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The ghettos in Denmark

An anthropological study of the development and debate about ghettos in Denmark



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Abstract

This bachelor's thesis is an anthropological analysis of the ghetto debate in Denmark taking place from October 2010 to April 2011. Considering the different actors in the debate; the politicians, the ethnic minorities as well as the ethnic Danish residents of the ghetto, and the Danish population in general it will become clear that the debate about ghettos is very different between those trying to propose a politic on the subject and those living in the ghetto. By placing this discussion in a global perspective with a focus on the current financial crisis, it will become evident that the whole debate is somewhat provoked by the pressure from the downward economical situation of the society. The downturn of the Danish society has shifted the society from reaching towards a modern, multicultural society to a society craving for tradition and nationalism. This is the unshakable nature of globalization, where centres and periphery areas shifts on been the centre of economy. What this analysis can contribute to is to show how the politic and the population in Denmark has polarized themselves into two blocks fighting for the best solution to work through this crisis, which have resulted in a passionate fight against intruders of the Danish ontology, and a hectic debate on how to integrate these into the society.

Keywords: Ghettoisation, immigration, discrimination, global systemic anthropology, crisis

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1. Introduction

In October 2010 an intense debate about ghettos¹ in Denmark began. The debate came as a response to the Danish Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussens' opening speech to the Danish Parliament on October 5th 2010. In the speech the Prime Minister described the problems combined with ghettos; the development of parallel societies and justice systems, increased crime and improper behaviour towards fire- and policemen. The Prime Ministers continues as follows:

The problems are linked to particularly deprived housing areas. Areas called ghettos in our everyday language.

The Government has identified 29 such ghetto areas with particular major challenges. These are areas where a large percentage of the residents are unemployed. Where many people with a criminal background live. And where many Danes with immigrant backgrounds live.

We must take determined action. The time has come to put an end to a misguided tolerance for the intolerance which dominates in parts of the ghettos. Let us speak openly about it: In areas where Danish values do not have a firm foothold, ordinary solutions will be rendered completely inadequate.

It does not help to pump more money into painting facades. We are facing special problems that require special solutions.

We will tear the walls down. We will open the ghettos up to society. (Rasmussen, 2010:9).²

This speech generated an intense debate about ghettos; how to define a ghetto and how to cope with the crime in the ghettos, what initiatives would work, and in what degree the different initiatives should be applied, how hard should the police enforce the law (Danmarks Radio 2010, Hvem kan rede ghettoerne).

Together with the government Rasmussen formed a new set of initiatives to cope with the development, the strategy was called Ghettoplanen 2010. This plan primarily consisted of a definition of ghettos in Denmark, and thereafter a set of initiatives to help the negative development in those areas that could come under the official definition of ghettos. The following initiatives provide just a few examples: the tearing down of buildings, increased police supervision, better opportunities for revival of businesses and faster judgements of criminals (Ghettoplanen, 2010).

¹ I will use the word ghetto as it is used in reference to the official definition of the term provided by the government, which will be further deepened page 10-11.

² Official translation of the original speech.

The official definition of ghettos in Denmark, which made it clear which areas were of the governmental focus, and which also made it easier for everyone else to identify a ghetto. The government used data from 2009 when they worked out the number of 29 ghettos. When the Danish newspapers made a new estimation of the numbers of ghettos in Denmark in 2010, the number rose to 45, which is an increase of about 55%. See frontpage picture: the red dots are the 29 ghettos identified in 2009, and the 16 orange dots are the additional ghettos identified in 2010 (Jyllands Posten, 2010). This calculation amplified the debate even further, and the subject made the headlines every other day. News programs, newspapers, debate programs and blogs were all involved with the subject.

This bachelor's thesis will focus on the concept *ghetto*, and will thereby go over the different actors involved with the subject, and investigate the different problems, conflicts and misunderstandings involved with the concept.

1.2 Hypothesis

My hypothesis is that the intense debate about ghettos began as a response to the financial problems in Denmark. This negative development has created a struggle for the few resources available and where the immigrants³ previously came to help the country by working to support the escalating positive economic development. This struggle for the few resources available has generated an increased negative view on those not participating positively to the society. Which is the ghetto, referring to the Ramsussens' speech, and thereby the criminals, the unemployed and the immigrants that have not been integrated enough into the Danish culture. These groups cost more to society than they give back and therefore they have to be the subject of discussion and governmental help to turn the path.

When focusing on the ghettos as the main problem, it is crucial to take into account that these areas are all building blocks with apartments with the same rent, and they are therefore populated by the same group of people when characterised by their economical income. Those areas pointed out by the government are mainly public housings areas where the rent is low, and therefore these areas are populated by people with low income, which also includes the unemployed living on

³ There will not be made any significant difference to immigrants and refugees, since this is not important in this context.

social welfare and immigrants which have a disadvantage in finding work. If there is a need to have a differentiated population in some areas there has to be differentiated housings.

1.3 Previous research

Throughout the paper the term “ghetto” will be used as it is proposed by the Danish government, though this will be problematized with the international debate about a definition of the term, where I will use theorists on the subject as Bruce Haynes, Herbert J. Gans, Circe Monteiro and Anmol Chaddha & William Julius Wilson. These authors have different views on the definition of a ghetto. Haynes (2008) describes in his article how the term was created, and what the traditional definition of a ghetto is: race, ethnic and religious segregation, relocation of the group and isolation from the host society. Gans (2008) focuses on how the ghettos today are not created by involuntarily segregation, though on the other hand not entirely voluntarily self-segregated. He believes that there is a somewhat semi-voluntarily segregation, since this segregation could be provoked by the person wanting to live near his or her family, some have to choose cheaper rent opportunities because of financial reasons and others are moving to safety. Monteiro (2008) points to the problem that it is not possible to give an international definition of a ghetto, since every country has their specific characteristics of ghettos: in the US a ghetto is heavily characterised by poverty and in Brazil it is more about social status or protection. Talja Blokland (2008) argues that there are no ghettos in Europe as understood by the definition of an American ghetto, with parallel societies and significant ethnic segregation because of the city size of the European cities, which make it impossible for a city to have areas somehow not connected with other areas of the city in everyday life. Andrew Beveridge (2008) argues for the difficulties about race segregation, whether or not there can be a complete segregated race, or if there always will be a small mix and whether there should be guidelines for a specific percentage limit of a certain race for an area to become a ghetto.

Anmol Chaddha and William Julius Wilson (2008) claim that there now is a need to focus on the problems combined with ghettos and ghettoisation instead of discussing the correct definition a ghetto. Mario Luis Small (2008) contributes to this by suggesting that the ghetto term should be completely abandoned, and instead look at the underlying processes that form a ghetto which might help give a definition of the different kinds of ghettos.

To find information about the previous and current governmental initiatives I will use the governmental papers and plans on the subject. For information about the current political parties stands I will use newspapers, debate programs, the different parties' webpage's and the Danish Parliaments webpage.

On a national level I will use Flemming Mikkelsen (2004), who has written a book about immigration and integration in Denmark. He brings up several Danish theorists and discusses and verifies their theories. To get a qualitative part in the thesis I will use Stine Fehmerling (2004) who has written a master's thesis based on a field study conducted in Tingbjerg, a ghetto in the suburbs of Copenhagen. By studying a group of young immigrants, Fehmerling finds that these boys experience the discrimination and stigmatization towards them as the main challenge in wanting to live and support the society. I will make use of a documentary: *Den Arabiske rejse*, which is produced by Georg Larsen and founded by Danmarks Radio. In it Larsen tries to shed some light over the residents in a Danish ghetto. Larsen makes a trip to Beirut and finds Ahmad Ghosien, an Arabic man who comes to Denmark and help Larsen make the documentary about the residents in the ghettos. Larsen believes that by using an Arabic man, it will become easier to get the ethnic minority to open up, since he speaks their language and knows their culture. The documentary should help the ethnic Danish majority to get some understanding of these ethnic Arabians in the ghetto and the ghetto itself (Larsen, 2011).

Anna Damm, Marie Schultz-Nielsen and Torben Tranæs (2006) have made a study of the settlement patterns in Denmark by looking at statistics of income, education, social welfare support and ethnic origin and compare it with where people have chosen to live in the period 1985-2004, to find if there is any increase or decrease in the settling patterns of these groups. They found that the only group that segregated themselves from the rest of the society are the immigrants from non-western countries.

To get an understanding of why the immigrants cluster more than others in the society I will make use of Christian Albrekt Larsen's study of immigrants in the workplace and settling patterns with a focus in the social network as the main factor in this development. Larsen is professor in politic and public administration (Larsen, 2009).

For a global perspective on the development of ghettos I will use Jonathan Friedman description of the global systemic anthropology together with his explanation of crisis with focus on the economy to have an understanding of the current situation that have generated this debate about ghettos in Denmark.

The global systemic anthropology, as proposed by Jonathan Friedman (1994) is a theory worked out on the basis of Wallerstein's world-system theory. This theory starts with an economic understanding of the flows apparent in the world, where resources get transported from periphery areas to centres where these resources then will be produced into finished goods. These goods will then be used in the centres and some will be transported back to the periphery areas. The world is divided up in these centres and peripheries where the centres will benefit from the cheap resources from the periphery and the periphery will benefit from the goods. This gives a so called dependency relationship between the two. Over time the periphery areas will experience rising cost because of the development and the centre will then be forced to find new periphery areas to maintain their system. When there are no more areas to provide the centre with cheaper resources the centre will experience rising costs of production. The producers will then begin to move their production to periphery areas where production is cheaper in form of labour, taxes and land. This will give an economic boost to the periphery area and the centres experiencing this will begin to lose workplaces, the centre is then on its path to recession. Over time this will make the periphery areas become centres and vice versa (Friedman, 1994:22-24; Friedman 2000:636).

2. Methodology

I have based this thesis on second hand data: books, scientific articles, newspaper articles, master's theses, news programs, a documentary and some debate programs from the Danish Radio. I will make use of statements from several different ghettos, to get as varied an illustration of the situation as possible.

2.1 Anthropology of a concept

This bachelor's thesis will make use of the method "multi-sited ethnography" introduced by George Marcus (1995:95-97). Marcus describes how anthropologists today in the global connected world we live in, will benefit from investigating a subject across borders, whereas the traditional anthropological field-work sought to study an isolated people at one isolated location, the single-sited method. Today it is difficult to find an isolated feature to study, since almost everything is connected to some other thing. The globalized world has made every part of the world connected economically and thereby also politically. Therefore to make an anthropological study today would

mean that a shift from the single-sited method to the use of a multi-sited method. The multi-sited method is where you follow a people, thing, metaphor, conflict etc. The researcher defines the subject and then follow the thread through the different sites where the subject draw its tracks. This thesis will follow a concept, the ghetto, and by that go through the different actors involved with the concept, which will be the residents from the ghetto, the politicians, the public in general and the Media based on texts on the subject.

I will do this to get an understanding of the concept ghetto in Denmark, find out what a ghettos is, why the ghetto has been so heavily debated and get and why there are so many ghettos in Denmark.

3. Theory

3.1 A definition of the concept “ghetto”

To begin this thesis it must be of utmost importance to define a ghetto. There has been and still is an intense debate about the definition of a ghetto on both a local (Danish) and international scale. Some of the highlights from the international discussion are whether or not an area called a ghetto should be populated by one single ethnicity or if there can be a mix of several different ethnicities, and if there is a mix what percentage the limit should be characterized by (Wilson, 2008; Beveridge, 2008).

Another aspect is if the residents have made a voluntarily choice to move to the area in focus, or if it has been a complete or somewhat involuntarily choice. Gans (2008) argues that segregation of people is a semi voluntarily choice, since the choice can be affected by family relations to one area, economic reasons; for example people with low income seek low-rent housings, or people seek likeliness, which can be found in the same ethnicity or religion. Others are fleeing from areas with higher levels of crime which results in segregation of people with high income, often also called white flight.

Monterio (2008) makes the point that ghettos in Brazil are much more isolated than ghettos in other countries. These often have their own “police”, in form of gangs or guards, depending on whether the segregated area is populated by rich or poor residents. These areas can evolve into almost completely isolated areas of parallel societies.

Wilson and Chaddha (2008) take up the discussion of whether or not a ghetto has to have poverty as a characteristic, since ghettos in the United States almost exclusively have ghettos with a poorer population than the rest of the society in general. Though they conclude that there is a need to focus on the problems combined with ghettoisation, since it is not possible to find a definite international definition of ghettos.

Even the term ghetto is up for discussion, since the word ghetto mainly is associated with involuntarily clustering in Germany under the Second World War. The term was actually first used in Italy in 1516, when Spanish Jewish immigrants in Venice was moved to an island, which was known for a former foundry, in Italian “*gettare*” (Haynes, 2008). Other terms up for discussion are favelas, enclaves, condominiums and barrios, which all have their specific characteristics.

Talja Blokland argues that there are no ghettos of the American model with completely parallel societies and substantial ethnic segregation in Europe. Because of the size of European cities it is not possible for an area to be complete isolated from the rest of the city. These areas do not have everything needed in everyday life such as stores, schools, workplaces, banks etc. Therefore the residents of these areas have to go across the borders of the ghetto and then they are not parallel societies. On the question about ethnic or race segregation. Blockland (2008) argues that there are no completely segregated ethnicity or race in Europe, although there can be higher levels of ethnic minorities than the country’s average in some areas. When an area gets the ghetto label, it matters more to the outsiders than the insiders, it stigmatizes and distances the residents of the ghetto from the rest of the city, since the word ghetto often is associated with the black ghettos in America (Blockland, 2008:372-373).

These authors though seem to agree that ghettos in different countries are very different from each other, since the different characteristics can be applied to some areas in some countries and not others (Monteriro, 2008; Gans, 2008; Beveridge, 2008; Blokland, 2008; Wilson & Chaddha, 2008). Therefore there is a need to look beyond the definition of a ghetto and instead look at what processes that make up ghettoisation, and maybe this way it will be possible to schematize the different kinds of ghettos and make correct definitions of these formations (Small, 2008:395).

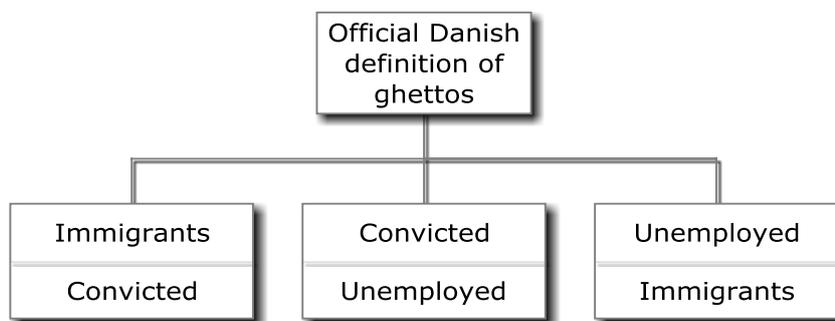
Likewise there has been a discussion about the definition of a ghetto in Denmark, and in 2010 the Danish government came up with an official definition of the Danish ghettos. This meant that a Danish ghetto has to fulfil a set of characteristics to be characterized as a ghetto, and to become a focus of governmental support. The guidelines proposed by the government are as follows: The area

has to have at least 1000 people living in a physically connected public housing building and two of the following criteria have to also be fulfilled:

1. The amount of immigrants and descendants from non-western countries surpass 50%.
2. The amount of residents between 18-64 years of age without connection to the labour market will surpass 40%.
3. The number of convicted for violation of the Penal Code, the gun law or the law about drugs per 10.000 residents at the age of 18 or older surpasses 270 persons.

(Ministry for Social Affairs, 2010).

This definition gives room for three sets of ghettos:



(Made by Helene Ahrens Johansen).

With the help from this illustration it will become easier to see the different kinds of characteristics that makes up three types of ghettos. It is possible to have a ghetto without a domination of residents from an ethnic minority. Such ghettos exist in Jutland, though the rate of immigrants from non-western countries still surpasses the percentage of the country in general (Berlingske, 2010). Likewise it is possible to have a ghetto that is not dominated by unemployed residents and thereby poverty. Residents with high income populate no ghettos in Denmark and thereby the typical picture is residents with low or middle income (Berlingske, 2010). The model also shows that it is possible to have a ghetto without any high amount of convicted. This is a more problematic feature, since a crime committed will no necessarily be reported and end with a conviction. What this shows us is that a ghetto can be as small as to house 1000 persons. This gives an explanation of why a single street can be a ghetto such as Lundtoftegade in Copenhagen (Jyllandsposten, 2011). When only one street is included in the ghetto, it becomes difficult to speak

about parallel societies, where all of the residents' everyday life take place, since the area is not large enough to house all the features needed by the residents to live an isolated life. The official definition makes it clear that when speaking of ethnic segregation, this segregation will include all ethnicities from non-western countries and count them as one element.

4. The different actors involved with the ghetto

The intense debate that has dominated the Media for about 6 months from the beginning of October 2010 began, when the Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen made his opening speech in the parliament on October 5th 2010, and expressed a concern for the development of ghettos in Denmark (Rasmussen, 2010:9). Afterwards the Prime Minister together with the government made a set of initiatives to cope with the developing ghettoisation and called the strategy: Ghettoplanen 2010. This founded the intense debate on whether an area is a ghetto or not, if the initiatives proposed by the government are to harsh or mild and whether the proposed projects will work. By going through the different actors involved with the ghetto and the debate about ghettos I will go investigate the many complexities on the subject.

4.1 The politics on governmental support, immigration and ghettoisation

To give an understanding of the politicians' statements and contemporary politics about ghettos, I will begin with a short overview of the politics regarding immigration in Denmark. Immigration is one of the main features in the problems regarding the ghetto. Rasmussen (2010:9) stated that the problems in the ghettos were from the formation of parallel societies, understood as immigrants in the areas not getting integrated significant enough into the Danish society and thereby creating their own set of rules and norms.

This review will start from the year 1952 where Denmark made its policy about immigration, which was founded on the same grounds as the United Nation 1951 convention about refugees. The 1951 convention of refugees stated that all refugees seeking asylum in a country, who were escaping from religious or other forms of persecution should attain residence permit in the country on the basis that they are refugees (The UN Refugee Agency). The Danish law about refugees was even milder, meaning that refugees could get a residence permit if they were refugees and migrant

workers could easily attain a work permit in the country, because of the need for unskilled workers and after three years gain a permanent residence permit (Mikkelsen, 2008:36).

From around the 1970's the policies about immigration have been substantially tightened. In 1973 there was a complete stop for migrant workers to get work permit. This came in response to the recession and increased unemployment (Mikkelsen, 2008:36). At this time the refugees still had their protection from the UN to get residence permit in Denmark.

Today the policy has been tightened even further. Some of the changes are that the earlier protection of refugees to become citizens on the ground that they were refugees has been removed. Also a test to become a Danish citizen has been implanted and made more difficult in 2007. For those who have been accepted to live in the country and want to gain a permanent residence has to have lived in the country for 7 years, while the limit used to be 3 years (Mikkelsen 2008:240-241). The opportunity to get a partner to the country has also been tightened with the 24 year-old-rule, and a point system, which ranks the person on the basis of education, language skills and economy in order to measure if the person is qualified to come to Denmark (Ny i Danmark, 2011). All these changes in the policies about immigrants have made it much more difficult to become a resident in Denmark and moved Denmark from being an attractive country for immigrants to being an unattractive country (Mikkelsen 2008:242).

4.1.1 The governmental initiatives on ghettoisation from 1993 to 2010

A greater debate about immigrants in combination with ghettoisation began for the first time in 1993 in Denmark, when the Mayor of Hvidovre municipality Britta Christensen, proclaimed that she wanted to stop renting out apartments from public houses to immigrants. She meant that Hvidovre had taken far more immigrants than other municipalities claimed that it was time for a better distribution of the immigrants, to prevent further clusterings, and thereby the problems these clusterings generated in forms of integrating the immigrants into the Danish society. This statement led to a debate about immigrants and ghettoisation, which again lead to a governmental focus on this problem and a set of initiatives to cope with this (UFe, 2004).

When Paul Nyrup Rasmussen was the Prime Minister the government worked out a strategy that responded to this debate by selecting a group called Byudvalg in September 1993. The purpose of this group was to make a strategy for the areas with higher amounts of immigrants, to prevent further ghettoisation and to cope with the already existing integration problems, such as language,

social and economical problems. The Byudvalg made a set of initiatives that were mostly focusing on education, preschool and parental involvement in the school. The project ran from 1994 – 1998 (UFe, 2004). These initiatives showed progress though they were still lacking in co-operation with other projects, and also a need for projects that focussed on the entire area, and not just on education (Ministry of education, 1998).

The next greater project came in 2004, proposed by the government with Anders Fogh Rasmussen as the Prime Minister. The government selected a new group to find a new and more effective strategy for a positive development in the areas with higher amounts of immigrants, and to observe the development in those areas with the new governmental initiatives during a time period from 2004 to 2008. This group was called Programbestyrelsen, and in 2004 they came with a new set of initiatives to cope with the current problems on the subject. They proposed 15 different initiatives directed towards 5-10 of the most troubled areas in Denmark, with focus on lacking integration. This plan had a more all-round perspective than the previous and included school and education, employment, control of residential composition, safety in the neighbourhoods and effective organisation and communication. During their observation of these areas they had made three trips to other European cities to gather ideas for a better development of these areas. Here they got ideas to tear down buildings in order to completely destroy the ghettos and thereby the problems, which turned in to be some of the proposals for the third strategy on the ghetto subject (Programbestyrelsen, 2008).

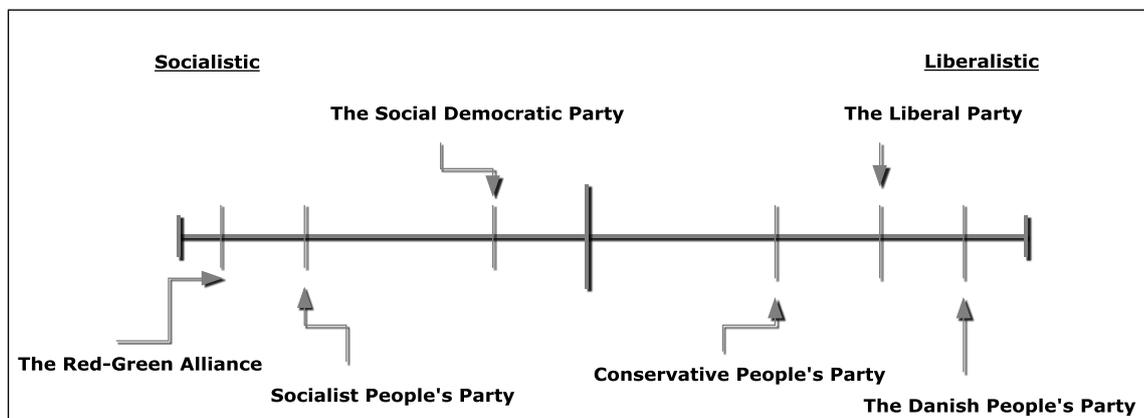
Programstyrelsen's conclusion after their first projects in 2004 was that there were increased needs for projects, now in 37 areas all over Denmark, (See Annex 1), and that the government had to provide these areas with a long lasting financial help for these areas to cope with the development of ghettos. They proposed a larger set of new initiatives to help these areas further than what they had been able to do before with the previous resources. They suggested that some of these social housing blocks should be sold to make room for occupation and thereby provide more life and traffic in the area, some buildings were supposed to be torn down to make these areas more open and less closed to the surrounding area to prevent a further development of parallel societies. They also proposed that there should be continuing projects on better education, employment, communication and safety (Programbestyrelsen, 2008).

In 2010 the government decided to follow up on the work made by Programstyrelsen and found that 29 areas should receive help from the government, since these areas was most likely to improve out of the 37 areas selected by Programstyrelsen. The government called this new strategy

Ghettoplanen 2010. This new strategy was an all-round set of initiatives to cope with the negative development in those 29 areas, proclaimed to be ghettos according to the official definition of ghettos, which also was published in this strategy. The different initiatives included the tearing down of building blocks to open the area to the rest of the cities, rent some apartments out for occupation, more police and faster convictions (Ghettoplanen, 2010).

4.1.2 The different political parties on ghettoisation

Concerning the debate about the new set of initiatives and the handling of the immigration problems, the Danish Parliament is roughly said split in two. The right- and the leftwing block have both made their strategies to cope with the ghettos in Denmark. Ghettoplanen 2010 was made by the leading right-wing government existing of the Liberal Party(V) and Conservative People’s Party (KF). These two parties together form the VK government. The VK government is a minority government, and they therefore have a supporting party, Danish People’s Party (DF) to make majority. The opposition consist of the remaining parties of the Social Democratic Party (S), the Socialist People’s Party (SF), the Red-Green Alliance (EL) and others (The Danish Parliament, 2011). The following model will show how these political parties are listed towards each other:



(Made by Helene Ahrens Johansen. Source: The Danish Parliament, 2011).

The parties on the right are focusing on a tightened politic towards migration to the country, and the left wants the opposite. The most important political parties in the opposition to the VK governmental are S and SF since it was these two parties that together made a proposal for another

strategy to cope with the problems in the ghettos. The remaining political parties have made their independent declarations on the matter (The Danish Parliament, 2008).

The two strategies differ mostly from each other on the structural aspects, the rightwing wants to tear down some of the buildings whereas the leftwing wants to preserve the public housing buildings in the ghetto areas and instead renovate the buildings and the area, to make these apartments more attractive to outsiders (The Social Democrats, 2010; Ghettoplanen 2010).

Another major difference is that the right-wing wants more police in those areas and a faster conviction of troublemakers to state the non-tolerance opinion, which should push the troublemakers away from crime and towards education. The left-wing wants to establish local police stations in the ghettos, so the police can come to the trouble incidence faster and have a everyday relation with the residents. This should make the area safer and help the troublemakers to have a more positive relationship with the police (The Social Democratic Party, 2010; Ghettoplanen 2010).

One of the most debated points in the right-wing proposal is the point were they want to give the social housing organisations authority to give families with more resources the first priority and immigrants, criminals and families with lesser resources the lowest priority to get an apartment (The Social Democratic Party, 2010; Ghettoplanen 2010). EL has had a leading position in the discussion about discrimination and violation with human rights with the governmental ghetto strategy. They find it very troublesome to give disadvantages to people on the basis of race, ethnicity and income level (The Red-Green Alliance, 2011).

4.1.3 Summary

In 1952 Denmark formed a policy on immigration to Denmark which gave all refugees free passage to the country. Since then the policy has been tightened and corresponds to the economic situation in the country, that is to say when there is recession the possibilities to migrate to the country will be harder and when there is a boom in the economy the laws about migration to the country will be loosened. This is evident with the boom in the economy after the Second World War where the law was formed with almost no restrictions, and a recession in the 1970s and 80s where the country completely denied migration to the country. Since then there have been opened up for immigration though the last decade the policy of immigration has once again been tightened, this comes as a response to the current financial situation. Today the refugees can be denied access

to the country and work migrants have to fulfil a number of criteria's, likewise when a Danish resident wishes to marry a foreigner and they want to settle in Denmark.

Since the 1960s there has been an increased immigration which have made some clustering in some areas, this has resulted in government support to some of these areas which in the beginning focused on better solutions for education of the younger immigrants and parental involvement in the school and thereafter only increased in number of areas. Today the initiatives up for discussion are the tearing down of buildings where there are a clustering of immigrants and other ghetto areas, more police and faster convictions for the troublemakers.

4.2 The residents from the ghettos

I will begin this part by showing what theorists say on the subject of clustering's and thereafter a short overview of the immigration to Denmark from 1950, to give a picture of from where and when the immigrants have migrated to Denmark. Next I will show what the different groups of residents say on the subject, divided in the elder ethnic Arabic residents, the young descendants and the ethnic Danish residents. This is not to make generalisations but to give a picture of how some residents understand the ghetto, I will try to give as varied a illustration as possible.

4.2.1 Why do people cluster?

Mikkelsen (2008:80) points at three types of processes that amplify the formation of ghettoes.

1. Social and cultural elements where people cluster in search for likeness.
2. Structural barriers such as unemployment, low income and a lacking network lead to ghettoisation; cheap apartments.
3. Focuses on the racialization and stigmatization from the host society which operate as a push factor on ghettoisation. General opinions about some areas and people can have an affect on public and private institutions and their willingness to be in these areas.

According to Anna Damm, Marie Schultz-Nielsen and Torben Tranæs (2006) there are some very evident reasons for big parts of the habitat segregation of people in Denmark, which they concluded after making a substantial study of the settlement pattern of the residents in Denmark from 1985 to 2004. First of all people live where they can afford to live. People with low income

live in places with low rent. In Denmark this group often live in public housings or rented housings from private owners and they rarely buy a house or apartment. People with middle income tend to buy apartments or houses with average value or rent from private investors, since they cannot afford it on their salary and the bank will not lend them the money for it, since it will become too difficult for them to pay back the loan. People with high income buy houses or apartments and rarely rent, since they can afford to buy. In general your habitat corresponds with your income. Overall they found that there was not a very high level of segregation in Denmark between short and long education, likewise with people on social welfare and employed people, the only group that stood out was the immigrants from non-western countries (Damm, Schultz-Nielsen & Tranæs, 2006:52-59).

Damm, Schultz-Nielsen and Tranæs (2006:62-63) believe that the reason for this segregation of immigrants from non-western countries could be because of the lacking social network when these immigrants come to Denmark. The social network has proven to have a great impact on both housing and employment. A study made by Christian Albrekt Larsen from Aalborg University, shows that two out of three finds a job with help from their social network. This means that without a social network you will have a 66% disadvantage of finding a job (Larsen, 2009). This can lead to unemployment and thereby welfare support and the need for cheap housing, in other words public housings areas are. Also, if persons are lacking a social network it will give them disadvantages to find alternative housing and thereby they will get help from the municipality to live in the public housings (Damm, Schultz-Nielsen & Tranæs 2006:63-64).

However other factors are also into play here like social relations, likeness, religion, safety and family (Damm, Schultz-Nielsen & Tranæs, 2006:62-64). All these factors make it more attractive for immigrants from non-western countries to live in the public housings areas.

There exists one other type of clustering in Denmark, which is segregation because of the labour union. Many labour unions in Denmark have housings exclusively for their members with a rent payable for their members. These members have the same type of jobs and therefore in public speech some of these areas are called ghettos, since a large group of people with the same occupation lives in these areas. Examples of this are the former Kindergarten-Teacher-ghetto in Østerbro, Copenhagen or the architects union and several other labour unions, which all have buildings for their members. This kind of segregation is different since it does not fulfil the characteristics proclaimed by the government, though it still goes under the term ghetto in public speech (Damm, Schultz-Nielsen & Tranæs, 2006:55-62).

4.2.2 A historical overview of immigration in Denmark since 1956

Now that it has been proven that the ghettos in Denmark are mostly populated by immigrants from non-western countries it will be in its place to give a picture of the immigration to Denmark. I have chosen to start this overview after the Second World War when Denmark made its policy about immigration, and immigration before that date is not very influential for the context.

1956: Hungarian immigrants came to Denmark because of war in Hungary.

1968: East European immigrants came to Denmark, mostly refugees from Czechoslovakia, though also from Poland mostly because of religious persecution.

1970: Great immigration from Turkey, Pakistan and Yugoslavia who came to Denmark to work.

1974: About 800 Chileans refugees came to Denmark.

1975: An immigration of Vietnamese refugees started and continued until approximately 1978.

1984: A great amount of immigrants from the Middle East: Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, and also Sri Lanka.

2003: A greater amount of immigration from Iraq, Afghanistan and Yugoslavia, mostly because of war and religious persecution.

(Østergaard, 2007).

In total 543.738 immigrants and descendents live in Denmark, which corresponding to 9,8% of the total population and 67% of these immigrants come from non-western countries (Ny i Danmark, 2010). The largest group of immigrants in Denmark are from Turkey, who came to Denmark in the 1960s and 1970s as migrant workers. These immigrants and their descendants total approximately 55.000, 12% of all immigrants in Denmark. Succeeded by Iraqis, Lebanese, Bosnians and Pakistanis and others, these ethnicities separately make up for about 1,5% of the total amount of immigrants in Denmark (Den Store Danske).

4.2.3 The elder immigrants

Some of the characteristics the elders point out when answering why they want to live in an area defined a ghetto is that there is more social interaction between people from their own culture, and they feel more on the same level. It gives them some sort of support that their neighbours are in the same situation as themselves. Some of these elder immigrants also believe that Danish people are

somewhat more isolated, and that you only meet them by chance on the stairs on the way to or from the apartment. Residents from their own culture are more social, they come and knock on your door if they have not seen you in some days, and they often borrow items like flour from each other and come by at night to have a conversation (Larsen, 2011: 04.45 – 05.29).

Ahmad Ghosien speaks with a group of elder ethnic Arabic refugees from Mjølnerparken, who fled to Denmark in the 80's. They explain that when they came to Denmark they were not allowed to work. The authority meant that they were too psychologically damaged by the war to work. They believe that this has done more damage to the society than if they had gotten permission to work. This could have helped the immigrants to get integrated into the society easier and faster. This could also have helped them through their traumas from the war, because they would have had something to do and not just sit around and think, and it might have given the Danish majority a positive view on the refugees (Larsen, 2011: 38.45-40.05).

Another elder immigrant interviewed by Ghosien explains that he was not practicing his religion when he came to the country but when he saw how things were in Denmark, how they had lost their religion and traditions and were acting somewhat indecently, he decided to begin to practise his religion. This immigrant believes this is the case for many immigrants from non-western countries in Denmark. Where he came from they were not speaking much about their religion, they had a pretty relaxed relationship to it. He had never heard the work Islam said so many times as it was being used in Denmark (Larsen, 2011: 39.45-42.30).

4.2.4 The youngsters

Ghosien interviews a group of young women with Arabic parents who explain how they find it difficult to feel Danish when they get stigmatised by people from the ethnic Danish population. They believe that they should be treated just as anyone else, but they get comments on their clothes and people in public areas look at them with distrust. Besides that they find it difficult to have girlfriends that are ethnic Danish, since they do different activities in their spare time. The weekends make it especially difficult because they do not go out and drink, which most of the ethnic Danish girls do. They describe how they feel lost between two countries, they do not feel home in either Denmark or in their parents' native country (Larsen, 2011: 20.50-25.20).

Mariam, a young woman with ethnic Arabic parents describes how she finds it complicated to have ethnic Danish friends because people with the same ethnic background as hers do not find it

suitable. Though this does not stop her from having ethnic Danish friends it sometimes makes it unpleasant. She feels the stigmatization from the ethnic Danish population, but she believes that the best way to fight this is to get an education and prove to these people that she is not a burden to the society. She goes on to explain that the young men in her neighbourhood get into conflict with the law. She explains how these young men see her as one of their women, that they are taking care of her and the other women there, they somehow protect the area and the people living there from their own culture, though she does not want them to take care of her. She explains that these young men from the ghetto with immigrant parents are doing crimes and that the reason for this is because they feel they need to fight for justice. A fight which would have been understandable in their parents country, but it does not fit in Denmark, since Denmark is already a free country (Larsen, 2011: 29.01-32.00).

When Ghosien speaks with the different young men with ethnic Arabic parents he finds that they feel the same rootlessness as the young woman described. They neither fit into the Danish society nor their parents' home countries. Many of the young men interviewed in the documentary have had conflicts with the law and some have been convicted. They describe that because they do not feel that Denmark is their country, and that the people from Denmark do not want to have them there, therefore they do not want to participate in the society. They see this as a paradox because they know the history of country, the Danish language have paid their taxes their whole life to the Danish state, and still many from the ethnic Danish population do not want them in the country and do not see them as Danes (Larsen, 2011: 09.40-11.20).

Fehmerling has done a master thesis about a group of young men with immigrant parents, the group is a rap-group and she uses their lyrics and interviews with the men to get an understanding of the increased crime rates among these men (Fehmerling, 2007:78). She finds that the rage they feel has its roots in the ongoing social discrimination and stigmatization provided by the surrounding society. The discrimination they feel is vivid in almost all institutions they meet in society, and also from the general population when they go about in the city. Fehmerling has described five areas where this discrimination is noticeable. The first part is discrimination from the society in general. The second is where they feel insult from public areas such as schools, discotheques, stores and etc. The third is the exclusion from the labour market, where their application will be sorted out just because of their foreign names. The fourth is the discriminating treatment they experience from police. The young descendants of immigrated parents explain this by the police always mistrusts them, and if there is a conflict between an immigrant and a ethnic

Danish resident they always believe the ethnic Danish resident. And the final instance Fehmerling brings up is exposure of incidences where immigrants are involved by the Media. There seem to always be a tendency towards stating whether or not a crime involves an immigrant or descendant, and stories with an immigrants or descendant seem to be showed in a much greater extent than if the crime involves some ethnic Danish. These elements help shape the negative attitude for this group of people towards the Danish people and society (Fehmerling, 2007:56-73).

4.2.5 Ethnic Danish residents from the ghettos

The ethnic Danish residents from the ghettos vary somewhat in their experience about living in these ghettos. Some find the area cosy, attractive and safe, whereas others move from the ghettos because of persecution, crime and vandalism.

Ghosien interviews one ethnic Danish woman who lives in the ghetto. She explains that she likes living in the area and that the reason why people move away is because of the rumours provided by the Media. She likes her neighbours but she often has trouble communicating with them, especially many of the elder women, since they cannot speak either English or Danish, but they are always very nice, smile and try to communicate with her despite their communication difficulties. She chose to live there because of the low rent, and she did not know any who could help her get an apartment, so she found that she could get one in Mjølnerparken relatively quickly. She has experienced others who were not living in the area expressing their concern about the area but she has never found reasons to support that theory (Larsen, 2011: 16.20-17.30).

Other ethnic Danish residents from ghettos explain the scenario much in the same manner. They do not see their neighbourhood as a ghetto, in the sense they see it showed in the Media or commented by politicians. They have a lot of different activities in the areas, great parks, good apartments and a friendly community. They do not want to move, they do not feel freighted at all to live there and would never even consider moving (Scharff, 2010; DAB, 2010:3-10).

Though not all feel this way, and in some of these areas there also seem to be a tendency for ethnic Danish residents to move away from the ghetto because of fear and persecution by other residents. This is often religious persecution, especially when people convert from Islam to Christianity but also Jews have felt this persecution (Sheikh, 2011).

4.2.6 Summary

Some of the immigrants express that they at some point feel discriminated and stigmatized by the host society, which they have felt from the Media, some ethnic Danish residents or the politicians. A study on the subject says that this discrimination spreads out to all institutions in the society, the street, public institutions, stores, nightclubs, workplaces etc. This has resulted in two sets of behaviour. The first is an unwillingness to participate in the society which is expressed by some young men with immigrated parents. Whereas the second results in a fight to prove the opposite, that the immigrants are just as good as the ethnic Danish population. The ghetto becomes their safety zone, where they have a common culture with the other residents and finds comfort, likeness and shared opinions and experiences which are missing in the rest of the society.

4.3 The surrounding society

To begin this part I will start with some explanation on why the ghettos have gotten so much attention, and why they are a threat to society. Next I will describe what the population in general thinks about the ghettoisation and immigration in Denmark and finally the Media's position in the matter.

4.3.1 When the ghetto becomes a threat to society

The ghetto becomes a threat to the rest of the Danish society when it begins to evolve into a parallel society. That is to say: an area where the state does not have the overall control, where the residents begin to make their own rules and have their own "police". This development is viewable in Brazil among other countries where the ghettos or enclaves which these areas are called in Brazil, have gangs who control and dominate the entire area when the area is dominated by poverty, or with private guards and walls to protect the residents from intruders when the area is dominated by people with a higher income, who wants to protect themselves from thieves and intruders (Monteiro, 2008:379-382).

Danish ghettos are only on the sprouting stage of this formation in areas. Higher levels of poverty are evident, gangs are formed and fighting against rival gangs from other ghettos, though they are also fighting against some ethnic Danish gangs like Banditos and Hells Angels and their support groups. Though these support groups do have members with immigrant parents from non-western countries. These gangs have, during the last couple of years lead to an increase of episodes

with shootings centred in Copenhagen and the suburbs of Copenhagen. This has resulted in a fear from the surrounding society of getting near these areas and a fear of the people living there (Lecture with Benny Lihme, Demokrati og dialog, Sct. Andreas Kirke, 9-2-2011. At 19.00).

This development could seem to give rise to a concern about the Danish ghettos evolving into the scenarios like the once in Brazil.

Collins (2008:22-23) views this violence from the lower classes as some sort of resistance violence. A violence that is justified through resistance against the majority oppressors, even though the violence often is practised against people from the same oppressed group, in the same neighbourhood as the violator lives in. This is also how the youngsters express that there is an imbalance between the majority and the minority which gives them a negative feeling towards the society. This could again be interpreted as something that would either escalate if the imbalance is not controlled or decrease if the imbalance is corrected.

4.3.2 The population in general

There can never be one clear statement about immigration and ghettoisation from the entire population, though of course most people would like to be free from crime, violation and vandalism. On the subject about immigrants the opinions are as varied as in every other question. One way though, to draw a picture of the opinions about immigrants by looking at the different political parties. These parties' political stands about immigrants seem to have an important status in the general elections (Mikkelsen 2008:193). At the last general election in 2007 the Liberal Party won followed by the Social Democratic Party, the Danish People's Party, the Conservative People's Party and the Socialist People's Party (The Danish Parliament). This shows that there is a tendency towards the rightwing parties and thereby a greater support to a more tightened politics about immigration.

Several studies have been made to find the Danish people's opinions about immigrants. One study made by Mai Heide Ottesen, a sociologist from Denmark, gathered several different studies and questionnaire surveys on the subject. She found that there seem to be an increase of intolerance towards immigrants from the ethnic Danish people beginning from around the 1980s. These studies also showed that those who were most intolerant towards immigrants were people with a shorter education or with low paying jobs, however unemployed were not in this category. One reason for this can be that people with higher education have been trained more in democracy and have been

enlightened about prejudice, though she does not find this the main reason. Ottesen suggests two main aspects of the matter: one psychological and one structural, which can give an explanation of the phenomenon. The first is that intolerance and prejudice comes out of fear and insecurity. Therefore people with higher education have a better confidence, which according to Ottesen is a precondition to be open for the unknown. The second aspect is that the immigrants compete with the low educated ethnic Danish residents for low paid or unskilled jobs (Mikkelsen 2008:194-198).

The latest study about the Danish populations' opinions about immigrants that attempted to determine, whether or not the Danish population were racist and to what degree was made in 2006 carried out by Jens P. F. Thomsen. He based his study on survey questionnaires and found that when he asked for people's concern for immigrants moving to the country about 26% answered that they agreed, when he asked directly about concerns of race intermixing and a lack of intelligence among immigrants from non-western countries about 18% agreed to the statement. That is to say, that about 1/5 of the population shows strong racist opinions (Mikkelsen, 2008:199).

Flemming Mikkelsen has made an attempt to test the dominant theories on the ethnic Danish people's intolerance towards immigrants. He tested Peter Nannestads theory which suggests that intolerance towards immigrants corresponds with economic decline, that people only have a positive attitude to something when they can gain from it. The other theory is made by Øystein Gaasholt and Lise Tøgeby, which say that intolerance towards immigrants is heavily influenced by the Media and the politicians, that is to say the debate on the subject exposed through the Media. Mikkelsen does this on the basis of questionnaire surveys collected since the 1980s, and compares them with the number of unemployment, newspaper articles, asylum seekers and political party's voter support and finds support for both theories. There seem to be an increase in intolerance towards immigrants both with increased unemployment and with a rise in the number of articles about immigrants published. Mikkelsen though stresses that there can be more variables that interfere with the results, for instance it could just as easily be the intolerance towards immigrants which influence the number of articles written. That is to say one variable could just as easily influence the other (Mikkelsen, 2008:181-183).

4.4 The Media

To follow up on the discussion about the Media and how this can influence the population I will make use of Maxwell McCombs who has a somewhat basis in social constructivism and social

psychology, which will say that values, norms, ideologies and understanding of the society is created by the participants.

McCombs (2004:68) states that people are very influenced by the Media, and that the information gained from the Media makes an impact on the peoples ideas and shapes their behaviour in the society. People in general have a natural need for and interest in updating themselves about the news about the world, and they use the Media to gain this knowledge. This information is often not questioned as much and rather taken as the truth, since trying to prove it wrong takes a considerably amount of time. This gives the Media some power though also a responsibility in providing truthful news, since the listeners will lose trust in them if the story turns out to be wrong (McCombs, 2004:53-54). Another feature is that when a story is exposed more than once it seems to be more trustworthy every time, and the listeners opinion on the subject matter becomes more intensified. It even goes as far as if the Medias dos not give attention to an incident it almost seems like it never has existed (McCombs, 2004:117).

The discussion about ghettos have been widely exposed in the Media over a short amount of time which have created a picture of the ghettos in Denmark that shows ethnic minorities, crime, gangs, drugs and concrete buildings. This intense exposure has created an uneven image of the state in these areas. Several of the areas proclaimed to be ghettos has begun to try and prove that they are not in this category. Many of the residents from these areas like their neighbourhood and believe that it is a good place to be and to raise their children. They say that sometimes different types of crime happens, though nothing major and nothing that could not have happened just as easy at some place else (Scharff, 2010; DAB, 2010:6-7).

When speaking of the exposure of stories of crime with immigrants involved. The Media has a tendency to always tell the listeners whether an immigrant or descendant from a non-western country is involved or not. This makes a distance between the two groups and over time it will raise some prejudice on the subject, which can have a smell of discrimination towards the immigrants and their descendants (Fehmerling (2007:56-73).

4.5 Summary

The ghetto becomes a threat to society when it evolves into a parallel society with crime, gangs and vandalism. This is not evident in Denmark though there have been an increase in shooting and gang violence, though no complete parallel society is evident. The public is somewhat split in their

support and disapproval of immigrants. Though the rightwing politic have dominated in the general elections during the last 8 years, it could be an indicator of a population that is moving towards intolerance of immigrants. This intolerance could be a result of the intensified negative exposure of the ghettos and the immigrants in the Media, though also because of the increasing unemployment and lack of resources in the country.

5. A global perspective

To get an understanding of why there has been a significant rise in the development of ghettos and why this intense debate about ghettos in Denmark has begun, I will look at the situation in a global perspective to follow up on the theory about intolerance towards immigrants on the basis of lacking resources. To do this I will make use of Jonathan Friedman's theory of the global systemic anthropology already described.

5.1 Global Systemic Anthropology

The West is a centre and has experienced an economical uprising dating back from the time of the colonialism. Now the economy is on a downward, production is moving out to periphery areas which will give economic growth there, and pull money from the centre. This process began with moving the production itself to abroad and letting the administration and research stay in Denmark. Now the second round in outsourcing has begun with the moving of research and administration abroad (Mandrup, 2011). The stock market is dropping and contributes to the downward direction of the economy. All this has affected a close down of businesses and even banks are feeling the pressure where two banks in Denmark already in 2011 have gone bankrupt (Finansiell Stabilitet, 2011). Latest calculations show that the rate of unemployment was 66.108 people in 2008, 135.216 in 2009 and 155.767 in 2010 (Danmarks Statistik, levels of unemployment).

A centre is characterised by words such as modernism, liberalism, developmentalism, democracy, alienation and existential vacuum (Friedman, 1994:25). This modernism is dependent on a belief in the future, a positive development in the same direction whereas the periphery is characterised by primitivism and traditionalism and a need to change the idea of the future (Friedman, 1994:242). When the centre experiences a crisis there will become an unbalance in the system which will be expressed by a polarisation among the society, economy will become predominant, primitivists will work towards a complete destruction of the society, traditionalists will seek for their roots, religion and stable values (Friedman 1994:242).

The financial crisis has moved the population from modernism towards traditionalism or from multiculturalism towards nationalism. People will begin to look backward for how things once were instead of forward as was characterized by modernity. They will try to find the stable values the ontology of Denmark and remove those who contradict this.

The ghetto debate could be a symptom of this; the immigrants are the intruders of the Danish ontology, who have their own culture and traditions. The fear of letting the clustering's of immigrants develop into parallel societies could be explained by a fear of losing the Danish ontology which are just on the break to be found.

Friedman (1994:169-173) states on the subject of immigrants, that these will not be that committed to adopt the culture and system of the host society in the time of crisis, since it is not that attractive when it is on decay. They will begin to shape their own new identity or fight for their roots which are evident in the statements from the immigrants described above, as discrimination and stigmatization from the ethnic majority.

The crisis in Denmark has also had a great impact on the formation of ghettos. An area that was not considered a ghetto for only a year ago is now called a ghetto, according to official definition. Because of the financial crisis and the lack of workplaces people are getting poorer and thereby need to move to housings with a lower rent which is found in the public housings. Because of this increasing unemployment more and more areas fall in to one of the criteria's of unemployment in the official Danish definition of ghettos. From 2009 to 2010 the amount of ghettos rose from 29 to 45, an increase of approximately 45% (Jyllandsposten, 2010). These people are then beginning to cluster in cheap housing areas and the area will then become a ghetto according to the official Danish definition. The other criteria of convicted has not increased in the same period. Actually the amount of reported crimes has fallen just slightly: 476.953 in 2008, 491.792 in 2009 and 471.088 in 2010 (Danmarks Statistik, statistics of reported crime). This is a clear example of the unemployment situation in Denmark which has resulted in a rise of ghettos in Denmark.

This development has then again according to Friedman's global systemic theory resulted in a society and a population moving from a modern multi-cultural state to a society fighting for its resources, tradition and ontology. When the policies on immigration are being tightened it is a symptom of the increased economical situation, which again provokes intolerance towards the immigrants. The ethnic Danish population want to fight for what once were when the system worked and are looking backward to retrieve their culture and traditions which the immigrants are the complete opposite of, these immigrants therefore have to be integrated into the society. Though

the immigrants will find the declining society unappealing and the collapse of the economy will lead to depression, slummification and fragmentation of identities. Where after new identities will have to be build to cope with the changing society (Friedman 1994:244-247).

5.2 Summary

When looking at Denmark in the light of the financial crisis and comparing it with the intensified ghetto debate in Denmark, the rise of ghettos and the strong view on immigration it seems that Denmark is on the edge of a position shift between centre and periphery. The crisis experienced in Denmark has generated a greater intolerance towards immigrants and their descendants which are expressed through the intensified negative view on ghettoisation, tightened immigration policies and a fight for the Danish ontology, whereas Denmark before the crisis where moving toward a modern multicultural society.

6. Discussion

When following the concept of the ghetto I found that the whole idea of an official definition of a ghetto seems to have both good and bad results. Some areas without problems can be considered a ghetto on the basis of unemployment and a clustering of immigrants, when considering crime as the major problem. Now the idea of having to call an area a ghetto, where there are no crime, vandalism or persecution seem to lose its value since the area do not need any governmental help and it is not of any threat to the society despite the fact of a clustering of a different culture. The Prime Minister mention this in his speech (See Pp. 4) that areas where the Danish values do not have the overall domination, there is a need for greater initiatives, and the buildings have to torn down. Here the Danish values are a bit unclear, though there is a need to enforce the Danish values into the ghetto and some parts of the ghetto have to be leveled. This could very likely be one of the elements Friedman describes when he talks about looking backwards. The multicultural society is non existent, and the Prime Minister is trying to unite the population to have a common ontology, there is no room for different cultures, he is moving towards nationalism, preservation of the Danish ontology and the stable values. Some could argue that what the Prime Minister says is that he wants to integrate these immigrants and descendants of immigrants to function in the Danish society, since the descendants act like they do not know how to participate in the society when they are involved

with crime and gang formations. Nevertheless these boys have lived in Denmark their whole or most of their lives, speak Danish and have gone to school in Denmark. These boys do not know any other country better than Denmark. They have made a conscious choice to walk the path they have chosen. This is not lack of integration; this is a group in unbalance with society. They themselves explain this with the discrimination they experience from society. To cope with this there is a need for other solutions than the tearing down of buildings and integration projects, there is a need to shift the overall treatment of this group.

The fear of a parallel society is in Denmark not that troublesome since it is very difficult for an area to evolve into a completely closed area, when a parallel society is understood as an area where the residents do not walk outside the invisible borders to do any of their doings, where schools, workplaces, stores and so forth are inside the ghetto. In Denmark the criteria for the minimum number of residents in the ghetto are 1000 people. This is not enough for an area to have all the needed institutions for the residents, and likewise there is not a ghetto in Denmark where there live enough people to fulfil this. Therefore the fear the ghettos developing into parallel societies are if not impossible, because of the size of the population, on a very early sprouting stage. The Prime Minister also expressed a concern towards the gangs in the ghettos develop a parallel justice system. This brings one to think about France in 2009 when some poorer youngsters in the suburbs went out and protested and harassed the streets because of poverty and unemployment. This could be an evident threat in Denmark also since there is a higher percentage of poverty and unemployment in these areas and the host society is expressing an increased intolerance towards the immigrants from those areas. That is to say that there is fuel enough to start that fire.

The numbers of ghettos have increased much during the last year. I see this development as a reaction to the official definition of ghettos and the financial crisis. The official definition makes it clear what criteria that should be fulfilled to reach the ghetto label. Areas that were not considered a ghetto before but have come under this category will now get attention from the Media, the politicians and the public. This will result in a suspicion to the area when being called a ghetto and generate a fear from the rest of the population to move there or just stay in the area, since many combine the word ghetto with the black ghettos in America. If the area had not been giving this label the newcomers could have helped the area with a more differentiated population. This is not to say that the definition of ghettos is a bad thing, it is however just to illustrate what difficulties it can bring to some areas. By giving a definite definition of ghettos it will clear out a lot of debating hours in the future of what should and should not be called a ghetto and force the politicians and

experts to look at the problems in these areas and figure out what can be done to prevent the problems there and maybe the processes that generate ghettoisation.

The financial crisis has increased the rate of unemployment. The first to lose their jobs are those with low paid and unskilled jobs. Since many of the residents in the ghettos have these kinds of jobs, they are the first to lose their jobs. This could also be an explanation to the increase of ghettos, since there then will be a clustering of unemployed people in cheap housings areas.

The role of the Media in this matter seems to have a negative affect on both the public and the residents of the ghetto. When a story reaches the headline several times by several different news publishers and it generates a greater debate about ghettos and immigration, people in general will get the impression that the ghettos are in a far worse state than they possibly are. That is the more a story gets published the more important it is. The residents of the ghetto will get the same impression, but they live in the ghettos and know for themselves what state the ghetto is in. Therefore the residents will begin to develop an aversion towards the Media, and the population in general will develop an aversion towards the ghetto.

7. Conclusion

A debate about the ghettos in Denmark began when the government with Lars Løkke Rasmussen in front chose to focus on the increased ghettoisation in Denmark. The goal for the government was to find solutions to cope with crime in those areas, break a developing parallel society up and induce the Danish values and integrate the residents who were immigrants and descendants. This began an intense debate about the ghettos in Denmark, a story on the subject made the headlines every other day, as well as debate programs and online blogs were heavily involved with the debate.

When investigating what the different actors involved with the ghetto thinks of the area it becomes clear that the view on the ghetto is much different from residents, the politicians and the population in general. I found that many immigrants lived there because of social and cultural relations to others in the neighbourhood. They found likeness in a society where they were very different from the population. Some ethnic Danish residents lived there because of the cheap rent and others because of the community. Some residents have had to move because of religious persecution and vandalism.

When immigrants cluster several processes seem to exist. There is the fact that immigrants do not have the same social network in the host society as the rest of the population, and that this social network has proven to have a great significance in getting jobs and housing. Therefore these immigrants are in the beginning dependent on the municipality to help them with both jobs and housings. This will result in them getting apartments in public housings, and thereby a cluster of immigrants in these areas. Another process is the social bonds developed in these areas, some want to live near their family and others with the same culture or language as themselves, which gives them comfort and a feeling of common identity.

The clustering's of these immigrants and the crime some of the immigrant boys perform has become the scapegoat for the pressure on the society. Politicians are becoming more and more extreme in their statements about immigrants and the ethnic Danish population is likewise getting more intolerant towards this group. A hysterical focus on integrating the immigrants completely into the society to protect the Danish values, which will say that nationalism, is gaining ground. Earlier when the economy was at its highest, there was a need for immigrants to work, since the population in Denmark itself could not manage the pressure from the economy. When there is a lack of resources the individuals have to fight for it to maintain their living standards. This will give rise for an aversion against those who came to the country last and those not participating positively to society.

The politicians and the population in general in somewhat polarised in their view on how to cope with the higher levels of crime and development of a parallel societies. The rightwing wants to tear the buildings down and the leftwing wants to renovate the buildings. The population in general is just as polarised. Some studies indicate that there are some racist tendencies among the population which again indicate a more extreme polarisation of opinions on the subject.

The financial crisis has also had a major impact on the development of ghettos, when considering the ghetto in the official definition as it is articulated by the government. Since unemployment is a great factor in the description of a ghetto and more and more people are getting unemployed, they have to move to areas with low rent as public housings, there will be a natural clustering of unemployed people in some areas.

By placing the debate about ghettos and the tightened policies about immigration together with the global systemic anthropology I have tried to give an explanation to why this intense debate about immigrants has been so dominating in Denmark. The global processes where the financial

crisis is an obvious evidence of the decline of the West, there has been a development from modernism towards nationalism and traditionalism.

7.1 Regarding further research

In these days some youngsters from the ghettos are beginning to develop an identity which is in a straight line from the ghetto environment itself. These groups use the ghetto as the main feature in this identity and place themselves against all others who are not from that specific ghetto. Another study on this ghetto identity could be of great meaning to see how these areas forms identities and how this is an example of fragmentation of the society, identities and the rebuild of new identities in connection with Friedman's description of slummification and social disorder.

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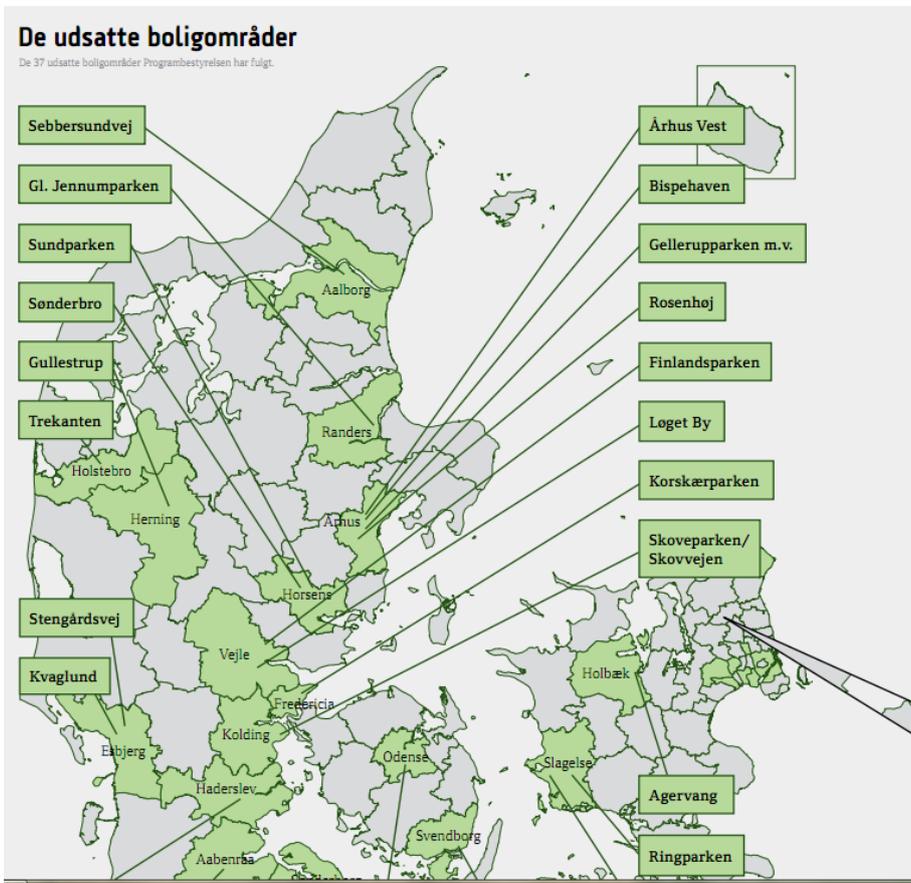
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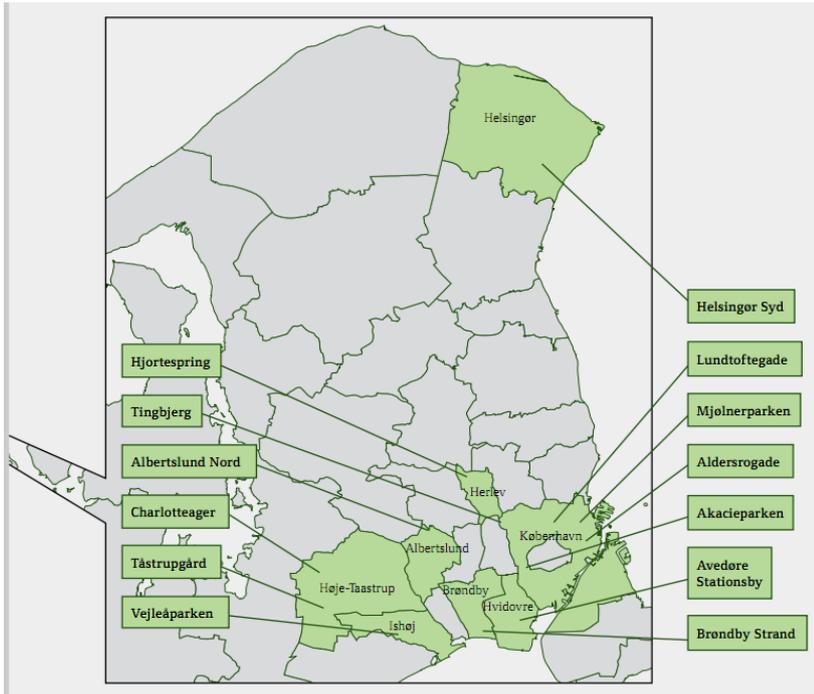
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Annex 1





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