapport_om_anbefalinger_fra_ekspertgruppe_til_forebyggelse_af_social_kontrol.pdf)



Figure 3: The “social control” campaign site by the Copenhagen Municipality, on which a supposed Muslim woman kisses a supposed non-Muslim man.<sup>34</sup>

control, share your concerns with us”. Stories with titles such as “Meet Jasmine who cut ties with her parents” are also to be found on the website.<sup>33</sup> (Fig. 3)

In October 2017, the Institute for Human Rights published a report about negative social control, where they recommended those under social control to avoid speaking with their parents.<sup>35</sup> Finally, the Ministry of Immigration and Integration conducted a campaign about negative social control called “With honor and respect”.<sup>36</sup> Common for all campaigns is that they all paint a picture of negative social control as common among minority Danes, particularly Muslims, presupposing negative social control being a Muslim issue that the state should solve *for*, not *with* the Muslims.

## Justice System

The National Sanction List, also known as the “Hate Preacher List”, is a list of religious preachers who are banned from entering Denmark for two years. First passed in December 2016, the National Sanction List was put into practice in May 2017, and further expanded in December 2017. According to the Danish Immigration Service, “the law is a result of a political agreement about initiatives relating to religious preachers, who seek to undermine Danish laws and values, and support a par-

33. Københavns Kommune, Kærlighed er en ret retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <https://www.kk.dk/socialkontrol>

34. Source: “Kærlighed er en ret”, Unable to find publ. date, retrieved March 5 2018, from: <https://www.kk.dk/socialkontrol>

35. Institut for Menneskerettigheder: “Ekstrem social kontrol,” (København, KLS Pureprint, 2017), retrieved February 13, 2018, from: [https://menneskeret.dk/sites/menneskeret.dk/files/media/dokumenter/udgivelser/ligebehandling\\_2017/social\\_kontrol\\_2017.pdf](https://menneskeret.dk/sites/menneskeret.dk/files/media/dokumenter/udgivelser/ligebehandling_2017/social_kontrol_2017.pdf) and Politiken, “Ny rapport: Vent med at kontakte forældre I sager om ekstrem social kontrol,” November 13, 2018, retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <http://politiken.dk/indland/art6204589/Vent-med-at-kontakte-for%C3%A6ldre-i-sager-om-ekstrem-social-kontrol>

36. Med al Ære og Respekt, retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <https://medalrespekt.dk/om-kampagnen/>

allel concept of the law”.<sup>37</sup> The list includes: Mohamad bin Abd al Rahman bin Milhi bin Mohamad al Arefe, Kamal El-Mekki, Bilal Philips, Terry Dale Jones, Salman Bin Fahad Alodah, Mohamad Rateb Abdalah Al-Nabulsi, Khalid Yasin, Muhammad Raza, Alparslan Kuytul, Ismail al-Wahwah and Abdullah bin Radi Almoaede Alshammary. It has so far not been possible to gain access to documents explaining why the individuals on the National Sanction List have been banned from entering Denmark. The Danish Immigration Service, which is responsible for executing the list, states: “We cannot comment on specific persons. In general, we can state that we do thorough research through open sources - such as homepages, news sites and social media – on whether there are any religious preachers who fulfil the conditions set forth in the law on being registered on the National Sanction List.”<sup>38</sup>

After the European Court of Human Rights upheld Belgium’s ban on burqas and full-face Islamic veils, a so-called mask ban (popularly referred to as the niqab ban) was proposed by the Danish People’s Party in October 2017.<sup>39</sup> Among the politicians supportive of the ban are left-wing parties, the Social Democrats and the Danish Social Liberal Party, explaining their support by stating that they are against the oppression of Muslim women.<sup>40</sup> The ban comes in response to a very low number of niqab-observers in Denmark. A report from 2010 states that 200 women wear the face covering in Denmark, while Dr. Kumm Mirza who focused her research from 2017 on “honor-related” legislation in Denmark estimated only 35 women wearing either the burka or niqab in Denmark.<sup>41</sup>

Danish law already contains two paragraphs regarding face coverings and masking. Article 134b states that it is punishable by jail (up to 6 months) or a fine if anyone covers their face during meetings, assemblies, processions, or other

37. New to Denmark, The Danish Immigration Service, National Sanction List, last updated December 12, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <https://www.nyidanmark.dk/en-GB/Words-and-concepts/US/Religious-workers/National-sanction-list>

38. E-mail from head of office, Pernielle Piel-Steenberg to Danmarks Radio, own translation, from Maria Sæhl, “Religiøs forkynder fra Saudi Arabien må ikke rejse ind i landet,” Danmarks Radio, December 12, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <https://www.dr.dk/nyheder/indland/religioes-forkynder-fra-saudi-arabien-maa-ikke-rejse-ind-i-landet>

39. Lizzie Dearden, “European Court of Human Rights upholds Belgium’s ban on Burqas and full-face Islamic veils,” Independent, July 11, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/belgium-burqa-ban-upheld-european-court-of-human-rights-dakir-v-full-face-islamic-veils-headscarf-a7835156.html> and Folketinget, B 1 Forslag til folketingsbeslutning om forbud mod maskering og heldækkende beklædning I det offentlige rum, October 4, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <http://www.ft.dk/samling/20171/beslutningsforslag/b1/index.htm>

40. Issa Jeppesen, “S skifter holdning til maskeringsforbu: Det handler om hvilket land vi ønsker,” Danmarks Radio, October 6, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <https://www.dr.dk/nyheder/politik/s-skifter-holdning-til-maskeringsforbud-det-handler-om-hvilket-land-vi-oensker> and Ritzau, “Radikale skifter spor og vil forbyde burka,” Berlingske, July 12, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <https://www.b.dk/politiko/radikale-skifter-spor-og-vil-forbyde-burka>

41. Morthen Skjoldager, Jurist Sabba Mirza: Lov mod muslimske klædedragter gør ingen forskel, Politiken, October 15, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <https://politiken.dk/indland/art6159877/Lov-mod-muslimske-kl%C3%A6dedragter-g%C3%B8r-ingen-forskel>

events in public space that hinder the identification and not for a praiseworthy cause, i.e. to protect oneself from cold weather.<sup>42</sup> It is also punishable by a fine or jail, up to 4 years, if someone illegally forces anyone to wear a face covering that hides their face.<sup>43</sup> Mirza states that there is no evidence that women who cover their faces are forced to it, and that the law thus will mainly effect women who wear the face veil voluntarily.<sup>44</sup> Martin Henriksen a Danish politician and MP from the Danish People's Party stated that the niqab ban is the first step towards a ban of the hijab in public institutions.<sup>45</sup>

## Employment

A poll from the market research institute, Megafon, demonstrates that eight out of ten Danish Muslims note that attitudes towards Islam have worsened over the past 10 years. 37% share feelings of being looked down upon because of their Muslim background, another 33% feel that their Muslim background has made it more difficult for them to get a job and 32% state that marked physical appearance has been negatively reprimanded.

According to sociologist Brian Arly Jacobsen, discriminatory treatment can lead to social marginalization and isolation, which is already seen in parts of the Danish Muslim population. According to Jacobsen, non-Muslim Danes will begin to copy the way the public debate speaks about Muslims, and thereby legitimize reprimands on Muslims' clothes and religiosity.<sup>46</sup>

There is no data on discrimination of Muslims in the Danish employment sector. It is illegal to collect official data categorized by religious belonging and since civil society have not collected such data there is none. Although according to Amal Hassani, the author of a report on discrimination in Denmark, there are quite a few cases of discrimination against especially Muslim women, most have just not been recorded.<sup>47</sup>

## Education

The Board of Equal Treatment rejected a complaint in April 2017 from a group of students who were banned from praying on school property. The board stated

42. Danske Love, Straffeloven §134 b, retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <https://danskelove.dk/straffeloven/134b>

43. Danske Love, Straffeloven §260, retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <https://danskelove.dk/straffeloven/260>

44. Morthen Skjoldager, Jurist Sabba Mirza: Lov mod muslimske klædedragter gør ingen forskel, Politiken, October 15, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <https://politiken.dk/indland/art6159877/Lov-mod-muslimske-kl%C3%A6dedragter-g%C3%B8r-ingen-forskel>

45. Ritau, "DF: Tørklædeforbud kan være næste skridt", Jyllands-Posten, October 6, 2017, retrieved February 13 2018, from: <https://jyllands-posten.dk/politik/ECE9930334/df-toerklædeforbud-kan-vaere-naeste-skridt/>

46. Jonas H.R. Moestrup and Peter Vesterlund, "Ny undersøgelse blandt danske muslimer: En tredjedel føler sig set ned på" TV2, March 6, 2018, retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <http://nyheder.tv2.dk/samfund/2017-03-06-ny-undersogelse-blandt-danske-muslimere-en-tredjedel-foeler-sig-set-ned-paa>

47. E-mail correspondence between the author and Amal Hassani, March 2 2018.

that praying on campus caused worry, conflict, and great unease for other students and employees.<sup>48</sup> In May, members of the Danish People's Party petitioned for a resolution to ban prayer rooms in all public educational institutions.<sup>49</sup> The aim of the motion was to assure that public educational institutions would not support an Islamization of the Danish Society. As a result, the Ministry of Education conducted a survey of 1775 schools discovering that out of the 1261 participating institutions, only 27 had prayer rooms (or similar spaces) on campus.<sup>50</sup> Out of these, 15 were mainly used by Christian student organizations.<sup>51</sup> When confronted with the questionnaire's results, Marie Krarup from the Danish Peoples Party, who proposed the motion, replied: "There is something wrong with the facts, there's nothing wrong with our motion for resolution."<sup>52</sup>

Muslim free schools are also under heavy surveillance following an episode, where suspicious material was found during a federal inspection at one of the schools.<sup>53</sup> After the episode the Danish People's Party, along with the Social Democratic Party first demanded for a more intense supervision of all Muslim free schools and later for a shutdown of all schools with 50% or more of the students being of "foreign background".<sup>54</sup> Mette Frederiksen, leader of the Social Democratic Party, added that: "I must be honest and say that it is fundamentally not a good idea with Muslim free schools (...) a Muslim free school with a foundation in Islam is not part of the majority culture in Denmark".<sup>55</sup>

In September the Ministry of Education issued a heavily criticized survey blamed for smearing Muslims and being tendentious. In the survey students were

48. Ligebehandlingsnævnet, "En erhvervsskole har indført ordensregler, der indeholder et forbud mod udøvelse af religiøse ritualer på skolen", May 5, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, from: <https://ast.dk/naevn/ligebehandling-snaevnet/nyheder-fra-ligebehandlingsnaevnet/lbn/nyheder-2017/en-erhvervsskole-har-indfort-ordensregler-der-indeholder-et-forbud-mod-udovelse-af-religiose-ritualer-pa-skolen>

49. The motion for resolution was proposed for the first time on January 18th, but was then revoked and proposed again on May 16th, retrieved February 13 2018, from: <http://www.ft.dk/samling/20161/beslutningsforslag/b54/index.htm> and <http://www.ft.dk/samling/20161/beslutningsforslag/b152/index.htm>

50. Folketinget, "Opgørelse over udbredelse af bederum og lignende faciliteter på de videregående uddannelser", July 18, 2017, retrieved February 14, 2018, from: <http://www.ft.dk/samling/20161/almdel/unu/bilag/133/index.htm>

51. Christian Birk, "Bederum er sjældne på offentlige skoler", Kristeligt Dagblad.dk, July 11, 2107, retrieved February 14, 2018 from: <https://www.kristeligt-dagblad.dk/kirke-tro/bederum-er-sjaeldne-paa-offentlige-skoler>

52. Anna Sol Jørgensen, "DF om bederum på skoler: Der er noget galt med fakta - ikke med vores beslutningsforslag" DR.dk, July 12, 2017, retrieved February 14, 2018, from: <https://www.dr.dk/nyheder/indland/df-om-bederum-paa-skoler-der-er-noget-galt-med-fakta-ikke-med-vores> (own translation)

53. Jens Anton Bjørnager and Henrik Jensen, "Lærebøger om jihad fundet i kopirum på muslimsk friskole" Berlingske – b.dk, July 14,2017, retrieved February 14, 2018, from: <https://www.b.dk/nationalt/laereboeger-om-jihad-fundet-i-kopirum-paa-muslimsk-friskole>

54. Morten Bjerregaard, "S og R er uenige om fremtiden for muslimske friskoler" DR.dk, September 28,2017, retrieved February 14, 2018, from: <https://www.dr.dk/nyheder/politik/s-og-r-er-uenige-om-fremtiden-muslimske-friskoler>

55. Andreas Karker and Jacob Friberg, "Mette Frederiksen i brutalt opgør: »Luk alle muslimske friskoler«", Berlingske – b.dk, August 11, 2017, retrieved February 14, 2018, from: <https://www.b.dk/politiko/mette-frederiksen-i-brutalt-opgoer-luk-alle-muslimske-friskoler>

asked amongst other things whether they had experienced Muslim students being victims of social control if they did not follow Islamic rules.<sup>56</sup>

The book *På Ulige Fod* (Eng.: On Unequal Grounds) showcases the correlation between bad test results by minority Danish students and the discriminatory treatment of them in school curricula.<sup>57</sup> When minority Danes are visible it is often only under special circumstances and the ethnic Dane thereby constitutes the standard that frames the general learning situation, leaving the ethnic and religious minority students on unequal grounds.

## Media

A study called *Dem vi taler om* (Eng.: The ones we talk about) by *Ansvarlig Presse* (Eng.: Responsible Media) was published in February and demonstrates an underrepresentation of ethnic and religious minorities in the media.<sup>58</sup> When minority Danes are used as experts, it is mostly in stories about immigrants and Islam. Furthermore, the study shows that media can play an active role in portraying a negative image of minorities. Certain media stories problematize whether minorities' religion, family patterns and traditions are compatible with Danish law, traditions and norms. A yet unpublished media analysis on Muslims and Islam in Danish media by journalist Bent Dahl Jensen points to politicians setting the tone in the debate about Muslims.<sup>59</sup> For example, in relation to the debate on a "Niqab ban" the majority of sources heard were politicians promoting a ban.

Preben Brock Jacobsen, author to the newly published book, *Islam i Medierne* (Eng.: Islam in the Media), argues that a critique of Islam is much more apparent than a defense of it, as he found 256 critical articles compared to 88 non-critical articles in his analysis.<sup>60</sup> The subjects range from Islam being the root cause of terror, Islam as anti-democratic to Muslim oppression of women. 47% of the articles point out religion as the main cause of failed integration or to terror, and only 14% of the articles have a socio-economic explanation. Jacobsen argues the consequence of a one-sided negative representation of Islam and Muslims is that the mainstream population begin to construct a stereotype of Islam and Muslims.<sup>61</sup>

56. Melene Romme-Mølby, "Hård kritik af ministeriets undersøgelse: Muslimhætzende og tendentiøs", September 14, 2017, retrieved February 14, 2018: <https://gymnasieskolen.dk/haard-kritik-af-ministeriets-undersogelse-muslimhætzende-og-tendentioes>

57. Christian Horst, "På Ulige Fod - Etniske minoritetsbørn som et skoleeksempel", Aarhus Universitetsforlag 2017, the text is a summary of the book.

58. Hanne Jørndrup, "Dem vi taler om", February 2017, retrieved February 14, 2018, p 3, from: [http://ansvarlig-presse.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/AP\\_Dem-vi-taler-om\\_2017.pdf](http://ansvarlig-presse.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/AP_Dem-vi-taler-om_2017.pdf)

59. Bent Dahl Jensen, "Hvem tegner medie billedet af muslimer i danske medier", December 2017, yet unpublished. The study is based on the seven major newspapers (Online version).

60. Jesper Petersen and Preben Brock Jacobsen, "Islam i medierne", Systime, June 2017, the text is a summary of the book and Jacobsens study is based on 2850 articles, the articles are from major newspapers: Ekstra Bladet, Jyllands-Posten, Kristeligt Dagblad and Politiken.

61. Preben Brock Jacobsen, "Danske medier skævvrider billedet af islam", June 1, 2017, retrieved February 14, 2018, from: <https://hsfo.dk/Danmark-Debat/Danske-medier-skaevvrider-billedet-af-islam/artikel/112065>

A study of the media coverage on negative social control was made in December. The analysis was conducted on *Danmarks Radio's (DR)* online platform during 2017. Out of the 50 times “social control” was used on the platform, 47 was tied to Muslims and Islam.<sup>62</sup>

In general the state-funded tv station DR is one of the more balanced in its reporting about Islam and Muslims. TV2, the largest tv-channel however, is sometimes accused of being biased toward Muslims. An example that spurred a lot of such critic was in relation to a tv-series in 2016. The National Sanctions list was a direct result of that heavily criticized tv-series called “Mosques unveiled” that TV2 aired in the spring of 2016. After massive critic and through lobbying by the Center for Danish Muslim Relations, the channel have tried to balance its content; amongst other things with an anti-racist campaign that went viral in the beginning of 2017.

Among newspapers Ekstrabladet and Jyllands-Posten have been notorious for its anti-Muslim bias. The Cartoon crisis began because of a few satirical cartoons being published in Jyllands-Posten in 2005, since then many of the people behind those cartoons have stopped working for the paper and its since become a bit more nuanced.

Radio24syv is a large radiostation with radiohosts of diverging political opinions but one of them have been called a far-right populist and his name is Mikael Jalving. He claims Muslims will be the end of Europe if Europeans don't stop them from entering the continent.<sup>63</sup>

### Physical and Verbal Attacks

According to the National Police report on hate crime committed in 2016, 274 violations were registered, 88 were religiously motivated and 56 cases targeted Muslims. Thus, Muslims that only represents 5% of the population represents 20% of registered hate crime. That is an increase from 2015 by 15 cases making Muslims the most targeted group in Denmark.<sup>64</sup> The National Police suggests that Muslims being the largest and most visible minority explains the high numbers of violations directed towards the group. According to the report most hate crimes against Muslims take place on the internet while other religious and racially motivated violations often involve other forms of crime, i.e. violence, threats, malicious damage/graffiti etc.<sup>65</sup> However, Muslim women in Denmark are heavily targeted

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62. Tahir Khiljee, “Social kontrol på DR”, Center for Dansk-Muslimske Relationer, 16th Dec 2017.

63. Otto Lerche Kristiansen, “Et højrepopulistisk propogandaprogram forklædt som et almindeligt debatprogram om islam?”, 18 aug 2016, accessed March 1, 2018 from: <https://www.information.dk/kultur/2016/08/hojrepopulistisk-propogandaprogram-forklaedt-almindeligt-debatprogram-islam>

64. Mikkel Abildgaard og Julia Friis Jørgensen, “Flere muslimer udsættes for hadforbrydelser i Danmark”, friisjulia.wixsite.com, No date, 2017, retrieved Feb 13, 2018, from: [https://friisjulia.wixsite.com/hadforbrydelser/baggrunden?lipi=urn%3Ali%3Apage%3Ad\\_flagship3\\_messaging%3B8L8Yv17hQ3yRmdp6m5qKYA%3D%3D](https://friisjulia.wixsite.com/hadforbrydelser/baggrunden?lipi=urn%3Ali%3Apage%3Ad_flagship3_messaging%3B8L8Yv17hQ3yRmdp6m5qKYA%3D%3D)

65. Nationalt Forebyggelsescenter (NFC), “Hadforbrydelser i 2016”, Rigspolitiet, September 2017, p 13. <https://www.politi.dk/NR/rdonlyres/F49B206B-3638-4E5B-B3D3-C173BCDAE3FA/0/Hadforbrydelser2016september2017.pdf>

by physical hate crime and discrimination according to NGOs.<sup>66</sup> From the portal AnmeldHad.dk (Eng.: ReportHate), a total of 39 physical attacks against Muslims were reported in 2016 and 2017.<sup>67</sup>

In February 2017, a 16-year old boy named Ali was attacked by four of his majority Danish classmates, who threw a Molotov-cocktail on him.<sup>68</sup> According to Ali's older brother, Muhammed, they had been making racist comments and other minor incidents had been going on for years. They had told Ali to go back to his own country and called him degrading names related to Muslims and immigrants.<sup>69</sup> The attack did not lead to much debate and was moderately covered in media. The silence surrounding the case did in itself result in some debate about political and media bias.<sup>70</sup>

Just after Trump's decision to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital, 16-year old Tarek and his friends participated in a demonstration at the US embassy in December 2017. Tarek and his friends shouted "Fuck Trump" after which they were allegedly attacked by 7 policemen. The policemen ran towards them and kicked Tarek to the ground. (Fig. 4) As they pushed him down, he claim they hit him with their fists and shouted "Muslim pig" and "Stupid Muslim".<sup>72</sup>

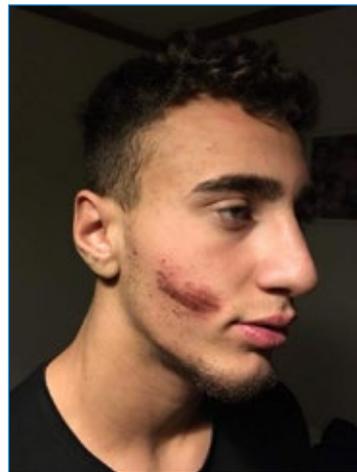


Figure 4: Private photo taken by the mother of Tarek, here seen with lesions allegedly caused by police violence.<sup>71</sup>

When Tarek's mother, Iman, and his 11-year old sister went to the station to pick him up, the police detained the mother. At the police station she claims a strip search in front of male officers was conducted, when protesting they asserted her that they would not look at her body.<sup>73</sup> The family have contacted a psychologist after the trauma and have

66. Nina Manojlovic-Karlshøj, "Forgotten women: the impact of Islamophobia on Muslim women in Denmark", May 2016, retrieved 14 February 2018, from: [http://www.enar-eu.org/IMG/pdf/factsheet\\_denmark\\_-\\_en\\_final.pdf](http://www.enar-eu.org/IMG/pdf/factsheet_denmark_-_en_final.pdf)

67. E-mail correspondance between author and CFE, 7th Nov 2017

68. Mads Otte, "Folkeskole i Ry er i chok: Vi er chokerede og rystede," TV2 ØSTJYLLAND, Feb 07, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, <http://www.tv2ostjylland.dk/artikel/folkeskole-i-ry-er-i-chok-vi-er-chokerede-og-rystede>.

69. Simon Boas, "Drenge ville angiveligt brænde Ali levende: 'Han er blevet truet i årevis'," www.bt.dk, February 08, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, <http://www.bt.dk/krimi/drenge-ville-angiveligt-braende-ali-levende-han-er-blevet-truet-i-aarevis>.

70. Paula Larrain, "Paula Larrain: Nå, det var bare fire danske drenge?" Altinget.dk, February 08, 2017, accessed Feb 13, 2018, <http://www.alinget.dk/artikel/paula-larrain-naa-det-var-bare-danske-drenge>.

71. Source: The mothers facebook wall, Dec 11 2017, retrieved March 5 2018.

72. "Politivold mod mor og søn," Arbejderen, December 14, 2017, accessed February 13, 2018, <http://www.arbejderen.dk/indland/politivold-mod-mor-og-s%C3%B8n>.

73. James Kristoffer Miles, "DF'er chokerede små skolebørn med udtalelse om muslimer," – Ekstra Bladet, October 10, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, <https://ekstrabladet.dk/nyheder/politik/danskpoltik/dfer-chokerede-smaa-skoleboern-med-udtalelse-om-muslimer/6862966>.

talked to media, NGOs and to the Independent Police Appeals Authority (DUP).<sup>74</sup> The Vice Police Chief Jesper Lauenborg Bangsgaard at the Copenhagen Police believe the mother and son might be lying about the incident; nonetheless, he stated the incident would be investigated.<sup>75</sup>

## Internet

The institute for Human Rights published a report about online hate showing one out of seven online comments on Facebook were hateful. Hateful comments were defined as threats or discrimination in regards to one of eight areas including age, political orientation and religious affiliation.<sup>76</sup> The report showed that most hateful comments were about religion (40%) and foreigners (34%). Politicians are the most targeted group on social media, followed by Muslims and non-western foreigners. Among the hateful comments targeting religion 86% was directed towards Islam. The ReportHate portal registered almost 1100 online incidents during 2016 and 2017 of which 98% targeted Muslims. About a third of the incidents have been categorized as hate crimes.<sup>77</sup>

## Central Figures in the Islamophobia Network

“For Frihed” (Eng.: For Freedom) and their political wing “Stram Kurs” (Eng.: Tough Line), formerly known as “PEGIDA” are led by lawyer Rasmus Paludan, who claims to be the most radical in his views on foreigners.<sup>78</sup> Paludan issued a controversial list of 20 people in relation to the local elections. The list consisted of nineteen Muslims and one Non-Muslim activist the party said would be expelled from Denmark if they won. (Fig. 5) None of the nine “Stram Kurs” candidates were voted into office in the 2017 local elections.<sup>79</sup>

The Foreign- and Integration Minister Inger Støjberg (from Venstre, *The Liberal Party of Denmark*), celebrated her 50th restriction against non-Western foreigners with a celebratory cake in March 2017.<sup>80</sup> This was criticized by fellow politicians and experts,

74. AnmeldHad.dk (Eng.: ReportHate.dk) have registered the event.

75. Alexander Jonassen, “Mor og søn anklager politiet for vold og racisme: De slog og sagde ‘perker’,” Formatformat.dk, December 21, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, <https://formatformat.dk/artikel/17984/betjentene-slog-ham-stav-gav-ham-flere-knytnaevneslag/>.

76. “Hadefulde ytringer på Facebook,” Institut for Menneskerettigheder, December 12, 2017, p. 1, accessed February 13, 2018, <https://menneskeret.dk/udgivelser/hadefulde-ytringer-paa-facebook>.

77. E-mail correspondence between author and CFE, 7th Nov 2017

78. Stefan Christensen, “Nyt indvandrerkritisk parti stiller op i Albertslund,” TV 2 Lorry, October 25, 2017, , retrieved February 13, 2018, <http://www.tv2lorry.dk/artikel/nyt-indvandrerkritisk-parti-stiller-op-i-albertslund>.

79. Julia Friis Jørgensen and Mikkel Sølberg Abildgaard, “Hadforbrydelser mod muslimer i danmark,” Friisjulia.wixsite.com, retrieved February 13, 2018, [https://friisjulia.wixsite.com/hadforbrydelser?lipi=urn%253Ali%253Apage%253Ad\\_flagship3\\_messaging%253B8L8Yv17hQ3yRmdp6m5qKYA%253D%253D](https://friisjulia.wixsite.com/hadforbrydelser?lipi=urn%253Ali%253Apage%253Ad_flagship3_messaging%253B8L8Yv17hQ3yRmdp6m5qKYA%253D%253D).

80. Simon Fancony, “Støjberg forarger: Fejrer udlændingestrømning nr. 50 med lagkage,” Politikendk, March 14, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, <https://politiken.dk/inland/art5870543/St%C3%B8jberg-forarger-Fejrer-udl%C3%A6ndingestrømning-nr.-50-med-lagkage>.

who argued the publicity stunt was only to gain votes from far-right sympathizers.<sup>81</sup>

She also made headlines both for lying about her education, about statistics in relation to welfare and about a kindergarten she claimed did not allow pork to be served because of Muslims dietary preferences.<sup>83</sup> She used the satirical cartoons of the Prophet Muhammed from 2005 as a wallpaper on her phone and published it on social media.<sup>84</sup> It caused the former chief of security services (PET) to call her both childish and a security threat.<sup>85</sup> She also made headlines for the



Figure 5: List of 20 public figures Rasmus Paludan promises to expel if he wins the local elections.<sup>82</sup>

81. Jakob Stig Jørgensen, Thomas Søgegaard Rohde, and Cathrine Bloesch, "Pind blander sig i kage-debat: »Jeg gider ikke at tale dårligt om Inger. Jeg kan godt lide hende. Men altså; jeg havde ikke gjort det.«" Www.b.dk, March 20, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, <https://www.b.dk/politisk-morgenpost/pind-blander-sig-i-kage-debat-jeg-gider-ikke-at-tale-daarligt-om-inger> and Katrine Frederikke Wandrup, "Politisk ekspert: Derfor delte Inger Støjberg kage-billedet," Www.bt.dk, March 15, 2017, retrieved March 13, 2018, <https://www.bt.dk/politik/politisk-ekspert-derfor-delte-inger-stoeborg-kage-billedet>.

82. Source: the "Stram Kurs" webpage Unable to find publ date, retrieved March 5 2018, from <https://stramkurs.dk/vores-politik/top-20-de-skal-ud/>, Sober minoritetsforskning, "Fejlinformation af befolkning og politikere", soberminoritetsforskning.wordpress.com, November 27, 2017, retrieved March 22, 2018, from <https://soberminoritetsforskning.wordpress.com/>.

83. Lars Vogt, "Minister forskønnede sin uddannelse," Www.bt.dk, December 09, 2009, accessed February 13, 2018, <https://www.bt.dk/politik/minister-forskoennede-sin-uddannelse> and Marie Rask Glerup, "Faktatjek: Venstre bruger misvisende tal i kontanthjælpsdebat," DR.dk, March 5, 2015, retrieved February 13, 2018, <http://www.dr.dk/nyheder/politik/faktatjek-venstre-bruger-misvisende-tal-i-kontanthjælpsdebat> and LIne Tolstrup Holm, "Støjberg beklager usand anekdote om hamburgerryg," Www.b.dk, January 11, 2016, retrieved February 13, 2018, <http://www.b.dk/nationalt/stoeborg-beklager-usand-anekdote-om-hamburgerryg>.

84. Ritzau, "Støjberg har Muhammedtegning som baggrundsskærm på sin iPad," Information, September 26, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, <https://www.information.dk/telegram/2017/09/stoeborg-muhammedtegning-baggrundsskaerm-paa-ipad>.

85. Daniel Bue Lauritzen, "Tidligere PET-chef revser Støjbergs opslag: Hun sætter sikkerheden på spil," Altinget.dk, September 27, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, <http://www.alinget.dk/artikel/tidligere-pet-chef-revser-stoeborgs-opslag-hun-saetter-sikkerheden-paa-spil>.

various restrictions to immigrants and asylum seekers that she pushed through; drastically decreasing the number of approved asylum seekers and proposed to send rejected asylum seekers behind bars or to a deserted island.<sup>86</sup>

Intact Denmark is linked and modeled on Intact America, campaigning against the widespread practice of male circumcision in the US. Intact America aims to transfer its ideology, slogans and propaganda to Denmark. American Intactivists refer to Denmark as a “Ground Zero” regarding the circumcision debate, hoping a legal ban in Denmark can be used to further their agenda in the US. A leading figure in the Danish circumcision debate providing Intact with arguments and often poorly conducted research to prove his point is Morten Frisch, professor at the *State Serum Institute*. On social media, where Dr. Frisch posts stories about male circumcision on an almost daily basis, he routinely describes Jews and Muslims in a scornful and demeaning manner, and frequently allows others to post outright anti-Semitic and Islamophobic comments.<sup>87</sup>

In June 2017, Dr. Frisch posted the article “Violence is more often part of child-rearing in non-western families”, comparing male circumcision to child abuse, arguing that there is no difference between hitting your child in the face with your fist and circumcising him.<sup>88</sup>

## Civil Society and Political Initiatives to Counter Islamophobia

### Politics

The first larger initiative to specifically tackle Islamophobia in politics was funded and executed by the Center for Danish Muslim Relations in the run-up to the 2017 local elections.<sup>89</sup> The #SlukforHadet (#TurnoftheHate) campaign reached more than 350.000 viewers even though Facebook removed it for a week without an explanation.<sup>90</sup> Several voices were also specifically raised against Foreign- and

86. Rick Noack, “Denmark wants to seize jewellery and cash from refugees,” *The Washington Post*, December 18, 2015, retrieved February 13, 2018, [http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/12/17/denmark-wants-to-seize-jewelry-from-refugees/?utm\\_term=.43c9834be30b](http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/12/17/denmark-wants-to-seize-jewelry-from-refugees/?utm_term=.43c9834be30b) and Bent Dahl Jensen, “Færre asylansøgere får ophold i Danmark,” *Sameksistens.dk*, November 25, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, <http://www.sameksistens.dk/nyhed/article/faerre-asylansoegere-faar-ophold-i-danmark/> and “Dansk Folkeparti vil spærre udviste børn inde,” *Nyheder.tv2.dk*, November 29, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, <http://nyheder.tv2.dk/politik/2017-11-30-dansk-folkeparti-vil-spaerre-udviste-boern-inde> and Ole Damkjær, “Støjberg åben over for øde ø til afviste asylansøgere,” *Www.b.dk*, December 06, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, <http://www.b.dk/nationalt/stoeborg-aaben-over-for-oede-oe-til-afviste-asylansoegere>.

87. “Intactivism feeds anti-Semitism and Islamophobia in Denmark,” *Medium.com*, March 10, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, <https://medium.com/@circuminfo.dk/intactivism-feeds-anti-semitism-and-islamophobia-in-denmark-2452840510d0>.

88. Screenshot from Morten Frisch Facebook wall on the 9th of June 2017.

89. Peter Burhøi, “Muslimer til valgurnerne: »Vi er i 2017, vi kan ikke bare sidde ovre i hjørnet og være klassens sure dreng«,” *Www.b.dk*, October 11, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, from <http://www.b.dk/nationalt/muslimer-til-valgurnerne-vi-er-i-2017-vi-kan-ikke-bare-sidde-ovre-i-hjoernet-og>.

90. Bent Dahl Jensen, “Facebook fjerner muslimsk kampagnevideo,” *Sameksistens.dk*, October 26, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, from <http://www.sameksistens.dk/nyhed/article/facebook-fjerner-muslimsk-kampagnevideo/>.

Integration Minister, Inger Støjberg. Amongst them the former PET chief, the former Integration minister and fellow party member Birte Hornbech. Hornbech was highly critical over the “us” and “them” mentality of Støjberg.<sup>91</sup>

## Media

Denmark’s Radio aired a radio program called Koranskolen (The Quran school). The program gave imams a platform to explain Islam without the critical approach common elsewhere. The host motivated it by saying; “We hear less of the imams because many of them don’t feel comfortable talking to the press. It is telling that they constantly feel accused and therefore have reservations regarding the press. It’s an important thing to fix...”.<sup>92</sup>

Another program also by Denmark’s Radio that aired on TV in the beginning of 2017 focused on the challenges of a few women converting to Islam. The show was named Når naboens datter bliver Muslim (Eng.: When the neighbor’s daughter turns Muslim).<sup>93</sup>

As a counterpart to mainstream media, Muslims and other minority Danes have launched their own media channels. Radio WAIH established by a group of Muslims with the aim of nuancing the current media landscape has launched several online campaigns, amongst them a campaign on islamophobia, the Niqab-ban and Muslim free schools.<sup>94</sup>

## Internet

The social media campaign #JegerDansk (#IamDanish) by Gorilla Media was designed to challenge the V38 bill on the Danishness of non-western minorities. It managed to put pressure on Danish politicians so that just three months later the bill was almost overturned.<sup>95</sup>

## Civil Society

The first Islamophobia report was published by the Center for Danish Muslim Relations, leading to the term becoming more widespread, for example through inspiring the first Danish Wikipedia article on Islamophobia to be written.<sup>96</sup> Criminal acts

91. Line Ernlund, “Birthe Rønn Hornbech i angreb på eget parti: ‘Jeg melder mig ud, hvis Støjberg bliver formand,’” from [www.bt.dk](http://www.bt.dk), February 13, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, <http://www.bt.dk/politik/birthe-ronn-hornbech-i-angreb-pa-eget-parti-jeg-melder-mig-ud-hvis-stojberg-bliver> and Thomas Søggaard Rohde and Cathrine Bloch, “Birthe Rønn med direkte opfordring til Løkke: Du må stoppe Støjberg,” from [www.b.dk](http://www.b.dk), October 05, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, <http://www.b.dk/politiko/birthe-roenn-med-direkte-opfordring-til-loekke-du-maa-stoppe-stoejberg>.

92. Jens From Lyng, “Radiovært: Teologien i islam-debatten er forsømt,” *Kristeligt Dagblad*, July 04, 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, <http://www.kristeligt-dagblad.dk/kirke-tro/teologien-i-islam-debatten-er-forsoemt>.

93. “Når naboens datter bliver muslim,” episode 1 & 2, DR, January 10, 2017 & January 21, 2017.

94. Radio WAIH, retrieved February 13, 2018, from <http://waih.dk/>.

95. See footnote 12, p. 6.

96. “Islamofobiske trends 2016 – Center for dansk-muslimske relationer,” Cedar.nu, accessed February 13, 2018, <http://www.cedar.nu/islamofobiske-trends-2016/> and “Islamofobi,” Wikipedia, Oct. & nov. 2017, retrieved February 13, 2018, <https://da.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamofobi>.

by Muslims are often used in an Islamophobic context. This year the Police failed in ending a bloody gang war between mainly young Muslims. The engagement by Muslim communities helped in ending the bloody conflict and was an effective way to tackle Islamophobic tendencies.<sup>97</sup> And the Danish Women's society launched a campaign called "Whore" portraying a woman in hijab as a victim of hate crime, with the intent of tackling hate crime towards Muslim women.<sup>98</sup>

## Conclusion and Policy Recommendations

According to official statistics on hate crime by the National Police, Muslims are the most targeted minority in Denmark, especially online. Islamophobia in Denmark is spurred by certain politicians, traditionally by those from the Danish People's Party, recently also by the leadership of the Social Democrats. Muslims should therefore organize themselves politically to end the hateful rhetoric and the Danish politicians that do not concur with the Islamodiversion should aid them in this effort. Muslims are seldom used as sources by established media, instead critical voices often make up the majority of sources. Muslims must therefore participate in media to a greater extent, a responsibility that lies with both the media outlets and the Muslim representatives. A few laws are under way, both a Niqab ban and a ban on male circumcision. This underlines the necessity of education and awareness among the public and among professionals. Certain institutions try to solve social issues by meddling in the personal lives of Muslim families. Instead they should consult academics and civil society in the pursuit of the best possible solutions. The following recommendations are therefore set forth:

- Muslims must be recognized as a heterogeneous group and equally accepted as Danes compared to any other group of society.
- Instead of downplaying hate crime towards Muslims, explaining it by Muslims being visible and a large minority, the National Police need to take Islamophobic hate crime more seriously. The National Police report on hate crime is mentioned on p. 17.
- Resources need to be allocated into initiatives that can change the inflammatory public discourse regarding minorities in both media and politics.
- Research must be conducted to identify the challenges associated with Islamophobia, which fuels a negative spiral of extremism through increased ant-Muslim hatred and responsive hatred by Muslims.
- Neutral meeting grounds between Muslims and non-Muslim Danes need to be prioritized since the contact hypothesis naturally dissolves stereotyping and racism.

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97. Tom Carstensen and Emil Søndergård Ingvorsen, "Moské hos Islamisk Trossamfund har lagt rum til bande-aftale," DR.dk, November 13, 2017, accessed February 13, 2018, <http://www.dr.dk/nyheder/indland/moske-hos-islamisk-trossamfund-har-lagt-rum-til-bande-aftale>.

98. Posted on the Danish Women's societies Facebook page on 30 May 2017, accessed March 2, 2018, from: [https://www.facebook.com/danskkvindesamfund/?hc\\_ref=ARSLIKR8IT1UUq1JIo88E7ySEXfSj91WadBEQdFgsYvWC CuXbk4aFRJzJnTKFe6X11&fref=nf](https://www.facebook.com/danskkvindesamfund/?hc_ref=ARSLIKR8IT1UUq1JIo88E7ySEXfSj91WadBEQdFgsYvWC CuXbk4aFRJzJnTKFe6X11&fref=nf)

- Media must involve Muslims more often when covering Islam as well as other subjects instead of prioritizing voices critical of Islam and Muslims, as it creates a skewed image of reality.
- Awareness and education of professionals in the educational sector, health care system, law enforcement and the justice system.

## Chronology

- **11.01.2017:** Public debate on the ban on prayer rooms in public institutions intensifies due to a proposal in parliament.
- **07.02.2017:** Non-westerners and their children are declared non-Danish by parliament and Ali is assaulted by a Molotov-cocktail.
- **14.03.2017:** Inger Støjberg celebrates her 50th restriction against foreigners with a cake.
- **20.04.2017:** The first Islamophobia report is published.
- **27.04.2017:** The Board of Equal Treatment rejected a complaint from a group of students banned from praying in school.
- **02.05.2017:** The National Sanctions list, also known as “Hate Preacher List”, was put into practice.
- **24.06.2017:** The extreme far-right party the Danes party dismantles.
- **16.09.2017:** The Social Democrats shift their political paradigm closer towards the political right, stating that Muslims are a problem.
- **04.10.2017:** The so-called mask ban, also known as the “niqab ban”, are proposed by the Danish People’s Party.
- **09.10.2017:** The #SlukforHadet campaign was launched.
- **21.11.2017:** Local elections with bad results for the two right wing parties, the Danish People’s Party and Nye Borgerlige.
- **08.12.2017:** Tarek is allegedly attacked by Police at an anti-Trump demonstration.
- **12.12.2017:** “The Hate Preacher list” is being extended.