

THE MURMUR

COPENHAGEN
EDITION

Anti-EU
populism
strengthens
in Denmark
after Brexit

The Juno
spacecraft
found its
way to Ju-
piter thanks
to DTU

Imminent
conflict –
the future
according
to Kasper
Colling
Nielsen

NEWS

CULTURE

POLITICS

COMMENTARY

AUGUST 2016 VOL. 3 ISSUE 7



Shouting about love, life and death

Songwriter, storyteller, social critic – why Bisse is Denmark's new musical maverick

THE MURMUR is a Danish newspaper, which just happens to use the English language. Through original reporting and photography, we tell stories about what it's like to live in Denmark.

THE MURMUR



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It's been a difficult summer. The UK voted to leave the EU, and I'm heartbroken. As much as I've tried to rationalise what has happened, grief can still overwhelm me.

I am a child of Europe and was born in Switzerland to British parents. We lived in Italy until I was six, at which point we moved to Brussels. Four years later we moved on to Copenhagen, where we decided to settle. I turn 32 later this month and, apart from seven years in the UK at university, have lived here ever since.

In Copenhagen, I went to school with the children of ambassadors and chief executives at one of the world's oldest international schools. There were more than 50 nationalities represented at the school, but we belonged to the same class – privileged.

The same doesn't go for the young Europeans I meet in Copenhagen these days. Most come from ordinary middle class backgrounds. Many are here temporarily. Many others have learned Danish, found jobs and are settling down with Danish partners.

It makes me angry when the EU is presented as an elitist project that solely benefits a neoliberal minority. This is what MP Pernille Skipper, political spokesperson of the far-left Enhedslisten, had to say about the EU following the Brexit vote:

"The EU system creates the perfect conditions for the growth of xenophobia and right-wing populism [...] The combination of an unregulated market, the expansion to the East, and lack of efforts to combat pressure on wages is a poisonous cocktail that strikes the lowest layers of society and plays people against each other."

This kind of rhetoric makes me furious. The EU has opened up a whole new level of solidarity. No longer restricted to their own labour market, workers can go where their skills are needed. In the time since Poland joined the EU in 2004, and their workers were given full access to the European market, their GDP has more than doubled.

The EU is an easy scapegoat, but these changes were coming anyway, and Denmark would be a worse place to live if it had closed its economy to the rest of the world to keep factories at home.

Globalisation is here to stay, and the jobs aren't coming back. So how do we make the most of belonging to a globalised economy, while investing in people, especially the most vulnerable? I'm not sure, but challenging needless austerity – on the national and the EU level – is a starting point, and thankfully there are pan-European projects such as DIEM25 that are taking this up.

Still, the issues Europeans worry about most are immigration and terrorism, according to the latest Eurobarometer poll. The UK referendum on EU membership was lost on immigration, not the economy, and The Economist found that the areas of the UK that have seen the greatest increases in immigration over the past 15 years voted the most overwhelmingly to leave the EU.

This needs to be taken seriously. EU supporters like myself can no longer just tell people that they need to put up with seeing their communities change rapidly, while these changes bring them little economic benefit. I still think they should blame their national parliaments for the lack of investment in jobs and welfare. But the fact is that they blame the EU and, unless the EU is seen to take action, they will increasingly vote for populist parties that would happily unravel the EU in an attempt to return to a pre-globalised Europe of sovereign nation states. And when that happens, we will lose our ability to tackle the really big issues facing Europe and the world.

So I need to put my feelings aside and ask some hard questions. Am I willing to make some symbolic compromises to shore up support for the EU project, such as modest changes to free movement, restrictions on welfare for travelling workers before they establish residency, or beefed up policing around the EU's outer border?

Let's get on the front foot and take seriously the concerns of Europeans about their future. Only then can we preserve an EU that will allow future generations of Europeans the freedom and opportunity it was built for in the first place. **M**

I think there will be vast social problems as well as violence explicitly expressed in the streets.

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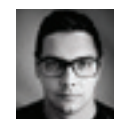
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SPROG

MONTH IN REVIEW

Housing market jumps

Real estate prices are now higher than before the financial crisis in Copenhagen, North Jutland and East Jutland, officially putting an end to the recession. But prices still lag behind in North Zealand.

DENMARK READY FOR RIO

The Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, kick off this month and 120 Danish athletes will be competing for the medals. Former tennis number one Caroline Wozniacki (right) will be the stand-

ard bearer at the opening ceremony on August 5. Denmark stands the best chance of picking up medals in badminton, wrestling, cycling, handball, kayaking, sailing and swimming.



NORDIC'S TALLEST
Measuring on average 181.4 cm and 167.2 cm respectively, Danish men and women are the 5th and 7th tallest in the world, and tallest of Nordic countries.

Immigration crisis

A number of exotic animals have found a new home in Denmark due to climate change, which has made Denmark a warmer and more hospitable habitat. According to a report from Aarhus University, 500 new species have settled in Denmark since 2002, including 33 new species of bird, 111 species of butterfly and one mammal – the wolf.



Arne von Brill / flickr

Sophie Frahm



Stine Christiansen/Skovdahl

DANISH DOGS BEST IN NEW YORK
Claus Meyer makes the best hotdogs in New York according to the New York Post food critic Steve Cuozzo. Meyer's restaurant, Danish Dogs, is situated in New York's Grand Central Terminal, which serves hotdogs that Cuozzo labelled "intoxicatingly flavourful". The hotdogs have otherwise received mixed reviews and were criticised by Eater magazine for being pricey (between 50 and 55 kroner). Cuozzo, on the other hand, praises the Danish eatery, calling it "the city's new hotdog champ".

Self-driving busses

In a bid to save time and money, Vesthimmerland council has decided to introduce autonomous busses to transport its staff. "We are a large council, with a lot of transport time, and our calculations show that we have 30 to 40 full time employees driving at any one time," mayor Knud Kristensen told TV2. Instead of sitting behind the wheel, the council staff could use the time on the bus to write up notes or perform other administrative work.

The 'Ollie' busses are expected to be on the road in September, and have been funded by the foundation Fonden Autonomus together with an anonymous partner. "It is a ground-breaking project," says Autonomus-president Henrik Schärf.

POKÉMON NO!
The popular app Pokémon Go might have played a role in the death of a 21-year-old man from Aarhus, who died after his van collided with a tree. Upon arriving at the scene, police found his phone unlocked and the Pokémon Go app running.
In separate Pokémon Go incident, a corpse was found in Odense by a Pokémon hunter. It turns out the body belonged to 41-year-old Simon Bolt Brinkmann, who has been convicted of attempted murder, and who disappeared in May.

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#TRENDING

THE WRONG KIND OF GUNS

The Danish branch of the CrossFit franchise had to reassure its members after it was announced that the winners of the CrossFit Games would win a handgun

What do fitness and weapons have to do with each other? To most people, nothing. So Danish CrossFit enthusiasts were shocked to discover that the winners of July's CrossFit Games would be awarded a Glock handgun.

CrossFit is a functional fitness regime with a growing global following. The annual CrossFit Games, which is open to all athletes around the world, sees the world's best CrossFitters compete for the title of World's Fittest.

Few in Europe realise, however, that CrossFit was founded by American military veterans, and that many CrossFit workouts are named after fallen soldiers. CrossFit director Dave Castro is a former Navy Seal and the organisation has been a vocal supporter of the constitutional right to bear arms.

Globally, however, CrossFit is regarded as a health and fitness regime with a strong position against the sugar industry. Responding to the Glock sponsorship a petition was launched that gathered almost 25,000 signatures. Daniel Bartels from Australia, who started the petition, argued that CrossFit would not form partnerships with fast food restaurants, alcohol companies, cigarette, or pharmaceutical companies.

"But a gun manufacturer is deemed as a good partner. This is not us. CrossFit is for health, fitness and the well-being of people in all communities. This is not CrossFit."

The Games consist of a male, female and team competitions. Icelandic Katrin Tanja Davidsdottir won the female competition, and presumably had to leave her Glock behind. Team CrossFit Copenhagen managed to make the finals in California, but ended in 12th place.

In a comment to The Murmur, Castro argued that "it did not matter" if the winner was from a country where handguns were illegal. Asked whether it was an appropriate prize for a fitness competition, Castro replied: "This insinuates its inappropriate. Which would be your opinion."

CrossFit is a franchise in which gyms – or 'boxes' as they're termed – pay an annual fee to be an official affiliate. In Copenhagen, CrossFitters sought confirmation on social media that their local affiliate didn't support the Glock sponsorship.

"We would like to stress that we are of course not pro weapons, even as a prize," CrossFit Copenhagen stated on Facebook. "We believe, like most of our members, that it is out of place to include weapons at a CrossFit Competition."

With gun ownership an uncontroversial part of life to many in the US, CrossFit might not have fully appreciated that, in the West, the US is the exception to the rule on gun ownership.

It remains to be seen whether CrossFit will adapt to the norms of an international market in order to secure its global growth. At any rate, maintaining a close relationship with gun sponsors could damage their relationship with larger sponsors.

Reebok, title sponsor for the CrossFit Games, was not happy to be associated with Glock.

"While we understand CrossFit's foundations are tied to military and first responders, we do not agree with this decision, particularly in light of current events in the United States," Reebok stated, adding they were not consulted beforehand. **M**



The CrossFit Games with GLOCK.

6 hours ago

CrossFit Games: Glock For the Podium

"The top male athlete, the Top female athlete, and every member of the winning team will receive a GLOCK pistol." —Dave Castro, Director of the CrossFit Games

263,747 Views

Like Comment Share



Kettle Bent

16 mins

Kære medlemmer.

For en god ordens skyld vil vi gerne understrege, at vi naturligvis ikke er pro våben og ej heller som præmie.

Vi synes, ligesom størstedelen af jer medlemmer, at det er malplaceret at inddrage våben til en CrossFit-konkurrence.

Ha' en god mandag - og husk at se med, når vores seje team er på banen til Games lige om snart 😊

Like Comment

Top: The Glock sponsorship was announced on the CrossFit Games Facebook page.

Bottom: CrossFit Copenhagen's statement, denouncing the Glock sponsorship.



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GET STUCK IN

Food festival

FOODIES looking to broaden their horizons should block out their diary in the dog days of summer. Now in its twelfth year, the Copenhagen Cooking & Food Festival is an annual showcase of the capital's effervescent food scene. This year's jamboree promises to be bigger and better, with 100 events spread across 10 days – each celebrating the Nordic kitchen, the season's bounty and Copenhagen's evergreen culinary appeal.

For clean-living fans, there's breakfast and yoga on a boat in the harbour while for alphabetical glut-tions there's the gut-busting "Hot-dogs from A-Z". Diners with courtly cravings should make a beeline for the 1930s royal banquet served at Christiansborg Slot.

The underlying theme of this year's festival is "Breaking the New" – a reflection on the innovative thinking that has marked Copenhagen's emergence as a global food destination over the past two decades.

"This development was started by a handful of pioneers who had the courage to think differently and try new paths," explains festival director Stine Lolk.

Lolk adds that this year's goal is to showcase new trends in food and gas-

Rasmus Flindt Pedersen



Dine in the streets during Frederiksberg Harvest Feast

tronomy – from down-to-earth street dinners to gourmet experiences.

"A common denominator of all of our events is that our guests are going to experience something that cannot be found the rest of the year," she says.

Indeed, one of the most eye-catching events this year involves creepy-crawlies. Nina Askov – better known as the 'Buglady' – hopes to show why insects are a healthy, sustainable and, above all, tasty source

of protein. You can find Askov crisping her crickets and warming her worms at Kødbyen's CPH Food District, alongside other innovative food professionals demonstrating the potential future of food.

But if bugs aren't your thing, then how about Greenlandic cuisine? It may not be on many bucket lists, but with Inuunguaq Hegeland in the kitchen, you should be in safe hands. Twice voted Greenland's best chef, and now resident at the hyggelig-

sounding Hotel Arctic in Ilulissat, Hegeland will prepare a three-course Greenlandic fusion meal on August 19 and 20. Expect musk ox and berries, as well as more familiar Greenlandic staples such as lamb and fish.

For something more conventional, head to Fisketorvet, where there'll be free cooking demonstrations throughout the festival. Also look out, for the pizza-making workshops, fermentation classes, cocktail pairing, and what's been billed as a "pop-up community kitchen in the world's largest straw bale garden".

Or book a spot at the Frederiksberg Harvest Feast, which will see diners gather around a table in the middle of Frederiksberg Allé. According to Julie Hildebrandt-Hæsum Bender, the constituted head of the festival, the feast reflects the growing number of Copenhageners who want to know more about where their food comes from.

"We're celebrating the meeting between the food producers and the people who live in the city," she said. "The harvest feast is also a good example of how food works as social glue – bringing people together and creating new local communities." **M**

Copenhagen Cooking & Food Festival
August 19-28
Copenhagencooking.com

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Amanda Yee wants to bring Copenhageners together.

Supper club

"FOOD IS THE GLUE that holds a lot of communities together," says Amanda Yee (left), the founder of Five and Dime, a Copenhagen supper club that betrays her academic and culinary pedigree. Yee studied sociology before swapping surveys for soufflés at Le Cordon Bleu hospitality school in San Francisco.

Five and Dime began in 2012 after Yee split up with her boyfriend and moved into a new apartment. To make friends she invited her neighbours over for supper and, with that, an idea was born. Five and Dime, she says, is "about building community through eating, and exploring the emotions that come from community or with community building".

Having moved to Copenhagen last year to work as a food stylist, Yee soon gravitated back to the kitchen and is now at Sidecar in Nørrebro, where she cooks Southern comfort food. But, as a newcomer to the city, she felt Five and Dime was ripe for revival. "I think Danish people are friendly once they let you in, but sometimes they need a little push," Yee says. "Five and Dime gives people an opportu-

nity to connect and build friendships or relationships."

Five and Dime is named for the area code in Yee's hometown. But, somewhat ironically, the location is constantly changing so as to let people see the city from difference perspectives. She held her first supper club on a boat and the second on a Nørrebro rooftop with cocktails and live music. Standout dishes that evening included grilled peaches with burrata, mint and ramps, alongside barbecued lamb with green tomato chutney.

The next event, scheduled for August, will be a scavenger hunt around town. Clues to the location of each course will appear on the menu. But if that sounds baffling, don't worry. "Eating together is a universal language," Yee says. "Everyone understands it."

Five and Dime
fiveanddime.club
fiveanddimeEATS@gmail.com

Meet the writers

BOOKWORMS are bound to enjoy Louisiana's annual literature festival this month. The four-day celebration of contemporary international literature boasts a stellar line-up. As well as authors from Scandinavia, the UK and the US, Louisiana Literature features writers from Poland, Morocco and Nigeria.

Festival director Christian Lund says this year's authors "reflect the world we live in now". Topping the bill are Booker Prize winner Julian Barnes – whose latest novel, *The Noise of Time*, has just been published in Danish – and Norwegian writer Karl Ove Knausgård (right), whose six-volume work *My Struggle* turned him into a global literary superstar.

Lund says a good festival isn't just about interviewing authors, but also about creating the unpredictable. "Each year we put together conversations between authors where they can unfurl in another way than in interviews," he says.

Knausgård will appear alongside fellow Norwegian writer Tomas Espedal.

"They're old friends and part of each other's books, yet have never appeared on stage together," says



Lund. "We're excited to see how they interact."

The festival also features several writers whose works have been published in Danish for the first time. They include Lorrie Moore – whom Barnes describes as "America's best short-story writer" – and the Nigerian author Chigozie Obioma, whose debut *The Fishermen* has been translated into 22 languages.

Also make sure you don't miss Han-ya Yanagihara. Her debut, *A Little Life*, is set in modern-day New York and was a finalist for the Man Booker Prize and the National Book Award in 2015. She will be in conversation with prize-winning Polish author Olga Tokarczuk. **M**

Louisiana Literature
August 18-21
bit.ly/louisianalifefest16



Peter Stanners

Edward Snowden during his live talk at Roskilde Festival.

"Sometimes the only moral decision is to break the law"

Edward Snowden argues that privacy is the foundation of all other rights – without it we cannot truly have a free press, free expression, or freedom to practice religion

"WE RESERVE THE RIGHT to collect and indefinitely store all text and phone conversations received or sent while on the festival grounds."

Roskilde Festival's decision to publish its data policy on billboards around the festival grounds didn't go down well with festivalgoers, who posted incredulous status updates on social media.

But of course it was a ruse, orchestrated by professional pranksters The Yes Men, who draw attention to injustice by staging humorous pranks. They were at the Roskilde Festival to interview Edward Snowden over live video link from his home in Moscow. The whistleblower, formerly employed

by the US National Security Agency (NSA), single-handedly sparked a global uproar by leaking documents that exposed the indiscriminate mass surveillance of citizens carried out by Western intelligence agencies.

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

Hundreds of apprehensive festivalgoers were gathered for the event and when Snowden appeared over the Skype connection, the crowd erupted with applause. Snowden explained that while Roskilde wasn't carrying out the surveillance advertised on the billboards, Western intelligence agencies really were logging every website we visit and every person we

talk to on our phones.

But why is this violation of privacy such a big deal?

"The governments say, we are doing it to protect you, and that if you have nothing to hide, you have nothing to fear. That line originated in Nazi Germany, that's a line from Goebbels. It argues that the ends justify the means. But surveillance isn't about privacy or hiding. It's about protecting you and your ideas and community and family and yourself. Privacy is the foundation of all other rights. Freedom of speech means nothing if you are not free from the prejudice of other people's thoughts," he said.

"Free press is not valuable if journalists can't keep their inves-

tigations secret and find out about what the truth of the world really is and share it with us. Arguing that you shouldn't care about privacy if you've got nothing to hide is the same as saying you shouldn't care about free speech if you've got nothing to say."

THE PROBLEM WITH METADATA

The surveillance debate is difficult because it's so complex. On the one hand, the intrusion into the lives of citizens is so great that it demands action. But the technical nature of the surveillance can make it difficult to relate to. Take metadata, the information from our mobile devices and computers that serves as a log for who we

Peter Stanners

talk to and which websites we visit. Surveillance agencies access this data to try and understand who we are and whether we pose a threat to the state. Facebook and Google also sell our metadata, such as our GPS data and search history, to advertisers so they can better target us.

"The problem with metadata is that it doesn't enjoy any legal protection. When you hear the word metadata, no one knows what it is. But it means tracking records, your private records, indications of what you've been doing. Not what you said to your buddy, but the fact you talked to your buddy, that you called your mom, that you called a suicide hotline, where your phone went, who it connected to, what political groups you associate with. Any of these things are metadata, and they enjoy no legal protection."

Multinational corporations used to be able to freely transfer this data between the US and the EU under an agreement called Safe Harbour, but this was outlawed in Europe following the revelations about invasive surveillance practices.

"The EU court of justice struck it down for violating human rights. Which rights? The right to be left alone unless you're doing something wrong. They were supposed to create a new agreement, but haven't done that yet. They created a so-called privacy shield. But it isn't, it's a liability shield. It doesn't require the US to change laws that allow indiscriminate mass surveillance. Those laws are still in effect. You guys without a US passport, if they want your Google or Facebook data, they can do this without a warrant, they can do this without going to a court. This was my job at the NSA, and this is what made me come forward," explained Snowden.

Ultimately, the violation of privacy is a matter of power and control.

"We know less and less about what's going on in governments, while the new surveillance methods mean they know more about us than ever in the history of humanity. Is that right? And at the very least, shouldn't we get a vote?"

Snowden pointed out that surveillance agencies are aware that mass surveillance is not very useful for preventing terrorism or crime. Despite mass surveillance, we have witnessed attacks in Copenhagen, Paris, Orlando and San Bernadino. Intelligence agencies are so weighed down by the volume of data that it is no longer useful. Instead, Snowden argued that intelligence agencies should be more specif-

ic about whom they target, and ask judges for a warrant before putting individuals under surveillance.

"If you collect everything and monitor everyone, you understand nothing," he said.

NO REGRETS

The crowd was quiet as Snowden talked – it was easy to forget we were at a music festival. They seemed overwhelmingly supportive of Snowden, who has just finished his third year of exile in Russia. He reiterates that he would happily return to the US for a trial, but the US government won't offer him one. He faces life in prison.

"I would do it again, and I'd come forward faster," he said. "Sometimes the only moral decision is to break the law. Laws exist to protect order and the system."

He pointed out that the most important social justice movements started with lawbreaking.

"The law is there to protect institutions and to protect order. This is in most cases a good thing. But the law can also perpetuate injustice. Helping people flee persecution in times of war, in Europe, has actually been a violation of law. Ending the prohibition of certain substances, loving the people you want to love, has been against the law all too frequently. Without the ability to break those laws and set that example, we lose the ability to move forward."

STAND FOR SOMETHING

Someone shouts "we support you!", and the crowd claps. But while he seemed moved by the support from the crowd, he said he is less interested in his own fate than whether he can encourage young people to fight for a better society.

"I don't care as much about me, whether I get pardoned or go to jail. What matters is the sort of world you guys build starting today. Are the people who come after us – your children, or my children – will they inherit the same lives we inherited, or are they going to live in a world that's less free, less safe and more watched?" he asked.

"This is what I learned from all these years at CIA at NSA. I talked to my co-workers about these things, and they agreed the programmes were wrong. I wasn't the only one thinking the programmes had gone too far, but there's a difference between believing in something and standing for something." **M**

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VISIT
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POLITICS

Money dispute bankrupts ambulance service

Proponents of privatised public services were dealt a blow with the forced bankruptcy of an ambulance operator last month.

Bios has run the ambulance service in the health authority Region of Southern Denmark since 2014, but it has struggled from the outset. It has had difficulties hiring enough staff, and its employees have repeatedly complained about a lack of work schedules and the poor working conditions, resulting in a number of resignations.

The company went bankrupt after it failed to return 31.5 million kroner that was accidentally paid to it by the health authority. Bios requested permission to pay back the amount in instalments, but the health authority argued that would conflict with EU law.

After Bios was declared bankrupt, the Region of Southern Denmark took over operation of the ambulance service. While it will cost 50 million kroner to restart the service, the Region expects to operate at a lower cost than what was paid to Bios.

Bios serves as an example of privatisation of public services gone wrong, argues MP Pernille Skipper, political spokesperson of the far-left Red-Green Alliance.

"We should stop outsourcing public services," Skipper wrote in a press release. "The cases speak for themselves: outsourcing produces inferior services and increasing inequality. This applies to both kindergartens and ambulance services, but we have also seen it fail at private nursing homes."

Marianne Mørk Mathiesen, a member of the Regional Council in the Region of Southern Denmark for the Liberal Alliance party, found it suspicious that the health authority should so abruptly need its money back. She added that it seemed like the case was being used as a way to get rid of the scandal-ridden ambulance company.

The chairperson of the Regional Council, Stine Lose of the Liberal Party (Venstre), argued the authority was obliged to demand that Bios return the money, or else it would risk providing illegal and anti-competitive state support to the company.

DEFINING DANISH IDENTITY

Immigrants wanting to become more Danish can use some core values to guide them, argues the Culture Minister, though an opposition MP is concerned about identifying Danishness too narrowly

Gender equality, free speech, bicycle culture, having a job, and the Danish folk high school culture – these are five values that Culture Minister Bertel Haarder of the Liberal Party (Venstre) identified as central to Danish identity.

He presented these values in an interview this summer about the Danish Cultural Canon, an initiative his ministry launched to gather Danish values, traditions and mindsets. The project's ambition is to make Danes more aware of what has shaped Danish culture and society over the years.

The folk high schools, for example, were established by Danish pastor N.F.S. Grundtvig in the mid-19th century to better educate the citizenry. Typically open to adults aged 18 to 24, there are now around 70 folk high schools across the country that offer informal education in a range of fields and specialisations.

What they symbolise, he argues, is the Danish culture of voluntary associations and communities, and the pursuit of knowledge that is not found in many other countries.

"If foreigners adopt these five values, I



Bicycle culture was one of the Culture Minister's five key Danish values.

would say that they are off to a good start," Haarder told Berlingske.

Not everyone agreed with Haarder's choices. Asked by Berlingske to select his five values, Social Democrat (Socialdemokrater) MP Dan Jørgensen agreed on the need to identify values that promote citizenship, and chose equality, solidarity, trust, participation and sustainability.

"Our identity, culture and values are under pressure," he said, pointing to the challenges presented by globalisation, climate change, terrorism and the migration crisis.

"This discussion can give us a direction for what we want. Do we want to maintain these values or do they belong to the past? And what are the costs of trying to keep them?"

MP Zenia Stampe of the Social Liberal

Party (Radikale) disapproved of Haarder's notion, however.

"Does he want to make a list or formula that we can hand to immigrants as a checklist, so they know which values to adopt in order to be called Danish? In that case, I don't believe in the project," she said, adding that the approach risked stratifying society.

Her five values were the generous welfare state, open-mindedness, vision, democratic knowledge and humour.

"The debate can help show that Danishness is a very flexible and dynamic thing," Stampe said.

"Danish culture is of course first priority in Denmark. But Denmark cannot become a monoculture. Minorities must have the right to exist, and that does not make them any less Danish."

IMPROVING SOCIAL SERVICES – KNOWLEDGE IS KEY

A new report from the Social and Interior Ministry attempts to identify ineffective spending, but critics fear the government is simply hunting for areas to make cuts

Social services are facing a major shake up. In a 250-page report released by the Social and Interior Ministry, the government outlined how successful the state's efforts were in the care of socially marginalised people, which costs around 45 billion kroner a year.

While the Social and Interior Minister, Karen Ellemann of the Liberal Party (Venstre), argues that money does make a difference, in too many cases money is spent inefficiently.

"We must be able to measure whether the efforts work. Unfortunately, too many initiatives have had too little effect," she told Politiken newspaper.

Among the findings of the report is that despite spending on social initiatives, marginalised children continue to significantly underperform at school, and efforts to get homeless, addicts and the long-term unemployed into work have been ineffective.

The new goals present a clear ideological change. The Venstre government

scrapped the former government's social targets for 2020, which included a poverty limit, when they took power last year. In the spring, they introduced their own ten goals for social mobility.

These goals emphasise that everyone can participate in the workforce, even the socially and physically marginalised. Their recent cuts to unemployment benefits were presented as creating better incentives to find work.

Critics pointed out, however, that the cuts will impoverish around 10,000 adults and 12,000 children this year, while minimum wages will stagnate or drop to match the lower benefit thresholds. **M**

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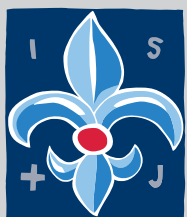


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Closing Denmark to Muslims and refugees

A proposal to ban Muslim immigrants and refugees by the Danish People's Party (DF) hasn't enjoyed much political support. But like many of DF's policies, it may just need some time

"STOP IMMIGRATION from Muslim countries."

The statement could easily have come from the Republican presidential campaign, but it was actually the headline of an opinion piece in Berlingske newspaper.

Its author, MP Søren Espersen of the Danish People's Party (DF), argued that the current strategies for tackling terrorism were naïve and called for a moratorium on immigrants and refugees from Muslim countries for a period of between four and six years.

"We must change our approach to the Islamic world and recognise that the vast majority of terrorism finds its roots there," Espersen wrote, adding that the intelligence services needed more funding, and that Danish Muslims should be punished if they fail to report members of their community who shows signs of radicalisation.

SHARPER RHETORIC

DF has long been critical of Islam and of immigration from Muslim countries, though party leader Kristian Thulesen Dahl said in 2014 that religion should not be a factor in deciding whether someone should be allowed to immigrate to Denmark.

In an analysis, Politiken newspaper explained that increased fear of terrorism has allowed DF to sharpen its rhetoric. DF is widely considered to have set the agenda on immigration over the past two decades – so much so that the centre-left Social Democrats voted in favour of stricter immigration laws along with the right-wing bloc this year.

Espersen did not find much support for his proposal, however.

"DF's latest proposal undermines not just human rights and conventions, but would ruin Denmark as a free, open and tolerant society," political spokesperson for Alternativet, Rasmus Nordqvist, told Berlingske.

Jonas Christofferson, chairman of the Danish Institute for Human Rights, agreed with Nordqvist and argued that Denmark would have to abandon all human rights conventions in order to follow through with the proposal.



Refugees and migrants walk along the motorway near Rødby after making their way up through Europe last September. LA now want to stop spontaneous asylum applications.

Peter Stanners

All the world's population cannot live in Denmark or Europe.

MP SIMON EMIL AMMITZBØL (LA)

Peter Stanners

"On the one hand, it would be clear discrimination on the basis of nationality. But it also wouldn't work, as non-Muslims from Muslim countries would not be allowed to enter Denmark, while Muslims from non-Muslim countries would."

SHIFTING BASELINE

While no other parties support Espersen's proposal, DF is no longer alone in advocating strict immigration regulations. An Infomedia survey in June found that 25 percent of Danes wanted a party with even stricter immigration policies than DF.

As immigration policies have become tighter, they have increasingly conflicted with Denmark's obligations under international refugee and human rights conventions.

The governing Liberal Party (Venstre) has previously advocated introducing immigration regulations that would allow migrants from a select group of countries to settle in Denmark more easily. They abandoned the proposal, as it would certainly violate Article 14 of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), which prevents discrimination based on national origin.

New laws that postpone for three years the right of some refugees to apply for family reunification have also been criticised as potentially violating Article 8 of the ECHR.

NO MORE ASYLUM

Refugee conventions also limit the parliament's ability to pursue certain immigration policies. Liberal Alliance (LA) wants changes so that Denmark will no longer have to process the spontaneous asylum applications of refugees who arrive on Danish soil.

"Denmark and Europe are under enormous pressure from millions of people who would rather live in our area of the world than where they were born," LA MP Simon Emil Ammitzbøl told Berlingske.

"You cannot blame them, since our grandparents worked hard to develop one of the world's richest and freest societies. But all the world's population cannot live in Denmark or Europe, which is why we must put limits on who can come in and who must stay out."

LA wants to funnel Danish resources to help those closer to the conflict areas, deport criminal foreigners, tighten Danish borders, and reform international conven-

tions that prevent Denmark from enacting these policies.

CONVENTION REFORM

PM Lars Løkke Rasmussen has already expressed an interest in reforming international conventions.

"If [the refugee crisis] continues, then we are not just facing a Danish challenge. It will be a European challenge. So a time will come we will have to discuss – which Denmark cannot do alone – whether the rules of the game can be adjusted," he told TV2 News in December.

Rasmussen's administration is unlikely to support Espersen's proposal, however. Interestingly, Espersen himself was against the idea in December, when Donald Trump first floated the idea of banning Muslims from the US.

"He's completely mad," Espersen told TV2 News, before adding that he couldn't see the policy being proposed in Denmark.

"No I can't. As I said before, it's really mad. We probably have a more developed understanding of democracy than Americans." **M**

Read more about the push to reform the European Human Rights Convention on page 14

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The burden of rights

Created in the aftermath of World War II to guarantee the rights of all Europeans, right-wing parties now want to reform the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR). While they argue the convention meddles with Danish immigration laws, critics warn that altering the convention might invite changes that undermine the philosophy that all people are entitled to inalienable rights



Sasha Maksymenko / flickr

A standoff during the annexation of Crimea by Russia. Hundreds of cases have been lodged in the European Court of Human Rights following the conflict.

DANES can thank the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) that they can't be tortured by the police, forced into slavery, or persecuted for their religious beliefs.

While these things are illegal under Danish law, the laws were only written to satisfy Denmark's responsibilities as a signatory of the 62-year-old convention.

But although it lays the foundation of democracy across Europe by safeguarding the rights of all, there is growing political discontent with the ECHR.

In Denmark, a number of political parties want to reform the convention, which they say interferes with their ability to implement Danish immigration laws.

Critics argue, however, that it would be a slippery slope towards weaker and culturally relative rights, far from the fundamental and inalienable rights we now enjoy.

There are a number of nations that would like to see the convention disappear altogether.

MP ANDERS STEENBERG (RADIKALE)

Sophie Frahm

AN ANNOYANCE

Gimi Levakovich isn't a well-liked member of Danish society. With his long criminal record, the Croatian patriarch of a family that counts a number of other criminals, has long since worn out his welcome in Denmark.

After being convicted of possession of a weapon and making death threats last August, he was given a 15-month sentence and a deportation order. But in May, the Supreme Court ruled that his right to a family life – he has two small children in Denmark – means he cannot be forced to leave Denmark.

"It is not reasonable," Morten Messerschmidt, MEP for the Danish People's Party (DF), told Berlingske. "Denmark should not have to abide by old conventions when we can't remember who wrote them, why, and under what reality they were written."

The rest of the governing blue bloc of parties supports DF's pro-

posal to suggest a reform of the convention next year when Denmark assumes the presidency of the Council of the European Union.

"The presidency of the Council is an excellent time for Denmark to propose and lead the work to modernise and revise the European Convention on Human Rights, because we have a strong international voice in the field," said Christina Egelund, immigration spokesperson for the Liberal Alliance (LA). The political spokesperson for the Conservative People's Party (Konservative), Mette Abildgaard, argued the issue should be at the top of the European agenda.

IMPERFECT BUT NECESSARY

The Social Liberal Party (Radikale) is opposed, arguing that it's a bad idea to alter the convention simply to fit a given political position.

"We are against any limitations on fundamental human rights and we are afraid that the consequences of revising the current convention might lead to an even more undesirable result," said MP Anders Steenberg.

"There are a number of nations that violate these rights daily and would like to see the convention disappear altogether."

He added that Europe's top priority right now should be finding a common solution to the crisis in the Middle East and a durable answer to the immigration crisis, rather than focusing on reforming the convention, as LA and Konservative suggest.

The Danish Institute of Human Rights expressed similar concerns. President Jonas Christoffersen warns that starting this kind of debate with the other 46 members of the Council of Europe might force Denmark to compromise on values that it holds dear.

"Denmark risks inviting changes that we think are unreasonable, undesirable and backwards. Denmark will not get enough out of it, and we might be forced to give up rights that we cherish in order to get our way."

He urges politicians to consider whether the supposed problems created by the convention are so serious that it is worth risking all the progress made in securing human rights in Europe over the past 70 years.

"Personally, I would rather live with the fact that we cannot have it exactly as we want in order to protect human rights."

OUT OF THE SHADOW OF WAR

The ECHR is a product of the times in which it was conceived. The year was 1950, and World War II had recently come to an end, closing an era of serious crimes against humanity. Inspired by the 1948 UN Declaration of Human Rights, the Council of Europe set out to create a legally-binding document to guarantee basic human rights for the citizens of Europe.

Now ratified by the 47 members of the Council of Europe, the ECHR is enforced by the European Court of Human Rights, where citizens can appeal court rulings from their home countries.

The power of the convention, and the reason it underpins Western democracy, stems from the belief that the rights it outlines are permanent and can't be undermined by shifting political sands and ideologies.

Christoffersen emphasises this point, as well as the power of the convention to safeguard people against oppressive policies. Fundamental human rights are a guarantee that governments can't disregard citizens' rights on a whim.

"The idea that each individual country ought to be able to adjust the fundamental human rights and freedoms to the policy of the incumbent government is dangerous. The purpose of the convention is to take some questions out of the political arena, and thereby prevent politicians from making decisions at odds with human rights."

DISSENT

The only time any European government has left the ECHR was during the Greek military dictatorship of 1967-1974, known as the Regime of the Colonels. When democratic rule was reinstated, one of the government's first actions

was to re-join the Council of Europe and ratify the ECHR.

But the ECHR is under threat from current signatories. The Turkish government has partially suspended the ECHR after introducing a three-month state of emergency following July's attempted coup. Russia is known to repeatedly violate the ECHR and has had over 500 cases lodged against it following its military aggression in the Ukraine. In 2015, Russian President Putin signed a law that allowed its Constitutional Court to dismiss ECHR rulings.

The ECHR also has opponents in Western Europe, most prominently in the UK, where the ruling Conservative Party has voiced similar objections to DF's in Denmark. Before she became Prime Minister in July, Theresa May called for the UK to leave the ECHR and instead formulate its own Bill of Rights.

"The ECHR can bind the hands of parliament, adds nothing to our prosperity, makes us less secure by preventing the deportation of dangerous foreign nationals – and does nothing to change the attitudes of governments like Russia's when it comes to human rights," May said in April when she was Home Secretary.

Since becoming prime minister, and with the party divided on the issue, she has backtracked on her position.

CHANGE CAN BE GOOD

According to Kristine Kjærsgaard, Associate Professor in the Department of History at the University of Southern Denmark, supporters of the ECHR see the convention as a positive framework for international cooperation – cooperation within which Denmark must solve all its challenges.

This does not mean, however, that the convention can never be changed or reformed, she says. The convention allows states to make reservations on particular sections, or even pull out entirely of it and the Council of Europe.

"It can be viewed as a strength of international cooperation that signatories are listening to the differing viewpoints that are critical of international cooperation and of the limitations it causes to sovereignty and self-government. But, on the other hand, this scepticism can develop into an opposition that might cause a further gap between the elite and the citizens, and which can become both a political and democratic challenge." **M**

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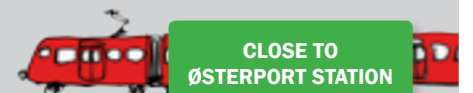
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Is Scotland ready to take the high road to independence?



Idyllic scenery on the main train line north from Perth, on the edge of the Cairngorm National Park.

On June 23, Scotland voted to remain in the EU. Sadly, the UK as a whole voted to leave. But they're not going to be dragged out of the EU without putting up a fight, and calls for a second referendum on independence are growing louder. It's a situation the British government wants to avoid at all costs, but Brexit may have been the final nail in the coffin of the union

"THE ONLY YOUNG people I know who voted Leave were men's rights activists, misogynists, and Donald Trump supporters," hisses Claire Bywalec, 23, with barely hidden disdain.

She and her friend Ashlea Camille, 27, got on the train at Perth and are heading to Edinburgh for a big night out. They didn't need much encouragement to talk about the fallout of the referendum of EU membership – 52 percent of Brits voted to leave, but 62 percent of Scots wanted to remain.

"I was so annoyed by the result. It's just another example of Scotland being ruled by people they didn't vote for."

INTO THE UNKNOWN

While it's safe to say that the consequences of the Leave vote will be far-reaching, no one quite knows what's going to happen. For a start, there was no concrete plan presented by the Leave campaigners, who relied upon vague assurances that the UK could easily negotiate a new relationship with Europe, while lying about the costs and negative impacts of EU membership.

The vote was followed by a power vacuum when David Cameron stepped down as PM. He argued that although he was the one who called the referendum, he shouldn't be tasked with leading the negotiations with the EU as he had wanted to remain.

Theresa May – another Remain MP – became the new PM by seizing power in the Conservative Party, and promptly visited her colleagues in Paris and Berlin to assure them that when the UK leaves the EU, it won't be leaving Europe. But despite assurances from Cameron and May that the Brexit vote would be final, May has decided to postpone formal exit negotiations – triggered when Article 50 of the Treaty of Lisbon is activated – until next year.

In the meantime, investor confidence has plummeted along with the value of the pound, while newly-cheap British assets sent the

The absence of any leadership and the lack of any advance planning [...] surely must count as one of the most shameful abdications of responsibility in modern political history.

NICOLA STURGEON,
FIRST MINISTER OF
SCOTLAND

Words and photos:

Peter Stanners

FTSE100 stock market soaring. Soon came reports of a sharp uptick in hate crimes and warnings that Brexit threatened house prices, the financial services industry, pensions and scientific research.

While the UK referendum may cause some to worry about the future of the EU, it's the UK's own survival that may be most at risk. It's a strange union, composed of England, Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland. The four countries are represented separately in football tournaments, but together at the Olympics. And while England doesn't have its own national assembly, the other three do.

Ultimately, it's May's government in London that wields the most power, but pre-existing fissures in the union have only deepened in the wake of the vote. Wales voted to leave, despite being the largest UK recipient of EU funding – around 17 billion kroner over seven years. Immediately after the vote, the Welsh first minister, Carwyn Jones, wrote to Cameron to demand that the national government pick up the tab, but was turned down.

Northern Ireland's recent stability is thanks in large part to the open border with the Republic of Ireland to the south. Should Northern Ireland leave the EU with the UK, its border with the Republic might have to close – otherwise, EU nationals flying into Dublin could take the bus to Belfast and enter the UK without passing through passport controls.

INDEPENDENCE DAY

But it's in Scotland where the Brexit result is most contentious. In 2014, a majority of Scots voted in a referendum to remain a part of the United Kingdom. With Scotland now at risk of being dragged out of the EU, Scottish first minister Nicola Sturgeon has threatened a second independence referendum.

"I voted to stay in the UK, but now I would vote for independence," says Otto Sanderson, 36, a deli owner and wine merchant in Pitlochry, a picturesque tourist town near the Cairngorm National Park.

"Before, I was told that if I voted for independence, Scotland would be kicked out of the EU and that was my main reason for staying.

But now I see that Scotland could build its own economy, offer tax incentives like Ireland does, and could take a section of London's businesses who want to remain in the EU to Edinburgh or Glasgow."

Sturgeon has been outspoken in her criticism of the British government following the referendum result.

"The absence of any leadership and the lack of any advance planning both from the politicians who proposed the referendum and from those who campaigned a leave vote surely must count as one of the most shameful abdications of responsibility in modern political history," she told a conference of the Institute for Public Policy Research in Edinburgh.

EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE

Sanderson is originally from Finland, but has lived in Pitlochry for the past 12 years after meeting his Scottish wife. He opened his shop with a business partner this summer, and has already seen a marked drop in the number of European tourists visiting the town following the Brexit result.



Otto Sanderson says Brexit has put his new business at risk.



Ashlea Camille (left) and Claire Bywalec on the train to Edinburgh. They would both vote for Scottish independence if given a second chance.

Almost 62 percent of residents in Perth and Kinross, his voting district, voted to remain.

"Straight after the vote, we shop owners knew we would need to be more frugal. We are only just coming out of a bad financial crisis. We sell lots of European produce, but we don't know what's going to happen. As a new business, cash flow is always an issue."

He said he was shocked by the result, and disappointed by the reasons people gave for leaving.

"People voted purely with their emotions on immigration and not at all on the facts," he said.

The results showed a clear age divide, with younger voters overwhelmingly voting to remain in the UK – the problem was that too few of them turned out to vote.

A little way up the road, Gary Ashcroft is waiting for the bus with his suitcase. The 19-year-old lives in Dingwall in northern Scotland, but is on his way to nearby Kinloch Rannoch to work on a new electricity substation.

I was so annoyed by the result. It's just another example of Scotland being ruled by people they didn't vote for.

CLAIRE BYWALEC

"I was shocked by the result. I heard quite a few people say they would leave, but I never thought it would happen. I personally want to stay in. There might be problems with the European Union, but by staying we have a better option to change things. Europe is generally a good thing because of the working conditions, freedom to roam and holidays," he said.

He isn't worried about the effect of European workers on the labour market.

"If they want to come here and work and pay their way, so be it."

A PROGRESSIVE SCOTLAND

The referendum result wasn't legally binding and there is speculation that May might not activate Article 50. It's uncertain whether the UK parliament would have to vote on the outcome of the negotiations for the new relationship with the EU, though the leaders of the Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland have demanded a say.

As the train thunders over the iconic Forth Road Bridge in the ap-

proach to Edinburgh, Bywalec says she's confident that Scotland can go its own way without the rest of the UK.

"The Scottish parliament could do the job alone. I think the argument that we are too stupid, which has been around since the 1970s, is nonsense. We are very wealthy and very intelligent. And if we were such a burden on England, why the hell would they keep us? If we weren't contributing anything, why are they hellbent on keeping us?"

Scotland's finances may not be in as good shape as Bywalec believes, especially after the drop in the value of oil wiped £10 billion of annual revenue from the coffers of a potentially independent Scotland.

In the run up to Scotland's 2014 independence referendum, it was widely argued that the Scottish economy is too weak to be self-sustaining. Only 44.7 percent of Scots voted to leave the UK then, but recent polls show growing support for independence – 52 percent in a Sunday Times poll immediately after the Brexit referendum, and a

more modest 47 percent in a YouGov poll a month later.

With Scottish independence gaining ground, the best strategy for retaining a united UK could be to loosen the arrangement. In July, the independent Constitution Reform Group set out a case for radical constitutional reform in the UK, and presented an Act of Union Bill that would grant fully devolved sovereignty to each of the four countries within a federal arrangement.

Ceding more powers to Scotland to stave off a second referendum, might not be enough for Bywalec, however, who believe their own leaders are best equipped to serve Scottish interests.

"The Scottish government is quite progressive, and I'm more convinced our rights will be protected under a Scottish rather than an English Conservative government. Sturgeon has stood up for European migrants in Scotland, saying they are welcome to stay on. We don't want to be run by an anti-woman, anti-human rights party down in London. Sturgeon is the polar opposite." **M**

To fight populism the weak superstate has one option: reform or die

The very freedoms that have made the EU an economic and social success now threaten to undermine the entire project. Concerns over immigration drove Brits to vote to leave the EU, and now populist parties in Denmark want to give Danes a referendum too. Europe stands at a crossroads. Can it address the criticisms that it has grown too powerful? Or is actually too weak to save itself?

"DAWN IS BREAKING on an independent United Kingdom," crowed Nigel Farage as the results of the Brexit referendum trickled in.

The leader of the Eurosceptic party UKIP had long wanted a referendum on British membership, and as the Leave side looked set to claim victory, he had reached the pinnacle of his political career.

But in the weeks following the result, it became painfully apparent that one doesn't simply leave the EU. With no concrete plan for an alternative to EU membership, the pound slumped and the economy showed signs of contraction.

The central conflict is this: most Brits want the country to remain a member of the single market, but don't want uncontrolled migration. For EU leaders, this is a deal breaker – no migration, no access.

The standoff symbolises a major existential threat to the European project. If the only way to save the EU is by making it less integrated, could we be watching the first stages of its slow decline?

DEXIT

Despite the political, economic and social upheaval resulting from the Brexit decision, some Danish parties want to follow the UK's lead.

"If the Brits succeed in getting a deal, which we believe they should, then Danes should be asked if Denmark should do the same," leader of the populist Danish People's Party (DF), Kristian Thulesen Dahl, told TV2 News.

"Many residents of European countries are tired of leaving it up to the EU to tackle the problem of people 'wandering' between countries, when the EU doesn't have a solution. This applies both to the migration flows we saw last year [...] and also to free movement internally in the EU, where the UK

has been especially burdened," he said.

"You can arrive and receive welfare from one day to the next, and many Danes don't think this is reasonable."

The far left Red-Green Alliance (Enhedslisten) also supports a referendum on EU membership. They take issue with the EU for lacking transparency, having a weak democratic mandate, and forsaking workers and their rights.

"The EU system creates the perfect conditions for the growth of xenophobia and right-wing populism," political spokesperson Pernille Skipper declared on the party's website.

"The combination of an unregulated market, the expansion to the East and lack of efforts to combat pressure on wages is a poisonous cocktail that strikes the lowest layers of society and plays people against each other."

She added that the UK referendum would be good for workers, who will have better opportunities to fight wage dumping and poverty.

"We need to use the momentum the British referendum has created to have a debate about new European forms of cooperation and alternatives to the EU," she wrote calling for a Danish referendum on June 5, 2017, following a proper debate on alternatives to the EU.

TACTICAL EUROSCEPTICISM

Danes are overwhelmingly in favour of the EU and polls following the UK referendum showed strengthened support for the EU across Europe. In Denmark, support for EU membership rose from 60 to 69 percent, according to a Voxmeter survey.

DF and Enhedslisten's decisions to adopt a harder line on the EU may seem counterintuitive at a time when Danish voters are increasingly supportive of EU



Nigel Farage, former leader of the UK Independence Party, who was long wanted the UK to leave the EU.

Gage Skidmore / flickr

membership. But Professor Derek Beach of the Department of Political Science at the University of Aarhus explains that it's a clever strategy to shore up support at the fringes of the political spectrum.

"Tactically, it's good to prime the EU issue and bring in voters that way. EU-hostile views are much more prevalent in voters who tend toward the far left or far right. So if they keep the EU in focus, they hope it will spill over into national parliamentary elections and they can steal voters from adjacent pro-EU parties."

Christine Bosse, businesswoman and president of the Danish European Movement, agrees that the stronger Eurosceptic positions are politically opportunistic.

"DF didn't call for a referendum until they saw the outcome of the Brexit vote. They flirt with Putin, and I am sure they work with UKIP even though they don't admit it. They, at least, follow UKIP's

rhetoric on immigration by blaming the EU and focussing on national borders, but without offering any solutions. Bringing up an EU referendum now will keep their core voters happy while they fish for further backing from the Social Democrats, Liberals and Conservatives," says Bosse, adding that Enhedslisten also lacks concrete alternatives to EU cooperation.

"Pernille Skipper is living in a dream without any foothold in reality. Working within the EU's social chapters is the only way to safeguard against wage dumping. Capital goes where the conditions are best. An EU exit does not change that. In a globalised world, solidarity has to be global via the EU."

In a Facebook post, Radikale MP Ida Auken expressed her disappointment with Enhedslisten's Eurosceptic position, arguing that they vastly underestimate

how complicated it would be to replace the EU with a new type of binding cooperation between countries.

"If someone is ready to burn the house to the ground like Enhedslisten is now, then they need to give some realistic justification why Europe won't turn into a smoking ruin from which only Geert Wilders and Le Pen will rise with a vision of nationhood: more isolation, more fear of foreigners, more conflict and more hate."

She adds that she appreciates Enhedslisten's role in pulling left-wing governments in a greener and more socially conscious direction. She is concerned, however, by the party's influence on EU issues.

"I am worried that Enhedslisten wants a referendum. They can easily demand more democracy and transparency and keep their hands clean, without ever having to explain how leaving the EU will give Danes more control over their lives."

WORKING CLASS

The Brexit vote elicited soul searching in the media from EU supporters. Why had Wales, the largest recipient of EU funding in the UK, voted against its best interests? To what extent had the EU failed British people, and what could be done to move the EU in a different direction?

Central to this question is the impact of European immigration on British communities, particularly in underprivileged parts of the country. Seen through a wide lens, European migrants have helped fuel the British economy, contributing far more in tax receipts than they were paid out in benefits.

But it's also true that European workers have contributed to the stagnation of low wage workers due to increased competition over jobs, according to a study from the London School of Economics. Low income workers also took a hit from the austerity policies pursued by the Conservative government, while right-wing media peddled myths about European "benefit tourists".

In a 2013 article, the Daily Telegraph suggested that 600,000 unemployed migrants were living in Britain, costing the health services 15 billion kroner per year.

"These figures show that the wave of benefit migrants has become a tsunami of economic refugees fleeing the Eurozone crisis to

try to find jobs here," UKIP MP Douglas Carswell told the Daily Telegraph.

"We cannot both continue the free-at-the-point-of-use welfare state and benefits system and allow Europeans to flee the Eurozone and come here."

The figures were later roundly debunked, but the rhetoric resonated among the general public and became central to the Leave campaign's message.

TOO FAR?

The British government now faces a difficult negotiations, as it tries to become the only full member of the EU single market with the prerogative to restrict EU migration. Neither Norway nor Switzerland have this deal, which would violate the four freedoms that are central to the philosophy of the EU single market – the free movement of goods, capital, services and people.

Beach argues that these freedoms are more far-reaching than the rights Americans have when moving across state lines. For example, an American moving from California to Texas can't immediately enrol in a state university with reduced tuition; they first need to establish residency and pay taxes before being entitled to any benefits. By comparison, it is easier for European citizens to establish residency in another EU country.

He argues that the EU has to rely on very broad principles to govern migration, rather than more specific regulations like in the US, because the EU is nowhere near as powerful as the American federal government and lacks its ability to enforce specific regulations.

Recent rulings in the EU Court of Justice suggest that the EU has acknowledged that freedom of movement has gone too far, argues Beach. In 2014, the court ruled that governments can block welfare for jobless migrants, while the European Commission proposed amending legislation on the free movement of persons that would allow for the introduction of an 'emergency brake', at the request of former UK PM David Cameron.

"The EU system has recognised the issues and has tried to engage in a restoration of balance. So it's a shame that the UK's Remain campaign didn't do a better job of highlighting these changes," says Beach.



A shop selling Polish food in Carlisle, England. Large numbers of Polish citizens moved to the UK after their accession to the EU in 2004. Around 800,000 Poles currently live in the UK.

The EU system creates the perfect conditions for the growth of xenophobia and right-wing populism.

MP PERNILLE SKIPPER (ENHEDSLISTEN)

NOT A 'SUPER STATE'

While support for the EU has grown since Brexit, the rise of populist parties demonstrates growing unease with European cooperation, and particularly with its perceived inability to manage migration and tackle terrorism.

The central challenge is that Europeans believe the EU is much more powerful than it really is, argues Beach.

"There is an expectation-capability gap. The EU is built up to be a super state, but it is very limited and deals with removing barriers to free trade and the movement of people. This does have an impact on people's lives, allowing students to travel, reducing mobile phone roaming costs, and tackling anti-competitive practices by corporations such as Google. But compared to the British government, it can do very little to alleviate unemployment, stop terrorism and deal with the consequences of globalisation. The EU can't bring back jobs lost in the post-industrial transformation. The jobs are gone. If they've not gone to low-cost countries, they are being automated. What are people going to live off in the future? The EU can't address this."

A BETTER EUROPE

Auken finished her Facebook update by calling for politicians to listen to people's concerns about the

EU, but to stop using the EU as a scapegoat during hard times.

Bosse thinks the EU could increase its democratic legitimacy by letting Europeans directly elect the presidents of the European Parliament and the European Commission, by allowing the European Parliament to propose legislation, and by closing one of the two parliament buildings.

"I would also make sure all school children visit Brussels and learn about the European constitution," she says.

Beach is cautious about suggesting ways to improve the EU. For a start, any major change requires a treaty revision, which could take years. But, more importantly, although the EU has made an effort to better engage with its citizens, it has not had much luck.

When the EU was drawing up a European Constitution, the European Commission opened up an online forum for public discussion. According to Beach, only around 2,500 comments were left on the website over a period of 18 months.

"So while the EU wants to listen to the people, most Europeans don't give a shit – especially those who don't like the EU. The people who engage are like me, members of think tanks and intellectuals. It's a paradox – how do you reform the EU for people who don't care about it?" M

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SPROG



CAPTURED

Rasmus Degnbol

I was in New York this summer for business and had some time to kill before heading to the airport. So, being Danish, I decided to spend it at NYC Pride.

I've been to many Pride parades, and they are always an explosion of joy mixed with cheesy political propaganda. But this Pride was special. Arriving just weeks after the terrible massacre at an LGBT Orlando nightclub, the parade was twice its normal size.

This image shows a really moving moment in the parade, when 49 people suddenly fell to the street. The cheers made way for silence. It was a powerful way to make a message.

On the way to the airport I felt happy that so many Americans had come out on that day to support LGBT people. LGBT people in Denmark also face discrimination and harassment, and Pride is such an amazing way to maintain awareness and keep pushing for their rights.





Heralded as Denmark's David Bowie, he dropped a trilogy of albums in just one year and seduced fans with raw lyrics and rambling storytelling. Danish music seems to have found a maverick in Bisse, but what lies behind the enigmatic frontman?

BLOOD & MUSIC

AS QUICKLY as he burst onto the Danish music scene with painted eyes and wild hair, it feels like Bisse has become more myth than man.

"If you check out one Danish artist, it has to be him," a fellow train passenger advised me en route to the Roskilde Festival last month, tapping knowingly at his schedule. "It's going to be fantastic."

He wasn't the only one who thought so. Although Bisse's Roskilde debut was a late-night show at the indoor Gloria stage, a lengthy queue snaked all the way out the door with twenty minutes to go.

Perhaps punters had read the small handful of rave reviews off the back of Bisse's recent Copenhagen gigs. Critics have described the confrontational performer as a mythical beast, a Bowie-Cave hybrid in elaborate dress, and a skilled lyricist who interweaves raw, internal monologues with fantasy and brittle social critique. Unusually for most rising Scandinavian performers, Bisse also sings in his mother tongue.

Bisse – which translates to 'thug' – is the stage name of Thorbjørn Radisch, the former songwriter and guitarist of Spillemændene. In his latest incarnation, Radisch released a series of albums, dubbed the Blood Trilogy, in just under a year.

He's clearly a man in overdrive, and the Roskilde program promised a total sensory experience at the show, warning that the artist was prone to leaping from the stage mid-performance. But on the night of the gig, the frontman seemed more enigmatic than energetic, pacing the stage in robes and raising his arms to the ceiling as if in prayer.

"You almost feel like a priest up there on the stage," says Radisch, "Like you're preaching to folks in a church, shouting about love, life and death."

With mascara-smudged eyes peeking out from under a cap, the performer looks considerably less dramatic when we meet in a quiet corner of the festival the morning after the show.

Radisch explains that while he usually

loves to get out amongst the audience, the festival set-up was simply too big.

"I was afraid that if I jumped in there, I wouldn't get up again. I'm 29, I have to take care of myself," he laughs.

I point out that he did manage to squat down and sing into the ear of an orange-vested crowd controller below the stage, breaking with concert convention by shining a spotlight on the invisible support staff.

"Yeah. The crowd controllers have to maintain a barrier between the artists and the crowd – for safety reasons of course – but it's also my job to break down that barrier. That's why they hired me, god-damn it!"

LIFE IS LIKE BLOOD

The role of the artist often preoccupies Radisch. He talks about one of his inspirations, rock legend Nick Cave, who recently announced an upcoming album about grieving his lost son.

"I just can't help thinking about ►

Words:
Lena Rutkowski

Photos:
Rasmus Degnbol



Artists are very liberated. But that means you liberate yourself from a lot of commitments, and that's also sad.

Nick Cave earning money from the death of his son. It's the world's best PR story. I lost my son, here's an LP. It costs 12 pounds," he says.

"But then, it is so generous to share pain. When people are sad or in despair, they engage with music, books and movies because they are searching for answers. But artists don't give answers, they open your mind. Then you search for the answers yourself." He pauses. "Like Google."

Radisch says the Blood Trilogy – made up of the three albums *PMS*, *Umage* and *Happy Meal* – explores the human experience, starting with the individual and spiralling out to society at large. *PMS* deals with the bleeding of an individual body, *Umage* with the "pathetic" pain of unrequited love, while *Happy Meal* addresses the blood that is shed through war and the refugee crisis.

For the singer-songwriter, blood carries layers of meaning.

"There's blood coursing through the body and from the heart, upwards through the society. Blood is also a very beautiful material, I love it. The deep red colour, the taste of iron and sugar, and its thickness. Life is not smooth or fixed, it's like blood – moving all the time," he says.

"Trilogies are also bullshit. In a sense, all the albums I make will be 'blood' albums. But these three were also metaphorically concrete."

Radisch didn't mean to create a trilogy, intending to follow-up *PMS* with *Happy Meal's* sharp social criticism. But then his girl-

friend left him, spawning the deeply personal *Umage*.

"It was important to me to make that album and to prove to myself I could write about my feelings. I've written songs for ten years and people would always point out that they were highly constructed and other-worldly, dealing mostly with fiction," he says.

I ask whether that makes it harder to perform *Umage* live.

"No, I'm over it now. Now the songs are the only things left. They are like beautiful grave-stones."

ISOLATION

It is not surprising that Radisch's music often focuses on broader issues. He says he was highly politically active as a teenager, and once protested a new law in the Danish parliament.

"But more critically I felt like life was such a joke, such a mystery, and you couldn't take it seriously."

He applies the same wry detachment when talking about music festivals.

"They are a hedonistic experience and evoke pagan rituals, but they're also a bit disgusting. People are dying on the streets out in the world, and in here everyone is drunk," he says, adding that reflecting on the world at large and transforming it into music can also be an isolating experience.

"Artists are very liberated. But that means you liberate yourself from a lot of commitments, and that's also sad. Sometimes you feel like you're

floating. In Danish, there is this saying – when you write about the world, you have stand outside and look in."

He pauses, and reflects on his own way of looking at the world.

"When I was younger and I wanted to make sense of the world, I got this sense that when I died, the world would end. Once I closed my eyes, it would be gone. Now that I'm older, I'm ashamed of thinking this way – it sounds egocentric."

DON'T BELIEVE THE HYPE

Performing at Roskilde Festival represents a career milestone for many Danish artists. But Radisch has been making music for ten years and holds no illusions about the hype surrounding Bisse.

"When I first performed at Roskilde with my old band, I ended up so disappointed. I thought that it was our breakthrough. The reviews said that we were stars and I felt like a star. But it doesn't work like that. Next week, when I play in Copenhagen again, there will probably only be 100, 250 people tops," he says.

"I am a niche artist for now. That doesn't say much about me, but it says a lot about Denmark. Everything is a niche. And there's a lot of shitty niche music in Denmark."

He's also vocal about what he sees as his own musical limitations.

"I used to write the songs for my old band, and I became a solo artist because I wanted to perform my own material, so I could

put myself into it. I'm not a great singer, but I'm very passionate."

For Radisch, the fact that he could command a large crowd at Roskilde doesn't necessarily herald a lucrative music career.

"At a festival, people come along for the party because they've heard I'm a crazy performer. I am becoming a bit known, sure, but I can't make a living out of it yet," he says.

"Yesterday means nothing today. It was just a show. People had a thrill, but at the end of the day, it's just a show."

A week after Roskilde, Bisse performs to another packed house at the Royal Danish Playhouse in Copenhagen, and the energy is palpable. With only a makeshift stage set up in the foyer, the singer is able to freely plunge into the rapt audience. He moves chaotically about the stage, as if lost in the memories provoked by his own storytelling, and dives beyond the front-row to sing right into people's faces.

I take along a friend who hasn't seen him perform before. Afterward, her mouth is agape. "There was just so much feeling," she says, as fans gather around the singer to shake his hand and buy a record.

There's a buzz in the air, producing that collective "wow" that slips out when a roomful of people share in something powerful together. But it's high summer, and there are endless concerts to attend in the months ahead. I wonder what Radisch thinks, whether he sees it as just another show. **M**



You almost
feel like a
priest up
there on
the stage.
Like you're
preaching
to folks in
a church,
shouting
about love,
life and
death.

THE WEALTH IN

OWIND

Denmark was never fated to become a leader in wind energy. But Peter Hauge Madsen, head of DTU Wind, warns that this status is now at risk, jeopardising Denmark's contribution to tackling climate change – and lots of jobs and money

The hill is steep, but my bike is flying forwards. On the horizon, three tall, white structures emerge, marking my destination. Their wings stretch outward, spinning slowly, propelled by the same invisible force as I am – the wind at my back.

The Research Establishment Risø was established in the 1950s to investigate the possibilities of nuclear energy. Following the oil crisis of the 1970s and the parliamentary decision to abandon nuclear energy, its focus shifted toward renewable energy. In 2008, Risø became an institute under the Technical University of Denmark (DTU) and the sprawling, leafy campus on the shores of Roskilde Fjord is now home to several departments.

Among them is DTU Wind, a global leader in interdisciplinary wind energy research. Through education, innovation and research-based consulting with the industry, they "push the limits of the technical sciences in the development of wind energy". Their work

supports an industry that employs 31,000 people and had a turnover of over 88 billion kroner in 2015.

But there is turbulence on the horizon. Public funding for wind energy research has been cut in recent years, just as countries such as Germany and Spain are increasing their investments in wind energy research, eroding Denmark's competitive edge.

"Unless we continue to develop knowledge and know-how in Denmark, why would these companies continue to operate in Denmark in 10 years' time?" asks Peter Hauge Madsen, head of DTU Wind.

"Siemens and Vestas are here because so much development happens in Denmark. It's a testing ground more than a real market for these companies. These are global companies, and most of their production is not being installed in Denmark. Making sure they stay here is about securing jobs and income – about maintaining a viable industrial sector in Denmark."

STEADY PROGRESS

Madsen has worked with wind for a long time. After completing a PhD in stochastic mechanics, he went on to run a windmill test centre at the age of 33, and has been

A turbine is a very efficient structure. They only weigh the equivalent of the volume of air passing through every few seconds. They really are rather amazing.

Words and photos:

Peter Stanners

department head at DTU Wind for the past four years.

He recalls crawling around in the cramped confines of a wind turbine nacelle – the casing that holds the generating components atop the tower – in the 1980s, when turbines were far smaller than they are today.

"Now the big turbines have as much space in them as a small apartment – you could almost live in them," he says as he drives me around the scenic Risø campus.

But while wind turbines may look like effortlessly simple objects – blades connected to a nacelle that sits upon a tower – they are made up of more than 8000 parts, which leaves plenty of room for improvement.

"In 1920, cars had four wheels and an engine. Has nothing changed since then? That's not really the case, is it? Nor is it with wind turbines," he explains.

Later, he drives me to a test windmill that has four small sets of blades rather than one large set. The idea is that they might be easier to transport to inaccessible areas of Africa that don't have the infrastructure to accommodate trucks carrying 40-metre-long blades.

Madsen explains that the goal of modern wind turbine research is to make them reliable and economical sources of energy. This requires specialised research into controls, materials, sensors, hydraulics and aerodynamics, and so on. As the number of wind turbines installed around the world increases, improving their efficiency by just a few percentage points can make a dramatic impact on total energy production.

RENEWABLE ENERGY SYSTEM

Denmark set a world record in 2015 when it produced 42 percent of its electricity from wind, compared to just 2.5 percent globally. One day in September, Denmark was powered entirely by wind.

But Danish wind turbines aren't just good for reducing carbon emissions in Denmark, where they offset the use of coal and gas power stations. When Denmark produces a surplus of electricity from its windmills, it can sell the power to its neighbours, such as Sweden, Germany and Norway. And when Denmark is running low – or when it's cheaper to import surplus hydropower from Norway than it is to switch on a power plant – Denmark can buy electricity back.



Test turbines tower above the DTU Risø campus by Roskilde Fjord

This interconnected energy market reduces the impact of wind power's major drawback – turbines only work when it's windy.

"Wind is variable, but if you have a wind farm in Jutland, it won't produce at the same time as one in Zealand. So if you can transmit power across a network, there tends to be a steady average," explains Madsen.

This averaging effect is why the EU established the Energy Union, to better integrate Europe's energy markets. The larger the system, the cheaper it is to integrate renewable energy – wind, solar, wave and hydro – and the more stable the prices. Progress has been limited, however, and the EU needs to improve the interconnectedness of its energy markets if it is to successfully transition to a low-carbon economy.

While Madsen blames bureaucracy for the delay in connecting energy markets, he also argues that the slow uptake of renewable energy in some European countries can be attributed to faulty incentive structures.

"The energy field is full of taxes. So while from a climate point of view it makes a lot of sense to focus energy on wind production, it might make more sense to invest

It's a sector that provides five per-cent of exports and 30,000 jobs, and I think it's worth fighting to maintain and strengthen that.

tors to import biomass from the Baltics and use that. It's extremely complicated, because as you start changing the regulations and taxes, it changes early investments. So figuring out the right incentives may be as important as figuring out the technology."

HOW THEY RESEARCH

Still, improving the technology is vital if wind power is to continue its steady climb in popularity around the world – and DTU Wind plays a central role in that mission. Wind energy accounts for around five percent of Denmark's total exports, a figure that has been relatively stable over the past decade.

The close relationship between research centres like DTU Wind and the private sector helped get the industry on its feet. But it was the creation of a renewable energy market in 1980s California that really got the ball rolling.

"It was an accident – nobody in Denmark could have dreamed that a market would open in California. What has kept the Danish industry going since then is a unique and complete cluster of manufacturers, customers, power companies, suppliers, universities and technical institutes. We have eve-

rything in Denmark, which is not the case in other countries, because we developed the industry. This is what makes Denmark attractive for companies today – they can find everything they need close by. They don't have to go to China to get a component, or to Italy to get expertise. We have it all here."

At DTU Wind, businesses are involved in around 90 percent of research projects. The collaboration is often very close and ranges from basic public research to applied research and commissions. Madsen argues that it's a strength that the collaborations are broad and can involve many disciplines, depending on the challenges.

"You could say we have a mission-orientated department, rather than being defined by a technical field or discipline. It also means that when there is a problem, we look around to see if we have the skills, and if we don't, we start looking for someone to help tackle the challenge. The focus is wind and our goal is to identify the problems and how they match our competencies."

FUNDS DRYING UP

The Danish wind energy industry could see major growth in the coming years as the global wind market

is set to triple before 2030, according to a study by Damvad. Exports from Denmark have dipped a little in recent years, however, as countries such as Spain and Germany are starting to increase their investments in the increasingly competitive market.

But Madsen is worried. Without a strong public research sector, there is no guarantee that the private sector will continue to operate in Denmark. The private sector invests four kroner for every one invested by the public sector, but public investment in wind research has declined about 25 percent since its peak in 2010.

The decline in funding coincides with the current Liberal Party (Venstre) government, whose renewable energy policies have been far less ambitious than the former Social Democrat government, which committed Denmark to ending its reliance on fossil fuels by 2050.

Last October, Siemens warned that it might start looking to invest in other countries if the government followed through with threats to reduce its support of renewable energy, potentially threatening the 10,000 jobs they have created in the country.



Above: Peter Hauge Madsen, head of DTU Wind.

Right: Wind turbines at the National Test Centre for Large Wind Turbines at Østerild, North Jutland. The turbine towers are over 100 metres tall, and the blades more than 70 metres in length. The test centre's geographical location and facilities allow the wind turbine industry, in collaboration with DTU and other research institutions, to carry out research, development and tests of prototype wind turbines and new wind turbine technology.



"Over the last few years, we have seen public money for research decline, in part based on the understanding that wind technology is seen as mature and doesn't need more research," says Madsen. "But unless we are competitive in research, why would you base your development here too? If you can get better tools and assistance somewhere else, why have 30,000 jobs in Denmark?"

One problem, according to Madsen, is that institutes like DTU Wind have difficulty selling their value to funding bodies. Their approach is strategic, supporting an industry, whereas funding bodies often prefer to reward research that produces new ideas or specific new products.

"This is a long-term sector, where we say, for example, that we

The big turbines have as much space in them as a small apartment – you could almost live in them.

really need to develop aerodynamics to upscale turbines and make them lighter and reduce costs. But that doesn't fit in. Our role is to support a sector with the tools, knowledge and testing they need to develop their products. But this is an area that has had lower priority in recent years. We are surviving, but that's because we have more work that is paid by industry."

Madsen refuses to comment specifically on the government's policies on research and renewable energy, but says there is obviously a clear difference between their priorities and those of the former government.

"It is unfortunate – it's a sector that provides five percent of exports and 30,000 jobs, and I think it's worth fighting to maintain and strengthen that."

AMAZING MACHINES

Of course, the wind energy industry serves a loftier purpose than just keeping Danes in work – they are a major tool in the fight against climate change. Coal, gas and oil-fired power plants release greenhouse gases, such as CO₂, into the atmosphere, that slowly warm the planet. The transition to carbon-neutral forms of energy, such as wind, wave and solar power, is vital if concentrations of the gases are to be stabilised and ultimately reduced.

Despite enormous political effort, the transition to renewable energy is still not taking place quickly enough to avert climate change. Most climate scientists accept that the planet will warm at least two degrees by 2100. A warmer planet will have a devastating effect on global

food cultivation and ecosystems by shifting weather patterns and increasing extreme weather events.

More storms might mean more wind, but that doesn't necessarily mean we will get more out of the turbines.

"We won't get more out of wind, but the variability will be larger – the storms will get larger. But that won't be a big problem for turbines. In a big storm you can make the turbine almost invisible by turning its profile. This is an advantage compared to wave energy generators that have to lie in the waves and can't really escape when the weather gets too rough. A turbine is a very efficient structure. They only weigh the equivalent of the volume of air passing through every few seconds. They really are rather amazing." **M**



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A bleak and violent future

The Danish Civil War will start in the year 2018 according to Kaspar Colling Nielsen's critically acclaimed novel, which has been adapted for the stage. Nielsen doesn't imagine blood will be shed on the streets of Copenhagen any time soon, but worries that the world is growing increasingly insecure as jobs disappear and wealth increasingly concentrates in the hands of the few

In a dystopian society in the near future, people have become so fed up with banks and financial institutions that they've taken matters into their own hands. Battles are fought on Dronning Louises Bro in Copenhagen, the parliament building is under bombardment, and bankers are a dying breed – literally.

This a future envisaged by Kasper Colling Nielsen in his novel, *The Danish Civil War 2018-24*, which is set to premiere as a play this autumn at Nørrebro Theater – just a stone's throw away from where the fictional action takes place.

"We live in a society where people have become disillusioned and don't feel like they are being taken seriously. This creates enormous social unrest, which we can see all over Europe," he says.

IT'S THE ECONOMY

Nielsen is opinionated and articulate about the problems facing Denmark and the world. The novel is a direct commentary on the society we live in and its potential to run aground. It's political literature, depicting a time when people turn against financial institutions after the collapse of the economy and the welfare state.

While he believes economic uncertainty will most likely massively disrupt our lives in the future, it's an issue that is rarely discussed.

"Even the debate about the climate crisis has disappeared. Instead, issues like whether we should serve pork meatballs in kindergartens become the focal point of our societal worries."

I think there will be vast social problems as well as violence explicitly expressed in the streets.

Hana Hasanbegovic

The political landscape is to blame, he argues. The middle of the spectrum is dominated by a number of parties whose policies are practically interchangeable. Their focus is two-fold: increasing competitiveness while reducing the cost of the public sector. This lack of political vision has strengthened fringe parties, which have pulled voters away from the status quo of the centre. The centrist parties have responded by co-opting the extreme rhetoric and policies of the fringe parties, thereby legitimising a new, extreme, status quo.

Refugees and migrants are often the targets of this rhetoric, particularly in the wake of the refugee crisis last year. Nielsen doesn't believe the new arrivals pose much of a threat to Europe – "granted there are problems with immigration, but the way in which they are being addressed is way out of proportion" – but the issue of immigration and refugees now serves as a major marker for how you define yourself politically. The reason for this, Nielsen argues, is that at least with immigration, you can see the effects of policy, whereas no one seems to have any real solutions to the economic problems we face.

Nielsen doesn't worry that European culture is threatened by immigration, despite the fact that Europe has changed dramatically over the past 50 years. But while immigration-inspired xenophobia is not a new phenomenon in Europe, he worries the situation is reaching a fever pitch. The toxic rhetoric used by right-wing extremists will only continue to grow, and Nielsen argues it can only be fought one way – by closing Europe's outer borders.

"There are so many threatening voices in Europe today and I feel like it is only a question of time before the violence escalates. If you take Brexit, for example, one of the key arguments on

the 'leave' side was that the EU is not able to protect its borders. So closing borders would have a neutralising effect on the xenophobic discourse."

THE WEST IS NO LONGER THE BEST

Populism is rising across the West. Donald Trump has won the Republican presidential nomination; in Austria, the pistol-carrying Norbert Hofer stands a good chance of election in October; and Marine Le Pen will undoubtedly make the final round of the French presidential election next year.

Central to their rise, argues Nielsen, is the sense that the West is losing its power. We are no longer the best, the smartest and the most skilled in terms of production and global trade. The geopolitical power balance has started to shift as global markets open up. These global markets have increasing power to shape the conditions of our existence and they create instability due to our inability to effectively regulate them. There is no longer a geographical centre of power – the world is becoming a neo-liberal free for all.

"The countries that benefit most from the truly free market are those that pollute enormously and lack most in terms of human and worker's rights. This has an effect on all of us in the West and the EU in particular. We're obviously not as competitive as the Asian countries, China especially. We're not only more expensive when it comes to the manufacturing process, but we're also not as good. Asia has overpowered us."

Nielsen argues that we in the West are come at a crossroad, both economically and morally, and we need to figure out which way to go.

"Do we want to be competitive or do we want to be responsible?" he asks rhetorically.

"If we want to be better – export more and



Kasper Colling Nielsen photographed in his home in central Copenhagen.

manufacture faster – then we'll have to adopt the standards of the Asian countries. This would mean letting our agriculture make a bigger environmental mess, lowering taxes, getting rid of some of our worker's rights and eventually even our democratic rights," he says, adding that this perspective is represented in the Danish parliament, primarily by the libertarian party Liberal Alliance.

If we commit to being more competitive, we risk the deterioration of our Western values, Nielsen argues. Instead, we ought to protect the rights of workers as well as the labour, trade and manufacturing regulations we have spent decades developing and maintaining.

"We've put a lot of effort into developing these – in our view – universal values and it would be a shame to see them disappear," he says. "So when we fight for the rights of workers in the developing world, we need to keep in mind that we're also fighting for our own rights – even here in Denmark. We need to realise that we as individuals have to change

We live in a society where people have become disillusioned and don't feel like they are being taken seriously.

what the market demands. If we buy t-shirts that cost 15 kroner, then we strengthen a totalitarian regime. We need to support positive forces through our consumption."

AVOID THE RACE TO THE BOTTOM

Nielsen does not think the future is as bleak as he makes out in his book – there is certainly no civil war looming in Denmark. He does, however, foresee a strengthening uproar against the political and economic system out of frustration, unemployment and a lack of a positive narrative about the future.

"I think there will be vast social problems as well as violence explicitly expressed in the streets, all arising from economic developments – fascists who don't like dark-skinned people, leftists who don't like the banks and so on," he says.

He finds some comfort in the rise of pan-European movements that have set out to increase transparency in the EU.

"If we just demand more from our governments – both in Denmark and in the EU – things

could look different. People don't relate to the EU, nor do I. We have no idea who is in charge there, which creates a divide between EU citizens."

Rather than pull out of Europe, Nielsen believes the solution to the challenges posed by globalization is more international cooperation to strengthen human rights and protect the environment.

"When people feel like they can't make a difference, they turn to nationalism. But in order to change something, Denmark needs to get organised and be even more international. There is a need for global, international agreements, which are normative and political – and which are concerned with more than just free trade."

His novel is a warning, however, of the risks of not taking people's concerns seriously. While he's not interested in making sure the upcoming play is loyal to the novel – having given the producers total artistic freedom – he hopes it will spark a reaction from the audience.

"I want it to be serious, political theatre, and I hope that people will respond to it." **M**

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SHAKESPEARE'S GLOBE (UK)

HAMLET / OPEN AIR CINEMA
LAURENCE OLIVIER (UK)

HAMLET: WHO'S THERE?
FLUTE THEATRE (UK)

HAMLET IN ABSENTIA
NORDIC OPERA (DK/SE)

GIULIO CESARE
SOCIETAS RAFFAELLO SANZIO (IT)

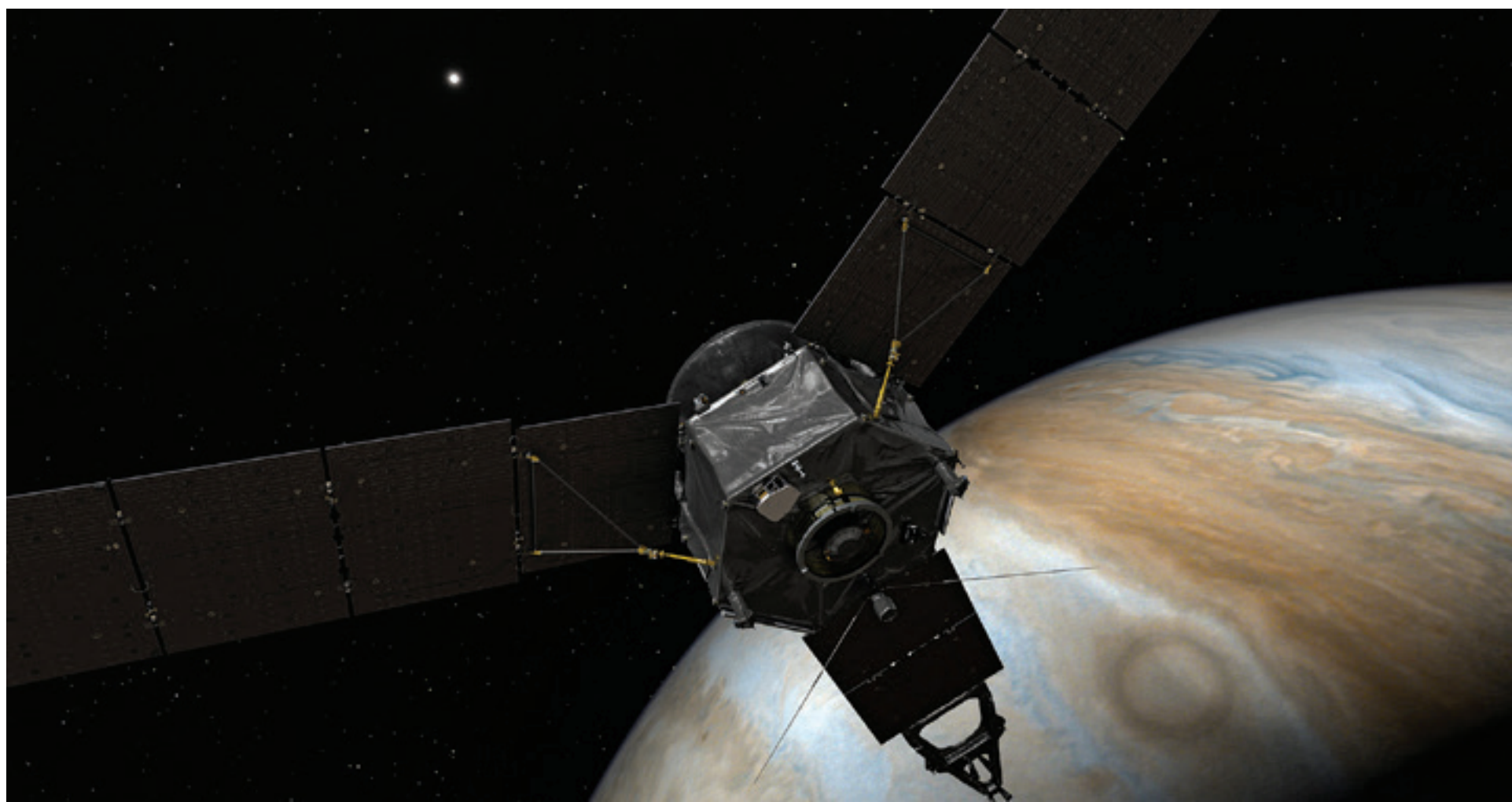
20 YEARS ANNIVERSARY

1.-21. AUG. 2016

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H A M L E T S C E N E N . D K



An artist's rendering of Juno in orbit around Jupiter.

"I talk to Juno every day"

Right now, the spacecraft Juno is orbiting Jupiter to try and uncover the secrets of the solar system's largest planet. But it would never have gotten there without technology developed in a leafy Copenhagen suburb

The mood inside NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory (JPL) in Pasadena, California, is tense. It's July 4, and the 13 billion kroner spacecraft Juno has arrived at Jupiter after a four-year, 2.8 billion-kilometre journey. The goal is to end up in orbit around the planet, but since Juno is travelling at 265,000 kilometres an hour, unless it performs a precise burn, it risks slingshotting around the planet and onward into the darkness of space.

"We were just waiting for that signal," says professor John Leif Jørgensen, head of Measurement and Instrumentation at the National Space Institute at the Technical University of Denmark (DTU Space).

He and his team created Juno's star tracker, which enables the ground team to know exactly which direction Juno is facing. Without the tracker, Juno and satellites like it would literally get lost in space.

"Either Juno was dead or it was

I remember my parents calling me in from the garden when there was news about the moon landing mission.

Jon Stubbe Wissing

alive: the question was settled already by Mother Nature, and there would have been nothing to do about it if it were gone. Juno could have been struck by a small moon and smashed into atoms."

When Juno sent a message to say it was on its intended trajectory, the JPL – and Jørgensen – let out a cheer. Now the science could begin.

CHILDHOOD CURIOSITY

Jørgensen is a dedicated spaceman, captivated by a need to learn about space and driven by the knowledge that space technology could have an enormous impact on civilization.

"When I was a little child, I remember my parents calling me in from the garden when there was news about the moon landing mission," says Jørgensen, a friendly man with a summer tan and a deep (space)blue shirt.

"I always wondered how space-ships were operated. Nobody on Danish radio could explain it. I think my friends were also very interested, but I wanted to understand the nuts and bolts of it. Perhaps that set me apart. I am driven by a need to understand reality. How does this work?"

The Juno project has been un-

derway for many years, and Jørgensen was first approached to contribute in 1995, while he was working at an observatory in Hawaii. In 1999, he submitted a draft contribution, and by 2003 the project was approved.

"NASA and the European Space Agency (ESA) operate by forcing the most qualified people in a given field to compete and ultimately work together to create the best possible solutions to a given challenge. This was the case with the Juno mission as well, and it can get pretty intense."

DANISH KNOW-HOW

There is a reason for the competition – space and planetary science isn't exactly easy. It requires curiosity, hard work, lots of money and perseverance. But despite being a small country with limited resources, Denmark's scientific contribution is significant. DTU Space is an elite research centre that has participated in dozens of missions with the European Space Agency (ESA) and NASA: they produced a magnetometer that is now on the surface of Mars; designed the mirrors that capture background radiation in the Planck space tele-

scope; and led the development of instruments in the THOR project that has uncovered new types of lightning in the atmosphere.

"Our institute is financed by the Danish taxpayers – they have something to be proud of here," says Jørgensen.

DTU Space had a significant role in developing Juno and was responsible for about ten percent of the budget. Jørgensen says that this shows how well-developed Denmark's space science and industry has become.

Denmark is considered a leader in some areas of space science. No magnetic field missions have been carried out without Denmark's involvement, which is fitting, given that it was Danish scientist Hans Christian Ørsted who first discovered the connection between electric currents and magnetic fields in 1820.

UNDERSTANDING JUPITER

Most people know little about Jupiter, besides the fact that it is a planet and one of the brightest objects in the night sky. Despite four previous missions to Jupiter, planetary scientists still don't know much about the planet, either.

Juno will change that over the course of its 18-month orbit of Jupiter. The orbit is irregular, taking Juno a mere 5,000 kilometres above the surface of Jupiter at its closest, before flying millions of kilometres out into space. But there's a good reason for this.

"Jupiter is the worst place in the solar system apart from the surface of the sun. It is really not a good place for a spacecraft," explains Jørgensen, referring to the radiation belt that envelops Jupiter and would destroy Juno's electronics. The radiation belt isn't present above the poles or close to the planet, however, so Juno can avoid it by entering into a close orbit at Jupiter's north pole, and slingshotting out again near the south pole. It will do this 37 times before it finally burns up in Jupiter's atmosphere.

The orbit also allows Juno to pass near the planet's dense cloud cover, where its instruments and sensors can gather detailed data that will help scientists understand what lies beneath the clouds, and how Jupiter's powerful magnetic field – which creates the radiation belt – is formed.

Ultimately, findings about Jupiter will also help explain the origin of the solar system, including how the gas giants were formed and how much water was transported through the solar system.

THE NEW SPACE FRONTIER

The space industry has undergone rapid change in recent years with the establishment of private companies such as SpaceX that produce parts for NASA and the ESA. As the sector becomes more competitive, the cost of rockets has dropped significantly, making access to space cheaper and more democratic.

As it gets easier to access space, Jørgensen believes we are unlocking enormous untapped potential.

"Why not use space to create energy? To keep making advances, we need energy. Solar panels on earth are essentially a temporary solution and, in the long run, the land they occupy would be better utilised for other purposes. I would move solar panels into space. Large sun-sails would not require the kind of constant cleaning and maintenance that sun panels on earth need to keep them free from sand and so forth. You could

harness that energy and beam it down to earth as microwaves. You wouldn't want to concentrate the beam too much, so the ground facilities would have to cover a large area. But on the upside, you would meet earth's energy needs."

Space holds potentially limitless energy and resources that could take the burden off the Earth, and Jørgensen dreams of future colonies on Mars and mineral mines on asteroids and the moon. But despite enormous advancements in rocket technology, it's still prohibitively expensive to send rockets into space. Investments in space technology also take decades to bear fruit, making them unattractive to investors.

Space research in Denmark would be more effective if the sources of public funding – via The Danish Council for Independent Research – were more efficiently managed, argues Jørgensen. Space research is currently split between two departments, the natural sciences council and the technological research council, complicating the application process.

Still, he's happy to be publicly, rather than privately, funded. While it might have made him wealthier, the pressure to produce marketable products in the private sector ultimately inhibits curiosity-driven research.

"We pretty much decided early on to be sailors and not merchants," says Jørgensen.

THE MERCY OF MOTHER NATURE

By any standard, the contributions of the DTU space team have made them able seamen by now. But even a rational navigator like Jørgensen can hit emotional turbulence. Communicating back and forth with Juno takes nearly two hours, as it takes around 38 minutes for messages to cross the distance in space.

"I talk to Juno every day," he says, demonstrating the close bond he has formed with the satellite. So as the satellite entered Jupiter's orbit after five years of flight, and the team awaited confirmation that Juno had made it intact, the time delay frayed Jørgensen's nerves.

Does it humble you that there are still things beyond your control?

"You know, we aren't masters of anything," he laughs. "But we can manage when Mother Nature is kind to us." ■



Top: Technicians at Astrotech's payload processing facility in Titusville, Florida watch as NASA's Juno spacecraft is tested for center of gravity, weight and balance on a rotation stand.

Middle: Juno obtained this image of Jupiter and its four largest moons -- Io, Europa, Ganymede and Callisto -- as it approached at a distance of 10.9 million kilometres.

Below: The Juno team celebrates after receiving confirmation from the spacecraft that it had successfully completed the engine burn and entered orbit around Jupiter.



FACT BOX – Juno

- The spacecraft is 3.5 meters tall and 3.5 meters wide and weighs 3,625 kilograms.
- Juno runs on solar power which is a first for a spacecraft sent so far from the sun. Each of the three solar arrays is nine meters long. In orbit around Juno, they will generate only 500 watts of energy.
- Juno was launched aboard an Atlas V551 rocket on August 5, 2011. It orbited earth twice to pick up a gravity assist and arrived at Jupiter on July 4. In total Juno travelled 2,800 million kilometres to reach Jupiter. Jupiter is currently around 870 million kilometres from earth.
- Juno was travelling 210,000 kilometres and hour when it entered into orbit around Jupiter, making it the fastest spacecraft to enter orbit around a planet.
- Minus the sun, Jupiter contains more than twice the amount of material within everything else in our solar system.
- Jupiter takes 12 years to orbit the sun and rotates once every 10 hours. It is orbited by four large moons, Io, Europa, Ganymede, and Callisto. All are larger than Pluto, while Ganymede is larger than Mercury and only slightly smaller than Mars.

WHAT'S ON • AUGUST



POUL GERNES
Louisiana presents an exhibit on legendary Danish artist Poul Gernes, celebrating work spanning his entire career.

Louisiana, Gammel Strandvej 13, 3050 Humlebæk
Louisiana.dk
All month

ALL MONTH

GRAYSON PERRY
British artist Grayson Perry is honored with his first exhibit in Denmark at ARoS, showcasing his unique work.

Aros
Aros Alle 2, 8000 Aarhus
Aros.dk
All month



FILM NOIR
The Danish Film Institute presents a series on one of cinema's most beloved genres, *film noir*, with screenings of some of its lesser known works.

Cinemateket, Gothersgade 55, 1123 Copenhagen K
Dfi.dk
All month

ALL MONTH

ZULU SOMMERBIO
To cap off the Summer, Zulu presents a program of outdoor screenings of great films in even greater outdoor locations all over Denmark.

Various locations
bit.ly/zulubio

ALL MONTH

TIVOLI FRIDAY ROCK
Every Friday, Tivoli will host performances by a variety of musicians representing the Danish music scene.

Tivoli Gardens,
Vesterbrogade 3, CPH
Tivoli.dk



LEIF
One of the most fascinating artists in the emerging LGBT rap scene, Leif's unique brand of hip-hop will hit the stage at Rust. Warmup by the Danish Yo Fok collective.

Rust
Guldbergsgade 8, CPH
Rust.dk

6

STRØM FESTIVAL
Copenhagen's annual electronic music festival returns with a program filled with concerts, workshops and masterclasses with some of the leading names in electronic music.

Multiple locations
Stromcph.dk
Ends August 13



THE INTERNET
California alt-R&B group and Odd Future affiliates The Internet return to Denmark with a performance at Pumpehuset.

Pumpehuset
Stuadiestræde 52,CPH
Pumpehuset.dk
August 15

EVENT OF THE MONTH



16

COPENHAGEN PRIDE WEEK
The annual Copenhagen Pride event returns, to celebrate the LGBT community not just in Denmark, but across the world.

Multiple locations
copenhagenpride.dk
Ends August 21



COOKING AND FOOD FESTIVAL
10 days of culinary bliss take over Copenhagen in celebration of the New Nordic Cuisine and the Danish food scene.

Multiple locations
Copenhagencooking.dk
August 19-29

26

AARHUS FESTIVAL
One of the largest festivals showcasing art in Scandinavia takes place in Aarhus where the streets will be filled with artwork and entertainment.

Vester Alle 3, Aarhus
Aarhusfestuge.dk
Ends September 4

Oliver Raassina

WHAT'S ON • AUGUST

26

SEAFOOD FESTIVAL

A celebration of seafood in Odense, there will be plenty to offer in atmosphere as well as food, drinks and a beautiful view of the sea.

Nordatlantisk Promenade 1,
5000 Odense C
restaurantnordatlanten.dk
Ends August 27



Julianna Barwick

Fresh off the release of her latest album *Will*, Julianna Barwick comes to Jazzhouse armed with ambient synthesizers and her angelic voice.

Jazzhouse
Niels Hemmingsens Gade 10,
Jazzhouse.dk
August 27

29

ODENSE INTL FILM FEST

This festival has been taking place since 1975 and features screenings of a diverse selection of films for free.

Kulturmaskinen
Farvegården 7, Odense
Filmfestival.dk
Aug 29 - Sept 4



Landon Speers

FRANKIE COSMOS

Smart and humorous indie rock comes to Copenhagen in the form of singer-songwriter Frankie Cosmos.

Vega
Enghavevej 40, CPH
Vega.dk

LETSGO

– CARSHARING IN COPENHAGEN

LetsGo is a flexible and easy way to have access to a car when you live in the city, and much cheaper than having your own car in Denmark.

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WELCOME



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sprogcenterhellerup.dk