

Mapping Minorities and their Media: The National Context – Denmark

By Mustafa Hussain

Introduction

During the New-Year's celebrations at the turn of the millennium 2000, when most of the world leaders and representatives of royal houses were sending messages of peace, fraternity, tolerance and racial harmony in their respective countries and the world at large, the then Social Democrat Prime Minister of Denmark, Poul Nyrup Rasmussen in his traditional New Year TV-address to the nation expressed his concern about the ethnic situation in the country with the following message:

“it is a real problem if the Danish families in certain residential areas begin to feel that they have become strangers in their own country”. (DR-TV, 1.1. 2000)

What the former Prime Minister had in his mind was the often debated issue of concentration of visible ethnic minorities from a range of Third – i.e. not EU – Countries, in specific neighbourhoods of the large Danish cities e.g. Copenhagen, Aarhus and Odense, and the related emphasis on crime among the migrants residing in such ‘ghettoised’ residential quarters.

To erase any doubts on who those “others” are , who are the very subjects of the real problem, Mr. Rasmussen added that “everybody should accept those values , which the Danish society is built upon”. Obviously, he was not talking about the “white” and the Christian minorities of Europe or North America who constitute the largest number of foreign citizens in this little kingdom of over 5,3 million inhabitants.

Until the late 1960s, Denmark was quite a homogeneous society in terms of language and culture. Except for a small number of indigenous minorities such as German-speaking minority in the South Jotland and migrants from Greenland, Iceland and Ferro Islands, and few thousands refugees from Hungary, insignificant number of descendants of the Dutch and Polish agricultural labour, and a small community of Jews, there was no group of people living in the kingdom who could fulfil the criteria of diaspora as defined by Cohen (1997), despite the fact that religious minorities have been living in the country, and sought shelter from persecution in other European societies (i.e. the Jews from Eastern Europe , the Hugonots of France) for centuries.

The relatively large scale labour migration to Denmark , and for the first time from the outer boundaries of the European political geography, took place in the late 1960s when the expansion of after-WWII economy and industry necessitated import of foreign labour from former Yugoslavia and Turkey, followed by small number of arrivals of immigrant workers from Asia and North Africa. During this period of a high labour demand, a very small number of Southern Europeans (i.e., Italians, Greeks) also made their way to this relatively remote and cold climate of the Nordic countries.

Generally, however, the immigration to Denmark, as compared to the former colonial powers such as France, Great Britain, or the Netherlands, has been modest in numbers, and also far less diversified in terms of language, custom and culture of the migrant groups.

A significant shift in the diversity of culture, language and custom in the landscape of present day's Danish population, however, begins to accelerate in the mid 1980s, coinciding with a structural change in the Danish economy towards a post-industrial era characterised by a high unemployment rate among the unskilled labour, greater mobility of

production capital to labour-intensive areas of the expanding global market, and a shortage of high-tech professionals in the burgeoning knowledge-based new areas of economic production. The increasing migration to Denmark during this period did not follow the logic of supply and demand equilibrium in the labour market. This flow of the “second phase of immigration”, as Diken (1997) has called it on the grounds that it was not a labour migration like the one in the late 1960s, was rather an unexpected influx of political asylum-seekers from various war-torn areas of the world. They began to reach Denmark in the mid 1980s and continued coming ever since. Another main source of increase in the foreign population of non-European origin has been the new arrivals through family reunification. However, it should be kept in mind in this connection that non-European migrants have been responsible for only one third of such new arrivals through family re-unions of the nearest family members. On average, for the most part of new arrivals from the Third Countries takes place because the indigenous Danes or other Europeans residing in Denmark have been increasingly marrying and adopting children from the Third Countries. This trend has held for the last several years. In the political debates and media focus on the topic, unwittingly, it is the migrant community from the Third Countries that is held responsible for it by referring to a certain “immigrant values” e.g., by emphasising on marriages enforced by parents against the free will of their children, without ever bothering about providing an evidence for allegations on numbers or the volume of the phenomenon. [1]

The largest groups of these political refugees, with an exception of Tamils from Sri Lanka in South Asia, came mainly from the Muslim countries of the Middle East and Africa. i.e., Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, the occupied Palestinian territories and Somalia. Another large contingent of refugees, Denmark provided asylum for during the 1990s, were the Bosnian asylum-seekers fleeing from ethnic cleansing in the latest Balkan war ensuing political disintegration of the former Yugoslavia. The majority of those, who were granted asylum, are also having a Muslim background. Thus among all the various groups of minorities who comprise the present Danish population, the Muslims are the single largest group, who may constitute some features of a diasporic minority. Yet, they do not meet all those characteristics that bind a diasporic minorities together into a single community i.e. the criteria of a common language, a uniformed sense of belonging to a common heritage or homeland etc.

It is also noteworthy that the mainstream Danish discourse on ethnic minorities considers the Muslims and the Muslim values as a single or monolithic cultural entity, but the interethnic and intra-ethnic cultural diversity among them is not recognised in the popular media, public and political discourses. A typical example of such a policy of recognition is perhaps best illustrated in the following statement of the former, Social Democrat Minister of Interior, Karen Jespersen :

- I could not think of living in a multicultural society (...) where Danish values are juxtaposed with the Muslim values (*Berlingske Tidende*, 06. 09. 2000).

Now, such a policy of recognition that undermines diversity has its own inevitable implications for the overall media policy as well. Another important domain of the state policies that may either be conducive to, or may even hamper the development of

“community media” is indeed the language policy of education, or more precisely, the mother-tongue education in schools. A third factor relevant in this context is the institutional(ised) practice of the national press and the public service broadcasting. The minority ethnic communities, until recently, have been barred from entrance into jobs and recruitment opportunities in the fields of journalism and other areas of media production., resulting in the lack of role models for the younger generations to chose a career in a profession, which besides proficiency in languages requires increasingly professional skills in the age of high-tech media production and distribution. The general criteria for admission to school of journalism has also prevented the students from minority ethnic communities to enter the school. (Jensen, 2000) [2]

However, despite the ideological, financial and other practical difficulties indicated above, the minority ethnic communities have shown some notable success to develop minority-language media of mass communication in Denmark. This mapping will be presented following the next section that concentrates on some basic data on the demography of the Danish population regarding the ethnic diversity and the latest trends in the immigration policies.

Towards A Restrictive Immigration Policy

The continuous influx of political asylum-seekers from the mid 1980s and onwards coincided with the new parliamentary act on immigration that had come into force in the first half of the decade.

The high rate of unemployment coupled with increasing problems of finding jobs and housing for the newcomers gave rise to popular movements against immigration and the liberal immigration act that granted right of asylum to *de facto* refugees. Also the mass media who generally had held a neutral stance on the issues of migrants and refugees began to display openly an anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim rhetoric (Schierup, 1994; Hansen, 1992; Hussain et al., 1997). The focused campaigns against the Muslim minorities and documentaries evoking fears of uncontrollable floods of refugees became a routine practice in the popular national press and television. A number of mayors from municipalities with high concentration of migrant population exhibited a political discourse that held Muslim culture and faith as the biggest obstacles in the way of integration of minority ethnic groups in the local communities. Thus, in Danish political and media context, the cold war on clash of values, the immigrants vis-à-vis Danish, was already going on for some time until the tragic events of September the 11th put a new impetus to the old rhetoric.

This general political climate of the period can perhaps best be captured by an authentic remarks of an associate professor during a lecture on Culture and Identity at the Royal School of Education in Copenhagen, back in 1991: “ We do not have a Nigger problem as in Americas, our Niggers are the Muslims” (Hussain et al, 1994).

Nevertheless, it was not until the Social Democrat-led coalition came into power in 1992 that a more restrictive immigration policy began to take shape in the form of several amendments in the Immigration Act of 1983. Thus during the period of 1992-1998, more than 27 new bills were introduced to restrict the number of new arrivals e.g. through family-reunions, and to spread the migrant communities more evenly in the country, and to integrate them in the labour market e.g. through compulsory language courses and jobs

training programmes. These legislative measures culminated into a more comprehensive and all-encompassing Integration Act of 1999. Some major changes introduced in the new legislation included decentralisation of integration programmes for the refugees and other new entrants coming through family-reunion, establishment of local Integration Councils with representation of minority ethnic residents of the municipalities, curbing of social welfare benefits for the new entrants, and making family reunion contingent upon a sound economy and possession of an adequate dwellings of the applicants. Whatever the noble intentions behind the Integration Act, it was criticised, especially by a number of NGOs and the left-wing opposition, for being too discriminatory towards minority ethnic communities. The critics feared that the government had legitimised differential treatment of the population on the basis of their ethnic origin and identity. The Right-wing opposition to the Social Democrat-led government, held, however, that the restrictions were not severe enough to erase the public fears about uncontrolled immigration and to reduce their worries about, allegedly, increasing violence in the country. The matter immediately relevant for this report, however, is that Integration Act of 1999 did not mention at all about the question of, how to integrate the minorities in the media culture and communication in a society where over 80 per cent of the population have no interpersonal communication with the minorities (Gaasholt and Togeby, 1995), and where the national media are the primary source of day to day knowledge and information about ethnic situation in the country; a discourse that helps shape the ethnopolitical consensus in the society (Hussain et al., 1997), and, moreover, in a society in which the prejudiced opinions about the Muslim minorities and their culture and identity are quite prevalent at the institutional level (Hervik et al, 1999; Hussain, 2000; ECRI-report, 2001; Hussain, 2001).

Despite a few steps taken by the Danish Broadcasting Corporation (DR), having public service obligations, ethnic minorities' exclusion and marginalisation in the field of mainstream media and communication remains quite conspicuous till the present day.

The table below provides a general profile of the ethnically 'non-Danish' population of the country.

Immigrants and their descendants as per January 2001

Europe	215.449
Finland	3.843
France	3.679
The Netherlands	4.955
Iceland	6.082
Italy	3.110
Former Yugoslavia	41.227
Norway	14.915
Poland	12.385
Romania	2.067
Former Soviet Union	6.152
Spain	2.221
United Kingdom*	11.670
Sweden	14.568

Turkey	50.470
Germany	25.319
The Rest	12.786
Africa	38.448
Morocco	8.104
Somalia	16.209
The rest	14.135
North America	8.012
South and Middle America	6.853
Asia	123.850
Afghanistan	4.834
Philippines	4.120
India	3.283
Iraq	18.097
Iran	13.391
Lebanon	19.839
Pakistan	18.143
Sri Lanka	9.788
Syria	2.478
Thailand	5.403
Vietnam	11.466
The Rest	8.983

Source: Fakta 2001.

* Roughly estimated, about 3.000 of these are British citizens of Pakistani origin.

The Minority Policy after the General Elections (Nov. 2001)

The last general elections for the parliament and the local governments were held in November 2001, about two months after the September the 11th. One of the most debated issues in the pre-elections political campaigns was the question of immigration. The elections resulted in a landslide victory for the far-right anti-migrants party DFP and the Liberals, who had also announced to restrict the numbers of asylum-seekers and the new entrants through family-reunions. The DFP emerged as the third largest party in the parliament and thus tilted the balance of power to the Right that the Liberals in coalition with the Conservatives could form the new government with the backing of the DFP and thus gained absolute majority in the parliament.

The new government introduced one of the most restrictive legislation on immigration in the recent political history of Denmark. Among a number of other restrictive measures, the Liberal-Conservative coalition, headed by Anders Rasmussen, introduced following major changes in the immigration and integration policies:

1. establishing of a whole new ministry for integration independent from the ministry of internal affairs.
2. Halting of all state funding for the mother-tongue education in public schools.
3. Elimination of financial subsidies to several minority organisations, anti-discrimination associations and the NGOs.
4. Introduction of a rule that bars any applicant of family-reunion through marriage, who is less than 24 years of age, and stipulating the visa for spouses on conditions that the couple is economically self-reliant, possess a proper dwelling, and family-wise have more ties with Denmark than the country of emigration. In addition, the applicants must submit about 6750 Euro as a security bond to the authorities.
5. Cutting down of living allowances for all the new entrants having asylum status in the country for a period of 7 years.

These measures related to immigration in the new legislation have become effective since the 1st of July 2002. However, the state subsidies to the migrant associations and other anti-discrimination NGOs were stopped already from the January 2002 with the approval of the financial budget. In this way, the new government had already secured itself against any large scale protests by the anti-discrimination lobbies and the NGOs against the most drastic steps it was to undertake in the areas of immigration and integration policies. The policies that seems to be carefully targeted against the potential immigrants from the Third Countries.

No special policy measures were, however, introduced to integrate the ethnic minorities into the media and communications. The philosophy behind the new policy seems to stress that all the ethnic minorities should learn Danish language, give up their mother-tongue in the public sphere and adopt to Danish values and culture. In other words, it is an ideology and practice that indirectly also discourages any development of 'diasporic media' and a recognition of cultural and linguistic diversity in the current demography of Denmark. It should be noted that a number of minority language media i.e. newsletters, local radio and TV-transmissions as well as web- sites are run by the immigrant associations. By eliminating funding for such associations and organisations, the minorities' own production of media is feared to be severely effected by the new policy, whose results are yet to be seen.

Who are the Ethnic/Diasporic Minorities in Denmark?

Whether we talk of diasporic minorities, ethnic minorities or the migrant communities, in the Danish context, these concepts are automatically associated with immigrants and their descendants, who have their origin either in the developing countries or the Muslim nations. This holds true for both the popular perception among the indigenous population and in the dominant discourse on foreigners, the immigrants, refugees, strangers or aliens in the mass media and political debates.

Also the definitions of migrant children, second generation's immigrants, bilingual pupils, immigrant youth etc. evoke associations with the same group of people who are excluded from the Western culture and the "white people" in the popular imagery. In fact, the very expression "ethnic" is regarded as an attributive sign for the 'coloured' people, their food, habits and customs. Various ethnic minorities from the North-western societies residing in

Denmark, who often have a closer links to their country of origin and its language and culture are not considered at all as a problem and thereby fall out of the definition of ethnic, religious or cultural minorities, or simply the foreigners. To a very large extent, this discursive practice can be observed also in the academic inquiries and administrative routines. Like for instance, a Finnish woman who during a job interview at the official employment exchange, for which the employer had clearly indicated that applicants from ethnic minorities should be screened out beforehand, noted the following remarks made by the employment exchange officer: 'Oh well, but you are not a Turk' (O' Connor & Cakmak, 1996).

Likewise, the Jews, who have been associated with diaspora since immemorial time, are not accounted for as members of ethnic minorities since they are conceived as fully integrated into the Danish society and culture. And although there is a significant community of Chinese living in the country, who unlike a number of other communities from Asia, live quite an introvert style of life as a closely knit community with hardly any intermarriages, are virtually outside the definition of ethnic minorities. Nor are they problematised for, that they do not participate in the wider social cultural or political life of the country in the media and political discourse. Whilst those who do try to take part in such wider societal activities and attempt to break the social isolation (i.e. the Kurds, Iranians or Pakistanis) are regarded and labelled as belonging to an ethnic minority. Thus Max Weber's classic definition of ethnicity holds true even today. As he argued, ethnicity is a social construction, not necessarily dependent upon a group's features. And as such it is an ascribed identity with political implications having consequences for those who carry this tag of identity: e.g. problematisation, stigmatisation, alienation and marginalisation in the public, media and political discourses.

The concept of diaspora is perhaps even more problematic with regards to defining a group identity. As noted by Georgiou (2001), it is a contested terrain, and especially when it comes to weighing of its heuristic value for a purpose of inquiry such as this.

In mapping minorities' own participation in the media culture in Denmark, the emphasis in this report is thus laid on those minority communities, who experience a tense relations of power in the society in terms of social and cultural exclusion, direct and indirect institutional discrimination and disempowerment. At the practical level then for this reporting, I confine the definition of diaspora minorities to the language and the ethnic identity of the producers and participants of the media culture in Denmark, who, more than any other possible groups of migrants or their descendants are being excluded from the 'us' identity in the current Danish society or in its dominant discourse on ethnicity. The language plus ethnic identity criterion allows us to disregard those media outlets in foreign languages that are produced in Denmark for a community or a national group who are not subjected to socioeconomic discrimination or cultural and social exclusion and negative stereotyping of their culture and identity e.g., Icelanders, the Greeks, Swedes, the 'white' catholic communities and the Jews, or more generally, the migrants conceived of as belonging to an all encompassing Western culture and identity in the dominant discourse, and who are not considered the subjects of the 'real problems' in Denmark. This limitation on the definition of the diasporic corresponds quite smoothly to the discursive process of 'Othering' in the Danish context as noted by a recent empirical investigation by, Tufte (2001) :

[...] the general representation of non-Western ethnic minorities in the Danish media reinforces a discourse of ethnic minorities as 'other', contrasting them with the human and social values upon which Danish identity understands and qualifies itself.

Mapping the Media

Seeing from an angle of participation in the media cultures by the diasporic minorities, as defined above, the media production side can be viewed from three broader perspectives;

- 1) Minority language media aimed at minorities, but under majority media arrangements.
- 2) Minority language media aimed at minorities produced independently by the minorities.
- 3) Danish language media aimed at multiethnic audience, including Danes, but produced by the minorities.

These categorisation differs somewhat from the one proposed by Tufte & Riis (2001) in which they identify following broader categories of community media, because they had confined their survey to the media-use in general among various minority communities ;

- 1) produced by ethnic groups; 2) produced by ethnic Danes but dealing with issues related to ethnic minorities; 3) produced by a mixture of ethnic Danes and ethnic minorities.

A fourth category of ethnic media, consumed by the minorities in Denmark without their participation in the production, however is the trans-national minority language media received through satellite, cable and Selector, and purchased or hired videos, films, books, magazines or newspapers either from *homeland* or from other countries of production and transmission.

A survey of the media use among the migrants of Pakistani and Indian origin in 1989, revealed that almost 70 percent of the respondents used newspapers and magazines in their native languages, Hindi, Urdu and Panjabi. Other recent investigations on media use among the migrant communities from the Third Countries suggests that the use of 'ethnic media' from homeland (video, satellite TV, audio and video cassettes, newspapers and magazine) is still quite extensive (Mikkelsen, 2001; Tufte & Riis, 2001).

And although these media play an important role in sustaining a sense of belonging to an imagined or a distanced homeland in time and space, as they do not involve participation on the production side. Thus, they will not be dealt with in the mapping of diasporic media.

In the following we will go through the various categories of the media production and consumption, which we have come to define as the diasporic media in Denmark on the basis of language plus ethnic identity of the producers.

Minority Language Media of Communication in Public Service Broadcasting

Prior to 1980s, the Danish Broadcasting Corporation (DR) used to transmit minority language programmes, mainly the news, in Greenlandic only to cater the needs for

migrants from Greenland, a part of the Danish kingdom. However, the migrant communities that had entered the kingdom during the labour migration of the late 1960s had no access to information media in their own languages until the 80s. Around 1980 the DR who by then had a total monopoly over relaying of the radio and TV signals in Denmark began to broadcast news bulletins and weekly magazine programmes for the four major migrant communities in Serbo-Kroatian, Arabic, Urdu and Turkish language. This initiative by the public service corporation was warmly welcomed by the migrant communities as it was the only source for being informed about the current affairs of the host society for the largest proportion of the new migrant communities. Though, prior to this initiative, a weekly news-magazine, *Fremmedarbejder (Foreign-worker)*, translated into different minority languages was published by an NGO, The Danish Council for International Co-operation, but with a limited readership among the communities, confined mainly to the metropolitan areas of Copenhagen. The radio broadcasts of the DR on the other hand could be listened to throughout the country and in fact became quite popular, especially among a significant section of the migrant population of the manual labour with a low level of literacy skills – least to mention many women or mothers living in a foreign environment and away from the labour market (This radio programme, popularly known as “immigrant radio” was thus the only window onto the surrounding society for many immigrants who were also being severely hit by the increasing unemployment and thereby also social, economic and cultural exclusion from the mainstream society. The weekly magazine programmes in the radio during the 1980s involved members from the migrant communities through live or recorded interviews in their mother tongue and they provided music, debates, political analyses from the home countries and regions along with features and current affairs programmes about the host society. However, with the influx of refugees throughout the 1980s, and the liberalisation of the relaying of radio and TV signals during the period, the DR management under their rationalisation campaigns within the organisation began to talk of closing down of the immigrant service in the radio. Roughly speaking, after about 10 years of its inception the only public service for the linguistic minorities of the country, bounded by law to pay the same license fee as the rest of the population, has been under a constant threat of being closed down and its relaying hours have been gradually cut down to a level that it has lost both its importance and popularity. This development should be seen parallel to the general trends in the ethnopolitical consensus in Denmark which, as mentioned above, has been deteriorating since the arrival of political asylum seekers from the Middle East in the mid 80s.

The general consensus in the society was being less and less sympathetic towards the immigrants and their social and cultural needs. The political rhetoric emphasised integration, which in genuine intentions meant assimilation into the mainstream (see for instance, Hamburger, 1989). The minorities were expected to learn Danish language as quickly as possible and to melt into the pot, instead of sticking to their language, cultural or distinct identities pertaining to their homeland.

Paradoxically though, no comprehensive communication policy was ever devised to integrate the migrants communities into the Danish mainstream. On the other hand, the minority organisations and some quarters in the academic community held the view that any successful integration would require a dialogue and communicative interaction between the minorities and the majority through channels of mass communication. Given the socioeconomic situation of the minority ethnic communities, they emphasised on the need for special broadcasts on TV , as it being the most popular medium among the low-

income groups. A few scientific enquiries that probed into the ethnic minorities' own preferences and needs have pointed to the same direction (e.g, Hussain, 1988; Jeppesen, 1995; Christiansen & Sell, 2000).

However, under the general political climate of the country the public service broadcasting of Denmark (DR) which was joined later by another public service TV-channel, TV2, in 1988, has remained indecisive to the matter till the present day, despite some lip-service promises to do so every now and then. On the contrary, even the radio broadcasts for the minority language groups have been curtailed to news bulletin of five minutes duration, and is removed away from the FM channels to the MW frequencies. The minority language journalists who used to work full-time previously, work only three hours a day to prepare the bulletin which is nothing else but a desk-journalism, requiring bare translation of the national and international telegrams, or the telegrams from mainstream Radio-news. They have lost touch with their respective communities and the later any curiosity or urge to tune to this minority language broadcast, the text of which is also displayed on the Text-TV and on the web-site of the DR.

It is interesting to note, that whilst the public service media never established minority language programmes in the much desired TV medium, they did not recruit journalists and producers from the minority ethnic community and particularly from the diasporic communities either for the mainstream broadcastings. In a few Danish language TV plays and films that can be counted on one's fingers, there have been assigned some stereotypical roles to actors from the minority community e.g. petty shop owners, taxi-drivers and criminals. But nothing else so far.

It is also noteworthy that in the international or European conferences and seminars on the topics related to integration of minority communities in the mainstream media, one may see representatives from the broadcasting companies of the neighbouring countries i.e., Sweden and Germany, but hardly anyone from the DR or the TV2.

In sum, the public service broadcasting companies, especially the TV stations, in Denmark have marginalised the diasporic minorities in the media production to a level of complete exclusion. This situation along with a subtle forms of racism in the dominant commercial press has inevitably increased a sense of belonging to a community of the cultural outsiders to the much harm for general inclination to make a career in the media professions among the younger generations of these diasporic communities.

Diasporic media by the Diaspora for the Diasporic Minorities

In this section we would look at all types of media production by the minority ethnic groups, individuals and communities. The lack of research in this field prevents a comprehensive account, however some general trends and developments, assessed through recent interviews with the relevant individuals and organisations may provide a bird's eye view.

As it was noted earlier, during the early 1980s, the Danish parliament liberalised its media policy in such ways that a number of local television and radio stations have been mushrooming in the mediascape of Denmark ever since. The new legislation provided the opportunities for any group of people, who would spend their time, money and other resources on the broadcast media. The Ministry of Culture introduced a system of subsidies for the broadcasting associations who could meet certain criteria for the

programming e.g. a certain share of the airtime must be spent on the news and other informative programmes of general public interests. These measures opened up new opportunities for the members of diasporic minorities from the Third Countries as well. Since TV production was quite a costly affair, initially it was the local radio that was adapted by various minority groups and their associations.

An overall view of all these local radios, and later also the TV broadcasts, is impossible since a number of such initiatives come and go as the human resource input is entirely on voluntary basis.

The governmental subsidies barely cover the rent of the locality or the electricity bills. Only those local radio or television stations that have a strong backing of their associations behind them through membership contributions survive. There are even examples of some broadcasters who either could not utilise the allotted airtime, or did not pay their bills in due time and their licence to air the programmes was cancelled.

In 1999 a new bill on local radio and TV broadcasting that reduced the state subsidy by two thirds of the previous level came as a major blow, especially to the low-income migrant communities.

In combination to that, and since January 2002, the new coalition government of the Liberals and Conservatives has stopped all funding to a number of migrant organisations and associations. The impact of these legislative measures has yet to be seen, but a sombre mood among the migrants from non-European origins and cultures is already a reality.

It is impossible to provide a complete view over all the existing local broadcasting by the minorities in question, as they are registered by the local authorities throughout the country. No central register is available for this purpose and a country-wide survey is a costly affair. The lack of research in this area makes it impossible to ascertain either, what role these media play in the sustenance of a sense of belonging to a diasporic community. All what can be said, however, is the fact that despite the economic disempowerment and the exclusion from the training opportunities in the public service or the commercial press, the various minority groups and associations have been attempting to establish local community broadcasting since the liberalisation of the media market. One such radio station that has survived for the longest period is a Muslim radio station in Copenhagen, Al-Fatiha. And it has been in the air since 1984 covering a wide range of programmes in Urdu, Swahili, Arabic, Danish, English and Turkish. It has survived because of regular funding by some religious associations of the Muslim diaspora (Karakus & Mortensen, 1988).

The present picture of various local radios and televisions in, population-wise, the four largest regions of the country suggests that in terms of language and the ethnic/national backgrounds of the producers, there are a number of languages represented in this mediascape. In the following I shall present a sketch of the most prominent outlets;

Northern Jotland

Indvanderradio – Aalborg

Frederikshavn Mutietniske radio

East Jotland

Interkulturel medienetværk, Aarhus

Interkulturel TV (ITV), Aarhus

Indvanderradio, Aarhus

Radio Krishna , Aarhus

Funen

Indvanderradio, Odense

Iran Zamin, Odense

Iranske TV, Odense

Zealand (Copenhagen)

India Vision TV

TV-Salam

Indvanderradio, Copenhagen

Radio Al-Fatiha

Radio Pride of India

Somali Radio

TV Al-Sharaq

Kanal Koebenhavn TV (outlet for various minority languages TV transmissions e.g. Arabic, Farsi, Somali, Bosnian, Urdu and Hindi)

Most of these TV and Radio station are multilingual and their programme contents range from music and news from the homelands to debates on current issues of concern for the immigrants in this country. Once in a while there are also music concerts consisting of artists who live in this country , but mostly it is the recorded videos and audios from homelands they are replayed in the programming. Others genre such as radio or TV dramas and theatre, produced and played by the local artists, however, are rare. Quite few radios and televisions are religious in character e.g. Radio Krishna or Radio Al-Fatiha.

During the investigations for this report, I was able to register the following broadcast languages

scattered over all the “indvanderradio og TV” (the immigrant Radio and TV), but the largest variety of languages is represented in the TV and Radio in Aarhus;

Afghan; Kurdish; Swahili; Arabic; Assyrian; Chinese; Urdu; Tamil; Turkish; Vietnamese; Somali; Latin American (Spanish); Farsi (Iranian); Bosnian; Albanian; Hindi.

The picture sketched above however is not complete as regards to all the smaller towns and their local radio and TVs.

The greater variety of languages and communities presented in the spectrum of ethnic media production and transmission does indicate that the urge to making sense of one’s identity through keeping in touch with one’s language , culture and history or the ancestral heritage is a universal attribute among all the people regardless of their ethnicity. Unfortunately, the present Danish practice of the state on integration and the media policy undermines this human universal in its overt and implicit attempts to homogenise the society through economic coercion and formation of blatantly nationalist and anti-diversity consensus through popular discourse and legal practice.

As it would be expected in any formal democracy, this mono-cultural ideology of the state has met resistance from a number of intellectual, academic and political quarters and this struggle continues.

One arena in which this struggle is taking place is the multiethnic media itself, produced by the minorities, partaking in a dialogue with the majority, and thus attempting to present their own definition of their own identity and to nuance the popular constructions of their identities and cultural values by the mainstream mass media and the prominent politicians. Some important features of this participation in the production of media culture by the diasporic minorities will be presented next.

Multiethnic Media Produced by the Minorities

Some of the diasporic radio and TV media outlets indicated above, produce programmes of public debates, panel discussions and interviews with the wide-ranging expertise and the ordinary public in Danish language broadcasts to reach the maximum number of audience among the Danes and the minority ethnic communities at large. These programmes by their very structures and forms are more multiethnic in character, rather than pertaining to a single diaspora identity in perspective.

In other words, they offer a perspective to the interethnic and intra-ethnic diversity within the society instead of a monolithic minority or Muslim identity that characterises representations in the mainstream media and political discourses. Broadcasts of this type are though mainly confined to the local television and far less so in the radio.

In Copenhagen metropolitan area, various editorial units (with regards to ethnic or linguistic background of the producers) at *Kanal Koebenhavn* present these programmes once in a week. The TV-Ashraq, owned by an Arabic association, is one of the stations

that excels in this type of media production. And ITV in the second largest city of Denmark, Aarhus, is the largest local outlet for such multiethnic broadcasts. Their sphere of influence is limited against the mainstream media but their existence under severe economic constraints assures a plurality of voices in the national mediascape and qualitative challenges to the taken-for-granted and common-sense realities about the identity and cultural values of the diaspora, which are ubiquitous in the mainstream political and media discourses.

As far as the entertainment media are concerned, we did not find any independent production company or studios being operated by the diasporic minorities. However, there is one private firm, *Global Casting Copenhagen*, headed by two women with Turkish and Moroccan background respectively, who facilitate recruitment of appropriate artists and actors from the diasporic minorities for the Danish entertainment industry i.e. for the video, TV and theatre productions. In addition to it, there are several national associations for cultural activities (i.e., Ghana Union, "Afro-music", Salsa Association, India Music Association), who provide the same type of service of exchange of musicians and singers in connection with celebration of national days, concerts and festivals as well as for the private parties.

The Internet

The modern means of transport and communication have made the access to newspapers, magazines, books or the web-sites from home countries, as is the case with trans-national broadcast media, quite easy for a wide range of minority groups and communities. However, it is very seldom that the resident diaspora of this country communicate through these media by an active involvement in the production processes. Nevertheless, several minority groups and associations produce both print and Internet sites for communication with their own communities and the host society. The lack of stability and the discontinuity are also characteristic in this type of media production as it is with the production of local radio and television. The lack of proper funding and ample opportunities to develop professional skills in the media production, heavy reliance on voluntary human resources are some of the obstacles that prevent a stable production of this type of diasporic media. And although the internet sites are the cheapest media of communication and information, they require also some technological investment in the language programming for both the producers and the consumers to be able to keep a sense of common identity through one's own language and script. Thus almost all of the web-sites that are being operated from Denmark by the diasporic individuals or communities, are either in Danish language or in English, though Turkish and the Balkan languages being an exception.

Once again, the lack of research in the field renders difficulties in accessing the exact number, the content or consumption of these media. The investigations undertaken for this report does provide some clues about the nature of these web-sites. Most of these sites are of political nature, covering both the homeland and the host society. They also provide cultural information about the homeland and are run by various diasporic associations (e.g. www.buildpakistan.dk ; www.Tanzeem.dk) Some, however, are home-pages of single individuals and engaged activists in minority rights providing links to other related web-sites (e.g. www.bashy.dk)

Yet others are purely of religious nature mediating knowledge and information along with lively debates on minority religions, or simply to counterbalance the widespread anti-Muslim propaganda (e.g. www.islam.dk ; www.godmorgen.dk). And finally there are a number of multiethnic associations who provide the latest information on ethnic affairs in Denmark along with news on current affairs of general interest (e.g. www.indvandrenet.dk; www.multidanmark.dk; www.ctb.dk; www.Nydansker.dk)

The diasporic nature of these media, however, should be taken with some caution. Firstly, this high-tech media is not widely accessible to the majority of diasporic communities, who socioeconomically are the new underclass at the bottom of Danish society (Mikkelsen, 2001). And secondly the communication circuit of these media does not cut across members of the same ethnic groups evenly and horizontally. Only the relatively educated groups or individuals from the same ethnic community, having proficiency in Danish and English can benefit from this media type. It is thus quite presumable that the use-pattern of these media may reveal internal differentiation among the diasporic communities rather than a sense of belonging to a singular community of culture – national, religious or ethnic.

Identification of the self through ancestral language, signs, symbols and metaphor is not the case in the production and the consumption of these media, especially when it comes to the non-European migrant communities e.g. Vietnamese, Punjabis, Arabs, Pakistanis, Somalis etc.

And finally, a precursory content analysis of some of these internet sites indicates clearly that they are more often multiethnic, international and cosmopolitan in their orientation rather than focusing on a singular national or ethnic group as a potential partner for sharing the communication. And although a few of these might be classified diasporic, as for instance a number of Turkish language web-sites, the largest number of them would fall out of the diasporic definition, which is being operationalised in this report, that is, the language plus ethnicity.

Print

The migrant associations as well as some individual groups have for several years been engaged with the production of various types of print media in Denmark ranging from literary magazines to political periodicals in their native languages. And despite the spread of new media technologies and greater access to all sorts of ethnic media from the homeland in the later years, the production of print media is still an important way of creating a shared sense of belonging among the migrant communities.

The earliest regular publication in the language of labour migrants to Denmark, “*Foreign Worker*” was launched by a Danish NGO, *The Danish Council for International Co-operation*, back in the early 1970s but was stopped in the early 1980s. Thereafter, a Federation of Immigrants, IND-Sam, began to publish a regular periodical in a number of minority languages, which initially was called “*The Immigrant*” but later changed its name to *Etnica*. In terms of contents, it works both as a newsletter of the organisation and a forum for political debate concerning the minority issues. It highlights the exile existence of all the marginalised minority ethnic communities in the country and thus sharing of the common experience of social and cultural discrimination across the diasporic communities. At the single community level, the Arabs, Iranians and Pakistanis have been the most prominent in the production of print media in their national languages. The Turkish

households, for example, have an ample supply of professional newspapers and cultural magazines from homeland and Berlin, as well as newsletters about the local situation from their embassy. The only survey on the spread of print media in the minority languages in Denmark dates back to 1994. With reference to this survey (Kristiansen, 1994) I will present below a map of the media produced in Denmark by the diasporic minorities. Where it has been possible, the main characteristics of the organisation are given in the brackets as well as the name of the editor or publisher followed by the trade name of the organisation.

Arabic

Al Ettehad by “The Arab Union in Denmark” (Politics, immigrant issues, culture, newsletter)

Al Nour by “the Arab-Danish Cultural Association” (Danish laws, custom, Arab life and culture)

Assununu by M. Alfaker (Danish literature and arts)

Atlas by As’ad al-Jabbouri (political, cultural and Innovation Monthly)

Babylon by Aalborg Municipality (multilingual, information for refugees)

Diwan by Assununu Association (Arab culture, Islamic art, poetry and literature)

Facet by Danish Refugees Council (multilingual, information for refugees about Danish society)

Etnica by Ind-Sam (multilingual, debate on immigrant issues, politics)

Ishtar by The Assyrian Association (Assyrian language and culture, newsletter)

Farsi (Iranian)

Bazar by Mostfa Parsa (Practical information for Iranian immigrants about jobs and business)

Kanoun by The Iranian Association (Monthly Newsletter)

Wazehh by hassan Alfoneh (Literary Quarterly)

Kurdish

Facts by Inge Hidberg (Highlights race relations in Denmark, anti-racism campaigns)

Hebun by the Association of Kurdish Teachers (Highlights educational problems for Kurdish Children in Schools and their integration into Danish society)

Etnica by Ind-Sam (multilingual, debate on immigrant issues, politics)

Serbo-Croatian

Vijesti by Valentino Boljanac (Quarterly cultural magazine)

Etnica by Ind-Sam (multilingual, debate on immigrant issues, politics)

Tamil

Babylon by Aalborg Municipality (multilingual, information for refugees)

Chanchive by Tamil-Danish Association (Politics and culture in Sri Lanka, entertainment)

Sangamam by Tamil-danish Association (Newsletter for the members only, non-political)

Etnica by Ind-Sam (multilingual, debate on immigrant issues, politics)

Facts by Inge Hidberg (Highlights race relations in Denmark, anti-racism campaigns)

Thai

Sawasdee Sarn by the Thai-Danish Association (Newsletter, articles on Thai society and culture)

Turkish

Danimarka dan Merhaba by M. Serbest (Magazine, bridge-builder between Turkish and Danish cultures)

Safak by Turkish Islamic Foundation (Journal on religion, culture and science)

Etnica by Ind-Sam (multilingual, debate on immigrant issues, politics)

Urdu

Al Djihad by Ahmediya Mosque (Islamic and social activities in Denmark)

Binat-e-Islam by Minhaj-ul-Quran (Magazine for young Muslim women)

Shaheen by M.A. Khawaja (Cultural and political monthly, articles on Pakistan)

Tanzeem by Abdul Muneer (Cultural and political monthly on Pakistan Affairs)

Waqar by Z.Hussain (Cultural and political by-monthly)

Etnica by Ind-Sam (multilingual, debate on immigrant issues, politics)

Vietnamese

Tiếng Vong by T.N. Nguyen (journal for Catholic Vietnamese immigrants of all ages)

Some Concluding Remarks

In the foregoing mapping of diasporic minorities and their media in Denmark, the definition of diasporic minorities was limited to those groups of ethnic communities who more than any other national, religious or ethnic groups of society are excluded discursively from modern Danish identity and whose ethnicity and ascribed cultural values are often regarded as a real problem for the Danish society by the dominant media and political discourse. These exclusionary discourses in the Danish context, but also in Europe, pertain more generally to the immigrants and their descendants from the Third Countries and more specifically to the people of Islamic faith.

Thus, it was these minorities and their participation in the media culture that was highlighted by referring to the state policies of immigration and integration. By implying the criterion of ethnicity plus language, a mapping of diasporic media production was undertaken which revealed that despite a number of direct and indirect hurdles in the way developing community media, the universal urge to a shared sense of belonging and making sense of one's identity through common symbols and cultural markers has remained quite alive among the diasporic minorities in Denmark.

The diasporic minorities in Denmark, despite a liberal media policy of the country, have faced a range of obstacles and indirect restrictions towards developing professional community media. Both the public service mainstream media and the commercial press have been an out-of-bound area of employment, recruitment and training for the members of the diasporic minorities thus defined. This exclusionary practice of the national media institutions coupled with a prejudiced representation on culture, ethnicity and religion of these communities has obviously discouraged ethnic minority youth to choose careers in the media professions. The pre-admission aptitudes test for the enrolment at Danish School of Journalism has likewise discriminated against the alternative qualifications of the minority ethnic communities (Jensen, 2000).

The state policy on integration, especially since the 1990s, has shown an implicit tendency towards assimilation into the mainstream culture and, in practice, it has undermined any recognition of cultural diversity and as such multiculturalism has been regarded as a threat to the Danish identity and values by the leading politicians as noted above. Thus ethnic or community media culture is seen as an obstacle towards integration, contrary to the findings of empirical research that points towards a multiple selection of the mass media in which the community media is just one among many other domestic and international media used by the diasporic minorities (e.g. Tufte & Riis, 2001; Mikkelsen, 2001; Hussain, 1989) However, despite the political rhetoric of integration, no explicit policy was devised to integrate the diasporic minorities into the communication media in a country, whose demographic profile has become far more multiethnic over the past thirty years.

A dramatic shift in the Danish policy on immigration and integration took place when the present coalition of the Liberals and the Conservatives took power after the general elections of November 2001.

Already on July the first, 1999 a new bill introduced by the previous government had curtailed the direct subsidies for all the local radio broadcasters by reducing the subsidised hours from 40 to 15 hours per week. This was a major blow, especially for the so-called ethnic radios around the country, who in several cases have to air their programmes in different minority languages.

The newly elected government has set a process of further disempowerment of the minorities' own associations and other anti-discrimination organisations by eliminating all regular state subsidies for them as well as the state grants to the public schools for mother tongue education; the measures that are feared to effect the development of diasporic media of the already disadvantaged communities - especially the costly print and television production.

Nevertheless, as is expected in any democratic society, the resistance to discriminatory and exclusionary practice of the dominant Danish institutions is expressed through various channels of communication. And among these, the community broadcast media, newsletters and information sheets by various minority associations continue to play an important role in reducing the sense of alienation, estrangement and deprivation for a range of diasporic communities in Denmark. In the current hostile political environment, however, their participation in the media cultures seems to be bleak and uncertain, unless perhaps they give up the use of their mother tongue and display of their cultural identity in public space and the mediascapes.

Notes:

[1] The rhetoric of 'enforced marriages' among the minority ethnic communities has been used intensively by the previous Social Democrat-led government (until the general elections in November 2001) and by the present right-wing coalition in their pre-elections campaigns to pave the way for a more restrictive immigration policy. This resulted in one of the most restrictive legislation on family-reunification in July 2002. Interestingly, only after the law had come into the force, the present government decided to initiate a scientific inquiry to see whether the allegations of enforced marriages hold water in the real life.

[2] It should be noted, however, that The Danish School of Journalism is going to inaugurate a special training diploma course for the aspirants from the minority ethnic background from the Fall 2002.

Christiansen, C. C. & Sell, Lea (2000) *Godt stof eller medborger. Nyheder og etniske minoriteter i Danmark* [Good stuff or the Citizens? - The News and Ethnic Minorities in Denmark]. Copenhagen: Institute for Applied Social Research

- Cohen, Robin (1997) *Global Diasporas - An Introduction*. London: UCL Press
- Diken, Bülent (1997) *Strangers, Ambivalence and Social Theory*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- ECRI-report (2001) *The Second Report on Denmark by The European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.
- Gaasholt, O & Lise Togeby (1995) *I Syv Sind: Danskernes holdninger til flygtninge og indvandrere* [In the Seventh Sense: The attitudes of Danes towards refugees and the immigrants]. Aarhus: Politica.
- Hansen, Carsten S. (1992) *Rejs Hjem Din Hund – Om et Danmark i Racsimens Skygge* [Go Home You Doggy – On a Denmark in the Shadows of Racism]. Herning: System
- Hamburger, Charlotte (1989) *Assimilation eller Integration – Dansk indvandrerpøolitik og tyrkisk kvinder* [Assimilation or Integration – Danish immigration policy and the Turkish women] Aarhus: Politica.
- Hervik, Peter et al. (1999) *Den Generende Forskellighed – Danske svar på stigende multikulturalisme* [The Annoying Diversity – The Danish response to increasing multiculturalism]. Copenhagen: Hans Reitzels Forlag.
- Hussain, Mustafa (1988) *Patterns of Mass Media Consumption and Informal Networks of Knowledge and Communication. A Survey of Indian and Pakistani Immigrants in Denmark*. Lund: Dept. of Sociology.
- Hussain , Mustafa, Ferruh Yilmaz & Tim O' Connor (1997) *Medierne, Minoriteterne og Majoriteten* [The Media, Minorities and the Majority]. Copenhagen: Board for Ethnic Equality & Thorup Forlag.
- Hussain, Mustafa (2000) Islam, Media and Minorities in Denmark. *Current Sociology*, vol. 48(4). pp 95-116
- Hussain, Mustafa (2001) ' Denmark' in ter Wal, Jessika (ed) *Racism and Cultural Diversity in the Mass Media. An overview of research and examples of good practice in the EU member states, 1995-2000*. Vienna: European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC).
- Jensen, Iben (2000) Hvornår er man lige kvalificeret? – Etniske minoriteters professionelle adgang til etablerede danske medier [The Equity in Qualifications? – Towards the ethnic minorities' professional access to Danish mass media]. Copenhagen: Board for Ethnic Equality & Thorup Forlag.
- Jeppesen, J. K. (1995) *Etniske Minoriteters Mediebehov* [The Media Needs of Ethnic Minorities]. Copenhagen: Institute for Applied Social Research.

Karakus, Cengiz & Mortensen, L. B. (1988). 'Radio Al-Fatiha – Et portræt af en muslimsk lokal radio' [Radio Al-Fatiha – A portrait of a Muslim Local Radio] in Dindler, S & Olesen, A (ed) *Islam og muslimer i de danske medier* [Islam and the Muslims in the Danish Media]. Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag.

Kristiansen, Kristian (1994) *Danske Indvandrere- og Minoritetstidsskrifter* [The Danish Immigrants' and Minorities' Journals/Magazines]. Copenhagen: Frydenlund.

Mikkelsen, Flemming (2001) *Integrationens Paradoks* [The Paradox of Integration]. Copenhagen: Catinét.

O' Connor, Tim & Cakmak, Yasar (1996) *Kom indenfor og lad være med at føle jer velkomne* [Come in but do not feel that you are welcomed] Copenhagen: DRC

Schierup, Carl-Ulrik (1994) *På Kulturens Slagmark* [On the Battlefield of Culture]. Esbjerg: Sydjysk Universitetsforlag.

Tufte, Thomas (2001) ' Minority Youth, Media Uses and Identity Struggle. The role of the media in production of locality' in Ross, K. (ed) *Black Marks: Research Studies with Minority ethnic Audiences*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Tufte, Thomas & Riis, Maja (2001) 'Cultural Fields, Communication and Ethnicity'. *Gazette* 63(4): pp331-350