

Denmark's Discrimination: The extent of racialisation of Muslims as 'other'.

Dominique Triggs

Sociologists are divided about how to approach critical race theory, with Dikotter (2008, p.1482) arguing that the common-sense, imposition and diffusion models are inadequate for exploring global racism, because each model advocates "racism as a uniform phenomenon". Each country has different racialisation processes directed at different groups of people, with Dikotter (2008, p.1482) promoting the interactive model which takes into account different country contexts and analyses their individual racialisation processes. Yet Dikotter's (2008, p.1494) argument that "racist belief systems share a common language based on science" is not applicable in the Danish context, as it is cultural racism rather than biological discourse that is dominating Danish race rhetoric. Goldberg (2009, p.1273) argues differently, believing that the focus on processes of racialisation in different countries can result in a comparative style of research which, although valuable, tends to "miss a crucial dimension for comprehending racial significance and racist conditioning in all their complexity". However, exploring different countries processes of racialisation separately can be insightful as this case study on Denmark will emphasise.

Within Denmark the Muslim population has, to a significant extent, been racialised as the negative 'other'. This not new for Muslims, who have faced racialisation in Europe since the medieval period, however in recent decades it has become more prevalent especially in Denmark (Said, 2003, p.60). Racialisation is defined as "the dynamic process by which racial concept, categories and divisions come to structure and embed themselves in arenas of social life" with the racialisation of Muslims as other in Denmark becoming embedded in Danish culture, politics, media and violence (Law, 2010, p.59). Muslims belong to different ethnic groups and are not a separate race, but they have been constructed racially, and can therefore be subject to racialisation (ENAR, 2015a). A common term used to describe racism towards Muslims is Islamophobia, although the definition of this term is contested, especially due to the confusion "between fear of Islam...and fear of Muslims" (Law, 2010, p.148). So for clarification negative attitudes and actions towards Muslims will be defined as anti-Muslimism (Law, 2010, p.148). Contextually Denmark has a population of five and a half million people (Rytter and Pedersen, 2014, p.2304). Within this population it is estimated 3.7 percent of people are Muslims, however we cannot have an accurate number due to Denmark not documenting their citizens' religious identity (Euro-Islam.info, 2015). Denmark has had a strong reputation as a generous nation (Wren, 2001, p.141). With Denmark's landscape supposedly "making Danes a friendly, peace-loving people" (Rostgaard, 2008, p.154). Denmark was known in the 1980s for their generous immigration policies, which had a key effect on Denmark's demographic (Mouritsen and Olsen, 2013, p.691). Muslims in Denmark are primarily migrants or of migrant origins (Stainforth, 2009, p.96). Yet scholars now argue that Denmark is "one of the most staunchly anti-Muslim nations in the West" (Anderson et al, 2006, cited in Euro-Islam.info, 2015). So between the 1980s and 2015 the extent of racialisation of Muslims as other has increased significantly, but why? This will be explored through: the role of cultural differences, the impact of politics, the effect of the media and the relationship between racial violence and racialisation.

The role of cultural differences towards racialising Muslims as 'other'.

Within Denmark there is perceived strong cultural differences between Danish and Muslim culture, which Jacobsen (2010, cited in Euro-Islam.info, 2015) argues is popularly viewed as a culture clash. This presents itself in cultural racism, nationalism and integration policies all of which emphasises the view of Muslims as other from the rest of the Danish population.

Cultural racism is defined by Wren (2001, p.143) as “a refined replacement of earlier biological racism” with Europeans perceiving themselves as “not *racially*, but *culturally* superior”. Cultural racism towards Muslims began in earnest in the 1980s according to Wren (2001, p.146) when the need for Muslim “migrant labour had receded”. The dates for the instigation of cultural racism vary, with Sedgwick believing Hervik’s argument that it began later in the 1990s is equally reliable (Hervik, cited in Sedgwick, 2013, p.211-212). The characteristics of Islam are popularly viewed as “backward”, with Muslims seen as backward by association, and with Danes viewing their own culture as “modern” (Stainforth, 2009, p.102). Denmark is generally a secular society with the ENAR Shadow Report 2011-2012 (2013, p.11) finding evidence that many Danes do not have any personal inclinations towards religion, causing Muslims to be racialized partly due to the differences between religious and secular cultures. Muslims are further separated from Danish culture due to “their visible and aural differences” for example a Muslim woman wearing a hijab (Hervik, 2011, p.xii). The hijab alone has caused many issues, with the 2000 ECRI Report on Denmark finding that Muslim women wearing the hijab have been denied access to public transport (ECRI, 2000, cited in Euro-Islam.info, 2015). Cultural racism is exacerbated by the circulation of cultural stereotypes, with Pia Kjærsgaard leader of the Danish People’s Party (DPP), publically associating Muslims with female circumcision (Hussain, 2000, p.97). This is a generalisation, with a female circumcision charity, stating that female circumcision “is not recommended by any religion or in any religious texts” (Daughters of Eve). These cultural stereotypes contribute to cultural racism with Muslim culture viewed as different and deficient, resulting in the racialised view of Muslims as other.

It’s important to recognise the effect 9/11 had on cultural racism, which worsened due to Muslims being associated with terrorism and further racialised as other. Since the terrorist attack Muslims have begun to be viewed as suspects (Rytter and Pedersen, 2014, p.2303). With an increase in the dichotic view of Muslims as either good or bad (Mamdani, 2002, cited in Rytter and Pedersen, 2014, p.2309). Interviews with Muslims in Denmark by The Danish Centre for Gender, Equality and Diversity found 9/11 mentioned in their interviews, with one interviewee being asked by friends if he could have a Danish identity whilst being a Muslim (KVINFO, a). There is a power struggle between East and West with Said (2003, p.205) arguing that the East is becoming more dominant. This supposed newfound dominance has increased cultural anxiety, with Danes fearing they are losing their national identity (Grillo, 2003, cited in Rytter and Pedersen, 2014, p.2311). The ENAR Shadow Report 2011-2012 (2013, p.3.) has found evidence of this anxiety, believing there is “anti-terror hysteria” in Denmark. Cultural anxiety caused by 9/11 has thus increased cultural racism as a defensive position taken by ethnic Danes. This supports the racialisation of Muslim as other, as their culture is seen as incompatible with Danish culture, especially after 9/11 where Muslims began to be viewed with heightened distrust.

Nationalism is another key area of cultural difference. Solidifying a national identity occurred in the 1800s due to the conflict between Denmark and their neighbour Germany (Rostgaard, 2008, p.147). Stainforth (2009, p.87) discusses the three main types of nationalism which are all exclusive to ethnic Danes, they include Lutheran nationalism, monarchical nationalism and folk nationalism. Islam is fundamentally different to Christian Lutheran doctrine and practise, with Christianity and Islam having a history of conflict, making Muslims excluded from this type of nationalism. Also the Danish monarchy represents ethnic Danes and the history of Denmark, both of which exclude Muslims who are predominately recent migrants and not usually ethnically Danish. The most popular type of nationalism is folk nationalism, which is based on Denmark’s “collective national spirit and community” (Stainforth, 2009, p.87). However Muslims are excluded from this, for example linguistically, as Danish is many Muslims’ second language especially if they are first generation migrants, with the Danish language is a crucial

part of folk nationalism (Stainforth, 2009, p.98). The Danish Centre for Gender, Equality and Diversity found an interviewee commenting that he does not feel fully Danish, and does not believe he ever can be because of the way people view him on sight (KVINFO, b). As well as being excluded from nationalism, nationalism is used against Muslims by anti-Muslimism supporters, including the DPP who are neo-nationalists (Sedgewick, 2013, p.208). Neo-nationalism is defined by Sedgwick (2013, p.211) as “the revival of nationalism in the face of globalisation” and “has an important ethnic element”, with neo-nationalists fearful of the spread of Muslims culture in Denmark. This results in making nationalism even more exclusive to ethnic Danes, excluding Muslims who identify as Danish and racialising them as other.

There is a discussion in Denmark about integration of Muslim migrants into Danish society. 9/11 affected the view of integration of migrants, as previously it was thought Muslims could become Danish, but after 2001 this was no longer the popular viewpoint (Rytter and Pedersen, 2014, p.2308). The policy of integration assumes “that ethnic minorities are culturally different and need to undergo some degree of acculturation” with Denmark’s integration policy reflecting the racialisation of Muslims as other as Muslims have to change culturally to be seen as Danish (Law, 2010, p.83). Hedetoft (2006) argues Denmark does not take Muslims minority status into account, with Denmark mirroring France’s assimilation policy. Trying to integrate Muslims into Danish society can result in Muslims being pressured to give up their culture in order to be accepted as Danish. An example of this is the hijab, which the DPP wanted to ban as they argue it prevents successful integration of Muslim women and girls (Euro-Islam.info, 2015). Rather than declare themselves a multicultural state, Denmark has tasked Muslim migrants with the responsibility of integrating and making themselves ‘fit’ Danish society (Mouritsen and Olsen, 2013, p.694). There is also no possibility for Muslims having dual citizenship in Denmark as you are either racialised as a Muslim other or you are Danish (Mouritsen and Olsen, 2013, p.700). The intensity of Danish integration puts a governmental seal of approval on racialising Muslims other, as Muslims are seen the ones who need to change, with Denmark not accepting their responsibility to accept multiculturalism in their society.

Muslims are racialised to a large extent as other, seen by the cultural differences between Danes and Muslims as explored through cultural racism, nationalism and integration policies. Muslims are not accepted culturally into Danish society, with pressure on Muslims to change their cultural practices. Until they do so they will always be seen as the other in Danish society.

The impact of Danish politics on the racialisation of Muslims as ‘other’.

Politicians have the responsibility to protect their citizens from racialisation and racism, and Denmark used to be seen as a leading the way for this as they followed global institutions like the UN and signed up to conventions like the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (Hervik and Jorgensen, 2002, cited in Hervik, 2011, p.2). This has changed though with politics having a significant impact on the racialisation of Muslims as other, which will be explored through analysis of the DPP, 2001 Danish election, Muslims led political groups and International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

The Danish political party most responsible for the racialisation of Muslims as other is the far right Danish People’s Party (DPP). They are notorious for their anti-Muslim behaviour which presents itself in their vicious rhetoric, for example Pia Kjærsgaard has previously commented that Muslims “despise whatever is Western, Danish or Christian”, which is an unreliable generalisation that further racialised Muslims as other (Hussain, 2000, p.97). It was not the DPP who began to politically target Muslims and racialise them as others, that was the Progressive Party, however the DPP continued this process (Wurtz-Soernsen, 1988, cited in Hussain, 2000, p.99). The group fit the criteria of a nationalistic group as Mouritsen and Olsen (2013, p.708) argue they emphasise “a right to cultural self-maintenance...and a negative ‘Other’ to help define the national ‘Self’” with Muslims filling the role of other. Cultural anxiety which is rife in Denmark was encouraged by the DPP who were taken seriously as a political entity post 9/11 (Gad, 2011, cited in Rytter and Pedersen, 2014, p.2312). Nonetheless they

still had support from the Danish population prior to this, with the DPP winning 7% of all votes in the election of 1998 (Institute of Race Relations, 2015, cited in Wren, 2001, p.153). Their increasing success in winning votes with their anti-Muslim stance reveals how the further racialised Muslims are as other in the Danish consciousness, the more popular the DPP become as they reflect what the Danish population feel (Sedgewick, 2013, p.208).

The 2001 election was a game changer in Danish politics, it took place a few months after 9/11 and reflected the turbulent times with a change in which parties held political dominance (Rytter and Pedersen, 2014, p.2306). The DPP grew in popularity becoming “the third largest party” in parliament, this resulted in them having significant influence over the Liberal-Conservative coalition government resulting in an increase in tight Immigration laws (Stainforth, 2009, p.98). The election greatly affected the racialisation of Muslims, as it meant the DPP were in a position to further racialise Muslims as other and convince more of the population to do so. The election results instigated further competition, with the coalition parties taking on anti-Muslim rhetoric themselves to appeal to voters (Stainforth, 2009, p.99). It became acceptable in the political sphere for Islam to be compared to Nazism with the veil being synonymous with the Nazi swastika (Hervik, 2011, p.x). Also the parties closed down the Board for Ethnic Equality among other organisations, a significant action to show that Muslims were the other and the government did not want to protect them from racialisation and racism (Hervik, 2011, p.x). The decade following this election has been termed by Rytter and Pedersen (2014, p.2313-2317) as the “decade of suspicion” where Muslims came under a “panoptic gaze” from Danish society, although the full impact of this decade is yet to reveal itself. The 2011 election has since changed the political set up again, with the left retaking political control, but there has been no significant change in the racialisation of Muslims under the new government (Rytter and Pedersen, 2014, p.2316). Even though the DPP are no longer in such a powerful position they are still trying to increase the racialisation of Muslims as other, by trying to eradicate the hate speech ban, which the ENAR (2015b) is deeply concerned about. The 2001 election reveals how politicians can have a significant impact on the extent to which Muslims are racialised as other.

Muslim groups in Denmark differ in their response to racialisation of Muslims as other, and it's key to see some of their responses so they are not seen as passive to the way they are racialised in Denmark. There are numerous groups but the ones that will be discussed here are Hizb ut-Tahrir and Muslimer i Dialog. Hizb ut-Tahrir are viewed as radical by the Danish media who place them on par with Al-Qaeda, the group do not distinguish between their religion and the politics of their country believing them to be intertwined (Sinclair, 2008, p.46). Muslimer i Dialog do not appear to receive as such fierce criticism as they concern themselves with integration and creating a dialogue between themselves and ethnic Danes, and do not propose isolation like Hizb ut-Tahrir (Sinclair, 2008, p.49). It has been reported in BBC News (2003) that Hizb ut-Tahrir promote “racism and anti-Semitic hatred, calls suicide bombers martyrs, and urges Muslims to kill Jewish people” with a Danish member of the organisation being convicted for “distributing racist propaganda”. The Local (2015) reported earlier this year that the Danish government is trying to eradicate Hizb ut-Tahrir because of its radical political outlook and comments, for example the recent Copenhagen shootings where they blamed ethnic Danes for Omar El-Hussein's violent actions. As a group they contribute, whether intentionally or not, to the racialisation of Muslims as other. Muslimer i dialog on the other hand do not want to be seen as other, which is why they are trying to open the pathways of communication with ethnic Danes, so Danes can better understand Muslims and not racialise them as other (Sinclair, 2008, p.49).

As previously mentioned the Danish government is signed up to a number of conventions against racism but this has not stopped their reputation as “a role model” changing significantly (Hervik and Jorgensen, 2002, cited in Hervik, 2011, p.2.). It is curious their reputation is only changing in recent decades, as Denmark contributed to the racialisation of black people in their Caribbean colonies as criminals, for example by issuing a time curfew on free blacks because they believed any of their activities taking place in the evening must be of a criminal

nature (Harris, 1992, p.179). Denmark for all the conventions they have signed, are not exempt from having racialised members of their society. Denmark is signed up to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, however there is evidence of Denmark breaking some of the articles in the convention. This can be found in the Dawas and Shava v. Denmark case, where Denmark was accused of breaking articles 2, 3, 4 and 6 (United Nations, 2012, p.81). The case is centred on an attack towards an Iraqi refugee family by ethnic Danish youths, where the consequent “criminal proceedings resulted in a light penalty excluding the racially motivated nature of the act” prompting the victims to take their case to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination through Article 14 (United Nations, 2012, p.81). Article 14 of the convention is the Individual Complaints Procedure, whereby if a petitioner “has exhausted all available domestic remedies” they can take their case to the United Nations (United Nations) The Committee’s verdict was that Denmark was guilty of breaking articles 2 and 6 and had not sufficiently defended the victims of the attack or acknowledged the racial nature of the attack (United Nations, 2012, p.101). The ENAR (2013, p.44-45) advised Denmark to take more consideration on how to successfully protect minority groups. This shows how racialisation of Muslims as other is not effectively tackled in Denmark, with Justesen (2003, cited in Mouritsen and Olsen, 2013, p. 704) having argued that Denmark only signed up to these conventions in the misguided attitude that race problems did not affect them.

Politics therefore has an impact with the rise of the DPP, attitudes of some Muslim political groups and the breaking of international conventions leading to an increase in the extent to which Muslims are racialised as other. The Danish government has been advised by numerous committees in recent years to increase their support of Danish Muslims however as shown this advice is going unheeded.

Media controversy and its effect on the racialisation of Muslims as ‘other’.

The world’s media is a dichotomy between “promoting ethnic, racial and religious hatred” and “exposing racism, discrimination and human rights abuses” (International Federation of Journalists, 2005, cited in Law, 2010, p.192). The Danish media’s general attitude falls into the first category because they represent anti-Muslim sentiment and increase the racialisation of Muslims as other. With one of the biggest global media controversies of the 2000s taking place in Denmark, known as the Muhammad Cartoon controversy. Both these attitudes and the controversy itself make for an interesting insight into the media’s effect on the racialisation of Danish Muslims.

Hjarvard argues that the Danish media has become more politicised in recent decades, meaning that the political racialisation of Muslims has come to play a role in the media’s racialisation of Muslims (Hjarvard, cited in Hervik, 2011, p.7). Hervik (2011, p.xii) argues that this affects the lives of Danish Muslims who are portrayed by the media as other, with the media increasing the hostility towards Muslims and heightening political tensions. A reason the media is such a powerful force in racialising Muslims as other is because ethnic Danes are not knowledgeable about Muslim culture, so rely on the media for their information (Stainforth, 2009, p.100). The ENAR Shadow Report 2011 -2012 (2013, p.3) found that the media has fixated “on negative stories, degrading political statements concerning cultural traditions and religious customs of Muslims minorities” which enforces stereotypes about Muslims, and leads to further racialisation of them as something completely different and hostile to ethnic Danes. However, it is debatable how the Danish media’s audience responds to this negative focus, with You Gov finding that around half of ethnic Danes surveyed found the media sensationalist (You Gov, cited in ENAR, 2013, p.25). Verma (1992, cited in Hussain, 2000, p.100) has reasoned that “the mass media does not determine attitudes” although the media’s interpretation of events does become a basis for which we mould our opinions. As Hussain (2000, p.99) has argued the media adopts a crude approach towards Muslims, based on academics emphasise on “an us-them problem”, in order to make shocking headlines and attract audiences. The fixation the Danish media has on Muslims has become “a ‘fixed

repertoire” (Law, 2010, p.208). This would explain the results of a survey conducted by Megafon (2012, cited in ENAR, 2013 p.27) who found that “61% Danes were tired of the Islam debate in the media”. The media therefore has a static idea on what Muslims represent and enforce stereotypes and misinterpretations resulting in Muslims being racialised as other to a large extent.

The most evident example of the media racialising Muslims as other, is the cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad published in Jyllands-Posten in 2005. The controversy began with a caricature competition for the newspaper, with the theme of the caricatures being Islam, with an editor Flemming Rose picking 12 to be published (Euro-Islam.info, 2015). The images can clearly be seen as offensive to Muslims as “one showed Muhammad in a bomb-shaped turban” a clear indication of the popular association with Islam and terrorism (The Economist, 2006). These images isolated Muslims as a source of ridicule to largely secular ethnic Danes, further racialising them as other. The paper commented that it was not their intention to offend the Muslim community (The Economist, 2006). ECRI (2005, p.26) discussed the cartoon debate in its third Denmark report observing that over half the population did not see an issue with the cartoons. This was worrying to ECRI (2005, p.26) who felt that the racialisation of Muslims had worsened since its 2000 report, they advised that the government should “send a strong signal that incitement to racial hatred against Muslims will not be tolerated”. Seven years later in the fourth report on Denmark conducted by ECRI (2012, p.28) there was continuing apprehension on how the media represents Muslims, with ECRI wanting an increase in “responsible journalism”. During this tense period in 2005 an NGO report (Hassan, p.1) was sent to the Chairman of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination “on behalf of five cultural and religious institutions serving the interests of Arab and Muslim Danes living in Denmark”, because of Denmark’s botched attempt to deal appropriately with Jyllands-Posten. The report argued that the Danish media has sustained anti-Muslimism in Denmark, with no reprimand from the Danish government (Hassan, p.1-2). A reason for the government’s lack of involvement is due to the Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen believing he was not in a position to take action, as he felt that media was autonomous and his involvement would eradicate this “long-established tradition” (Ligabo, p.3). Nonetheless a few months after the controversy began he did condemn treating groups as other due to their beliefs, but this was arguably too little too late, especially as he still did not directly mention the controversy (Ligabo, p.3). This overt racialization of Muslims as other now became global knowledge, as Denmark received condemnation especially from Egypt’s foreign minister who labelled Denmark’s increasing anti-Muslimism a “scandal” (BBC Monitoring Middle East, 2005). However other countries felt the images were freedom of speech with the cartoons reprinted by many newspapers including French media outlets Charles Hebdo and Libération (The Telegraph, 2015). The cartoons themselves racialised Muslims as other, something separate from ethnic Danes that should be mocked, and this brought Denmark’s increasing anti-Muslimism to global attention. This controversy and its effects are still felt years later, with the ENAR (2013) recording how it seriously damaged integration as the cartoons had furthered the racialisation of Muslims as other.

The media have the ability to communicate with all of Denmark, and they use this influence ineffectually, with sensationalist headlines simplifying debates on Muslim migrants and racialising Muslims as other in an ‘us vs them’ debate. The Danish media and especially the Muhammad cartoons controversy has increased the extent to which Muslims are racialised as other, as the cartoons singled out Muslims as other in comparison to ethnic Danes.

Racial violence and its relationship with the racialisation of Muslims as ‘other’.

Denmark exhibits many of the “core elements of racism” including the association of Muslims with “with negative...cultural characteristics” (Law, 2010, p.134). The hate crimes directed at Muslims can come from many angles including “anti-foreigner/anti-migrant...anti-refugee/anti-Asylum seeker” with the much debated concept ‘Islamophobia’ only one of many violent motives (Law, 2010, p.148). The lack of convictions on perpetrators of racial violence implies

that racial violence is not a feature of modern Denmark (Quraishy and Connor, 1991, p.114). This is definitely not the case and racial violence will be explored through the ENAR Shadow Reports from 2009-2012 among other reports with a close look at the Copenhagen shootings in 2015 and their relation to post-2005 Muhammad cartoon controversy violence.

The ENAR Shadow Report 2009-2010 (2011a, p.25) revealed an increase in racially motivated violence, with Denmark becoming “one of the top three countries” for committing racist crime. Denmark has been criticised prior to this for not sufficiently stamping out racial violence (ENAR, 2011a, p.46). This violence is a result of the racialisation of Muslims as other through debate over cultural differences, which is advertised by Danish politicians and the Danish media (ENAR, 2011a, p.49). There is also mention of criminal gangs, including the Hells Angels, who had 396 members in 2009 (ENAR, 2011a, p.24). This gang warfare rears its head in the ENAR Shadow Report 2010-2011 (2012, p.29-30) as well, where violence occurs “between Hells Angels and minority groups which has resulted in targeted shootings, stabbings and even killings”. This is simultaneous to the increasing racist rhetoric targeted at Danish Muslims, which for perpetrators like Hells Angels justifies racist violence (ENAR, 2012, p.28). This ENAR (2012, p.28) report also makes the connection between the 2001 election and racial violence, showing a strong correlation between politics and violence. This connection is found again in the ENAR Shadow Report 2011-2012 (2013, p.31) as “hate crimes against Muslims have a direct link with hate speech by political parties”. This is revealing as it shows the impact of political speech on the public consciousness, with these anti-Muslim messages being absorbed and resulting in racial violence. 9/11 affected cultural racism as previously mentioned and simultaneously it affected the rate of racial violence towards Muslims, with the Danish Security and Intelligence Service (PET) finding evidence that Muslims are the most targeted groups for racial violence (ENAR, 2013, p.33). PET statistics show that violence towards minorities, especially Muslims, increased dramatically during 2001 and 2006, a direct reflection of the 2001 election and Muhammad Cartoon Controversy (ENAR, 2011b, p.5-6). As these reports demonstrate Denmark best fits into the third sociological category of racial violence, categorised as “use of derogatory, abusive verbal language or forms of representation which are felt to be offensive” (Law, 2010, p.133).

Violence between Muslims and ethnic Danes is not in the process of decreasing, with the Copenhagen shootings in 2015 evidence of this. The Telegraph reported “Islamist extremist gunned down two people in separate attacks on a Copenhagen café and synagogue” (Chazan and Isherwood, 2015). Usually when an Islamic extremist commits a violent action the whole Muslim community is thus racialised as other by association, an example being in 2008 when a Kasem Said Ahmed was assaulted, which he believed was due Islamic extremists attacking a Danish embassy (Human Rights First, 2008, p.11). Therefore after the Copenhagen shooting the ENAR (2015c) were conscious for European governments to prevent extremist attacks but also not to racialise Muslims as other in the process. However, reporting that Omar El-Hussein’s accomplices included “a Pakistani and an Arab” does not help the already tense situation (Chazan and Isherwood, 2015).

It’s important to recognise the importance of cartoon controversies and racial violence, with one man commenting after the Copenhagen shootings that “everybody knew it was coming after the Charles Hebdo shootings because a Danish newspaper also published cartoons of the Prophet Mohammad” (Chazan and Isherwood, 2015). The fallout from the 2005 controversy therefore continues, with there being numerous acts of reactionary violence including an attack on cartoonist Kurt Westergaard in his home (Sjølie, 2010). Another attack has occurred in America where “a group critical of Islam, included a contest for drawings of the Prophet” resulted in violence (BBC News, 2015). All cartoons centred around the Prophet Muhammad from Jyllands-Posten, Charles Hebdo and a convention in America have all resulted in reactionary violence by extremist Muslims. This brings criticism onto the entire Muslim community, who are therefore racialised as other and not belonging to Western society. Therefore although the Jylland-Posten cartoon controversy took place in the national environment it progressed into the international environment where “conflicts...heighten local

perceptions of insecurity and fear and which are used to rationalise racist violence” with violence directed at Muslims justified, because of extremist Muslims reactionary violence to cartoon controversies (Law, 2010, p.138).

The relationship between racial violence and the racialisation of Muslims therefore is a strong one, with ENAR reports revealing the increasing extent of racial violence and the form it is taking. The Copenhagen shootings reveal the violence that can occur after anti-Muslim events including the cartoons published by Jyllands-Posten and Charles Hebdo. These violent actions are without justification and European Muslims are not responsible for extremist’s actions, but they are racialised as other alongside extremists resulting in more violence towards their community. Goldberg argues that there is a “post-colonial distinction” with Europe forgetting their own racism in the colonies and racialising Muslims as the “panic-inducing post-colonial figures of vilification”, which results in Muslims being on the receiving end of racial violence, especially after reactionary violence by Muslim extremists (Goldberg, 2008, cited in Law, 2010, p.151).

Conclusion: Possibility of a post-racial world.

There is debate about whether the world is transitioning into a post-racial phase, with the debate falling in between the views of Goldberg and Gilroy (Law, 2010). Goldberg argued race “can be used to validate discrimination, marginalisation and violence” (Goldberg, 2002, 2008, cited in Law, 2010, p.218). Whereas Gilroy believes “race has no biological basis and...should be forensically rejected” (Gilroy, 2000, 2004, cited in Law, 2010, p.218). Although race is not biological and is a social construct, it does not necessarily mean it is not a useful concept when studying racism in different country contexts. A shared vocabulary across the board can assist sociologists in determining when racialisation is occurring. In Denmark Muslims have been racialised together as a group and this would be difficult to explore without considering race as a concept. Considering the state of race issues in Denmark currently, it is not feasible that a post-racial phase can manifest itself. Unless racialisation of Muslims is challenged with politicians, media outlets and individuals committing racial violence reprimanded, then nothing will change. ECRI and ENAR have both given advice to Denmark, which if they take on board could greatly improve the prospect of a post-racial world. As an example ECRI (2012, p.44) have encouraged Denmark to encourage Muslims to join the forces. This would be beneficial as shown in a The Danish Centre for Gender, Equality and Ethnicity interview, where a Muslim police officer felt he had “managed to move some boundaries” concerning how officers felt about Muslims (KVINFO, c). Although this case study reveals the tense situation in Denmark, with Muslims being consistently racialised as other, there is still hope for Denmark. In 2001 effort was made to improve “the police monitoring system” although as Law (2010, p.154) comments this needs to be recognised in accordance with the weak legislation that “does not directly criminalise racist crime and violence”. Yet it is still a step in the right direction.

The Danish case study can assist the study of global racism as it gives evidence of the processes of racialisation of Muslims, which is apparent in other countries. Exploring processes in Denmark can assist the ENAR, ECRI and other organisation in tackling global anti-Muslimism, as it shows key areas where racialisation occurs and reasons for how and why these processes occur. For example media controversies concerning images of the Prophet Muhammad have occurred in France and America as well as Denmark, but by exploring events in the Danish context we can understand why it has reoccurred in other countries. This case study shows Denmark’s discrimination, with Muslims racialised as other to a significant extent.

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