



Threats to Democratic Values and Principles – the Current Situation in Malmö

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1. Background

On 29 November 2007, the Swedish Government Offices commissioned the Swedish National Defence College (SNDC) and the Center for Asymmetric Threat Studies (CATS) to review what is currently known about preventive measures to counter violent extremism and radicalisation. The assignment represents the first step in an effort to analyse the emergence of antidemocratic forces in society, as well as to obtain information about interventions for the purpose of combating threats to democracy.

Part of the assignment was to describe and define violent extremism and radicalisation¹, as well as to characterise the situation in both Sweden and other countries by means of case studies. The initial stage of the project was also to involve an assessment of the effectiveness of various tools that may be used to prevent violent extremism. Following brief preliminary studies, a dialogue with the Swedish Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality led to a decision to modify the focus of the assignment. First, a pilot project would be conducted to explore the current situation in Malmö. Second, knowledge and experience would be gathered from other European countries, primarily Denmark and the Netherlands.

2. Implementation of the project

The project involved regular feedback to the Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality by means of presentations, seminars and follow-up meetings. A series of subprojects comprised four presentations and two seminars for officials concerned at the Government Offices and specially invited participants. The themes and invitation lists were drawn up in consultation with the Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality. Two meetings were also held with the Swedish Security Service to learn how it views various people active in the radicalisation process and to discuss the questions posed by the project. Finally, we held two follow-up meetings with the Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality to report on the progress of the subprojects and interview studies, as well as to present preliminary conclusions.

2.1 Meetings and presentations

A preparatory meeting was held on 7 February 2008 between the Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality and CATS to discuss the structure of the project. A number of representatives of the Government Offices (primarily the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Justice), as well as the Security Service, were in attendance.

An initial meeting with the project's four main stakeholders – the Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality, the Security Service, Malmö Municipality and SNDC – was held on

¹ Radicalization is a term employed by the EU to describe a process whereby individuals or groups begin to support or demand terrorist acts as a way of promoting a cause. "Radical," on the other hand, may be a positive term associated with peaceful idealism and a desire to change the status quo by democratic means and methods. The EU and its Member States have put together a series of strategies aimed at preventing and combating radicalization tendencies.

18 February 2008. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the objective of the assignment and to identify the questions under consideration. Given that the study was to gather information and experiences from Denmark, the group also arranged a subsequent meeting with the Danish Ministry of Interior and Health and the Danish Security and Intelligence Service (PET) on 19 February 2008. The idea was to bring players from different spheres together in order to allow officials of the Malmö and Copenhagen municipalities to become acquainted.

A presentation for a number of Malmö officials, including City Executive Board Chairman Ilmar Reepalu, was arranged on 3 March 2008. Officials from the Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality, Security Service and Police Service in Malmö also took part in the presentation.

Two seminars were held in Malmö (the first at the City Hall on 4 April 2008) to which a wider circle of participants were invited to discuss current issues, solicit fresh points of view and share experiences from various kinds of organisations. Among the participants were Mr Reepalu, officials from the City Office, SSP (school, social services and police) authorities, academic experts, Undersecretary Christer Hallerby from the Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality, and Marcus Brixskiöld, Director of the Division for Democratic Issues at the Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality.

The second seminar on 23 June 2008 brought together the SSP authorities from both the Malmö and Copenhagen municipalities to discuss joint approaches and questions. The Danish representatives talked about their experiences in implementing various kinds of measures and stated their opinions concerning the extent to which such interventions could be carried out in Sweden.

In order to communicate and obtain feedback about the study's preliminary conclusions, Mr Reepalu was given a more comprehensive presentation on 18 September 2008.

2.2 Interview studies

Because Malmö was chosen to serve as a pilot project, the interviews on which the study is based were conducted in the Rosengård residential district. In order to ensure the most reliable possible data, the respondents were selected from a broad range of community organisations, including the SSP authorities.

2.2.1 Methodology

The purpose of the interview studies was to assess the current situation in Malmö with respect to the emergence of antidemocratic forces and tendencies that can lead to violent radicalisation. Becoming familiar with the knowledge and experiences of SSP employees, while comparing them with corresponding information from Denmark and Netherlands, permitted identification and analysis of the most daunting challenges.

The methodology employed in the interview study was modelled on the *Delphi Method*, which uses in-depth questionnaires to obtain knowledge and information from a panel of

independent experts. The goal is to efficiently draw a series of conclusions concerning a particularly complex topic. The choice of respondents is based on expertise, occupational ties and closeness to the community.

In order to guarantee accuracy, the objective was to assemble as heterogeneous group of respondents as possible. Setting up the panel of experts in that way narrowed the scope for groupthink and promoted creative ideas. The advantage of the Delphi method is that it encourages the development of consensus concerning a complex problem. The method was particularly appropriate for this study, which had a qualitative focus and addressed in-depth, thematic questions.

In accordance with the principles of the method, the respondents were encouraged to describe many points of view and provide the greatest number of concrete examples possible. The descriptions formed the basis of follow-up questions aimed at crystallising individual experiences and perspectives. A disadvantage of the method is that its effectiveness is dependent on the ability of respondents to articulate how they see things.

The interviews with the panel of experts were compiled, compared and weighed against data from Denmark and the Netherlands, which served as points of reference.

Whenever facts are gathered through interviews, responses inevitably contain subjective statements. Furthermore, the questions were adapted to suit individual respondents and situations. For instance, some relevant questions were omitted due to the difficulties associated with interviewing students.

2.2.2. Limitations

As previously mentioned, the report focused exclusively on Malmö, which was chosen as the Swedish pilot project. The reference countries selected were Denmark and the Netherlands, both of which are relevant and applicable to the situation in Sweden. In dialogue with the Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality, a decision was made to concentrate on putting together an overview of the issues in Malmö and thereby to omit any comparison of various tools that may be used to prevent violent extremism.

As opposed to *radicalisation*, *violent radicalisation* is covered by existing legislation and is dealt with by the Security Service. The study focused on radicalisation, which is regarded here as a *process* or an initial step toward violent radicalisation. Research studies in other countries point to an interplay between Islamic and rightwing extremism. But the main purpose of the study was to shed light on Islamic extremism.

2.2.3. Rosengård

Rosengård is a district of Malmö in Skåne County. It borders the districts of Centrum (Central Malmö), Kirseberg, Husie, Fosie and Södra Innerstaden (South-Central Malmö), and is separated from the rest of the city by Östra kyrkogården (East Cemetery), Inre

ringvägen (Inner Ring Road), Ystadsgatan Street and Kontinentalbanan (Continental Line). Most of the Rosengård residential area consists of apartment buildings constructed in 1967-1972 as part of the government's Million Homes Programme. The buildings surround the Rosengård Centrum shopping centre, which crosses Amiralsgatan, a street that runs north and south through the middle of the district.

In addition to Apelgården, Herrgården, Kryddgården, Törnrosen and Örtagården (all built during the Million Homes Programme), Rosengård also includes the industrial areas of Emilstorp, Persborg (which goes back to the 1950s), Västra Kattarp (homes) and Östra Kyrkogården. A total of 21,955 people lived in the district on 1 January 2007. Sixty percent of them were born abroad, and twenty-six percent of those born in Sweden had parents who were born abroad.

Only 38 percent of residents age 20-64 are gainfully employed. Fifteen percent of the residents are age 16-24. Overcrowding is a major problem in parts of the district, particularly those that consist of rental apartments. Some of the apartments are substandard, seriously affecting the families that live in them.

Herrgården, Törnrosen and Örtagården are the areas of Rosengård most plagued by overcrowding, segregation and alienation. Unemployment in Herrgården is an astronomical 85 percent.²

² Malmö Municipality, <http://www.malmo.se/download/18.3964bd3611d8d4a5d1c800022168/190.Herrg%C3%A5rden++081201.pdf>, cited on 16 December 2008

3. Respondents and questions

The interview questions were designed to obtain as detailed a description as possible of the situation in a number of different areas. The follow-up questions were adapted to each respondent's specific area of expertise. To maximise the quality of the results, the respondents were asked to provide narrative accounts and clear examples. Due to the sensitive nature of the study and the issues involved, the respondents remained anonymous and some of the questions were adapted for purposes of optimisation.

3.1 Respondents

The study comprised 50 hours of qualitative interviews with 30 respondents: two officials from the Skåne County Police Service, two from the Swedish Security Service, two from the Rosengård Police, five from the Social Services, four from the education system, five from academia and nine from organisations that work with at-risk youth and outreach efforts.

Twenty-four of the respondents chosen for the interview panel were involved in collaboration among the SSP authorities. The SSP intervention model is the official approach to dealing with these issues and implementing practical solutions. Malmö chose the model to spearhead its efforts at the local level. To ensure a high-quality panel and the inclusion of additional perspectives, people who worked in associated areas (such as religious and cultural associations, as well as various types of youth support projects) were interviewed as well. More in-depth knowledge was obtained by means of a dialogue with Lund and Malmö University researchers engaged in integration-related issues.

3.2 Questions

The questions asked during the interviews were adapted to the individual respondents and their circumstances. Because the purpose of the study was to describe current factors and conditions that may spur radicalisation in Malmö, the questions revolved around whether radicalisation is a problem and, if so, to what extent. A great deal of energy was devoted to understanding the factors that promote the process of violent radicalisation, as well as to gaining insight into the role of the social environment. Both students and educators were interviewed to make sure that the study included their perspectives. The questions directed to them largely concerned school-related conflicts and problems, as well as how young people look at their situation and future.

The questions directed to the respondents are listed below under the headings of Radicalisation, Schools and Young People.

Radicalisation

- Is radicalisation a problem in Malmö and, if so, what is the biggest challenge it poses?

- What forces are spurring radicalisation (hatred of society/the West, the war in Iraq, negative personal experience, etc.)?
- How do the forces that encourage radicalisation differ from district to district?
- What social settings are involved? Garage mosques, schools, prisons, gangs, etc. What denominations and movements (Shiites, Sunnis, Salafists, Wahabists, etc.) participate?
- Are there any indications that gang formation serves as a catalyst of radicalisation tendencies? Is gang formation a conduit to more radical groups?
- What is the surrounding social environment like (large percentage of immigrants, segregated, high crime and unemployment rates, strong feeling of alienation, poor schools, etc.)?
- Are there any noticeable differences among various groups of immigrants in terms of ethnic background, the districts they live in, inter-ethnic affinity (do people of Somali background differ from those of Iraqi background, etc.)? Can you give an example of how such differences play out?
- Are there indications that women are subject to pressure by extremists or by social enforcers (to make them wear veils, behave differently, etc.)? Are there areas in which such pressure is exerted?
- What groups are more prone to radicalisation? Are young people whose parents come from conflict-ridden countries more susceptible to being radicalised, or are converts the biggest group?
- Are there any particular indicators of radicalisation in Malmö – warning signs that are visible out in the field? What is the impact of different districts and their social environments on the indicators?
- If you see signs of radicalisation, how do you deal with them? Have you developed effective methods for encouraging dialogue and creating scope to prevent the phenomenon from emerging?

Schools

- What is the current situation at the schools? What challenges do you encounter?
- What problems arise that are linked to radicalisation?
- Are there social enforcers – how do you deal with them and to what extent?
- What do social enforcers advocate – are there signs of violent ideas?
- Have you seen evidence of radicalisation?
- What are the underlying causes (hatred of society/the West, the war in Iraq, alienation, etc.)?
- Can gang formation serve as a catalyst of radicalisation?
- Is the 10-point SSP programme working, or are further tools needed?

Young people

- How do you like your school and the education you are receiving?
- What do you think of your teachers? Are you given the support you need? Can you deal with the culturally related problems that arise?

- What kinds of conflicts occur at your school? Rowdiness, cultural clashes, difficult conditions at home that spill over to school, unruliness in surrounding areas that affect your school?
- Do you attend all your classes? Do your parents or your friends' parents put pressure on you not to attend certain classes?
- What do your parents think about your education and your future (what's it like for girls of Muslim background)?
- What do you think about truancy? What's the reason that students are truant?
- Are there gangs, high crime rates or extremist groups? At what ages do they start? What is appealing about them? How do they affect the rest of your surroundings?
- How long have you lived in Sweden?
- Do your parents speak Swedish?
- Are your parents involved in your education and personal development?
- What television stations does your family watch?
- How do you react when you see images of your parents' native country, where war and poverty are common?
- What do you do online? Do you participate in any chat rooms?
- Have you ever been contacted by social enforcers in chat rooms or face to face in your area?
- Is it too crowded in your apartment? If so, how does that affect you?
- What are the surroundings like in your neighbourhood? Do you feel safe and secure?
- How do you look at your future?
- What do you think about the society you live in – do you feel as though you have the same opportunities as all other young people?
- Have you ever felt discriminated against? If so, how?

4. Analysis of the responses

4.1 Introduction

Radicalisation and the socio-psychological processes that lead to violent extremism tend to be highly complex and individual. Experience shows that these processes are not always linear with identifiable phases, but can occur rapidly. Radicalisation is normally preceded by recruitment in closed groups or settings that promote violence. Occasionally radicalisation comes first and recruitment afterwards. The fact that the processes are generally individual renders overly general conclusions hazardous.

International research on radicalisation processes underscores the difficulties associated with identifying and isolating specific factors that determine who is susceptible or vulnerable to the various forces at work. The research has demonstrated the interplay among various types of extremism that exploit political developments and that may promote social polarisation. For instance, research in the Netherlands has shown that rightwing extremism was a causal factor in the growth of radicalisation and Islamic extremism there.

Despite the shortcomings inherent to uniform socio-psychological profiles, the Dutch authorities have developed a useful model for identifying and categorising members of at-risk groups. The model is one of several tools that classify individuals according to both personality type and degree of susceptibility to role playing within the group. Although group dynamics are decisive for the course of violent radicalisation, the authorities have put together various preliminary indicators that the process has begun and has produced perceptible warning signs. The following indicators have been identified as *possible* signs of radicalisation:

- Sudden behavioural changes, such as going to mosque more often; great increase in religious devotion combined with corresponding demands on siblings, classmates, etc.; spending a lot more free time with others who have an extremist worldview; signs of isolation from family and former friends; refusal to associate with non-Muslims
- Sudden changes in appearance (beard, clothing, etc.)
- Long trips to Syria, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, Pakistan, North African countries, etc., without a clearly stated purpose
- New media habits, such as radical websites, online chat rooms, greater interest in foreign TV stations that broadcast graphic images of the war in Iraq and other trouble spots
- Physically demanding athletic activities (particularly martial arts) combined with the above behaviour

- Complex family circumstances (relationship problems at home, criminal tendencies, absence of a father figure, traumatic experiences from a conflict-ridden native country, strict rules of conduct concerning social integration and equality – for instance, forbidding participation in coeducational swimming classes or sports)

Important to note is that a young person has not necessarily adopted a radical worldview and direction in life just because some of these indicators are present. The lack of radicalisation profiles and reliable indicators has led to greater focus by international researchers and authorities on “brokers” who bring radicalised people together in a structured manner both at home and abroad, as well as in garage mosques and other extremist settings.

4.2 Overall assessment

- Independent of each other, 29 of the 30 respondents noted an increase in radicalisation over the past five years while finding it difficult to specify its exact scope. Worth emphasising is that there are few radicalised people but that they have a relative large influence on those around them.
- Even from a European point of view, a large percentage of Malmö’s inhabitants are of immigrant background. Nevertheless, the city has no real suburbs like Göteborg and Stockholm, but only districts. Adjacent districts differ in terms of socioeconomic status, overcrowding, alienation, segregation and sometimes radicalisation tendencies. All of the respondents said that Rosengård was the district with the greatest problem. Radicalisation appears to be on the rise in other districts as well, including Södra Innerstaden, Lindängen and Fosie.
- One reason that it is difficult to present an overall assessment of the situation is that half of Rosengård’s population changes every five years and those who obtain jobs usually move away. Meanwhile, the actual number of inhabitants is probably double the official figure, given that many people live there without being entered in the population register.
- Despite a perceived increase in radicalisation, the great majority of the respondents did not feel that anything was being done about it. The prevailing public discussion is inadequate, consisting of marginal conclusions, often based on unawareness of how such questions should be addressed. Many observers are searching for tested tools but usually avoid talking about the issue out of fear that they will create or reinforce prejudice.
- Independent of each other, all of the respondents pointed to the interplay between various *external* and *internal* forces that have spurred radicalisation over the past five years.

4.2.1 External forces

The biggest external force identified by the respondents is sometimes referred to as the single narrative, which revolves primarily around the war in Iraq and secondarily around what many Muslims view as an assault by the West on their coreligionists in Iraq, Afghanistan and other regional trouble spots. People whose background is in Iraq, Palestine, Lebanon, Somalia and other trouble spots often experience frustration, anger, fear and anxiety.

Trauma from such conflict-ridden areas is frequently reflected at school and among people who have regular contact with the police and social services. Children and adolescents are particularly susceptible to the influence of radical forces. Complex identity issues, such as finding oneself between two very difficult cultures (feeling a sense of affinity with neither Sweden nor the native country of one's parents) are often reinforced by experiences of alienation, marginalisation, idleness and lack of faith in the future.

The fragmentation of the media landscape as the result of globalisation is increasingly exposing children to violent, uncensored images of war and conflict. *Unfiltered* news from around the world has a heavy impact on children. Real or imaginary experiences of injustice often merge as young people feel a sense of local and global affinity, as well as powerful and affirmative collective emotions.

The respondents frequently indicated that teachers lack strategies for dealing with such issues and that parents are incapable of confronting cultural clashes in a constructive manner. Neither educators nor parents appear to possess tools or approaches for permitting perplexed and uneasy young people from expressing their thoughts and feelings about what is going on in the world. The inability to discuss such matters creates a vacuum that can be filled by other types of groups and points of view, such as radical organisations that advocate violence.

4.2.2 Internal forces

The biggest internal forces are acute segregation in areas like Rosengård and the sense of alienation that their inhabitants experience. Respondents from the SSP authorities mentioned young people who had been born and raised in Rosengård but never been outside of the district or seen the city centre. Segregation leads to a vicious circle of alienation, unemployment, suspicion and bitterness toward society, and finally back to greater isolation.

Overcrowding

All of the interviewees identified overcrowding as the biggest problem in the apartment areas of Rosengård and as the breeding ground for all other difficulties.

Herrgården, Törnrosen and Örtagården are the apartment areas with the greatest overcrowding. Among the frequent results of overcrowding are unsupportive and conflict-ridden family relationships. Every building has an extraordinary number of

children. As a result, they often have to leave the house during the day, spending their time on the street, where they are exposed to drugs, high crime rates, fighting, etc. Frequently they don't have any place to do their homework and become idle in a way that leads to unfortunate repercussions.

Another repercussion of overcrowding is that women and girls have too much work to do taking care of children and younger siblings. Many respondents reported that women and girls are kept under close surveillance by men in the area and by social enforcers, and that they often experience various kinds of pressure.

Segregation and types of ghettoisation

The respondents stated that alienation and segregation represent an enormous problem in Malmö. Some young people in Rosengård have never been to the city centre and are unfamiliar with everything outside the area in which they live. That creates a sense of hopelessness and frustration about the future. There are also adults, particularly women, who have never been outside of Rosengård, consigned to a vicious circle of unemployment, lack of education and segregation. That reinforces their perception that they are not members of Swedish society.

Some young people deal with the combination of alienation, hopelessness, frustration about turbulence at home and lack of faith in the future by forging their own identity as part of a group with which they can feel a sense of affinity. Such youth can easily end up in a life of crime as the member of a gang or in radical religious circles that manifest other types of dissatisfaction with society.

All of the respondents pointed to a pronounced increase in ghettoisation, which leads to greater isolation and ultimately an intensification of all the forces described above. Altogether, it leads to a vicious circle. Many of the respondents argued that the fundamental cause of segregation and ghettoisation is Sweden's housing policy, which is in need of immediate reform. Some of the interviewees advocated closing Rosengård to new immigrants.

Inadequate orientation for newly arrived immigrants

Another major problem is that immigrants with children often receive a highly inadequate orientation, as the result of which they have a poor understanding of the laws and social regulations that govern Swedish society. This in turn aggravates unemployment, segregation and isolation because these people are never integrated. The ultimate consequence is incomprehension of – and often strong opposition to – Swedish social life, cultural values and democratic principles in general.

These immigrants are frustrated about their situation in life and develop a distorted view of native Swedes, believing that they are promiscuous, lead unhealthy lives and should be avoided. Some of the respondents said that radical groups and social enforcers (see Section 4.2.4) actively exploit such opinions, thereby reinforcing prejudice and encouraging isolation. Many such groups refer to religious teachings and restrictions that

specifically proscribe friendship with people outside the fold. The respondents reported that these groups often visit newly arrived immigrants to “give them the lowdown.”

Another complicating factor is language deficiency. The respondents stated that inadequate knowledge of Swedish prevented some parents from getting involved in the education and personal development of their children, who take over much of the family’s practical chores, such as paying bills and dealing with the authorities. If a child gets into trouble, the parents have no idea what to do. Things are even worse if more than one sibling runs into difficulties.

4.2.3 Focus on specific target groups

Organised forces that systematically orient their recruitment efforts toward specific target groups sometimes exploit the susceptibility of children and adolescents. A number of respondents said they had run into young people who had been drawn into radical milieus. These young people were sent abroad and came back to Sweden with an unmistakably radical and violent attitude. The respondents stated that converts tend to overcompensate by taking a more radical approach. Systematic recruitment also focuses on getting through to lonely and rejected girls, ultimately leading to conversion, marriage, trips abroad and isolation from their families.

Some of the respondents suggested that there is suspicion of external financing for travel to Arabic language, camp and Koran schools. The purpose of the financing and the extent to which it comes from other countries could not be determined and were beyond the scope of the project.

Malmö and its surroundings have an estimated 15 garage mosques – the ones that propagate extremist notions of various kinds were identified as leading settings for radicalisation. The general view of the respondents was that many at-risk young people get their ideas from garage mosques with isolationist tendencies in the Malmö area – particularly Rosengård, where all such mosques concentrate on recruiting children and adolescents.

The respondents estimated that 3-5 garage mosques (1-3 in Rosengård) in the Malmö area promote clearly violent concepts. Because such mosques are opening and closing all the time, it is hard to keep track of the exact number. Some of them claim to be cultural associations, making it more difficult to determine which are which.

Many of the respondents described the garage mosque that closed in summer 2008 and was occupied in November-December as among the most radical. According to the respondents, it was involved in recruitment, Koran schools, special courses for converts and psychological and physical harassment of many people in the area.

A number of the respondents also stated that some of the garage mosques had offered trips abroad but went out of their way to conceal such activities from outsiders.

There is a risk that the points of view expressed at such mosques will make their way into the schools by means of attempted recruitment of marginalised young people.

4.2.4 Social enforcers

Some of the respondents indicated that a group of ultra-radical men act as social enforcers in areas like Rosengård and create a highly intimidating atmosphere. Virtually all women in Herrgården appear to wear veils these days, by their own account not because they are more devoted to tradition but because they are afraid of the social enforcers. Cases of physical harassment have been reported.

The respondents also said that women of Muslim background who do not follow the rules of the social enforcers have been harassed and threatened in the most at-risk areas of Rosengård. Social workers who pass out information about women's rights have also been harassed. For instance, social enforcers harass selected women and young people who want to participate in the area's festivities, such as *Rosengård Day* – they scared away young girls and made it too uncomfortable for them to perform onstage. Prior to Ramadan, enforcers sent letters to parents instructing them to physically discipline children who refused to fast.

The respondents also mentioned cases of parents having been harassed by social enforcers for not living righteous lives and stated that these groups are suspected of having instigated incidents of assault and arson in summer 2008. Despite previous police reports by an arson victim (a single woman with three daughters) of extensive harassment ranging from jeering to threats at gunpoint, no investigation or other legal action was undertaken. The most at-risk area is Herrgården, where living conditions in general are the worst.

Representatives of radical groups visit newly arrived families and explain their rules for Rosengård. Women who never wore veils before are forced to do so, girls and boys are forbidden to play together and patriarchal power structures are reinforced. *Newly arrived families that had never been particularly religious or traditional say that they were freer in their native countries than in Rosengård.*

4.2.5 Municipal schools

Based on daily contact with at-risk children and adolescents, schools are in a good position to track their growth and development. Schools are also decisive to providing children and adolescents with tools for dealing with complex situations, such as various kinds of conflict and pressure. The consensus of the respondents was that municipal schools have difficulty confronting issues associated with pressure and cultural clashes now that a growing number of students are choosing religiously oriented independent schools instead. The staffs of municipal schools felt that the education system usually lacks clear strategies for working with children who have severe problems caused by having lived under conditions of war and oppression. Children often need extensive

counselling. Although increased efforts have been made, the waiting lists are long and many children never receive the help they need.

An additional problem for children who have experienced trauma is daily online and television exposure to severe hardship in their native countries and the Muslim world. The televisions in their homes are often tuned in all day long to foreign stations that do not censure images of violence and conflict. Children watch graphic reporting from war-torn areas that alternates between a narrative of mass suffering and the idea that the West is engaged in a systematic attack on Muslims. And they know that some of their relatives may still be living in these areas. Generally speaking, children have nowhere to turn with questions about what they see in the media. As a result, their uneasiness can take on major proportions. Teachers and school counsellors have said that they are at a loss about how to address the problem and complain that the education system has not developed a strategy beyond sending the most severe cases to child psychiatrists.

A number of respondents argued that the situation makes it easier for radical advocates to take over and offer children and adolescents a feeling of security.

The lack of avenues for young people to find answers to their questions about conflicts and cultural clashes suggests that schools suffer from a shortage of resources and expertise. Non-school resources are also woefully inadequate – there are only two recreation centres to serve Rosengård's 8,000 children. Both at the schools and throughout the community, there are a few highly skilled and enthusiastic field workers who are engaged in these complex and resource-intensive matters.

Although the Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare has arranged networks for school counsellors to deal with issues of patriarchal families, girls and honour, the respondents felt that educators often need more training in cultural and anthropological topics in order to better handle the difficulties that young people with backgrounds in other countries and war-torn areas face. Several respondents emphasised that intervening in the lives of a closed, isolated family can do more harm than good unless proper skills are brought to bear.

The necessity of providing school staffs with greater cultural knowledge and skills is highlighted by the challenges that they encounter every day, including demands by parents that girls be separated from boys in the classroom or be excused from participating in certain lessons. The respondents also gave examples of boys who are instructed to keep an eye on and monitor the behaviour of their sisters. Other challenges include family feuds among and within various ethnic groups.

Meanwhile, children wrestle with cultural clashes and the confusion that arises when they hear diametrically opposed views from their parents (the need to live according to strict Koranic injunctions) and teachers (Swedish customs, values, treatment of women, etc.). A girl's parents and siblings often stand in the way of any attempts she might make to lead a Western lifestyle.

Educators and social workers also encounter the issue of forced marriage – children as young as 13 or 14 are sent abroad over the holidays and come back married, or the ceremony is performed by a local imam. According to reports, many girls are married off during the summer holidays between years 8 and 9 in compulsory school. A significant percentage of them never come back to Sweden.

4.2.6 Independent schools

The respondents had differing viewpoints about the advantages and disadvantages of independent schools. Those who had an unfavourable opinion emphasised the strictly religious kind and said that all independent schools have an overall negative impact on a student's educational development and ability to reintegrate into the municipal schools after completion of year 7.

Many of the respondents thought that the strictly religious independent schools are particularly harmful because they often teach isolation starting on day one. Girls may not sit or play with boys, are kept under close surveillance, are excluded from physical education classes, and are frequently forced to participate in sewing circles and instruction about traditional women's duties while boys take part in outdoor recreational activities. Music education is often forbidden. Some of the independent schools violate the Swedish Education Act in that respect.

A number of respondents reported heavy recruitment efforts aimed at attracting students to religiously oriented independent schools, as well as those that offer transport and various kinds of services. The efforts appeal to fearful and uncertain parents, consigning their children to an environment more extremist than they themselves are.

Respondents who were favourably disposed to independent schools argued that the non-religious schools that accept children of immigrants living in Rosengård and other areas do not pose the same kinds of problems. It was their belief that independent schools can serve a useful purpose if they comply with Swedish laws and regulations.

4.2.7 Cultural associations

All of the respondents stated that many cultural associations are not what they make themselves out to be. Some of them pursue religious activities with a radical orientation. They actively oppose all forms of social integration and encourage their members to do the same. They are also against democratic governance and may be involved in the oppression of women and girls. According to many of the respondents, sermons are often delivered in languages other than Swedish, expressing open hatred of Sweden and the rest of the Western world. But it is important to emphasise that very few such associations advocate violence.

A number of the interviewees said that the associations usually project two different images, one for municipal officials and one for their members. When they apply for grants, they employ acceptable jargon and speak of democracy, integration, skills

development, nurturing activities, etc. Most of the grants provided by the municipality do not require any quid pro quo on the part of the associations or adequate monitoring of how the money is subsequently used.

The respondents offered examples of activities carried out by these cultural associations:

- Setting up of prayer rooms and radical garage mosques
- Arrangement of travel to various radical religious events (which they describe to the municipality as camps)
- Activities for boys, while girls are forced to stay inside, cleaning and cooking for the congregation
- Invitations to radical preachers from Göteborg, Stockholm, Danish cities, etc.
- Collection of money to be sent abroad

5. Interventions

The vast majority of the respondents felt that the situation in Rosengård is unsustainable and demanded a series of measures, particularly to combat radicalisation. Following are some of the most important suggestions. This report would like to suggest that the following measures be implemented as part of a policy initiative.

Legal and public policy changes

- Malmö wants to repeal the confidentiality requirements to which the Swedish Migration Board is subject with respect to housing for newly arrived refugees so that the municipality can find out how many people are living in an area and have the ability to intervene for the prevention of overcrowding.
- Overcrowding is a major problem that must be dealt with immediately.
- Legislation that outlaws forced and arranged marriage should be considered.

Improved interagency collaboration and more training

- The division of responsibility, particularly between the national and local governments (such as through the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions), should be clarified with respect to means of preventing radicalisation.
- Collaboration between the Security Service and the police information programme needs improvement. Currently it appears to be mostly a one-way street. The police provide the Security Service with information but feel that they receive only rare feedback.
- Intelligence activities (including training of local police) need to be upgraded when it comes to radicalisation – what signs should be looked for, what indicators are available, what are the catalysts of the process, etc.? Greater resources should be devoted to police outreach, as well as training of local and neighbourhood police. Local police do not currently have an overview of the situation. It is of utmost importance that the schools have someplace to turn when they detect indicators of radicalisation.
- The SSP collaborative framework is serving its purpose well. A formal network of representatives of school counsellors, the social services and child psychology wards at hospitals enables sharing of experiences and services. But the SSP project, along with what has been learned about radicalisation, should be evaluated in order to identify problem areas and to promote the exchange of information between cities and municipalities. Currently there is no organised

way of evaluating existing best practices to determine the tools and methods that work.

- Consideration should be given to the establishment of municipal help desks to support administrative, school and field staffs in at-risk areas when it comes to radicalisation issues.
- Greater vigilance is required to ensure that municipalities hire the right people to serve as bridge-builders and cultural mediators to the community.³ Some of these people have been sent to arbitrate in honour-related family conflicts even though they also held courses for converts and were members of the Islamic Association. People sometimes apply for such positions for the wrong reason, and their values may be at odds with those of the municipality. More attention should also be given to home language instructors, who play a variety of roles. They arbitrate in family conflicts, serve as interpreters in different situations, etc., but the values they communicate are not always known.
- Newly arrived immigrants should have the opportunity to attend multiple orientation sessions, given that it is usually difficult for them to absorb important information about societal laws, regulations and values all at one time when they are confronted by more immediate problems.
- Malmö should consider participating in a municipal cooperation project on radicalisation, primarily with Copenhagen, which is already part of a large network that also includes Amsterdam, Utrecht, Rotterdam, Liverpool and Essen.

Preventive measures in the schools

- School curricula provide little or no guidance about how to deal with radicalisation issues. People refuse to talk about their concerns because they are afraid to reinforce or create prejudice. Tools are lacking to address the problem in a constructive way. Priority should be given to developing and coordinating such tools among various municipalities.
- Targeted preventive measures should be introduced at the primary school level, given that the scope of the problems becomes less manageable as time goes on. Furthermore, some garage mosques purposely focus on younger children because they are easily influenced and the authorities are less able to keep track of what is going on.
- It is important for schools to devise a policy concerning such matters as where students are to sit in the classroom and how they are to participate in physical education. The schools must draw up a plan for dealing with demands by parents that girls and boys be treated differently. There is currently no centralised model

³ They are to serve as a link between a family and Swedish society.

for confronting the issue. A uniform inter-school model would facilitate adherence to the policy.

- More cultural secretaries are needed to mediate between schools and families under difficult conditions. To ensure greater efficiency and avoid placing the burden on a few individuals, schools need for intercultural teams to act collectively in the interests of children.
- More resources are required for war and torture teams in child psychiatry.
- District field workers should help children receive individualised tutoring services outside the home.
- New approaches are needed to make sure that a dialogue – for instance, social interaction in the morning – can be conducted with women who are invited to come to their children’s school but don’t show up. These women often have highly limited contact with people outside their families.
- Some religiously oriented independent schools promote ideas that are irreconcilable with the values of human rights and democracy, but instead reinforce patriarchal structures, alienation, ghettoisation, etc. Such schools receive government grants. Thus, government supervision of independent schools has great potential for improvement.
- Religiously oriented independent schools sometimes lead to loss of control over certain children by making it difficult for Swedish authorities to supervise the education they provide. Thus, training of Arabic-speaking independent school inspectors who can make sure that the Education Act is being adhered to should be prioritised.
- A discussion of values, as well as equal opportunity and integration issues, must be permissible in the public arena. Teachers should be asked what they do when girls are not allowed to participate in the same activities as boys, and concrete action plans must be drawn up for dealing with such matters. These groups have chosen to live in society but outside its value system.

Cultural associations

- All cultural associations in Malmö should be reviewed and required to describe their activities in detail. First, the associations that receive municipal grants should be identified and examined as to whether they actually are culture and non-religious in nature. Second, their sources of financial support should be carefully analysed to determine whether external foreign donors are involved.

Areas of research

- Research projects should be launched and supported concerning social pressure, social enforcers and suppression of free expression by examining gender roles, dress codes, etc. Pressure by social enforcers creates conflict and forces people into situations that they would normally avoid.
 - Radicalisation processes, their nature and scope in Malmö are difficult to conduct research on. Too little is known about how extensive the forces of radicalisation in Rosengård really are. To obtain an overall view of the situation, more research is needed about settings that encourage radicalisation and the underlying factors involved. The individual and family agencies of various districts can provide insight and key statistics concerning forced marriage, reports of honour-related violence, girls who stay at shelters, etc. Thus, a systematic compilation of such statistics would ensure greater understanding of these phenomena.
 - In order to compare problem areas and the current situation in different parts of the country, the Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality should launch studies similar to this one that focus on other Swedish cities.
 - The ministry should also commission studies of radicalisation indicators.
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Appendix – the current situation in Denmark and the Netherlands

Introduction

This appendix presents simplified descriptions of current radicalisation issues in Denmark (Copenhagen) and the Netherlands (Amsterdam and Rotterdam) based on compiled material and secondary sources in each country. The purpose of the appendix is to provide a rapid, comprehensive and comparable view of similar cities in which radicalisation has been identified as a problem and various preventive measures have been undertaken. The idea is also to see the situation in Malmö in a broader geographic context where both problems and countermeasures have been more extensive.

Copenhagen was chosen due to its proximity to Malmö (the Øresund Region). Amsterdam and Rotterdam were selected because the Netherlands, like Denmark, possesses far-reaching knowledge and experience with radicalisation and the current situation in these cities, and has taken a series of concrete measures that may prove instructive in other connections.

The appendix is based on wide-ranging interviews with municipal officials from Copenhagen, Amsterdam and Rotterdam about preventive measures to combat radicalisation. The information comes from a number of conferences on radicalisation issues at which officials of these cities described the current situation and presented measures that have been taken. Some of the information was verified by police sources whose primary duties are in the realm of radicalisation issues.

The following questions were asked:

Issue 1 – Radicalisation

- To what extent is radicalisation a problem in your city? How does it manifest? Can you specify the challenges that are most difficult to deal with?
- What are the causes of local radicalisation? Can you identify specific internal and external dimensions of the causes that normally spawn radicalisation – discrimination (internal) or world events (external)?
- What specific settings (garage mosques, schools, universities, prisons, etc.) do radicalisation circles in your city include?

- Are there any noticeable differences among various groups of people of immigrant background when it comes to their susceptibility to radicalisation? Do different ethnic groups tend to congregate in specific districts?
- Are there indications that women are under pressure by extremists or by social enforcers (to make them wear veils, behave differently, etc.)? Are there particular areas in which such pressure is exerted?

Issue 2 – Problem areas

To what extent are the following factors a problem in your city? Have you encountered these problems? Please state in detail how extensive they are:

- Overcrowding and low living standards
 - Poor and conflict-ridden family life (does dysfunction play a role)
 - Difficulties experienced by children in doing their homework or obtaining support from their families to succeed in school
 - Close local surveillance of women and children that compels them to be subservient
- Segregation
 - Hopelessness and frustration about the future? Social mobility?
 - Are there people who have never been outside their residential area or district?
- Ghettoisation
 - How many illegal immigrants live in your city? Is that a big problem? How do you handle it?
- Inadequate orientation for newly arrived immigrants
 - To what degree does poor understanding and knowledge of your society, laws and culture contribute to isolation?
 - To what extent do insufficient language skills among parents permit children to take control of the family?

Issue 3 – Schools

To what extent are schools in your city equipped to handle radicalisation tendencies?

- Have you devised strategies for supporting children who come from traumatic circumstances (conflict-ridden countries, etc.)?
- Do teachers and parents have run-ins concerning what is taught in the schools?
- Do students leave municipal schools to attend religiously oriented independent schools when they refuse to accept the public curriculum?
- Are children and adolescents subject to forced marriage (when they are sent abroad, etc.)? How young are they?
- Does the municipality monitor what religiously oriented independent schools teach? Do such schools comply with your country's education legislation, and how do you enforce it?

Issue 4 – Cultural associations

How big a role do religiously oriented cultural associations play in the radicalisation process?

- Do cultural associations accurately describe their activities when applying for grants? Have there been times when you discovered that they had failed to do so? If so, why?
- Do you have mechanisms for verifying that cultural associations follow the rules?
- Have these associations opposed democratic principles at times? Do they ever oppress women?
- Have you ever encountered mosques and religiously oriented cultural associations that are financed from abroad? If so, what countries does the money come from?

Issue 5 – Research

Is any research conducted in your municipality? If so, in what area(s) and by whom?

Issue 6 – Successful interventions

What are the most successful interventions that your municipality has undertaken to combat radicalisation, and why did they work?

The current situation in Copenhagen

Introduction

More than 20 percent of the 509,000 people who lived in Copenhagen in 2008 were of immigrant background. The public officials we talked with said that Copenhagen is multicultural and relatively tolerant of diversity. For instance, the Norrebro, Österbro, Christiania and Vesterport districts are located close to each other but are very different socioeconomically.

The security situation in Denmark has grown dramatically worse over the past five years due to an increasingly polarised, reactionary debate about immigration, the repercussions of global protests against *Jyllands-Posten's* publication of Mohammed cartoons and four terrorist trials (Glostrup, Said Mansour, Vollsmose and Glasvej).

Any description of radicalisation tendencies in Copenhagen is complicated by the fact that the Danish People's Party pursues a highly restrictive immigration policy, Hizb-ut-Tahrir (Global Islamic Political Party) maintains a strong presence, and other extremist movements including autonomous leftwing ideological forces periodically engage in confrontations with the police (when they are mobilised by youth centres being torn down, etc.). Another new radicalisation trend involves foreign gang formation that combines criminal objectives with religious overtones.

Radicalisation is largely viewed as a big-city phenomenon – radical forces have been observed in Copenhagen and Aarhus, as well as Odense to a lesser extent. Copenhagen Municipality has no segregated residential areas that are isolated from the city centre. While definitely an immigrant area, Norrebro is seen as having been relatively spared from segregation. Mjølnerparken, Akacieparken, Tingbjerg and Aldersrogade are officially classified as at-risk residential areas.

Radicalisation has long been regarded as a growing problem in Denmark. The Danish Security and Intelligence Service (PET) has launched a number of initiatives since 2004 to bring together various groups and individuals to talk about the issue. The Danish interventions focus primarily on strengthening current SSP collaboration. Various organisations and the government's national strategy to combat radicalisation have been responsible for a series of projects.

An overview of the current situation based on our questions:

Issue 1 – Radicalisation

- The radicalisation process is a relatively minor phenomenon in Copenhagen and is not particularly visible. The process as promoted by social enforcers and other types of coercive behaviour occurs in only a few at-risk residential areas. With the

exception of PET's initiatives and criminal cases, the municipality admits that it has difficulty gauging the scope of radicalisation. As a result, it has started to take selective measures in certain areas. One of the most prominent is the Hotspot intervention in Valby, which involves four field workers who are responsible for outreach activities among young people. The effort is modelled on the successful Hotspot intervention effort in Rotterdam to combat high crime rates and lack of security by means of greater coordination and targeted initiatives.

- Municipal officials have noted signs of radicalisation, and interventions have been prioritised that make it easier for field workers to take preventive measures and work within the scope of SSP collaboration. No significant increase in the number of women who wear full-length veils has been seen. Nor have any signs appeared that social enforcers pose a problem. One reason may be that at-risk residential areas are limited in number and that immigrant areas are relatively intermixed and integrated within various Copenhagen districts.
- Radicalisation issues involve a broad range of catalysts, including international events and conflict-ridden areas, xenophobia, alienation, unemployment, discrimination and harassment of extremists in the media (often conspicuous in connection with the Mohammed cartoons).
- None of the limited number of garage mosques in Copenhagen appear to promote violence. One reason is that there seem to be very few extremists. For instance, the defendants in the various terrorist trials presumably moved in the same radical circles.
- There are no obvious indications that radical forces represent a significant problem at the schools or universities. Although Hizb-ut-Tahrir has a strong foothold in Copenhagen, the authorities don't feel as though they channel advocacy of violent radicalism.
- The forces of radicalisation do not have an identifiable or relevant ethnic profile. However, a new trend is that immigrant gangs are involved in both radicalisation and criminal activities. The trend is expected to grow in both scope and significance.

Issue 2 – Problem areas

- Copenhagen Municipality is working hard on interventions to help the four at-risk residential areas. Mjølnerparken, where crime rate declined dramatically in 2008, has been a major triumph. The municipality has put together a comprehensive, well-financed social/residential strategy for the entire area. Ninety three percent of Mjølnerparken's 2,200 inhabitants (representing 38 different nationalities) are of immigrant background and more than 80 percent live on social allowances. A large number of measures over the past two years have reduced juvenile crime.

- The four residential areas of Copenhagen that are officially classified as *at-risk* had a total of 11,848 inhabitants according to the 2007 census. Almost half of the residential areas in the high-risk zone are located in the Norrebro district. A total of 32,000 people live in both at-risk areas and high-risk zones. Copenhagen Municipality has launched extensive integration projects to improve these areas in 2007-2010. An integration survey that contains residential policy, employment and education indicators for each district provides an overview of the successes and ongoing challenges.
- Copenhagen Municipality is pursuing an active policy aimed at changing the population composition of at-risk residential areas to combat ghettoisation, unemployment and alienation. Danish experience has demonstrated a correlation between radicalisation and social problems in residential areas that can encourage the development of parallel subcultures. As a result, the four at-risk residential areas of Mjølnerparken, Akacieparken, Tingbjerg and Aldersrogade require that new tenants have a job in the municipality or be full-time students or trainees.
- As opposed to Malmö, Copenhagen Municipality does not believe that a significant percentage of tenants are not entered in the population register.
- Despite the existence of at-risk residential areas with a high immigrant population, reports of social enforcers are rare.
- Copenhagen takes a preventive approach to lifting immigrants and at-risk residential areas out of their isolation. Inadequate language skills are viewed as a problem – a civic awareness and language test has been adopted as a requirement for obtaining Danish citizenship.

Issue 3 – Schools

- Many schools encounter children who have had traumatic experiences in conflict-ridden countries. Copenhagen Municipality is attempting to identify schools that have dealt most extensively with the issue and is planning to compile a best practice approach for the education system.
- The municipality has no knowledge of how much conflict might exist between parents and educators – on the surface it does not appear to be a major problem.
- Copenhagen has independent schools that comply with applicable ordinances, and there are few indicators that they violate education legislation. A significant development is that religious schools are losing students to their municipal counterparts.
- Although the Danish press has reported about forced marriage of young people, it is difficult to estimate how common the practice is.

Issue 4 – Cultural associations

- Denmark is currently cutting back on its grants to associations in connection with adopting new evaluation methods, as well as performing an assessment of the success and impact of previous grants.
- There are a handful of cultural associations that conceal their religious activities, but the press has exposed them.
- Copenhagen officials are not concerned about external financing from other countries. If it does exist, they have no knowledge of how widespread it might be.
- With the exception of Hizb-ut-Tahrir, officials are not aware of any associations that work to undermine democracy, gender equality, etc.

Issue 5 – Research

- MHT Consult has started a research project about the extent of radicalisation and associated issues in Copenhagen.

Issue 6 – Successful interventions

- Copenhagen is currently conducting a far-reaching integration campaign entitled VI KBH'R (We Copenhageners) that draws inspiration from Amsterdam. Funds have been allocated for a programme to combat radicalisation, including telephone counselling, skills development courses for municipal employees and a group of field mentors to support the effort.
- Copenhagen is participating in an inter-municipal collaborative project on radicalisation with Amsterdam, Utrecht, Rotterdam, Liverpool and Essen.

The current situation in Amsterdam

Introduction

With 1.4 million inhabitants, Amsterdam is the largest city in the Netherlands. As is the case with Rotterdam, approximately half of the populace is of foreign background, representing 172 different nationalities. Turks and Moroccans comprise the biggest groups of people of immigrant background, but there are many Indonesians and Somalis as well.

In 2004, film director Theo van Gogh was bestially murdered on an Amsterdam street by a 26-year-old Islamic extremist. The case inflamed enormous latent tensions surrounding immigration, provoking a lively public debate about the repercussions of the interaction between domestic integration problems and international events. As a result, the Dutch authorities adopted a series of preventive measures. Amsterdam Municipality subsequently allocated major resources to prevent and combat radicalisation, as well as drawing up a comprehensive action plan.

The municipality has also devoted resources to research about the radicalisation process and related issues. According to initial research, two percent of young Muslims in Amsterdam are receptive to radical ideas. The research has also shown that public discussion that stigmatises immigrants has made it difficult for young Muslims to establish an identity, sometimes spawning more radical attitudes on their part.

The municipal action plan now includes a number of projects and campaigns to combat radicalisation among young people, as well as its underlying causes.

An overview of the current situation based on our questions

Issue 1 – Radicalisation

- The van Gogh murder triggered major polarisation tendencies and strong expressions of xenophobia. The interplay between various kinds of extremism is clearly visible.
- Radicalisation is seen as being on the rise in Amsterdam. Although quite a few of radical groups appear to have gained a foothold, only a small percentage of them promote violence. An estimated 1,500 Amsterdam inhabitants belong to radical Islamic groups.
- Identifying young people who have been radicalised and returning them to society is viewed as an urgent challenge.

- Field workers in Amsterdam report how difficult it is to work with young people who hold ingrained radical beliefs and a dichotomous worldview. Outreach efforts by field workers are strenuous because they are frequently called *kafir* and rejected. As a result, an attempt is underway to recruit more Muslims as field workers and thereby boost their credibility.
- Amsterdam officials view both internal and external factors as equally fundamental to growing radicalisation.
- Discrimination against Muslims is a big problem in Amsterdam. Crime rates are high among young people of Moroccan background and many employers refuse to hire them.
- Young people with a background in Morocco – as well as Somalia, Afghanistan and Iraq to a lesser extent – are seen as most susceptible to the forces of radicalisation.
- There is a major divide between Muslim immigrants and their children and grandchildren. A recurring problem is that parents and children with communication difficulties never discuss Islam.
- Young people tend to stay away from the big mosques because they see the imams as old-fashioned. The imams often come from other countries and don't understand the lives of young people in the Netherlands. Instead of going to mosques, many young seekers have started to gather at informal meeting places to discuss Islam and seek an outlet for their questions and frustrations.
- According to reports, prisons serve as a breeding ground for radicalisation and a platform for recruitment. The municipality is trying to identify radicalised people – even those imprisoned for terrorism – as soon as they are released and offer them support programmes.
- Amsterdam officials know that the most segregated areas harbour social enforcers, though presumably not organised, who force women to wear veils and subject them to various kinds of oppression and pressure.
- Islam has become more important for children and grandchildren of Muslim immigrants over the past ten years. Many girls revolt against society and exhibit their pride by wearing veils, etc.

Issue 2 – Problem areas

- Amsterdam officials are trying to deal with segregation but have not yet adopted as many measures as Rotterdam has.

- Most Moroccans live on the highly segregated west side of Amsterdam. Many people convicted of terrorist crimes move there after being released from prison.
- Amsterdam has an estimated 15,000-50,000 people of immigrant background who are either there illegally or not entered in the population register.
- People in Amsterdam can own their residence (which Muslims almost never do because they don't want to have mortgages), wait in the housing queue (which is very long) or move to less desirable areas (where most newly arrived immigrants and their families live).
- The police frequently raid apartments where illegal immigrants or people not entered in the population register are suspected to be living. Overcrowding is not regarded as particularly widespread.
- The Netherlands offers quite a few orientation and training programmes for newly arrived immigrants. Nevertheless, the city has major problems with immigrants who never master the language and are relegated to alienation and permanent unemployment.
- Amsterdam officials confirm that the inability of parents to integrate or speak the language often gives their children the upper hand.
- Children who cannot do their homework or obtain the support and security they need to succeed in school constitute a serious challenge.
- Women and girls are kept under close surveillance by other members of the family and by social enforcers.

Issue 3 – Schools

- Radicalisation seems to be on the rise in the schools. Young Muslims are developing an increasingly radical attitude. A two-day programme has been adopted that trains teachers to recognise signs of radicalisation. An office has been set up to which cases can be reported, questions asked and support requested. When needed, the office calls in the social services and police for assistance in individual cases.
- According to Amsterdam officials, young people who attend garage mosques often know each other from the streets or public meeting places.
- Amsterdam has 15 Muslim compulsory schools with a moderate orientation. The municipality closely monitors adherence to education legislation and generally approves of the schools that comply with it. They have well-educated

staffs that promote tolerance, question extremism and combat attempted recruitment by forces of radicalisation.

- Some schools do not adhere strictly to education legislation, holding strict Koran classes on the weekends. The municipality has little knowledge of such extracurricular activities.
- Amsterdam has problems with forced marriage of young people, primarily those of Turkish and Somali background.

Issue 4 – Cultural associations

- Most Muslim cultural associations in Amsterdam are associated with mosques and are involved in social activities. The municipality has strict regulations to assure that it supports only social, not religious, activities. But officials don't know whether any of the organisations transfer money from one activity to another.
- The municipality has been scrupulous in taking action against associations that work to undermine democracy. But officials believe that some of these associations have not come to light yet.
- Some associations and institutions receive foreign financing.

Issue 5 – Research

- Amsterdam Municipality has sponsored extensive research on radicalisation issues. A study conducted by the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies at the University of Amsterdam formed the basis of the Amsterdam Against Radicalisation municipal action plan. A number of studies, the results of which are due out in 2009, are still in progress.
- Officials want to order a 2010 evaluation of the action plan and associated measures.

Issue 6 – Successful interventions

- Strengthening self-confidence and a sense of identity among children of immigrants
- Combating the most important breeding grounds of radicalisation
- Building greater trust in politicians and public agencies

The current situation in Rotterdam

Introduction

After Amsterdam, Rotterdam is the second largest city in the Netherlands. As the second largest port in the world after Shanghai, the city is a vital economic and strategic hub. With 176 different nationalities, some 276,000 of Rotterdam's 587,000 inhabitants are immigrants. People of Turkish and Moroccan background comprise the biggest groups of people of foreign origin, but many are from Indonesia (a former Dutch colony) and Somalia as well.

Rotterdam has major social problems, including high crime rates. The result has been widespread discontent and a boost for rightwing extremists in their election to the Parliament. Following the van Gogh murder, the discontent has focused on Muslims, leading to widespread polarisation. A more positive consequence has been a lively public discussion about the consequences of the interplay between domestic integration issues and international events. That in turn has spawned a series of preventive measures.

As opposed to Amsterdam, Rotterdam officials view Islamic extremism and radicalisation as a relatively small but significant problem. But they acknowledge that the phenomenon is on the rise.

Collaborating with the national government and other municipalities, Rotterdam has moved forcefully to develop comprehensive measures aimed at preventing radicalisation tendencies in line with a national strategy and various local programmes.

An overview of the current situation based on our questions

Issue 1 – Radicalisation

- Rotterdam officials say that radicalisation is a small but significant problem. There has not been as much of an increase in the number of women who wear full-length veils as in some areas of Sweden.
- Rotterdam officials have noted an increase in the number of garage mosques, as well as quite a few shops and similar premises that are used as meeting places after working hours. A handful of them promote violence. Groups that advocate violence make overtures to the mosques but are usually turned away.
- Some radical forces, primarily from Salafist groups, are present at schools and universities. For instance, Hizb-ut-Tahrir has a relatively well-established headquarters in Amsterdam and has tried to gain a foothold in Rotterdam.
- Both the internal and external forces that we identified in Sweden are of a similar nature in Rotterdam, but which kind is more decisive cannot be determined.
- One reason for the growing polarisation and radicalisation is the advance of rightwing extremism in the Netherlands. People of Moroccan background predominate on the north side of Rotterdam, while people of Turkish background

predominate on the south side. There are clear indications that the rightwing extremists have support in the areas surrounding Rotterdam.

- Identity issues are complex in Rotterdam – people of Turkish background prefer to be called Turks, while those of Moroccan background often refer to themselves as Muslims.
- Although representing a much smaller percentage of the population, people of Somali background are regarded as the group that is the second most at-risk and susceptible to radicalisation after people of Moroccan background. Rotterdam interventions also focus on people of Pakistani and Indonesian background.
- People of Moroccan background have greater difficulty adapting to society, and many of them live under harsh social conditions with poor prospects of pulling themselves up out of their alienation.
- The types of social enforcers who operate in Sweden do not seem to pose a problem in Rotterdam. Many Muslim women and girls are kept under close surveillance by their families, but for cultural rather than religious reasons.

Issue 2 – Problem areas

- A series of measures taken by Rotterdam to combat segregation have alleviated some overcrowding and its repercussions. But segregation remains a problem in immigrant areas, leading to high unemployment and crime rates, as well as discrimination and alienation.
- People of immigrant background live fairly close to central Rotterdam, and most young people spend time both there and in other areas outside their own residential areas on a regular basis.
- Rotterdam Municipality works to prevent the establishment of parallel subcultures and has adopted a series of measures aimed at promoting diversification in immigrant areas. For instance, a 2007 law requires that anyone who wants to move to certain residential areas must earn at least 20 percent above the minimum wage (no ethnic criteria are applied).
- Attempts at welfare cheating are closely monitored.
- Monitoring to ensure that people don't move to Rotterdam's residential areas without being entered in the population register has not fully succeeded yet.
- Despite a number of orientation programmes, some immigrants never master the language. As a result, they become alienated from society and have difficulty breaking into the labour market.

Issue 3 – Schools

- Schools have problems dealing with children from various backgrounds who have had traumatic experiences in their native countries.
- Educators sometimes come into conflict with parents, who may take their children out of a municipal school and send them to a religiously oriented independent school that they regard as more consistent with their cultural values.
- Rotterdam officials have observed greater religiosity among children of immigrants. Many young people reconnect with their background by wearing veils or praying in the hallways while class is in session. There is a strong perception that Islam is under attack and that Muslims are discriminated against – many teachers are worried about radicalisation tendencies.
- Religious schools are fully permitted in the Netherlands and are often regarded as a good option for parents who want their children to be educated in accordance with the values of Catholicism, Islam, etc.
- A recurring problem at Muslim independent schools is that instruction is poor and inadequate so that a large percentage of students do not qualify to go on to upper secondary school.
- Netherlands has no problem with schools that fail to comply with education legislation. Educational institutions, particularly Muslim independent schools (four of which were closed in Rotterdam and Amsterdam last year), have long been monitored closely for this purpose.
- Recruitment by forces of radicalisation is thought to occur in the schools, though the extent of it is unknown.
- The municipal schools have been effective at identifying radicalisation tendencies and asking officials for assistance. Fearful of bad publicity, independent schools have not generally been as willing to bring the problem to light.
- Some children are forced into marriage, but officials don't know how widespread such incidents are. While the mosques claim that they don't marry children, reports suggest that they sometimes give their blessing to such unions.

Issue 4 – Cultural associations

- Netherlands has cut back on grants to associations. Current requirements stipulate that grants always go to social and cultural, never religious, activities.

Associations are subject to strict reporting and performance regulations. Monitoring programmes ensure that the associations meet their commitments.

- Unlike their counterparts in Amsterdam, Rotterdam officials have not noted that any associations promote antidemocratic views.
- The General Intelligence and Security Service (AIVD) and National Coordinator for Counterterrorism (NCTb) submit regular reports concerning foreign financing of mosques and other institutions.

Issue 5 – Research

- Rotterdam Municipality will order a study this year to determine the location of all Islamic, rightwing and animal rights activists. The purpose is to examine various hierarchies, as well as the dynamic that unfolds among various ethnic groups and behavioural patterns.
- An evaluation of all measures will be performed in early 2010.

Issue 6 – Successful interventions

- Building trust between Muslims and the government by means of various community and bridge-building programmes that make them feel welcome
- Promoting greater coordination among different action programmes