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The increasing socioeconomic and spatial segregation and polarization of living conditions in the Copenhagen metropolitan area

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Introduction

Copenhagen, today, appears to be a resurgent city. It came back to life in the mid-1990s and, until recently, has shown markedly growth in income and inhabitants, primarily as a result of the rise and spatial dynamics of its service- and knowledge based industries. Its resurgence is also evident in the city districts that 20 years ago struggled with repercussions of a long term urban crisis. Financially, the central city was almost doomed in the late 1980s and early 1990s, and the city of Copenhagen was to bankruptcy. Central city development was characterized by a set of eroding processes that included de-industrialisation, suburbanization, high unemployment rates, high welfare costs, an outdated housing market and strong ethnic and income segregation.

Copenhagen city have now been revitalized and is, today, a strong national center of economic growth. Although the urban turn remains strong one can, however, catch glimpses of the national economic problems, for example, raising unemployment (from 4.4 pct. in June 2008 to 8.3 pct. in December 2012) and a housing market where the bubble has burst. Added should also be: an enhanced income polarization, increasing poverty in areas where the highest rates of poverty already prevails and a still growing stigmatization by the media and bourgeois politicians of certain areas of the city with large minorities of immigrants and their decedents claimed to be “parallel societies” and “ethnic enclaves”– with immigrants implicitly held responsible for isolation from the wider society and a lack of will to integrate.

The focus of the article is The Municipality of Copenhagen and the main aim is to illustrate and theorise the discrepancies between selected dimensions of the living conditions of the ethnic Danes and the immigrants and their descendants. Furthermore, it will be illustrated and analysed how this segregation is interlinked with the city’s spatial poverty segregation.

The spatial and the socio-economic segregation in the city

The spatial is an integrated and central part of the article and we shall in our analysis discuss a few concepts developed by Loic Wacquantⁱ. The first is *advanced marginality*, i.e. a novel regime of socio-spatial regulation and exclusionary closure (in Weber’s and Parkin’s senseⁱⁱ) that has crystallized in the Post-Fordist city as a result of uneven development of capitalist economies and the recoiling of welfare states, according to modalities that vary with the ways in which these two forces bear upon segments of the working class and the ethno-racial categories as well as on the territories they occupy in the divided city.

Wacquant develops an institutional conception of the ghetto as concatenation mechanisms of ethno-racial control founded in the history and materialized in the geography of the city. He retraces the historic shift from the communal ghetto of the mid-twenty century, a compact and sharply circumscribed socio-spatial formation to which blacks and Jews of all classes were

consigned and bound together by a broad complement of institutions specific to the group and its reserved space, to the fin-de-siècle *hyper ghetto*, a novel, decentered, territorial and organizational configuration characterized by conjugal segregation on the basis of race *and* class in the context of the double retrenchment of the labour market and the welfare state from the urban core, necessitating and eliciting the corresponding deployment of an intrusive and omnipresent police and penal apparatus.

The qualifier 'advanced', says Wacquant, is meant to indicate that these forms of marginality are not behind us and being progressively absorbed by the free market's commodification of social life or through the welfare state but rather that they stand ahead of us. Therefore, he continues, is there an urgent need for the elaboration of novel forms of political intervention to redirect the forces that produce these forms of marginality including polarized growth and the fragmentation of the labour market, the casualization of employment and the automatising of street economy in degraded urban areas, mass joblessness amounting to outright deproletarianisation for large segments of the working class, especially youths. If new mechanisms of social mediation are not put in place to reincorporate the excluded populations, Wacquant expects urban marginality to continue to rise and spread, and along with it the street violence, political alienation and economic informalisation.

Recognition and justice in the city

The data and the overall understanding of segregation and integration will be presented and interpreted within the concepts of redistribution and recognition as they have been formulated by Honneth (1995) and Fraser (1992 and 2000). Honneth speaks about three 'patterns of intersubjective recognition: Love, rights and Solidarity. The first pattern of recognition is about basic human relationships, for example love and care between a few persons who are close. The second pattern of recognition is legal. Self-respect can only develop totally, if the individual is recognised as an autonomous acting subject and has the characteristic of universal equal treatment, where an individual is ascribed the same moral status as all others. The third element constituting recognition is self-esteem. The individual ascribes to individual fame, prestige and recognition. Unlike the legal recognition, the third element talks about personal qualities and presentations; the individual gets recognised as a person who has capabilities of worth for the community. Honneth's theory can be seen as a normative frame of reference for concrete analyses of different forms of recognition and its opposite, disrespect. However, his theory cannot stand alone. If we should speak about the demands from different groups of people for recognition in relation to each other's justification, then we also need a theory of justification. Therefore we use Fraser's theory as a supplement to Honneth's. She speaks about justice that requires both equal distribution and recognition.

According to Fraser, the task is to devise a two dimensional conception of justice that can accommodate both defensible claims for social equality and recognition of difference. The

leitmotif of Fraser's work is to formulate a theory of social justice which identifies and defends those versions of the cultural politics of difference that can be coherently combined with the social politics of equality. Practically, the task is to devise a programmatic political orientation that can integrate the best of the politics of recognition with the best of the politics of redistribution.

The two paradigms assume different conceptions of injustice. The redistribution paradigm focuses on injustices it defines as socio-economic and presumes to be rooted in the economic structures of society, for example being denied an adequate material standard of living. The recognition paradigm targets injustices it understands as cultural, which it presumes to be rooted in social patterns of representation, interpretation and communication; for example cultural domination and disrespect.

Fraser does not maintain that distributive justice can adequately subsume problems of recognition and vice versa. She argues for a dualistic perspective that includes both the standpoint of distribution and the standpoint of recognition, without reducing either one of these perspectives to the other.

While the remedy for social injustice, Fraser maintains, might involve redistributing of income, reorganising the division of labour or more radically transforming basic economic structures, the remedy for cultural justice, in contrast, is some sort of cultural change. This latter point is the core of Mouzelis' concept of polylogic integration. Mouzelis (1995) distinguishes four ideal modes of multiculturalism. The first is the compartmentalized mode of integration where the different cultural groups exist side by side in a highly self-sufficient manner, and have a bare minimum of cultural communication. Secondly, there is the monological type of integration where the predominant culture sets out to dominate totally by endeavouring to obliterate all other cultural traditions. The third mode of integration is the syncretic which entails a highly eclectic mixture from various cultural traditions, which fails, however, to take account of the internal logic and specific history of these traditions and remains indifferent to the origin of the cultural elements. Finally, there is the polylogic integration, inspired by Habermas, which respects the autonomy and internal logic of the various cultural identities and traditions, while insisting on building a two-way bridge of communication between them.

Also Titmuss' concept of positive selectivism will be an analytical tool. He argued (Titmuss 1974) that welfare universalism could have problems with meeting the particular needs of specific groups; legal equality does not always mean equality in outcome treatment. He consequently suggested that universalism should in a number of cases be combined with positive selectivism. The extra resources provided by this principle would make the distribution of income more equal. Thompson and Hogget (1996) have suggested that in addition to positive selectivism, there should be a need for a particularism which goes beyond the limitations of selectivism. This implies a universal/egalitarian welfare state with built-in openings for special treatment towards varying

standards between specific individuals and groups, thus supplementing the principle of positive selectivism.

The data on poverty and social exclusion will be interpreted as “capability failure” (Sen 1992) or restrictions on the room of manoeuvre; that is severe restrictions on the ability to proactive coping and on the possibilities to choose the life on wish to live. Capability failures can be caused by structural, institutional and individual conditions. On the individual level poor health conditions and poor Danish language skills, for example, play important roles for many non-Western immigrants, and on the structural and institutional level lack of redistribution and recognition are reinforcing the capability failures on the individual level or are directly causing the capability failures and especially if it takes on the form of discrimination. Capability failures caused by structural and institutional factors – and especially those aspects that are experienced as discrimination by non-Western immigrants/Muslims – are important (but of course not the only or even the most significant) in relation to identity, belonging and integration.

A socioeconomic portrait of Copenhagen: Ethnic minorities and ethnic Danes compared

In the following we will draw a portrait of ethnic minorities’ living conditions, poverty and social exclusion in Copenhagen. As far as it has been possibly in terms of data on different aspects of living conditions we first compare Copenhagen with Denmark as a whole and second we compare the city district of Nørrebro in Copenhagen with other city districts and/or Copenhagen as a whole. The city district of Nørrebro is in the center of the analysis because it is here that one of the highest concentration of immigrants and their descendants from non-Western countries and in particular Muslims is found (around 20 pct.).

The ethnic composition of the population in Denmark and in Copenhagen

In 2011 the Danish population amount to 5.56 million people. 6.5 pct. of these are immigrants and their descendants from non-Western countries (Danmarks Statistik 2012). Immigrants and their descendants from non-Western countries have been the fastest growing part of the Danish population during the last 30 years. Many of these came to Denmark as immigrant workers and as refugees from war and political persecution – also in spite of an increasingly harsh Danish immigration policy during the last decade.

By 1.1 2012 the population of the municipality of Copenhagen amounts to 549.050 people (Copenhagen Municipality’s Databank 2013). Table 1 shows, for each city district, how the composition of the population is with regard to origin; that is Danish, immigrants and their descendants from Western and non-Western countries.

Table 1 (see appendix)

The changing Danish class structure

During the last 25 years the middleclass and especially the upper middleclass has been growing from 23 pct. in 1985 to 33 pct. in 2009 while the working class has shrunk from 58 pct. to 47 pct. in this period. Both in 1985 and in 2009 the upper class makes up 1 pct. of the population (Olsen et al. 2012). Olsen et al. also defines a so called “underclass” (we prefer the term “trash proletariat”) characterized by being outside the labour market for more than 4/5 of a year. They mainly live on early retirement pension, long-term social assistance benefits and other types of transfer incomes. All together, the trash proletariat makes up 20 pct. of all individuals’ and 14 pct. of all families in 2009. From 1985 to 2009 the trash proletariat has grown from 10 pct. to 14 pct. of all families. Ethnic Danes still makes up the great majority, but their share of the trash proletariat has only grown from a little under to a little over 10 pct., while immigrants, refugees and their descendants makes up a growing part of the trash proletariat. In 1985, 28 pct. of the trash proletariat was living in public housing estates, while this share had grown to 40 pct. in 2009. This growth is mainly caused by the high concentration of ethnic minorities in the public housing sector and especially those which have been labeled as “ghettos” (see later). This development in the housing area is the main factor behind the spatial and social segregation in the major Danish cities.

The changing class structure and the quality of life in Copenhagen

The whole class structure in the city of Copenhagen has changed. The middle class has grown (higher and lower) from 23 pct. in 1985 to 46 pct. in 2009 while the working class shrunk from 57 pct. to 34 pct. (Olsen et al. 2012). The growth in the higher middle class has been particularly high: from 6 to 21 pct. In Copenhagen there has only been a small increase in the “trash proletariat”, but from a very high level: from 19 pct. in 1985 to 20 pct. in 2009. The change of Copenhagen from a working class city (including the “trash proletariat”) to a middle class city is also mirrored in the housing standard which has been upgraded and gentrified considerable – and accordingly also prizes for accommodation. In the midst of this transformed city there are areas (housing estates) where the trash proletariat is concentrated. Among these areas are Nørrebro.

Copenhagen is often appraised by tourists and in foreign media’s as being one of the world’s most trendy and lively cities. This may be true, but Copenhagen is – looked at from another perspective – among the least attractive areas to live in for the Danes. Measured on nine different indicators¹ Copenhagen is rated as the fourth “worst” municipality to live in out of the total 98 Danish municipalities (AE 23. September 2011).

¹ Prices on houses and taxes, child care, education, life expectancy and care of the elderly, safety, health, culture and leisure time, labor market conditions and the economy in the municipality (all with sub indicators).

The city district of Nørrebro

The city district Nørrebro is one of the ten districts in the Copenhagen Municipality and it is the city district with the highest density of the population (18.000 per km²). Nørrebro has its own specific character. Traditionally it was a working class area, but regeneration programmes and slum clearances, initiated gradually from 1970s and onwards, led to changes in the area's demography, lubricated with the availability of new social housing, which provided opportunities for many young people, students and migrant families to move into the area. 27 pct. of the inhabitants of Nørrebro are immigrants and their descendants, and of these almost 20 pct. are from non-Western countries.

Today, the residents in Nørrebro are characterised by a conjugal segregation based on both working class and race, but Nørrebro does *not* constitute a hyper ghetto in Wacquant's sense, because, among other things, there are more than 20 different ethnic groups represented in the area and the city district is not sealed off from the rest of the city. Neither has Nørrebro been abandoned in terms of public institutions, sports facilities, restaurants nor cultural institutions.

A large part of the residents are outside the labour market and live predominantly from social transfers (early retirement pension, invalid pension, unemployment benefits, social assistance, rehabilitation benefits, and activation income) where the last decades of liberalistic intrusion into Danish social policy have degraded considerable numbers of people, particularly long-term recipients of social assistance and immigrants, into poverty and constitute, now more than ever, a trash-proletariat (Møller 2011). But there is also a group of residents in Nørrebro, mostly living in the outer areas of the district that belongs to the middle class and predominantly supports left wing politics.

The residents in Nørrebro have during many decades been known for showing strong solidarity with the underprivileged segments of society and have demonstrated against racism and right-wing extremism more than anywhere else in the country and in Copenhagen. It is a heavily populated and genuinely multi ethnic area with bustling streets and many shops and restaurants run by ethnic minority communities. It is also a dynamic area which, on several occasions, some of them as far back as in the 1980s, has been the scene of a number of violent clashes between the police and indigenous squatters/autonomous groups. In May 1993, following the Danish "yes" vote to the EU, the Nørrebro district which had voted a clear "no" was the scene of a riot involving police shooting with fire arms against the demonstrators. In spring 2008, the area witnessed one of the worst riots in Denmark, now involving young men from predominantly Muslim ethnic communities who expressed their frustration with frequent police stop-and-searches and blamed the police for being "brutal", "racist" and exercising "utterly unacceptable intimidation"². There have also been tensions in Nørrebro between the (native Danish) Hell Angels and the so-called

² Boys from Inner Nørrebro: *The truth behind the riots*. Politiken (large daily newspaper) 18. February 2008.

immigrant criminal gangs that were reported to be threatening their market share in the illicit drug trade.

In the last decades, when the development of Nørrebro from a traditional working class area to a multi-ethnic and multiclass district took place, the neighbouring district, Vesterbro, has undergone comprehensive gentrification programmes transforming it from a typical working class area to a district with many middle class and high income groups. And while Vesterbro is the Western neighbourhood district to Nørrebro, the Frederiksberg area³, dominated by the classic urban bourgeoisie, is the North Western neighbour. This contributes, together with the polarisation of incomes and other level of living components (see below), to make the city of Copenhagen one of the cities, described by Wacquant (1996: 122), where “the extremes of high society and dark ghetto, luxurious wealth and utter destitution, cosmopolitan bourgeoisie and urban outcasts flourish and decay side by side.”

Not surprisingly, the district of Nørrebro have attracted intense media scrutiny over many years with focus on negative portrayed conflict ridden and spectacular clashes between the police and indigenous and ethnic groups (see below for a further discussion). Here we shall mention that, to the extent that Nørrebro can be taken as an example of advanced marginal development, it is not something specific for Copenhagen. As Wacquant points out (2008), in nearly every major First World metropolis, a particular urban district or township has “made a name of itself” and are publicly known and recognised as the places where disorder, dereliction and danger are said to be the normal order of the day. Les Minguettes and La Courneuve for France; South Central Los Angeles and the Bronx for US; Duisberg- Marxloh and Berlin-Neukölln for Germany; the district of Toxteth in Liverpool and Saint Paul in Bristol for England; Biljmer in Amsterdam and Neue West in Rotterdam for the case of Holland; and Rinkeby and Rosengården for Sweden. In this sense, major cities have become key sites for debates on and struggles for justice and injustice because cities are a conglomerate or intersection of injustice along the lines of class, race and ethnicity, but also the sites where there are potential for fighting or at least reduce these forms of injustice (Fainstein 2010).

Income and poverty in Copenhagen

Copenhagen is among the municipalities in Denmark with the lowest average disposable income (in average 211.400 DDK). However, the internal income differences in Copenhagen are considerable, see table 2 (AE 21. October 2012).

Table 2 (see appendix)

³ The Municipality of Frederiksberg is as autonomous as the other 98 municipalities in Denmark. However, geographically, it is surrounded on all sides by the City of Copenhagen.

The income differences between the city districts have been growing from 1985 to 2012 (AE 21. October 2012). In 2012, the poor districts like Nørrebro are lacking even more behind the richer like Østerbro than they did in 1985. Disposable incomes have for example grown 14 pct. more in Østerbro than in Nørrebro in this period.

The income differences between Nørrebro and Copenhagen as a whole are specially found in the bottom and top end of the income scale. There are almost twice as many households in Nørrebro than in Copenhagen as a whole that have a taxable income under 100.000 DKK per year, and in Nørrebro it is only 4.2 pct. of the households who have an taxable income at 700.000 DDK and above compared with 8.2 pct. of households in Copenhagen as a whole. Even though incomes in Nørrebro are generally lower than in Copenhagen as a whole, there is clearly also a middle class (in terms of incomes) represented in Nørrebro since 22 pct. of the households have an taxable income at 400.000 DDK and above.⁴

There seems to be a general tendency towards income polarization in Denmark. The middle incomes has shrunk (with 2.4 pct.) while the rich and the poor has increased (with 0.8 pct. and 1.7 pct.) in the period from 2001-2007 (AE 18. august 2010). Also in Copenhagen, the low income group (incomes below the 50 pct. median income) has grown from 5.6 pct. in 1996 to 9.0 pct. in 2006, the middle group (incomes over 50 pct. and under 150 pct. of median income) has in the same period shrunk from 80.9 pct. to 72.1 pct., while the high income group has grown from 13.5 pct. to 18.9 pct. (Rasmussen and Christensen 2008)⁵.

Poverty

Table 3 shows the growth in poverty for Denmark as a whole from 2001-2006 for ethnic Danes, immigrants from western countries and immigrants and their descendants from non-Western countries (AE 2009: Fordeling og levevilkår 2009). In 2006 there are about five times as many poor immigrants and descendants from non-Western countries as poor ethnic Danes (respectively 14.0 pct., 12.4 pct. and 2.4 pct.).

Table 4 shows the development in long-term poverty (in poverty for at least three consecutive years) from 2001 to 2007 for Denmark as a whole. Especially the growth in long-term poverty for descendants (both from Western and non-Western countries) has been high – from 1.7 pct. in 2001 to 4.1 pct. in 2007 (AE 9. March 2010). The highest percentage of long-term poor is found among immigrants from non-Western countries, but with a lesser growth than among descendants from 2001 to 2007.

Table 3 and 4 (see appendix)

⁴ Our calculations based on data from the Copenhagen municipality's Databank.

⁵ The income groups here are constructed by Rasmussen and Christensen (2008).

Poverty within Copenhagen

In 2009 Copenhagen is the municipality with the highest percentage of poor people – 7.6 pct. compared to 4.4 for Denmark as a whole (excluding poor students).⁶ Child poverty is even higher than among the adult population in Copenhagen (and the second largest of the 98 Danish municipalities): 8.9 pct. compared to an average of 5.4 pct. for Denmark as a whole (AE 1. July 2011).

The poor in Copenhagen is very unevenly spread out on the different city districts and parishes. Table 5 shows the parishes in Copenhagen with the highest and the lowest poverty rates (AE 28. April 2010). Two out of five parishes with the highest poverty rates are located in Nørrebro.

Table 5 (see appendix)

In the following we will use data on poverty which is based on a survey on living conditions and poverty conducted by the municipality of Copenhagen; hereafter named “The Copenhagen Survey” (Københavns Kommune 2008). These data should not be compared with the before mentioned data on poverty which was based on the 50 pct. median poverty line. The poverty line and measurement used in the Copenhagen report is based on the budget method, and the poverty line is higher (or more generous) than the poverty line based on the 50 pct. median income.

In 2005, according to the Copenhagen survey, there were 3.9 percent of the inhabitants of Copenhagen that have lived in poverty for 4 years or more (defined as long-term and permanent poor), 4.9 percent have lived in poverty for 2-3 years (medium term poor) and 8.1 percent have lived in poverty for less than 1 year (short term poor). In total, 16.8 pct. of the population in Copenhagen was in poverty in 2005.⁷ According to the latest figures, poverty increased in 2007 and 2008 and decreased again in 2009 and 2010 to 14.5 pct. compared with 16.8 percent in 2005. The decrease of poverty from 2005 to 2010 was mainly found among the short-term poor. (Københavns Kommune 2012). Poverty is not a phenomenon that is evenly spread out in Copenhagen, but is highly concentrated in areas such as Nørrebro.

Who are the poor in Copenhagen?

Among the short-term and medium-term poor there is a high share of low skilled and unskilled workers; respectively 39 pct. of the short term and 33.7 pct. of the medium-term poor. There are all together 14 pct. working poor among the low skilled and unskilled workers. These are mainly

⁶ The poverty line is defined as 50 pct. of the median income.

⁷ Only age +18 years; and students are not included.

young people who are expected to be able to get a better foothold on the labor market and accordingly better wages or to take an education (Københavns Kommune 2008). Social assistance receivers and old age pensioners are the groups with the highest percentage among the long-term and permanent poor; respectively 29.6 pct. and 18 pct. All together it is almost half of all social assistance receivers that are poor (45.7 pct.).

Those who have no occupational training or where the education is not been stated make up almost 70 pct. of the short-, medium- and long-term and permanent poor.

The short- and medium-term poor are especially concentrated in the age group between 18-29 years. Among the long-term and permanent poor the age group between 30-49 years is the largest and makes up 39 pct. of these poor.

6.000 or 7 pct. of the children in Copenhagen live in poor families. There are considerably more children in lone parent families living in poverty than in families with couples. However, although most lone parent families are headed by women, men generally make up a higher percentage of those living in medium- and long-term and permanent poverty than women (respectively 54.2/45.8 and 57/43). Many of these men are singles without labor market attachment and some are homeless. Today, the percentages of homeless immigrants and descendants are much higher than among ethnic Danes, and homelessness in Denmark is especially concentrated in Copenhagen (SFI/Benjaminsen 2007, 2009, 2011).

Of special interest in this paper is the ethnic composition of the poor. In table 6 the three segments of poor are enlisted for ethnic Danes, immigrants and their descendants. In 2005, adding together the poverty percentages for immigrants and their descendants in table 6, almost 30 pct. of all immigrant and their decedents live in poverty compared with 17 pct. among ethnic Danes. Especially among the long-term and permanent poor there is a high concentration of immigrants.

Table 6 (see appendix)

Deprivation among the poor

Table 7 shows that 34.7 pct. of the short- and medium term and 47.7 pct. of the long-term and permanent poor suffers from 11-22 deprivation factors (out of the 22 different items used in the Copenhagen survey). The difference between the two groups is found among persons having 16-22 deprivation factors.

Table 7 (see appendix)

In the Copenhagen survey there is no information's on differences in deprivations suffered by Danes and immigrants from non-Western countries. However, a national survey on deprivations suffered by receivers of reduced social assistance benefits⁸ and regular social assistance benefits showed no significant differences between Danes and immigrants from non-Western countries. The significant differences were between those on different benefit levels – regardless of ethnic belonging (Hansen and Hussain 2009: 53). These results also point to another interesting observation; namely that the priorities – where to cut on spending in households with very low incomes – are almost the same in Danish families and in immigrant families from non-Western countries. When severe poverty strikes, ethnicity seems to play no role for the management of very scarce resources.

Poverty and exclusion from different aspects of participation and living conditions

The Copenhagen survey maps out the relation between poverty and the following living conditions: leisure time activities, trade union and political participation, social relations and health conditions.

The survey shows that especially the long-term and permanent poor are a little less active in leisure time and trade union and political activities than other inhabitants in Copenhagen. The difference is larger when it comes to social relation where the long-term and permanent poor have a smaller social network than others and there is a group of these (11.5 pct.) that seldom or never (0.9 pct.) leaves their home. This group is almost socially isolated which may explain a part of the higher mortality rate among the long-term and permanent poor since social isolation in itself is a contributor (and even more than smoking) to early death (Christensen and Larsen 2011). This social isolation is probably also combined with and may be influenced by the poor health conditions among almost 30 pct. of the long-term and permanent poor (Københavns Kommune 2008).

The Copenhagen report does not contain information's on differences in social exclusion between ethnic Danes and ethnic minority groups. However, a study based on a national survey on living conditions (Larsen 2004) showed that ethnic minority groups⁹ is twice as often socially excluded in terms of each of the following living conditions: poverty, social networks, political and union activities and health conditions. The only exception is leisure time activities where no differences were found. The primary underlying factor for explaining these differences in social exclusion is the heavy intersection of class, bad health conditions, unemployment (or being outside the labour market) and belonging to an ethnic minority group.

⁸ These so called "poverty benefits" was gradually introduced and sharpened from the late 1990' to 2011, but were abolished by January 1th 2012.

⁹ To achieve significant results in the analysis, the sample of respondents from ethnic minority groups was too small to differentiate between different ethnic minority groups.

Poverty and health

In general the life expectancy is lower in Copenhagen compared to Denmark in general. In the period from 2007-2011 the average life expectancy for men in Copenhagen was 73.9 years and 76.6 in Denmark as a whole and for women it was respectively 79.4 and 81.0 (Municipality of Copenhagen, Koncernservice Statistik 2012). However there is a huge difference in Copenhagen related to income.

The mortality rate among the poor is much higher than among the non-poor. The long-term and permanent poor have a mortality rate that is 7 times higher than among the non-poor (Københavns Kommune 2008). Other studies have also showed that poor health, illness and mortality is higher among those with low incomes than among those with higher incomes (e.g. Mackenbach et al. 1997, Diderichsen et al. 2006).

Among the teen parishes with the highest concentration of people with bad health conditions three are located in Nørrebro (AE 6. August 2010). In these three parishes in Nørrebro the use of doctors and the cost of medicine is on average 2.5 times as high as for the whole population of Copenhagen. Immigrants from non-Western countries (for Denmark as a whole) have the highest frequency of visits at doctors and the second highest spending on medicine.

Even though ethnic minority groups have the biggest need for health care services, ethnic minorities have difficulties in crossing some informal barriers in the health care system due to for example their lacking knowledge about relevant health care services and language barriers in communicating with the health care staff (Holmberg, Ahlmark and Curtis 2009). In addition, there have not been any efforts to develop a strategy in health care policy to deal with the extraordinary challenges that ethnic minorities faces both in terms of higher health and mortality risks and systemic barriers in the health care system.

As a part of the Copenhagen City Council's integration policy (see below) there is a separate strategy in relation to health care. The main goal is to equalize the health conditions of ethnic Danes and ethnic minorities. The Council has recognized that differences in health conditions to a large extent are related to the fact that ethnic minorities generally are socially and economically underprivileged.

Coping with poverty and exclusion

Severe poverty and its effects in terms of exclusion from different aspects of participation and living conditions – often combined with poor health conditions - show that severe poverty leads to major restrictions in the room of maneuver or to “*capability failures*”. Lack of money is often caused by unemployment, and unemployment is on the individual level, among other thing, caused by low skills, bad health conditions and for many immigrants' poor Danish language skills. However, unemployment and poverty in itself creates life stress, depression and poorer health

conditions both because of the immediate suffering hereof and because of an uncertain future for one self and ones' children (Ejrnæs et al. 2013, Müller et al. 2010). This is a poisoning cocktail that may severely affect ones' ability to cope in a proactive way both in the everyday life and in relation to getting a (new) job.

Poor neighborhoods and housing

In Copenhagen city 30.6 pct. of ethnic Danes and 11.7 pct. of ethnic minorities from non-Western countries owns their house or flat.¹⁰ These are low percentages compared with Denmark as a whole. In Vestjylland where the prizes are much lower 78.7 pct. of ethnic Danes and 38.5 pct. of ethnic minorities own their houses. It is remarkably that while the percentage of owners had dropped slightly among ethnic Danes and ethnic minorities from western countries in the latter part of the 00's the percentages of owners from ethnic minorities from non-Western countries had grown in the same period. Accordingly, there also seems to exist a growing divide in terms of incomes and spatial (dis)placement among ethnic minorities from non-Western countries (with especially ethnic minorities from Sri Lanka, Philippines and China in the top end of both ownership and in work and with especially Lebanese, Somalia's and Iraqi people in the low end) (AE 15. October 2010).

The "Ghetto list"

The ghetto list is a list of public housing areas with a high percentage of immigrants and descendants from non-Western countries (more than 50 pct.), more than 40 pct. with no attachment to the labor market or the educational system and a high rate of crime convictions (Ministry of City, Housing and Rural Districts 1. October 2012).¹¹ Of the 33 public housing areas on the list 25 pct. (8) is located in Copenhagen and three of them in Nørrebro. One can say, that the "ghetto list" is both a curse and a blessing. On the one hand, these areas attract special political attention and also investments in terms of employment, educational, housing improvements and other types of activities. On the other hand, it also tends to stigmatize them. Generally, it is problematic to characterize housing areas in Denmark as "ghettos". Even though Olsen et al. (2012) have shown that a growing geographical, economic and cultural segregation is taken place in Denmark, we do not find many of the characteristics that define advanced marginality. The "neglected" housing areas in Denmark are not ethnic homogeneous, but are, to a large extent, inhabited by ethnic Danes outside the labour market.

¹⁰ In Nørrebro, 7.8 pct. own their flat or house, and especially the bigger flats (120 m² and more) are owned by the inhabitants (15.1 pct.). In the richer district of Østerbro 18.8 pct. own their house or flat, and also here especially the bigger flats (120 m² and more) are owned by the inhabitants (37.7 pct.). There are no information's from The Statistical Office of Copenhagen regarding ownership in different city districts in relation to ethnic belonging.

¹¹ The "ghetto list" was passed in the Parliament in 2010 by the former right-wing government in corporation with the Danish Folk Party (Dansk Folkeparti) in a law on the housing sector. The list is revised and published once a year.

Education

The City Council of Copenhagen uses a so called “Integration barometer” (2011 data) to measure how well ethnic minorities compared to ethnic Danes fare in different areas such as grades in schools, unemployment, safety and discrimination.

In terms of grades in schools both boys and girls from ethnic minorities perform less well than boys and girls from ethnic Danes. However, ethnic minority girls have better grades compared to ethnic Danish boys. Nørrebro is the city district with the most pronounced segregation in public schools since all four public schools (included in the barometer) in this area deviates with at least 10 pct. from the population average of ethnic minority children in the area – with two schools having a higher percentage and two less than the average.¹²

When it comes to youth in the age between 15 to 19 years old that have taken or are participating in youth training (“ungdomsuddannelse”) there is no significant difference between non-Western ethnic minority youth and ethnic Danish youth. In 2011 it is 79.6 pct. of non-Western youth and 83.7 pct. Danish youth who have taken or are participating in a youth training programme.

One of the severe problems for ethnic minority youth who participate in youth training is to find a training place (“praktikplads”) and this problem has worsened during the economic crises. A national survey showed that in 2010 one out of 2.5 Danish youth got a training place while one out of 5.7 ethnic minority youth got a training place (AE 29. March 2010). This is part of the explanation for why especially ethnic minority youth do not start or finish youth training.

For Denmark as a whole it is especially young men from ethnic minorities that do not achieve youth training. Almost half (4 out of 10) of these do not at the age of 26 years have youth training. At this stage of their lives these young men from ethnic minorities appear to be severely marginalized since twice as many of them compared with ethnic Danes do not participate in educational activities or are employed. The wages are lower for those young ethnic minority men without youth training who are employed (AE 1. February 2011). They typically work in unskilled jobs within transport, cleaning and other kinds of manual labor.

Labour marked participation

During the current economic crisis the employment frequency for immigrants and their descendants from non-Western countries has decreased more than for ethnic Danes, because their share in the working ages has grown more than the share among ethnic Danes, but they have

¹² There are seven public schools in Nørrebro. However, there are also many private schools in the area. In Inner Nørrebro, 41 pct. of the pupils attend private schools, and this creates a self-perpetuating process in which high income families remove their children from public schools (with many children of less resourceful parents and/or of parents with origins in non-Western countries) and place them in private schools (with other well-functioning children from middleclass homes).

only experienced a marginal larger decrease than ethnic Danes in relation to overall employment, and the female descendants has actually as the only group on the labour market experienced a growth in 2.1 pct. from 2009 to 2010 in their employment rate (Ejrnæs 2012: 64).

Ethnic Danes and immigrants and their descendants from non-Western countries are, however, very unevenly employed in different sectors of the labour market. Ethnic Danes dominate within the construction sector, while especially descendants dominate within the trading sector, and both immigrants and their descendants dominate within the low skilled service sector (Ejrnæs 2012: 65).

Many of the descendants (and the immigrants) trading firms are small, and it is also here we find a large part of those that are working poor, and wages and working conditions are generally poor within the low skilled service work; typically cleaning and restaurants.

The most pronounced sectorial changes in employment from 2009 to 2010 are in relation to industry and public service. Industrial employment decreases considerably for immigrants and their descendants while the employment in public service increased significantly more for immigrants and especially their descendants compared to ethnic Danes.

Immigrants from non-Western countries do – one year after they lost their last job both during the economic boom and during the current economic crisis – have a lower reemployment rate than ethnic Danes. One of the reasons may be that immigrants to a lesser degree works in firms that offer their employees further education and/or offers different types of job activities (Ejrnæs 2008). Another explanation may be that many immigrants have jobs in the private sector where they do not develop their Danish language skills. This affects both their ability to write job applications and their possibilities to shift job from one sector to another. Poor Danish language skills – in combination with low or none educational skills and poor health conditions – were by the recipients of the lowest social assistance benefits considered the most severe barriers for getting a job (Ejrnæs et al. 2010). Lack of (bridging) social networks that extent beyond their own close (bonding) and perhaps narrow social network could also be an explanation. Mikkelsen et al. (2010) show that immigrants to a high degree lack a job related network that can help them getting reemployed in other sectors after job loss.

During the boom from 2004 to 2008 the employment increased more in the “ghetto” areas than in other areas in Denmark, but it also decreased more during the economic crisis since 2008, and it decreased in generally more for persons living in public housing than for persons living in other types of housing (AE 8. September 2010).

Labour market participation in Copenhagen and Nørrebro

Comparing the unemployment rate for ethnic minorities with the unemployment rate among all inhabitants in Copenhagen there is a large difference. Ethnic minority women from non-Western

countries had in 2011 an unemployment rate that was more than 1.5 times higher than for all women in Copenhagen (21.0 % and 8.0 %). For men it was more than 1 times higher (17.9 % and 8.1 %) (Integration Barometer 2011).

We have made our own calculations of labour market participation in Nørrebro on basis of data from Copenhagen Municipalities' statistical databank.¹³ In Nørrebro in 2011 80.2 pct. of ethnic Danes are employed compared with 48.3 pct. of immigrants and 68.9 pct. of their descendants. 3.6 pct. of ethnic Danes are unemployed compared to 4.9 pct. of immigrants and 4.6 pct. of their descendants.¹⁴ 16.2 pct. of ethnic Danes are outside the labour market compared with 46.7 pct. of immigrants and 26.6 pct. of their descendants.¹⁵ These huge differences in relation to being outside the labour market between especially ethnic Danes and immigrants explain a great deal of the difference in poverty rates between the two groups. But the descendants of immigrants also lacks considerably behind ethnic Danes in terms of labor market attachment.

Policies of inclusion in Copenhagen

The Copenhagen City Council has been more active than most Danish municipalities in creating and pursuing an inclusion policy of ethnic (and other) minorities both in terms of religious, cultural and economic recognition. The first major integration policy programme was implemented in the period from 2007 to 2011. The integration policy was introduced because the City Council recognized that Copenhagen during the last decades has become a multiethnic city and stated that ethnic diversity has "the potential to improve Copenhagen's status as a large city in a constantly changing, diversified world".¹⁶

The latest official policy document from the Copenhagen City Council on integration policy (2011-14) is called "Bland dig i byen. Medborgerskab og inklusion" ("Take part in the city. Citizenship and Inclusion"). In this document it is stated that "Copenhagen shall be the most inclusive city in Europe 2015 – a city where the citizens experience trust to the co-citizens and the municipality, participate in communities and have influence on the development of the city" (Integration Policy 2011-2014: 4).

The three principles in the policy

There are three main principles in the integration policy; namely 1) Diversity is a strength. The diversity of the population in Copenhagen can be positively used in, for example, the work place,

¹³ There were no data available with regard to immigrants and their descendants from non-Western countries.

¹⁴ Social assistance receivers are not included in the category unemployed. They are included in the category "outside the labour market". The unemployment figures should therefore not be compared with other types of unemployment statistics where social assistance receivers are included.

¹⁵ Groups outside the labour market include, for example, early retirement pensioners and social assistance receivers. Children, students and old age pensioners are not included.

¹⁶ Integration Policy 2007-2010; see also At Home in Europe Project 2011: 57.

and it is a strength to be able to use two languages. 2) Everybody should have the possibility to participate. All shall be treated equally, but not necessarily in the same manner. If somebody needs extra help to be able to participate they shall receive it (*positive selectism*). 3) Citizenship concerns everybody. Everybody has a responsibility for inclusion, and if more people are to identify themselves as Copenhageners, there should be established partnerships across the city where everybody are to be included, contributes and take a responsibility (Integration Policy 2011-2014: 7).

The policy has four main target areas with specified goals: 1) All children and young people should have a decent start in their life. The main goals are related to primary school and youth education. As it was demonstrated above especially ethnic minority boys leaves the educational system without a youth education. 2) Inclusion on the labour market. The goals are more people in jobs and a more diversified leadership and employee staff in the public, municipality sector. Taking the above analyzed employment situation for ethnic minorities in Copenhagen into consideration, it then comes as no surprise that employment for ethnic minorities is a main focus point. 3) A helping hand to socially vulnerable people and areas in the city. The main goals are that more people should benefit from the municipality's services and that Copenhagen should be a safer place for all groups in the city. The focus is especially on having more ethnic minority children to attend day care and other child and youth facilities. This is also to keep children and young ethnic minority boys away from the street life that may socialize them to participate in the illegal street economy and street fights with other gangs.¹⁷ 4) An open and accommodating metropolis. Among the goals here are that fewer should be excluded from participating in community life due to poverty and fewer should experience discrimination. As we will demonstrate below the experience of poverty and discrimination is especially high among immigrants and their descendants from non-Western countries.

As a policy programme for integration the plan must be characterized as both ambitious, coherent and with detailed action plans and delegation of responsibility to the different departments in the municipality's administration for each vision and goal of the policy. The policy is also monitored (among other things by yearly surveys on integration and safety), and the yearly status report states if the goals have been reached to the degree that was planned and if not the different responsible departments of the city administration are obliged to take further action and/or adjust the means to reach the goals. The policy also contains some of the themes that have been raised in the chapter's theoretical and empirical sections. Recognition is an integral part of the inclusion policy and also a politics of difference (Young 1990) or a politics of positive selectism and particularism. A central principle of the policy is also to enhance participation of all in the city and to create bridging social capital (Putnam 2000). In this sense it also has an actor or citizen oriented approach that builds on a long tradition for involving the civic society and civic organizations in the policy process and implementation of policies. It is, however, also recognized by the City Council

¹⁷ About the street socialization, street life and the illegal street economy in Nørrebro see Kalkan 2013.

that socioeconomic conditions and inequalities play a crucial role (for example that poverty and discrimination may exclude people from being able to participate in community life). But in terms of redistribution policies the City Council has in many cases “tied hands” and especially redistribution of incomes is mainly decided upon at the national level. This could be perceived as a structural capability failure that severely restricts the room of maneuver on behalf of the City Councils of redistribution and recognition of difference.

Special focus, in the article, will be on the city council’s recognition, economic redistribution, positive selectivism and particularism towards one of these areas, Nørrebro, as well as non-discriminatory - and two-way bridge communication arrangements between the ethnic Danes and the immigrants. This will be analysed in the next section.

Recognition, redistribution, positive selectivism and particularism within the district of Nørrebro.

The data from the Nørrebro study

Within the municipality of Copenhagen, a spatial study has been done in the district of Nørrebro. The study is a part of the reports prepared by the At Home in Europe project of the Open Society Foundations in cooperation with local/national experts.ⁱⁱⁱ The Nørrebro study sheds, among other things, light on the day-to-day interactions between immigrants and ethnic Danes and thereby delivers empirical data which illustrate several of the themes central in our article: Recognition, redistribution, multiculturalism, positive selectivism and also particularism. Also the themes of advanced marginality and the hyper ghetto will be considered.

Unfortunately, the study’s data has to be interpreted with quite some caution. The core data are face-to-face questionnaire interviews with 100 self-defined Muslim residents and 100 non-Muslims from Nørrebro. The sample frame was designed to target a maximum representation of the various ethnic-national communities of Muslims as well as those non-Muslims (91 out of 100 are Danes), and was sub-sampled on the dimensions of age and gender. So, it is not a random sample, rather a quota sample, and none of the groups are big enough to be representative. Another problem of representativity is that the data collection was done through the snowball method.

As acknowledged in the study, Muslims do not constitute a homogenous group with fixed defined boundaries – although they most often are currently defined as such in the national popular political and public discourses. They are rather a diverse set of individuals with different religious practices and attachments. Thus, this group can include both individuals who adhere to the religion of Islam, as well as those who, because of their cultural and ethnic background, are perceived as Muslims by others in society, even though they may be atheists or followers of other

religions. Another example of heterogeneity is within education where a survey^{iv} found that immigrants and their descendants with origin in Iran are much more educated than those with origin in Somalia and the former Yugoslavia. Similarly, those with origin in Iran and Pakistan are more active in higher education than those with origin in Turkey and Somalia.

Data in the Nørrebro study were also collected from six focus groups with self-identifying local Muslims. Each of these groups comprised eight to ten participants who had not participated in the questionnaire survey and the groups were held around the issues of education and employment; health and social service; policing; civil and political participation; and everyday life and being citizens of the city (the latter issue was organised in three different groups, separated by age and gender).

Finally, altogether eight in-depth interviews were held with local officials, experts on integration and representatives from NGOs and data was further collected from academic research, policy documents and reports from international and domestic organisations.

Recognition, redistribution, positive selectivism and particularism

Now, turning to the themes of recognition, redistribution, positive selectivism, particularism and advanced marginality, it is important to observe that although they all are distinct analytical concepts their practical presentations, as we shall see, often show connections with each other.

Regarding *recognition* and contrary to the national public and social policy, often transmitted via the national media, the overall impression from the sample results, the focus group interviews and interviews with experts is that there is a greater sense of mutual acceptance than distance between the two groups (Muslims and non-Muslims). The majority of respondents in both groups agreed that people from different backgrounds could get along well together in their local area.

Only 1/3 of the Muslims see themselves as Danish, a little more than 10 % believe that others see them as Danish while it is half of the Muslims who want to be seen by others as Danish. These observations together with the below referred observations about frequent interactions between Muslims and non-Muslims in the district challenge one of the most popular perceptions prevalent in the national and media discourse that some residential areas in Denmark, including Nørrebro, are developing into isolated “ethnic enclaves” and resulting in a “parallel society” – with Muslims implicitly held responsible for their isolation from the wider society and their lack of will to integrate into the wider society.

The specificity of the Copenhagen City Council’s policy on immigrants and integration, as described above, is underlined within the area of education. While national legislation abolished governmental support for mother tongue instructions for students originating from outside Europe, Copenhagen has continued its *positive selectivism* by offer mother tongue instructions on an almost equal footing for all bilingual students. A range of other *positive selectivism* initiatives

have also been initiated, for example, language stimulation in kindergartens and in preschools, community houses financed by the municipality which include cafe's and bars with subsidised rates on food and beverages and support to schools to access updated computer-based learning facilities.

Other programmes of *redistribution* and *positive selectivism* have been launched involving upskilling of more than 1000 teachers in teaching Danish as a second language and courses related to multilingualism and inter-culturalism. When parents are participating in the Language Centres' activities they are compensated for transportation costs. The main general hospital has established a common prayer room and an Imam is available to provide support to patients and their families. The City Council of Copenhagen has also taken initiative to capacity-building support for NGO's and other organisations providing information and advice to minority communities, as well as a project of *particularism*, namely support for provision of Danish language learning to older Muslim women.

Discrimination

There are, however, also examples from Nørrebro of *non-recognition* and *discrimination*, in particular within the area of education. It is reported in the study that many teachers have low expectations for the children from migrant families and that some of the Arabic speaking parents found that Arabic should be included into the formal education, rather than just an extracurricular activity. They also found it discriminatory that from grade six they would have to pay for the classes in Arabic, while other languages, such as Spanish, is provided free of charge. It is also to be acknowledged that many native Danes in the district of Nørrebro move their children to private schools in order to avoid the public schools with their high proportion of bilingual pupils.

In general, however, data on discrimination from the spatial study of Nørrebro are rather weak and uncertain and in particular regarding the labour market very opaque. Sample respondents who had been rejected for jobs were asked about the reasons why they had been unsuccessful and around 1/3 of the Muslims cited their ethnic or religious background as the most important factor. Here again, however, the number is very small. There is also some, but weak evidence of discrimination in housing, experienced by ethnic minorities, in particular with respect to the waiting lists of private housing societies. Exceeding the district of Nørrebro, light is also shed on discrimination by the Copenhagen Integration Barometer (2011) encompassing all Copenhagen's districts and including discrimination related to gender, age religion, appearance and ethnic background. It shows that ethnic minorities express discrimination three times as often as ethnic Danes, and among men the difference is even higher.

Health services and policing

Opposite conclusions are reached regarding the health service in Nørrebro where the overwhelmingly majority of Muslims express satisfaction with the service and points to that it

shows respect and *recognises* the different religious customs. A number of Muslim doctors have recently been employed at the district's central hospital which has helped to improve the cross-cultural understanding in the hospital. Only a small minority complained about a lack of interpretation facilities.

Among the institutions that stamp their imprint on the daily life of the population and on the climate of "problem neighbourhoods", special attention must be accorded to the police. As a 'frontline agency' (Lipsky 1980^v) and what Wacquant (2008, p12) calls "the frowning face of the state directly turned down towards precarious and marginalised categories", the police, Wacquant adds, "are everywhere confronted with a deep crises of legitimacy, mission and recruitment".

When asking about the *policing* in the district of Nørrebro, also this picture, however, becomes somewhat blurred. On the one side, police ethnic profiling practice used in the search for drugs and weapons, has in 2008 resulted in claims of disproportionate use of police stop-and-searches on young men from ethnic minorities and has, as mentioned, raised claims of police being "brutal", "racist" and "utterly unacceptable intimidation". On the other side, the sample data showed that the majority of Muslims were either fairly or very satisfied with policing in the district, including those who had had contact with the police in the course of the previous year. When asked to prioritise areas which needed special attention in the district, neither improved neither policing nor crime prevention was mentioned by the Muslims. The study also revealed that both Muslims and non-Muslims had a fair or a lot of trust in the police.

The municipal "safety index" even showed that the inhabitants of inner Nørrebro had experienced a decline in criminality from 2009 to 2012 in spite of the fact that Nørrebro is one of the three, out of 12, Copenhagen districts where the inhabitants reported the highest exposure to crimes and is among those in most need for improvements in safety (Trykhedsindeks 2012).

Interaction (belonging), participation, citizenship and advanced marginality

The themes of *interaction*, *participation* and *citizenship* are all and in different ways and under different conditions and with mutual interactions related to the concept of *recognition*. Common for the three themes are, however, that interaction, participation and citizenship *may* all lead to enhanced recognition while a rise in recognition at the same time *may* be followed by increased interaction, participation and citizenship. These virtues cycles are both examples of Mouzelis' concept of *polylogic integration*.

The sample shows both Muslims and non-Muslims reporting frequent daily and weekly *interactions* with people from different ethnic and religious background than their own. There is also a clear sense of *belonging* in, and identification with Copenhagen and Nørrebro, among both Muslims and non-Muslims. Contrary to Wacquant's observations from the hyper ghetto, a majority of both Muslims and non-Muslims say that some or most of the people in the neighbourhoods can be trusted and that they enjoy living in the area. There is a view that

neighbours get along well together and are willing to help one another. The study refers, however, also to an investigation which shows that although children, to some extent, engage in real interaction during school; this is rarely the case outside school. But, although the overall picture is not totally rosy, and the long term trend in the national media is increasingly negative on migration issues, the general conclusion is that native Danes living in Nørrebro where they have frequent daily interactions with individuals from ethnic minorities are far less biased towards such minorities than Danes living in provincial towns. Similar results have been demonstrated in The Netherlands and UK^{vi}. So, it seems to be rather well documented that the two way bridge of communication both presumes and furthers *recognition*.

According to Wacquant, one of the distinctive features of *advanced marginality* is territorial stigmatisation viewed by both insiders and outsiders as social purgatories or urban hellholes where only the fuse of society would accept to dwell. However, whether or not those areas are in fact dilapidated, dangerous and declining matters little. The prejudicial belief that they are suffices to set of detrimental consequences: 'muted sentiment of guilt and shame whose unacknowledged weight warps human relations' (Petonnet 1982, cited from Wacquant 2008: 239). People, says Wacquant and supports with empirical data, commonly hide their address, avoid having family and friends visit them at home, and feel compelled to make excuses for residing there.

Now, turning to Nørrebro, and taking first the outsiders' points of view, the majority of the bourgeois dominated media and the public and political discourses have during the last decades increasingly portrayed the district as conflict ridden and dangerous. The insiders' experiences are, however, very different. As mentioned above, the data from the study of Nørrebro show that there is a clear sense of *belonging* in, and identification with Nørrebro among both Muslims and non-Muslims. Most people in both groups are satisfied with living in the area.

The feeling of belonging and identification is further confirmed by observations from the (whole) city's "Copenhagen integration Barometer" which in 2011 shows that 74 % of the ethnic Danes and 69 % of people from non-Western countries felt that they were included into different dimensions of life (Integration Barometer 2011).

As far as *participation* is concerned, the data are rather limited with the main focus on voting. The results from the sample show that of those Muslims eligible to vote a majority used this right in both national and local elections (with different criteria for eligibility). However, the participation rate for non-Muslims tended to be higher than that of Muslims. These results correspond with the results from other studies^{vii}. Similarly, a higher proportion of non-Muslims than Muslims had taken part in other political activities, such as attending a public rally or demonstration.

There are a very high percentage of inhabitants in Copenhagen that due to bad economy¹⁸ report that they are hindered in participating in community activities. More than fifty percent (53 %) among ethnic minorities and almost thirty percent (28 %) of ethnic Danes have answered that they due to their economic situation to some degree could not participate in the community (fællesskabet) (Integration Barometer 2011). **(To be elaborated).**

Regarding *citizenship*, a report^{viii} revealed that the tests for immigrants, including language tests and citizenship tests, makes it almost unattainable for some immigrants and refugees to obtain Danish citizenship. It is concluded in the report that these tests lead to political resignation, rather than active citizenship.

Perspectives

The metropolis of Copenhagen has since the mid 1990's been an entrepreneurial growth city but in the same period there has been a growing divide and polarization in terms of, among other things, employment, incomes and housing – especially between higher middle class ethnic white Danes and immigrants and their descendants (sons) from non-Western countries. This is also manifested in a spatial polarization of the city between well of city districts and unemployment and poverty ridden city districts with a high concentration of immigrant and descendants from non-Western countries. Nørrebro, which has been in the center of the analyses in this paper, belongs to the latter type.

One of the questions which put up in the end of this article is the extent to which Nørrebro can be considered as a hyper ghetto characterized by advanced marginality. On the one hand, it is clearly an area where most of the residents belong to the working class and ethnic minorities or both at the same time (and with segments of the trash proletariat and the middle class). It is also an area where territorial stigmatization from the outsiders is manifest – if outsiders are the media, the politicians and the discourses outside the political cycles of The Copenhagen City Council.

On the other hand, and what deviates from Wacquant's pictures of advanced marginality, is the lack of felt stigmatization and rather a sense of belonging to the district which the residents, the insiders, themselves have. The residents also have a feeling of belonging to The City of Copenhagen which might be related to The City's recognition of Nørrebro's cultural and socio-racial specificities and the relative comprehensive redistribution and positive selectism the district receives. The erosion of trust which is one of the basic characteristics of advanced marginality is evidently not occurring in Nørrebro. To the deviations from advanced marginality, suggested by

¹⁸ The term poverty is used by the City Council in reporting the results from the Integration Barometer survey. The question posed to the inhabitant was this: Weather one due to one's economic situation to some degree could not participate in the community (fællesskabet) in the Danish society. It might be problematic to equate this question with poverty.

Wacquant, can also be added the lack of closure, i.e. the lack of restrictions which outsiders and adversaries might have to the entrance of the area/work positions and vice versa as far as the insider residents are concerned. Even though parts of Nørrebro are portrayed as “dangerous places” with “dangerous male ethnic minority gangsters” in the media, the ordinary Copenhagener does not feel and experience Nørrebro as a no-go zone.

The future for Copenhagen seems bright since more and more well educated young people with jobs and high incomes is expected to move to Copenhagen which in turn increases the taxable income for the City Council. This clears the way for new investments and improvements of the city by the City Council. However, the city also risks to be even more divided since many young people from ethnic minorities and especially young men do not get an education, and the future need for unskilled labour is expected to decrease. They may form a Danish ethnic minority precariat (Wacquant 2007, Standing 2011) with insecure work, low wages and with an intensified competition from low waged labour migrants from other countries within the European Union and especially from Eastern Europe. Within the Copenhagen area the future might show a highly segregated labour market with, on the one hand, well-paid jobs for the higher middle class and, on the other hand, insecure very low paid jobs for the unskilled workers. The development of a growing working poor precariat in Denmark is therefore not unthinkable.

The Copenhagen City Council is aware of these dangers and it pursues an integration policy with the intentions of combatting such a divided city but the City Council has limited influence on, for example, economic growth, employment, wage formation and redistribution between rich and poor.

ⁱ Wacquant, L.J.D. (1996) The Rise of Advanced Marginality: Notes on its Nature and Implications, *Acta Sociologica*, vol. 39, pp121-139. Wacquant, L.J.D. (2008) *Urban Outcasts. A Comparative Sociology of Advanced Marginality*. Polity. Cambridge.

ⁱⁱ By closure, Weber (1968) designates the set of processes whereby a collective restricts access to the opportunities that exists in a given domain: its members draw on certain characteristics of their real or virtual adversaries to try and exclude them from competition. These characteristics may be race, language, profession, place of origin or social background, decent, place of domicile, etc. A presentation of this approach to social and spatial stratification can be found in van Berkel & Møller (2002).

ⁱⁱⁱ At Home in Europe Project (2011) *Muslims in Copenhagen*. Open Society Foundations. London.

^{iv} Mikkelsen, F. (2001) *Integrationens Paradoks*. Catine't, Copenhagen.

^v Lipsky, M.J. (1980) *Street Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

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x Since 2007, applicants for Danish citizenship had been required to pass a compulsory “citizenship test” that tests their knowledge of Danish society, culture and history. Details on the “citizenship test” are available on the “New to Denmark” website. Available at: http://www.nyidanmark.dk/en-us/citizenship/danish_nationality/citizenship_test.htm.

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Appendix
Table 1:

Population by origin and district, Copenhagen January 1st 2012			
	Danes	Immigrants/descendants from	
		Western countries	Non-western countries
District	pct.	pct.	pct.
1. Indre By	83.0	11.7	5.2
2. Østerbro	83.1	8.2	8.8
3. Nørrebro	73.1	7.3	19.6
4. Vesterbro/Kgs. Enghave	78.3	8.6	13.1
5. Valby	79.1	5.3	15.6
6. Vanløse	85.8	4.8	9.4
7. Brønshøj-Husum	69.6	5.7	24.6
8. Bispebjerg	70.0	6.9	23.2
9. Amager Øst	81.4	7.0	11.6
10. Amager Vest	77.5	7.7	14.8
Total	77.8	7.5	14.6
Source: Statistik, Koncernservice, Københavns Kommune.			

Table 2

Disposable income in Copenhagen and Frederiksberg 2010, fixed 2012 rates		
Postal code area	Disposable income by 1000 Danish kroner	Factor
Frederiksberg C	276,1	1,6
Copenhagen K	250,8	1,4
Frederiksberg	247,7	1,4
Copenhagen Ø	234,4	1,4
Vanløse	234,1	1,4
Valby	216,3	1,2
Brønshøj	216,2	1,2
Copenhagen S	211,9	1,2
Copenhagen V	206,1	1,2
Copenhagen SV	196,1	1,1
Copenhagen NV	187,6	1,1
Copenhagen N	173,2	1,0
Copenhagen and Frederiksberg, total	218,7	1,3
<p>Note: Latest data collection year 2010, incomes are progressed to 2012-levels based on development in salaries and price levels in order to illustrate the consumption potential in 2012. Incomes are equated by household, and persons with large negative salaries have been omitted.</p>		
<p>Source: Arbejderbevægelsens Erhvervsråd based on register data from Danmarks Statistik.</p>		

Table 3

Poverty by ethnicity						
	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
	Percentage below poverty level					
Danes	2,0	2,2	2,2	2,3	2,3	2,4
Immigrants from Western countries	9,1	8,7	9,0	8,8	9,2	9,3
Non-Western immigrants	10,2	10,3	11,8	14,4	14,3	14,0
Descendants	8,0	7,9	8,1	11,6	12,0	12,4
Total	2,5	2,7	2,9	3,1	3,1	3,2
Note: Families with at least one student breadwinner have been omitted from the count. Persons with no available income information have been omitted from the calculation.						
Source: Arbejderbevægelsens Erhvervsråd based on base data of the Law Model						

Table 4

Distribution of score on economic deprivation			
	Short- and medium term poor	Long term poor and permanently poor	Both
Point/score	pct.		
0-5	48,3	33,7	64,3
6-10	17,1	18,6	12,6
11-15	20,9	21,7	11,9
16-22	13,8	26,0	11,3
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0
Source: Københavns Kommune 2008 (data from survey on living conditions and poverty in Copenhagen).			

Table 5

Development in long term poor by origin, 2001-2007			
	Share 2001	Share 2007	Growth
	Pct.		
Danes	0,4	0,6	35,2
Descendants of immigrants	1,7	4,1	147,8
Immigrants from less developed countries	2,9	5,4	88,0
Immigrants from more developed countries	2,4	3,2	34,1
All	0,6	0,9	56,2
Note: Families with at least one student breadwinner have been omitted from the count. Persons with no available income information have been omitted from the calculation.			
Source: AE based on the base data of the Law Model			

Table 6

Poverty by origin, 2005				
	Short term poor	Medium term poor	Long term and permanently poor	All Copenhagen residents
	Pct.			
Danes	73,4	69,4	63,5	82,2
Immigrants	23,6	27,3	33,9	15,8
Descendants of Immigrants	3,0	3,3	2,7	1,5
Total	100,0	100,0	100,1	100,1
Number	31670	18910	15478	392532
Note: Does not add up to 100 because of rounding out				
Source: Own calculation based on register data from Danmarks Statistik				

Table 7

Copenhagen parishes with most and least residents below poverty level			
Most below poverty level	Share	Least below poverty level	Share
Tingbjerg (Brønshøj)	13,4	Sundkirken (Amager)	2,8
Maria (Vesterbro)	12,8	Frederiksberg Slotssogn (Frederiksberg)	3,1
Apostelkirken (Vesterbro)	11	Hyltebjerg (Vanløse)	3,3
Kingo's (Nørrebro)	10,1	Simon Peter's (Amager)	3,5
Samuel's (Nørrebro)	9,8	Adventskirken (Vanløse)	3,6
Note: Only parishes with more than 100 poor have been included. Students have been excluded.			
Source: Source: Arbejderbevægelsens Erhvervsråd based on base data of the Law Model			