

THE MURMUR

COPENHAGEN
EDITION

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with PTSD
get more
support but
concerns
persist**

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made a war
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OCTOBER 2016 VOL. 3 ISSUE 9



The climate cannot wait for action

Only ambitious targets and investment will beat global warming says Connie Hedegaard

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



Peter Stanners
Editor-in-Chief
peter@murmur.dk
@peterstanners

LAST MONTH, on the DR2 programme *Debatten* (The Debate), MP Martin Henriksen cast doubt on the Danishness of high school student Jens Philip Yadani.

This was the exchange:

Y a z d a n i :
There are many

of us who were brought up here after our parents moved here.

Henriksen: That doesn't make you Danish.

Yazdani: I was born and raised in Denmark, went to Danish primary school and high school. We are just as Danish as everyone else. And those who are in my class too – the women who choose to wear headscarves because of their religion.

Henriksen: It is not possible for us to bring the whole world to Denmark, and for them to have children, and for them to become Danish. It is simply a simplification of the debate, which is offensive to the generations who helped build up this country.

Henriksen's remarks caused an uproar, but he didn't back down when given a chance to clarify his remarks to TV2 News.

"You cannot conclude that just because you are born and raised in Denmark, speak Danish, and go to Danish school, that you are Danish."

This would have been an easy headline: 'Martin Henriksen tells Danish teenager he has no right to call himself Danish'. It would have gotten loads of clicks – not least because Henriksen represents the populist Danish People's Party – and be seen as just another example of xenophobia from a party that keeps the government in power.

Sure, I am saddened that Henriksen told a young man born in Denmark to a Danish mum and Iranian dad that he isn't Danish. You cannot pretend to know someone based on who his parents might or might not be. It's stupid.

But it's also an oversimplification to dismiss Henriksen's outburst as mere xenophobia, because it prevents us

from having an important debate about what it means to be a good citizen.

If I am generous in my analysis, I understand what Henriksen means. Danish identity is not arbitrary. It's built on a long, shared history that has shaped Denmark's specific culture and society. As a result, the Danish people have a lot in common with each other, which fosters trust and makes the society easy to navigate.

So, Henriksen argues, just being born in Denmark is no guarantee that a person has a deep understanding of the culture that they are born into. His party often points to "parallel societies" that exist outside of mainstream Danish society – communities that are characterised by higher levels of crime and unemployment. His party often blames Islam for fostering these parallel societies. The insinuation is that Muslims are more committed to the welfare of other Muslims than to the broader Danish society.

But how then do we explain crime and anti-social behaviour among individuals who, by his own criteria, can be classified as Danish? Why does their Danish identity not prevent them from displaying selfish behaviour? From committing tax evasion, hate crimes and misogyny?

A good society is one where everyone is invested in each other. It is out of this concern that liberal values emerged, along with the idea that all people deserve rights, security and a fair legal process. And this is what makes Henriksen's approach counterproductive: he amplifies the bad side of diversity without trying to find common ground with those he disagrees with, making already-marginalised communities feel that there's no point in trying to join Danish society.

Finding common ground in a diverse society does not mean compromising on the central liberal values that make Denmark a wonderful country to live in. In fact, reaching out and including everyone only strengthens the argument that the best societies are built on liberal values.

If our ambition is to create a cohesive society where we are invested in each other's success, we need to move on from the Danishness debate and instead focus on promoting the qualities that makes us better citizens. **M**

I think I cried for two or three days – more or less non-stop. When I got home I just felt so tired and I met with a psychologist who told me I'm not supposed to cry more than the people I interview.

MATILDE KIMER
P26



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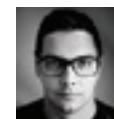
CONTRIBUTORS



Elias Thorsson Managing editor. Elias wrote about tax evasion, the homeless newspaper *Hus Forbi* and even found time to cover an amateur wrestling meet.
@eliasthorsson / elias@murmur.dk



James Clasper Food Editor. This month in his *Get Stuck In* column, James gives us the low down on the Aarhus food scene.
@jamesclasper



Rasmus Degnbol Photo Editor and winner at this year's Danish Press Photo Awards, Rasmus photographed Connie Hedegaard and students worried about losing their SU.
@rasmusdegndbol



Sophie Frahm Editorial intern. Sophie is completing her MA in English and European Studies at the University of Copenhagen. She investigates the effects of proposed cuts to the student grant system SU.



Stubbe Wissing Editorial intern. A journalism MA graduate from the University of Cardiff, Stubbe reported on the troubles faced by veterans when they return home from war.
@stubbewissing



Gabriele Dellisanti Editorial intern. Media and communications student at Lund University, Gabriele joined the team this month and wrote our Month in Review and the calendar.
@gabrieldellisanti



Hana Hasanbegovic Originally from the Balkans, Hana has a master's degree in English. This issue she interviewed Kasper Fogh from the think tank Cevea, who is worried the welfare state is slowly being dismantled.
@HanaHasanbegov2



Aleksander Klug A freelance visual journalist and political correspondent. Aleksander reports on social justice issues and EU politics. In this issue he photographed an amateur wrestling bout and *Hus Forbi*'s director Rasmus Wexø Kristensen.
@aleksander_klug



Nadège Mazars A French photographer born in 1973 and living in Colombia, she took this month's *Captured* image from the ongoing peace process between FARC and the Colombian government.
@nadege_mazars



Ayşe Dudu Tepe Producer and host at Radio24syv, Ayşe pens an op-ed this month about the tireless debate about Danish identity.

MASTHEAD

Peter Stanners Editor-in-Chief / peter@murmur.dk

Mark Millen Director, Sales and Marketing, Supplements Editor / mark@murmur.dk

Mette Salomonsen Art Director / salomet.dk

SALES For advertising sales, please contact: advertising@murmur.dk

CONTACT THE MURMUR, Hedebygade 14, st.tv., 1754 Copenhagen V.

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MONTH IN REVIEW

Postal service cuts

Post Danmark is letting go over 700 employees over the next six months. The company currently has around 10,000 staff, compared to almost 15,000 in 2011. Mail is now only picked up twice a week.

Record number of Danes leaving the Church

The second quarter of 2016 saw 10,300 Danes leave the Church of Denmark (Folkekirken), bringing the annual total to 14,725. The number of Danes leaving the church hasn't been as high since 2007. One of the central explanations has been a campaign that was launched by the Danish Atheist Society who provided easy instructions on how to leave the church on their website.



Mikkel Rask

YAHYA SENTENCED
Literary sensation Yahya Hassan, 20, has been sentenced to 21 months in prison for shooting a 17-year-old in the foot, and a number of other offences.

CHRISTIANIA CRISIS

Following a shooting where two police officers and a tourist were injured, residents of the Freetown Christiania decided to close the drug trade by dismantling the booths on the Pusher Street. Soon after, Copenhagen Police installed surveillance on the street to deter the return of the drug dealers. In a matter of hours, one of the devices was destroyed and the other covered by a plastic sack.



Peter Stanners

Gabriele Dellisanti

Peter Stanners



Asylum applications plummet

In August, Denmark recorded only 294 asylum applications, the lowest number in five years. While over 21,000 applications for asylum were lodged in 2015, only 5,000 have lodged applications so far this year. Immigration minister Inger Støjberg argued that the five-year low was a clear indication that the government's anti-immigration restrictions had had their desired effect. Since January 4, the government imposed temporary border checks that will continue till November 12 unless renewed. The decision was taken following the Swedish government's decision to enforce passport control with Denmark.

THE PILL LINKED TO DEPRESSION

Danish researchers have found that women who have used hormonal contraception for at least six months are 40 percent more likely to develop depression than those who have not.

The study only demonstrates a correlation between using hormonal contraception and depression, and does not suggest what mechanism is at play. The risk is more pronounced in young women, whereas for women aged over 30, hormonal contraception appears to have a lower impact on their mental health.

High drivers to face lower punishment

Drivers who like to smoke cannabis can breathe a little more easily. Currently, drivers caught with even the smallest trace of the active substance THC in their blood, have had their licences confiscated for three years. It's widely seen as a punitive punishment, given that THC can remain detectable in the blood for up to a month after cannabis was ingested, and the high has worn off. Now parliament has suspended all pending cases while they change the law. Under future legislation, cases of driving under the influence of marijuana will be treated in the same way as alcohol-related offences, meaning that the more THC in the driver's blood, the tougher the penalty.



☎ 24807739
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GET STUCK IN



Top: A happy pig at the organic farm Troldgården that supplies many restaurants in and around Aarhus.

Bottom: Frederikshøj is one of Denmark's very best restaurants, and its interior is as stunning as the food.

Words:
James Clasper

Photos:
Benjamin Lund
Nielsen

All about Aarhus

Denmark's second city is coming out of its shell with a restaurant scene to rival the capital. We run down the best the city's food scene has to offer

LEGEND HAS IT that when the city of Århus decided to refresh its brand, marketing men told the city elders to lose the old-fashioned Å and replace it with a tourist-friendly, Google-searchable double A. When developers subsequently had to name a new island built in the harbour, a different group of marketing men recommended calling it Aarhus Ø. The Danish spelling, they argued, would evoke old-world charm and help bring in the tourist kroner.

Fortunately, the food scene in Denmark's second city seems impervious to the silver-tongued charms of marketing gurus. Instead, Aarhus is now home to a handful of trailblazing chefs, producers and entrepreneurs who are helping to reshape the city's culinary identity.

Their timing is perfect. Next year Aarhus will be a European Capital of Culture, with the wider area designated a European Region of Gastronomy. For years, Aarhus has played second fiddle to Copenhagen and watched as the Danish capital shed its reputation as a gastronomic wasteland to become a world-class dining destination. But now, Aarhus is starting to win plaudits of its own.

MASTER OF THE BASICS

Much of the credit goes to Wassim Hallal, who in 2015 was one of the first Danish chefs outside Copenhagen to win a Michelin star. His flagship restaurant, **Frederikshøj**, remains a stellar dining destination and is a standout spot for special occasions. Plan ahead though. Reservations are snapped up months in advance – don't even consider getting a walk-in.

Instead, head to Hallal's deli in central Aarhus, **F-Høj**, which does an up-market take on smørrebrød. Hallal, who was born in Lebanon but came to Denmark when he was four, always said he would serve smørrebrød one day.

"We have such good Danish food but so many ruin it," he says. "I want to do it well, from the bottom up."

Today at F-Høj, that means exquisite creations such as poached egg with truffle, dill and shrimps on crispy rye bread.

Few foodies were surprised when Frederikshøj won its first Michelin star in 2015. Its inclusion in the much-ballyhooed guide was long overdue, its absence a reflection of Michelin's failure

to venture beyond Copenhagen. More interesting, though, was the inclusion of **Substans**, described by Owners Louise and René Mammen as a "casual gourmet bistro" – and with good reason. The cookery is outstanding, the décor uncluttered, the vibe relaxed.

Taste and craftsmanship are the watchwords at Substans, where Mammen uses organic ingredients from local farmers and producers. Recent highlights included: scallop with pickled beach herbs, fermented celeriac and caramelized yoghurt; grilled pork with carrots, herb butter and buttermilk; and caramelized apple with thyme ice cream, ripe gooseberry and elderflower. A three-course menu is available, making Substans exceptionally good value.

QUALITY INGREDIENTS

Hallal and Mammen may have helped to put Aarhus on the culinary map, yet the most important person on the scene today isn't a chef, but a 27-year-old farmer named Philip Dam Hansen. He runs **Troldgården**, a small organic farm south of Aarhus, which supplies at least a dozen of the region's restaurants. Dam believes there's a "spark of organic" in everyone—and that it's up to food producers to ignite it. At Troldgården, he grows a range of fruit and vegetables, including plums, carrots, apples and gooseberries, and rears animals such as black-and-white spotted pigs, Jersey cattle and sheep.

Animal welfare and sustainability are Dam's watchwords. But he also wants to shorten the value chain and reduce the gap between the farm and the fork. The result is **Sårt**, one of Aarhus's best new restaurants and Dam's collaboration with a trio of young chefs. They make as much as they can from scratch, from sausage and charcuterie to pasta and bread. In keeping with the vibe – Fleetwood Mac on the playlist, cartoons of Tom Waits and Courtney Love on the wall – the cooking is casual and the plates shared. Think: rough-and-tumble bowls of pasta, like pork ravioli with cream and fennel; or octopus marinated with cauliflower and roasted cashew nuts.

HIP AND AFFORDABLE

Dam's farm supplies two other newcomers to Aarhus's burgeoning res-



René Mammen, owner of Substans.

Aarhus is now home to a handful of trail-blazing chefs, producers and entrepreneurs who are helping to reshape the city's culinary identity.

restaurant scene. One is Domestic, an industrial-cool spot in the city's Latin Quarter with a down-tempo vibe, a yen for fermentation (every nook and cranny contains a jar of pickled roots or shoots), and a knack for turning out well-executed seasonal dishes, such as cod with cabbage and buttermilk, or veal with corn and chanterelle mushrooms.

The other is Hærværk (its name means vandalism). The cooking is excellent here, too. Recent highlights included smoked blue mussels with asparagus potatoes and garlic cream; 150-day dry-aged rib-eye; and caramel with red sorrel and bay leaf.

"We needed a place where we could serve soul food," says Michael Christensen, its 28-year-old manager.

Hærværk changes its menu daily depending on what's in season and available. Head chef Rune Lund Sørensen has apparently come up with more than a thousand different dishes since Hærværk opened its doors two summers ago. The vast majority of ingredients come from within 65km of the kitchen — including Troldgården, of course. In keeping with the eclectic menu, the drinks list ranges from local cider to funky orange wine to Danish reds.

There are two other leading indicators of Aarhus's growing reputation as a must-visit dining destination. One is the Landmad, a grocery shop that recently opened in the Latin Quarter. It specialises in vegetables, meat, cheese, beer and wine produced by local farmers and food producers from across Denmark — many of whom regularly stop by to talk about their products.

The other is the Aarhus Street Food market, which opened in a former car park in the city centre in August. Visitors from Copenhagen may be struck by its resemblance to their own street food market, right down to the repurposed shipping containers and the presence of Papirøen mainstays such as Duck It, with their pulled duck burgers and duck fat French fries. In fact, the only thing missing from Aarhus Street Food is the waterside location. Of course, if you're after harbour views, head to Aarhus Ø — if you can find it on Google Maps, that is. **M**



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POLITICS

NO MORE UN QUOTA REFUGEES

Danish participation in resettling UN refugees has been suspended indefinitely. Denmark normally receives a maximum 500 so-called quota refugees, which are selected the UN refugee agency, UNHCR. But immigration minister Inger Støjberg suspended the agreement on the grounds that too many refugees have arrived in Denmark this year already.

Speaking to Politiken newspaper, Støjberg said that Denmark wouldn't accept any new UN-assigned refugees for at least another 12 months, adding that it wasn't an easy decision.

"I think most people want to help those in need, and I do too. That's why it's a difficult decision. But I have to face up to the reality that Denmark is full up."

The opposition Social Democrats (Socialdemokraterne) support the government's decision.

"We currently have massive integration problems, caused by the large number of refugees in recent years and failed integration policies over the past 30 years," immigration spokesperson Dan Jørgensen told Berlingske. "We think it's reasonable to take a step back and get everything in order."

But while his government suspended accepting quota refugees, PM Lars Løkke Rasmussen was at the UN in New York supporting a decision to increase the number of quota refugees, while re-confirming Denmark's support for the UN refugee convention and the convention on human rights from 1951.

Foreign minister Kristian Jensen defended the apparent contradiction.

"All we've said is that because of this integration challenge, due to the large number of refugees followed by family reunification, that we need to take a breather in 2016," Jensen told Politiken.

The number of refugees that have sought asylum has plummeted this year compared to last. At the end of June 4,669 asylum applications had been lodged, compared to 21,225 the year before. **SF**

EUROPOL MEMBERSHIP IS SLIPPING AWAY

The Danish People's Party will only accept a second referendum on joining Europol, if Danes first vote to leave the passport-free zone Schengen. The position has been widely condemned

The police's ability to tackle transnational crime will be severely damaged when Denmark is forced to leave Europol in May 2017. But while a large majority in Parliament want Denmark to join, the Danish People's Party (DF) have made an enormous demand – Denmark must first leave the passport-free zone Schengen.

The heart of the problem lies in Denmark's 'opt-out' on participating in EU justice and legal affairs, which it was granted in 1993 in order to continue as a member of the bloc.

This opt-out was not a problem while Europol was supranational organisation. But next year it will be subsumed within the EU as an agency, at which point the opt-out prevents Denmark from participating. This is a major blow as Danish police are among the most avid users of Europol's resources. In 2014 they searched the EIS criminals database for evidence, crime or criminals over 70,000 times.

Denmark can get rid of its opt-out and re-

place it with an 'opt-in' measure, which would allow Parliament to choose which areas of EU legal cooperation they want to join on a case by case basis. However, last year's referendum to do so was voted down.

FEARS OF LOST SOVEREIGNTY

The reason it even went to a referendum, is because laws that give up sovereignty must have a 5/6 majority in Parliament. If not, then the only alternative is securing a simple majority in a referendum.

Two parties opposed the change from an opt-out to an opt-in – far left Red-Green Alliance (Enhedslisten) and the populist Danish People's Party (DF) – and blocked the vote. While they were both in favour of Europol membership, they were worried that an opt-in would allow future Danish governments to sign up to more EU cooperation without first consulting the public.

They weren't worried about the consequences maintaining the status quo and DF argued that Denmark could remain a Europol member by negotiating a bilateral agreement with the EU. This has failed.

"I must say that Danish voters voted very clearly," Franz Timmermans, European Commission (EC) vice-president told TV2 News. "And the consequence of the vote is that Denmark isn't part of Europol. I don't know how that will improve Danish security, but that is the situation."

Timmermans explained that bilateral

agreements were reserved for making deals with non-member states, such as Norway and Switzerland, which are both Europol members.

BROKEN PROMISE

DF leader Kristian Thulesen Dahl is now being condemned for misleading voters. In a debate last year he said that if a bilateral agreement couldn't be secured, he would support a second referendum and urge Danes to vote 'yes'. He was then asked if he still would support the second referendum if it meant that Denmark would stay a member of the passport-free zone Schengen. He answered, "yes".

But he's now changed his mind. His party will only support a second Europol referendum if Danes first vote to leave Schengen, which his party has long opposed as it prevents Danish police from installing permanent border control.

Liberal Party (Venstre) spokesperson MP Jan E. Jørgensen condemned Dahl for his change of heart.

"There is not a shadow of doubt that they are running from the promise they once gave Danes," he told Politiken. "These are promises that affect the way Danes chose to vote."

Claus Oxfeldt, chairman of Politiforbundet, told Politiken that it would be a disaster if Denmark doesn't remain a Europol member.

"We need international police cooperation," Oxfeldt said. "Especially for fighting cybercrime, terror, cross-border crime and this whole asylum and immigration crisis". **SF/PS**



A policeman inspects an illegal synthetic drugs laboratory. European cooperation through Europol is an important instrument in tackling transnational drugs crime.



Redefining human trafficking

The Red-Green Alliance (Enhedslisten) and the Alternative (Alternativet) want to rewrite the law on human trafficking to make it legal to help Syrian refugees in need.

Their proposed law would differentiate between helping irregular migrants for humanitarian reasons, or for profit.

The proposal arrives the Eastern High Court found author Lisbet Zorning and her husband guilty of human trafficking for transporting a Syrian family from Rødbyhavn to Kastrup last year.

The proposal has been dismissed by Preben Bang Jørgensen, spokesperson for the Liberal Party (Venstre).

"Despite good intentions you are assisting someone in something illegal," Jørgensen told Politiken.

Labour market needs immigrants

Out of the 250,000 jobs the Liberal government wants to create before 2025, 129,000 are to be filled by immigrants says the Finance Ministry.

"Currently the number of Danes of working age is decreasing," finance minister Claus Hjort Fredriksen told Berlingske. "In that situation, to keep employment levels high, it helps that the number of immigrants of working age looks set to increase."

According to Statistics Denmark, there will be 102,000 fewer "ethnic" Danes aged between 15 and 64 years in 2025, while will be 174,000 more immigrants and "descendants".

Haste is a threat to democracy

Political expediency has endangered our democracy argue Venstre and the Social Liberal Party (Radikale). Over the past year, a third of the 190 laws were given less than the four weeks of public consultation that is stipulated in guidelines. In some situations, laws were only open to public consultation for a few days.

The two parties now want better guidelines in order to ensure laws are not rushed through parliament.

"It can never be a problem to hear people out, but it can be a democratic problem if people are not heard," Venstre group chairman Søren Gade told Berlingske.

Speaker of the Parliament, MP Pia Kjaersgaard from the Danish People's Party (DF), says she is open to the proposals

and will bring it up at the next meeting of parliament's guiding committee, the Præsidium.

Skat buys Panama papers

The tax authority Skat has paid an anonymous source for leaked financial documents that potentially show hundreds of Danes are hiding money in tax havens.

Belonging to the 'Panama Papers', the documents are just some of the 11.5 million leaked records from the Panama law firm Mossack Fonseca that have given unprecedented insight into the enormous scale of tax fraud and evasion around the world.

Skat said they paid several million kroner for the banking details of around 500 Danes who are suspected of hiring Mossack Fonseca to hide taxable income.

It is the first time that the Danish state has bought leaked documents from an anonymous source. Tax minister Karsten Lauritzen acknowledges that the practice is controversial, but argues the ends justifies the means.

"We need to be incredibly careful. But I have assessed the quality of the material we were offered, and the significant public and political debate that the Panama Papers created. In that light I thought it most wise and right to buy the material and pursue the Danes," Lauritzen told Politiken.

Alternative media

Political party The Alternative (Alternativet) have launched their own media platform, Altivisten, in their mission to influence Danish political culture. Rather than focus on problems, Altivisten hopes to present concrete solutions to local, national and global challenges.

"We want to rebalance the media which we think is far too focussed on what is wrong with society, rather than what we can do better," Alternativet MP Rasmus Nordqvist said.

Alternativet co-founder Niko Grünfeld will be one of three editors of the publication, which is open to submissions from the general public.

"We want a more diverse and experimental platform, which is why you can contribute with articles, videos, podcasts, artworks and poetry," Grünfeld said.

"We have brought in a range of artists to illustrate the content. We think there should be more art in politics." **SF/PS**

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CITY

Copenhagen tops Metropolis' list of best cities

US architecture and design magazine Metropolis picked Copenhagen as the world's best city to live in.

Copenhagen's success can be witnessed around the world, according to Metropolis, as urban hubs mimic the city's dedication to creating a liveable city. Its bicycle infrastructure was particularly praised, along with the bridges – Bryggebroen, Cykelslangen, Cirkelbroen and Inderhavnsbroen – that improve the mobility of cyclists and pedestrians.

The city's so called 'climate quarters' were also singled out as noteworthy. These areas of Copenhagen, such as Sankt Kjelds Kvarter, are designed to better deal with heavy rainfall by integrating sink basins and water resilient plants.

Copenhagen is narrowly followed by Berlin, Germany, in second place while Finland's capital Helsinki took home third place.

Copenhagen City Council agrees new budget

Copenhagen's population is growing by almost 1,000 new residents each month, which is putting the city's services under increasing strain. Protecting these services was the focus of the city budget for 2017, which was agreed last month in Copenhagen City Council.

"More children, adults and seniors go to school, need a roof over their heads and receive care," the budget states. "That costs. Last year's cuts to communal services, and the government's modernisation and efficiency program, mean that municipalities receive less funds. That puts immense pressure on their finances."

All political parties and independents voted in favour of the budget that the City Council says was "a rarely seen broad agreement".

Among the central points of the budgets is 800 million kroner over four years to renovate 10 primary schools and 120 million kroner over four years to improve staffing at kindergartens for vulnerable children. Cyclists also benefit in the budget,



A render of the planned public swimming pool on Papirøen that has just received funding in Copenhagen's 2017 budget.

with 140 million kroner of investment in new cycle paths across the city, while 21 million kroner will go towards improving cycle parking and collecting abandoned bikes, particularly near rail stations.

Trees, too, have been prioritised in the budget negotiations. The Social Liberal Party (Radikale) were behind the initiative that provides Copenhageners with the opportunity to plant a tree in their yard or street, together with a friend or spouse, for all their neighbours and fellow citizens to enjoy. The only condition is that they have to look after it themselves.

According to Politiken newspaper, around 200 partner trees have been planted in Copenhagen this year, and 1000 more have been secured

in next year's budget. They cost the municipality around 5,000 kroner each, whereas a tree planted and maintained by the municipality can sometimes cost as much as 100,000 kroner over its lifetime.

Partner trees were launched as part of Copenhagen Municipality's 'Tree Policy' that aims to plant 100,000 additional trees in the city over the next 10 years.

Culture lost out in this year's budget, however. The main casualty is the venue Pumpehuset, which is losing its public funding at the end of 2017. The venue on Studiestræde in central Copenhagen has renovated its outdoor facilities in recent years and had hoped its temporary funding would be replaced with a per-

Budget – Copenhagen 2017

800 million kroner over four years to renovate 10 primary schools.

120 million kroner over four years to improve staffing at staff kindergartens with vulnerable children.

5.5 million kroner a year for four years to help early retirees and unemployment benefit recipients pay for unforeseen expenses, such as shoes, dentistry and so on.

81.9 million kroner a year for four years toward youth housing.

18.1 million kroner for new social housing to replace those used to house refugees.

10 million kroner to keep Copenhagen clean. For example to remove cigarette butts and broken glass.

21.3 million kroner for bicycle parking and 0.8 million kroner for removing abandoned bikes.

12 million kroner for new jobs for residents of marginalised housing association Mjølnerparken.

60.1 million kroner for purchasing property and planning a new swimming pool in Papirøen.

manent agreement with the City Council. This hope was dashed, but deputy mayor for culture, Carl Christian Ebbesen, told Politiken a solution might still be found.

The 21 million kroner culture budget has instead been used to finance initiatives to boost the city's film industry (eight million kroner), as well as five million kroner for festivals and three million kroner for new 'alternative' cultural centres.

Sport, on the other hand, will receive five times more funding than culture, at around 100 million kroner for 2017. That includes funds for a new swimming pool and harbour basin on Papirøen costing 60 million kroner, a new astroturf field at Svanemøllelægg for 11 million

Sophie Frahm



Copenhagen's new Royal Arena, which is set to open in the New Year.

kroner, an 11-million kroner ice skating ring in Enghaveparken, and seven million kroner toward hosting the European Championship in Swimming at the Royal Arena after it opens in the new year.

Metallica to open new Royal Arena

Metallica is to be the first act to play Copenhagen's new super arena when it opens on February 3. The world-renowned rock band – with Dane Lars Ulrik behind the drums – will play two shows over the weekend to launch the new Royal Arena.

Situated in Ørestad, the Royal Arena can house 15,000 guests and is designed to host national and in-

ternational music, culture, and sport events.

A number of events have already been scheduled for the coming years. In April 2017 the Royal Arena will show the musical 'We Will Rock You' and the following December it will host the European Championship in short course swimming. In 2018 it will hold the World Championship in ice hockey.

Wefood grows with second store

A third of all food produced worldwide ends up in the trash. Meanwhile, almost 800 million people starve. These tough facts demonstrate the need to use our food resources more

carefully, say Folkekirkens Nødhjælp (DanChurchAid), who last year launched the world's first supermarket that sells surplus goods and uses the profits to help the world's poorest.

Wefood sells goods that supermarkets can't because of flawed packaging or because they have passed their sell-by date. The food products are all sold at a 50 to 70 percent discount, with all profits going to the charity. Much of the food is donated by Dansk Supermarket Group and Føtex.

The first shop opened on Amagerbrogade in Copenhagen this year and has been a huge success. Their second shop will open on Nørrebrogade 58 on November 7. A third shop is planned for Aarhus in 2017. **M**

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Henrik Max and, below, with his dog Yogurt.

20 years homeless

In 1996, the homeless newspaper Hus Forbi was founded to provide work and a sense of purpose for its sellers, and put a face on a problem so easily ignored



It seems crazy to me to be cutting the taxes on the richest, when we have so many people without a home.

**RASMUS WEXØE
KRISTENSEN**

Elias Thorsson

HENRIK MAX STANDS outside the Netto on Landemærket, just off the busy shopping street Købmagergade in Copenhagen city centre. His companion, a small mutt named Yogurt, skips happily around in the baking sun, greeting people as they enter and exit the supermarket.

"I usually stand by Studenterhuset down the street, but today I came too late, so the Politiken sellers were already there," he says. "I have many regulars, and getting to meet so many wonderful people is the best thing about this job."

He has grey hair, a warm smile and a soft voice – all assets that help in his line of work. Max is one of the thousands who sell Hus Forbi, the homeless newspaper.

Modelled after the UK's Big Issue, Hus Forbi recently celebrated its 20-year anniversary. Max started selling just months after the paper was founded and he admits his sales numbers have gone down a bit over the years.

"I don't sell as many now, but in the past we would compete for who could sell the most, and then I used to sell between 80 and 100 a day. My record came at a homeless concert in Østerbro, where I sold 284 in two hours. But I've met many who have sold even more than that."

A HOUSE FOR HOMELESS

The Hus Forbi offices are in a back house beside a karate dojo, deep in the Nørrebro district. It's a hub for the homeless, who stop by to

pick up newspapers, have a chat, or grab a coffee from the café. There are public computers – one seller is playing solitaire when I visit – while the walls are plastered with pictures of sellers and ads for various activities such as the homeless choir.

We wait for Hus Forbi's director, Rasmus Wexøe Kristensen, in the back yard where a group of sellers are debating the recent closure of Pusher Street in Christiania.

"This will just mean that it will spill into the streets," says a woman with an oversized bong.

"It will be just like when they did it the last time. But it's too bad about the space cakes, I can't smoke hash, if I did my voice would just be

croaky," says another woman.

An older man calls us into Kristensen's office, where nude portraits of prostitutes – part of the series *Body of Desire* by acclaimed Copenhagen photographer Helga Theilgaard – hang on the wall. Kristensen is in his mid-30s and, reflecting the atypical workplace, his office attire is a Christiania Sport's Club jersey.

His passion for the wellbeing of the homeless stems from his own personal experience. As he explains, a person in his family has dealt with being socially vulnerable. Having previously worked at a homeless shelter in Holbæk for several years, he took the reigns at the paper five years ago, getting the job through a rather unusual path.

"Hus Forbi is run by a board, made up of the sellers, which has a general assembly each year," he says. "Five years ago some of the board members frequented the shelter and they told me that Hus Forbi was looking for a new director, and they told me to apply."

The paper is released once a month, and is dedicated to tackling issues related to homelessness. It's also designed to be a source of income for sellers, who keep half of the 20 kroner each copy costs on the street.

A DEPRESSING ANNIVERSARY

The paper has grown considerably since it was founded in 1996. Max has been with it since the beginning and can testify to the change.

"The paper has changed I think. It has become more professional," he says. "There are also a lot more people selling now than in the beginning, back then we weren't that many."

In the early years, Hus Forbi was only sold in Copenhagen, but there are now 2,000 sellers around the country. The increase in sellers is a reflection of a dire reality, however.

"We like to call our anniversary the most depressing anniversary imaginable, because there is still a great need for us," Kristensen says.

"It seems crazy to me to be cutting the taxes on the richest, when we have so many people without a home. And the number just keeps

on rising and rising. Politicians are always asking, where should we use our resources, and I believe it's better to use them for people in need, rather than people who have it all. But the reality is that a few are getting more, while so many are getting less."

According to numbers from the The Danish National Centre for Social Research (Det Nationale Forskningscenter for Velfærd), the number of homeless in Denmark has risen 23 percent since 2009. The demographic that has seen the largest increase are young people aged between 18 and 24, which has doubled over the last seven years.

"It seems that every political decision made regarding homelessness has exacerbated the problem," Kristensen says. "We are now starting to see people who have ended on the street due to the recent unemployment benefit reforms. A lot of people meet our sellers on the street and have a good relationship with them, in part because selling our paper fits into the narrative of working for your own money. However, these same people don't necessarily bring that sympathy into the polling booth."

Despite having helped put focus on issues dealing with homelessness over the past 20 years, it would seem little has changed.

"I guess you could say that we've failed," Kristensen says jokingly. "I recently went through the first issue of Hus Forbi, and it covered the same things as we are now – increasing number of young homeless, not enough shelters, and so on. But then again we can always ask, how would things be if we hadn't been around?"

THE INVISIBLE MAN

Central to the paper's mandate is to make homelessness visible to the rest of society, and show that behind statistics are people and stories – homelessness isn't some far away reality, it exists all around us.

"I think Hus Forbi has been great for the homeless in Denmark, it has helped make us visible, that is not how it used to be," says Max. "People didn't know what it meant, or who we were. Through selling Hus Forbi



Hus Forbi director, Rasmus Wexøe Kristensen.

Through selling Hus Forbi we stop being just numbers and become faces.

HENRIK MAX

we stop being just numbers and become faces, it makes it more personal."

During its jubilee year, Hus Forbi has placed visibility at the centre of its celebration. At the beginning of the year it released the video 'The invisible man', a slick Hollywoodesque trailer for a mock superhero movie. "I used to be like you, but I became a shadow," says the protagonist.

"The visibility and the communication between our sellers and the public is very important. Our job is to make people aware, and get them to take notice and talk," says Kristensen.

THE CELEBRATIONS

Hus Forbi held a massive party in Odense for the anniversary cele-

bration, where rock band DAD and rapper MC Einar performed and politicians gave speeches.

"[PM] Lars Løkke was booed," Kristensen jokingly remarks.

Max was also there: "The party in Odense was great. I called my nephew who lives in Haderslev and he came down and we had a good time. But I missed Lars Løkke getting booed."

As the paper celebrates its first twenty years, Kristensen is adamant that, while he'll still be working with the homeless, he won't be around for its forty-year anniversary.

Max, however, sees things differently.

"It's difficult to say. But if I'm still alive, then I think I'll still be selling Hus Forbi. **M**



Leading the charge against tax fraud

The Panama Papers demonstrated to the world the severity and scope of tax evasion and fraud. Now the European Parliament is taking up the fight. Danish MEP Jeppe Kofod sits on the parliamentary committee tasked with finding ways to close tax loopholes that siphon trillions of kroner from public coffers every year

IN THE WAKE of the Panama Papers leak last spring, the issue of tax evasion and tax fraud became headline news. Celebrities, politicians and large companies were found to have been hiding money away in tax havens through shell companies created by law firm Mossack-Fonseca.

In response, the European Parliament put together a special committee to investigate the extent of illegal tax dealings in the EU, and to suggest punitive measures for individuals and companies engaged in tax fraud. According to the European Commission, EU countries lose about seven trillion kroner in tax revenue to the havens every year.

Danish MEP for the Social Democrats (Socialdemokraterne) Jeppe Kofod sits on the committee, which is expected to release its findings next summer.

Were you surprised by the information revealed by the Panama leaks?

I was not surprised by the information as such, I think there was widespread knowledge that massive money laundering and tax avoidance was happening. What was surprising was the exact structure of how these things were done. Panama has resisted

The tax base is being eroded, and when it becomes smaller, we cannot pay for welfare for our people.

Elias Thorsson

adopting the OECD standards for information transparency. It was well known that drug lords in Colombia laundered their money in Panama. But the exact structure and how it involved governmental figures like Putin, Assad, the Icelandic prime minister, David Cameron's father and other high profile people, that part was interesting.

The amount of data was also surprising. This was the biggest leak in history, much bigger than Wikileaks and Luxleaks. We also need to remember that this is only one law firm. There are others in the same business and on the same scale, we've only seen the tip of the iceberg.

So, this was all known and we just needed proof?

People had a sense that something was wrong. There are certain countries that write their laws in a way that supports secrecy and protects money laundering, so the suspicion and knowledge was there. But exactly how and who it involved was new – that there is a corrupt global elite using secrecy, and that Panama is holding their hand over that and making money of shady business dealings is worrying.

Will the EU be exerting increased pressure on Panama to change its regulations?

We have done so. For example, Panama has now signed a deal with Colombia for exchange of information, something that the OECD is trying to implement globally. But these governments need a lot of pressure put on them. We had the Panamanian ambassador come before our tax committee and he was hostile and asked: "why is Europe interfering in my sovereign country? We have the right to implement our own laws."

But the fact is that they are a part of a global system with free flow of capital and the global system of capitalism. If they want to be a part of that, then they need to make sure that the system is not being misused by criminals, corrupt politicians or companies that don't want to pay their fair share of taxes. So we told Panama that if they had that attitude, we could just cut off their access to the biggest market in the world. It was disappointing that Panama had that attitude, because they are protecting dodgy businesses and even mass murderers like Assad.

How serious of a problem do you think this is for the EU, and more specifically a country like Denmark with a relatively high tax rate?

It's a big and a growing problem. You have cases with big corpora-

tions, like the recent case with Apple. They have not paid Ireland 130 billion Danish kroner in taxes over ten years. The tax base is being eroded, and when it becomes smaller, we cannot pay for welfare for our people. So for Nordic countries like Denmark it is a big problem. It means we either have to cut the welfare state or ask ordinary working people to pay even more income tax. In a sense you are putting a lot of burden on ordinary people.

How broad is your committee's mandate to investigate companies?

It's an enquiry committee, which means we have quite a lot of resources. We will investigate if our laws in Europe are sufficient, but first we need a deeper understanding of the problem. Tax avoidance and fraud alone costs something like 15,000 Danish kroner per EU citizen per year. But if you take money laundering, political corruption, drug crime, human trafficking and weapons sales, that number becomes even higher.

Have you been in contact with Mossack-Fonseca directly?

Not me personally, but we will summon them and similar law firms from other offshore tax havens in for open, public hearings in the



Left: Panama City is known as a favourite destination for the wealthy when trying to find ways to conceal their income from the tax authorities.

Above: Jeppe Kofod represents the Social Democrats as an MEP in the European Parliament. He sits on the Pana committee, tasked with investigating the Panama Papers.

European Parliament. We will ask hard questions and sometimes they will refuse to answer. Our experience is that when you call Apple, Google, IKEA or others, they often avoid answering. The same goes for the biggest banks in Europe. We have also experienced European countries that are also a part of the tax avoidance industry, like Greece, the Channel Islands and Lichtenstein, refusing to answer questions. But it's good to expose different stakeholders in open hearings.

Would you expect a company like Mossack-Fonseca to comply?

I hope they will, or if they are not willing to then I hope the authorities in Panama will. Because they want to remain on good terms with Europe and be able to trade with our markets. But I'm not so optimistic about how cooperative they will be as they want to protect their business model.

Do you have the possibility of introducing any punitive measures against companies that refuse to cooperate?

We can place a withholding tax on all capital going to Panama that is a *de facto* sanctions on the country. Do you have an opinion on which

concrete steps should be taken to tackle the problem?

We need to strengthen our laws on money laundering and we need much higher sanctions on the industry that enables criminals and companies to avoid tax. For instance with the bank Nordea in Scandinavia, we saw that the penalty is very low for not ensuring that their clients are not engaged in illegal activity. We need sanctions against banks that systematically and repeatedly try to hide money or avoid paying taxes. We should possibly be able to revoke a company's business licenses – whether that be a bank, a law firm, or an accountant firm. We also need to create a black list of all tax havens in the world that won't cooperate and do away with their secrecy and place real sanctions against them.

Isn't the problem that a lot of what we see is immoral, but not illegal?

If you hide away money that you should be paying taxes on, then that is clearly illegal. If you create a shell company within an off-shore structure, that is not illegal, but the construction can be used for illegal activities. It is right, that

Continued on page 37

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Students: The burden of the future

Student grants could be cut and partially replaced by loans under a government proposal. While they insist that Denmark would still have the most generous student grant system in the world, critics warn of the effects on social mobility, while students fear the consequence of having to study faster and work more on the side

SINCE THE 1970S every Dane has been ensured the right to free education and financial support through the SU grants scheme. It's a policy that has been admired abroad, built on guaranteeing that education was never out of anyone's reach.

But the grants, averaging around 5000 kroner per month, are now in jeopardy as the Liberal Party (Venstre) government argues they are too generous and threaten public finances. In their 2025 Plan, they propose a reform that will lower the free grant and increase student loans.

The government might have opened up the political debate, but ultimately it's the students who will feel the change. Charlotte Hummeluhr, a Master's student at the University of Copenhagen (KU), says the proposed reforms would have a huge impact on her life.

"I would choose to work more and cut classes to avoid debt," she says. Similarly, fellow KU Master's student Mia Ravn Jørgensen says it would force her to prioritise her time away from her studies.

"Losing SU will make me a worse student."

The education level in Denmark has been rising over the past decades. Fewer and fewer Danes enter the labour market with only a primary school education, while the number of Danes with a Master's degree has risen from around 225,000 to 314,000 over the past decade.

As a result, increasing numbers of Danes are claiming SU, from 190,000 in 1991 to 460,000 in 2014. Between 2009 and 2014 the number increased by 27 percent.

State spending on SU has, consequently, risen dramatically in recent years, from 10 billion kroner a year in 2006 to 20 billion kroner in 2016. Spending on SU now dwarfs the 15.2 billion kroner spent on higher education, and almost equals the cost of the Danish research budget – 21 billion kroner.

THE REFORM

Currently, a student who doesn't live with their parents receives a 5,100 kroner grant and is entitled to an additional 3,000 kroner loan per month. The government has proposed lowering the grant to 4,300 kroner and increasing the student loan to match it at 4,300

kroner. Furthermore, the loans will no longer accrue the current four-percent interest rate while the student is studying.

Students claiming SU are also allowed to earn money on the side, but this is limited to around 12,000 kroner before tax per month. The proposed changes would increase this to 13,000 kroner. Newly-educated students would also be eligible for an additional 17,000 kroner tax free allowance in the three years after they graduate, to encourage students to choose degrees that they are more likely to find work with.

THE OPPOSITION

During last year's election campaign, the government denied having any intentions of cutting SU. Responding to criticism that the reform constitutes a broken promise, PM Lars Løkke Rasmussen said voters will be consulted as another election will be held before the reform takes effect in 2019.

The reforms will save around 3.3 billion kroner that the government plans on using to finance its 2025 plan, which is currently being negotiated in parliament.

Ultimately, if SU cuts became a reality I would attend fewer classes in order to work more, to avoid debt.

MASTER'S STUDENT, CHARLOTTE HUMMELUHR

Words:
Sophie Frahm

Photos:
Rasmus Degnbol

While the right wing 'blue' bloc generally supports reforming SU, the left wing is overwhelmingly opposed, a view shared by the general public. A Megafon poll from earlier this year found that 69 percent of Danes neither want to lower SU, nor reform the system.

Far-left party the Red-Green Alliance (Enhedslisten) is particularly averse to the proposals, arguing that they challenge the fundamental principle of equal access to education.

"I don't have words for how short-sighted this is," Enhedslisten's political spokesperson Pernille Skipper said. "With a click of his fingers Lars Løkke is turning Denmark into a country where education is only for those with well off parents. A lower level of SU will result in a less educated generation, and it will be the children of cashiers and bin men who will be chucked off the education train."

DODGY NUMBERS

Other left wing parties have also challenged the government's rationalisation for making the cuts. The government argues that the in-



Charlotte Hummeluhr, a Master's student at the University of Copenhagen (KU), says the proposed reforms would have a huge impact on her life.

crease in SU expenditure is linked to Denmark having a more generous grant scheme than its neighbours, causing an influx of too many foreign students.

"I don't think it's reasonable that the Danish SU is so generous compared to our neighbouring countries. We risk attracting foreign students who only come here for the free education and SU, without utilising the education in Denmark," education minister Ulla Tørnæs said in a press release. She later told TV2 News that Denmark has the most generous student grant system in the world.

"That will still be the case after the reform."

The number of foreign students claiming SU has increased in recent years. In 2013, the EU Court of Justice ruled that all EU students who work a minimum of 10 hours a week can claim the monthly grant.

Those who qualify under that ruling currently make up 1.4 percent of the total SU budget, which amounted to 321 million kroner last year.

Another explanation for the increase in SU recipients is that this year almost 15,000 people have

I don't think it's reasonable that the Danish SU is so generous compared to our neighbouring countries.

EDUCATION MINISTER, ULLA TØRNÆS

been moved from unemployment benefits to SU. This was a result of the government's unemployment benefits reform, which took effect earlier this year. The reform forced unemployed under-30 year olds to study if they were to receive any form of government support.

Budget estimates for the next couple of years, however, suggest that SU costs have already peaked, which could be seen as making SU reform unnecessary. According to the 2016 budget, SU is estimated to cost 20,648 billion kroner in 2017, before dropping to 20,216 billion in 2018.

IS SU WORKING ANYWAYS?

One of the main functions of SU is to increase social mobility and enable children to achieve a higher level of education than their parents. But according to a 2016 report by the Danish National Centre for Social Research (SFI) there remains a strong correlation between the level of education of parents and their children.

"Social background still plays a considerable role in relation to who gets what level of education," explains SFI senior researcher Jens-

Peter Thomson. "When looking at upper secondary grades, children with highly-educated parents – who have higher expectations for their children – do better than the children of parents who don't have advanced degrees."

Thomson explains, however, that further education has never been more accessible to children from families with low incomes and levels of education. These children are increasingly choosing to pursue further education he says, arguing that welfare programmes such as SU have played a role.

"We want to live in a society where your accomplishments affect where you end up. It should not depend on what you inherit. It should be your own effort that matters. That is why it is important that people have the opportunity to get educated. And it's one of the reasons we offer free education and SU."

Think tank Kraka is sceptical that SU has played such a large role in improving social mobility, however.

"Increased social mobility has been a prevailing argument for maintaining the current SU sys-

tem, but it's simply false," explains Kraka chief economist Jens Hauch. "The purpose of SU was to secure equal access to education, but despite our generous SU, we have very low rates of mobility."

Kraka has suggested an alternative SU reform that provides SU to Bachelor students, but not Master's students. They estimate that this would save the government five billion kroner annually, which could be earmarked to increase social mobility and quality of education.

"We want to address the issue head-on. We don't know if it will work, but we do know that the current framework is not good enough."

LIVELIHOOD AT STAKE

Yasmin Davali, chair of the Danish student union Danske Studerendes Fællesråd, is actively fighting against the proposed SU cuts, and she argues that the government misunderstands what SU was designed for.

"SU is a student's livelihood and their expenses don't decrease just because you cut SU. It is impossible to survive if it is cut by 20 per- ►



Mia Ravn Jørgensen, a Masters student at the University of Copenhagen, is concerned that her education is becoming less valuable than when she set out.

cent. Only 10 percent of students currently survive solely on SU."

Her argument is upheld by a recent report co-authored by Djøf, AE-rådet and Epinion, which showed that university students spend almost all their SU on rent. Other living costs are financed by student jobs, while one in three students has taken on debt.

Davali adds that the 2013 Progress Reform has forced students to speed up the time it takes to finish their education, making the SU reform an added burden.

"The Progress Reform combined with SU reform will cause students to experience not only a time pressure, but a heavy economic pressure as well," she says, arguing the combination of reforms will only increase unequal access to education.

"Many students will go far to avoid debt. Worst case scenario it might cause people to forgo getting an education, or possibly force them to drop out of their studies."

APPLES AND ORANGES

The Danish government has taken some inspiration for the re-

Increased social mobility has been a prevailing argument for maintaining the current SU system, but it's simply false.

KRAKA CHIEF
ECONOMIST,
JENS HAUCH

form from Norway, which in 2002 changed its SU system from grants to loans. Instead students who graduate on time get 40 percent of the loan rescinded as an incentive.

Both countries offer free education, but according to the OECD only 59 percent of Norwegian students graduated in 2013, compared to 81 percent of Danish students. And while 22 percent of Danes between the age of 30 and 34 have more than a bachelor's degree, in Norway that number stands at just 17 percent.

Birgit Bangskjær, chief consultant from Akademikerne, argues that the large difference in graduation rates can be explained by the respective grant systems.

"You could argue that it is SU that allows Danish students to finish their education and enables society to get more out of its investments in education," she told Information newspaper.

"Dropping out is much higher among students who study part time. This makes sense as it are students from low education backgrounds who tend to study part time in Norway so they can work

on the side and avoid debt. But it's hard to be a student and work on the side, which is why many abandon their education."

Recent OECD figures, however, shows that Norway is closing the gap on graduation rates and in 2014, 76 percent of bachelor-level students graduated. Speaking to Berlingske, Bangskjær stresses that the effect of a loan-based system on dropout rates is likely to be more pronounced in a five-year education, than a three-year Bachelor education.

QUALITY OF EDUCATION

Unsurprisingly, students are apprehensive about losing a part of their grant in favour of the possibility for a larger loan.

"Ultimately, if SU cuts became a reality I would attend fewer classes in order to work more and avoid debt," Master's student Charlotte Hummeluhr said.

She is currently taking an unpaid internship as part of her studies, which is only possible because she receives SU – without it she would have to work instead.

"I'd lose out on a unique learn-

ing opportunity as well as practical experience. The company would also lose out on free qualified labour."

The SU cuts would only be the latest in a string of reforms that have increased the pressure on students and reduced the quality of education. Last year, the Venstre government promised to cut 8.7 billion from university funding, while the former centre-left government passed the Progress Reform.

"Today, university is about meeting the learning requirements, passing the exam and then moving on to the next," says Mia Ravn Jørgensen, who is concerned that her education is becoming less valuable than when she set out.

"The workforce expects us to be experts within our fields, but the truth is that we no longer have that opportunity to do so, because of the Progress Reform and the enormous cuts universities have been subject to in recent years. It doesn't add up that students both have to study faster and work more next to their studies. It's already a tough balance to find." ■



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Nadège Mazars / Hans Lucas Agency

ON SEPTEMBER 27, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) signed a historic peace deal with the Colombian government, ending the 52-year war.

"The horrible night has ended," said the Colombian president Juan Manuel Santos after signing the agreement using a pen made from a spent bullet casing.

On Sunday October 2 the Colombian people will vote 'yes' or 'no' to the peace treaty that will grant full amnesty for all FARC members. It may be hard for some Colombians to accept the amnesty deal, given the 230,000 people who have died on both sides of the conflict.

The photo was taken on January 25, 2016. And shows a FARC



Peace delegation during one of the first peace meetings that was held with locals in the Amazonian jungle. The FARC soldiers wore white flags instead of weapons as a sign of their wish for peace. The meeting was a "peace pedagogical exercise" to present the civilians with the details of the peace agreement and to answer concerns about what would happen after. **M**



Time is running OUT

Former Danish minister Connie Hedegaard remains an influential advocate for climate action. But while we have the technology and ability to transition to a low carbon future, she urges climate leaders, such as Denmark, to keep their ambitious targets to inspire the rest of the world

We can't continue to create food and energy the way we do now. Transport systems will need a massive overhaul too. For they all emit carbon, which is steadily warming the planet. At the current rate, the planet could warm between two and six degrees Celsius by 2100, with devastating consequences for human civilisation and the natural world.

Climate change is the biggest and most complex challenge humanity has had to face together. And some progress is being made. The Paris Agreement, which resulted from the UN climate conference last year, commits countries to set ambitious emissions targets to keep warming below two degrees.

The agreement has already been ratified by the world's three biggest emitters – China, the US and the EU – but will it be enough? Critics fear that as long as fossil fuels remain cheap, their use will continue. And while countries are periodically reviewed under the agreement to ensure they are setting ambitious emissions targets, countries can also pull out of the deal without repercussion.

The EU has already agreed far-reaching climate targets, including a 40 percent emission reduction by 2030, compared to 1990 levels. Negotiating these targets was one of Connie Hedegaard's final accomplishments as EU Commissioner for Climate Action in 2014.

"In 2012, when I said we should set climate targets for 2030, some of the closest people around me were shocked that I was thinking about 2030 when we were still in the midst of the economic crisis – but that we succeeded shows the strength of what the EU can actually do," Hedegaard says in the offices of green think tank Concito, which Hedegaard joined as chairman of the board in 2015.

"Individual states would not set targets for 2030 under those circumstances. But that's what we can do together if we think rationally about the situation we are in. If

In my heart I can think it's amazing that with all the knowledge out there, people are still talking if there is some doubt. One thing is people who don't know, the other is people who do know but don't give a damn – that can be hard to respect.

Words:
Peter Stanners

Photos:
Rasmus Degnbol

we are challenged by an economic crisis and also extremely reliant on gas from Russia, shouldn't we get less reliant on Putin's gas? Shouldn't we take the money we spend on fossil fuels and keep that for ourselves? Should we not harvest the jobs in retrofitting buildings and grids? What we tried to do was put climate into Europe's growth and development story and I think that was one of the reasons why we ended up really pushing to get the 2030 targets through before the mandate ran out."

SOME PEOPLE DON'T GIVE A DAMN

Hedegaard is one of Denmark's most high-profile former politicians on the international scene. Her political career started in 1984 when she was elected to parliament for the Conservative People's Party (Konservative) aged only 23 – the youngest ever MP at the time. Six years later she left politics for journalism and worked for 14 years in newspapers, TV and radio. In 2004 she returned to politics and served first as environment minister, then climate and energy minister, as a Konservative MP under the right wing coalition between the Liberal Party (Venstre) and Konservative. In 2010 she joined the European Commission as climate commissioner, where she is remembered for pushing for ambitious targets and being highly vocal about the climate challenges.

It's an ongoing passion. In addition to her work at Concito, Hedegaard also chairs the KR foundation, which was established in 2014 by the Villum Fonden to find, and finance, long term solutions to climate change and resource scarcity.

"Time is running out. In my heart I can think it remarkable that with all the knowledge out there, people are still talking if there is some doubt. One thing is people who don't know, the other is people who do know but don't give a damn – that can be hard to respect," she says.

It's not just climate deniers that need to be tackled she argues. The minority Venstre government has repeatedly called for Denmark

to temper its climate ambitions (Denmark's current target of becoming fossil fuel free by 2050 is among the most ambitious climate strategies in the world). The government's mantra is "green realism" that balances ambitious climate policies with affordability.

"What is green realism?" she asks rhetorically. "If you really want to stay below two degrees warming then you really need to get busy and have meetings in the EU and internationally to do whatever you can do to show the good Danish example. The problem is that Danish government gives the impression that we are so good and we are running so far ahead that we can slow down a bit. But I say no, because we all need to go low carbon, by as much as 80 or 90 percent by 2050. I want to ask them, 'do you really understand what that means?'"

THE CARBON BUBBLE

Climate change threatens not only millions of lives and ecosystems across the world, it could also trigger an enormous economic crisis.

Energy companies command enormous untapped underground reserves that, if extracted and burned, would emit so much CO₂ that the planet would definitely warm more than two degrees. According to the Carbon Tracker Initiative, around 80 percent of coal, oil and gas reserves must remain unburned.

These reserves are considered future income for energy companies, however, and are factored into their valuation. If these unburnable reserves are kept in the ground, energy companies could lose as much as 30 trillion dollars over the next two decades, according to a 2014 report by financial services company Kepler Cheuvreux. Investors – from ordinary private shareholders, to hedge funds, pensions and banks – risk seeing their money disappear into thin air.

There is one simple way to avoid investments in fossil fuel companies becoming so-called "stranded assets" – sell them now. Otherwise known as divestment, a growing movement is calling on investors to pull ►

their money out from fossil fuel companies and instead invest in renewable energy.

Hedegaard says the financial services industry has started to listen to the divestment debate. She points out that in July, the governor of the Bank of England, Mark Carney, said businesses needed to better understand the risks that climate change poses and that renewable energy presents enormous investment opportunities. The European Investment Bank has also highlighted climate change and increased its focus on renewable energy and climate resilience projects, while also integrating climate change considerations into all of the bank's strategy.

"A lot of investors and pension funds have started to think differently about their portfolio," says Hedegaard. "They are asking have we invested properly? Do we have diverse offers for our customers? Many banks have realised that there are potential customers that ask for products that they don't have, for example products not invested in coal or fossil fuels at all."

She stresses, however, that there is a still a lot of research that needs to be done into the effects of divestment. It's an area of focus for the KR Foundation, which has supported a range of projects that look at the implications of different fossil fuel divestment – and renewable energy investment – strategies.

"Divest and invest seems easy, but what are the implications over the coming years? Especially when we still need gas for a substantial time ahead, how do we handle that? If everyone divested tomorrow, what would happen? The coal companies would get extremely cheap and those who didn't want to do anything about climate change would be able to buy some incredibly cheap assets, for example," she says. "We need to enlighten and nuance the debate."

FINDING THE REAL COST

Ultimately, averting disastrous climate change is as much a financial and political issue, as it is a technological challenge. The right incentives need to be in play in order for investors to move their money into renewable energy projects, for example by putting a price on the cost of carbon.

This is the function of the European Emissions Trading Scheme, where polluters can buy and trade the right to emit carbon. While it's not been wholly successful, as the price of an emission allowance remains low, Hedegaard is confident the price will rally as allowances are removed from the market over the coming years.

Paying to emit carbon is one way of putting a price on the real cost of burning fossil fuels. Coal might be cheap to extract and burn, but it results in huge health and environmental costs. These additional costs – or 'externalities' – are not always considered by governments when they are deciding which type of energy investment to make, however. Taking

We have to move into a paradigm where we minimise waste and reuse and recycle, then we need a way to price waste and incentivising new inventions and innovations.

these calculations suddenly makes the alternatives appear more competitive.

"In light of Paris, we can make all the big international deals that we want, but what really matters is when we start at a higher way to put our money where our mouth is," Hedegaard says.

"We need the market to do the job in the transition, but there is a market failure when the real cost of things is not being measured or taken into account properly. If you produce 1000 pairs of trousers then its impact on GDP is positive. But if, in the process, you pollute a river with chemicals, then maybe that's not the full story. So we need a more coherent way of pricing things."

Hedegaard argues that the job of transitioning to a low carbon economy is such a huge and transformative task that it shouldn't just be the responsibility of environment ministers. Finance and transport ministers too need to integrate their commitment to the Paris Agreement when thinking about which infrastructure projects to choose, how to build buildings and set standards.

"We need to mainstream climate into the development strategies, into budgets, into the way we price things, which is why the KR Foundation is so focussed on how to price externalities. Today, there is a false way to really find out what is the real cost of an activity," she says.

"We have to move into a paradigm where we minimise waste and reuse and recycle, then we need a way to price waste and incentivising new inventions and innovations."

SUBSIDISING GLOBAL WARMING

Another area of focus for the KR Foundation is fossil fuel subsidies. These come in many forms – from subsidising extracting, to the cost of fuel at the pump – but all artificially reduce the cost of fossil fuel consumption. According to the International Energy Agency (IEA), governments around the world spent 500 billion dollars on fossil fuel subsidies in 2014.

Research into the true extent of fossil fuel subsidies, and strategies to end them, have both been recipients of KR Foundation funding.

"The rule of thumb is that we are still subsidising fossil fuels with four or five dollars every time we subsidise renewables with one. Developing countries could argue the subsidies are needed to allow the poorest to afford petrol. But according to the IEA it is not poorest who benefit, it is a huge subsidy to the middle classes and the most well off."

Hedegaard is frustrated by the lack of action on fossil fuel subsidies, which countries have repeatedly promised to phase out.

"I am not asking the poorest countries in the world to be the ones who first show that they are phasing out fossil fuel subsidies," she says. "There are social implications to it so you can't do it over night. But how many times have the G20 countries signed off on declarations for ending fossil fuel subsidies? Now in light of Paris, please start doing it! Everyone can see that

we are going low carbon, so we should not subsidise carbon. It is self-evident. If we subsidise anything it should be the things we want to be developed faster – to speed up innovation to replace the fossil fuels that we have decided we do not want."

RENEWABLES ARE THE FUTURE

Carbon emissions have to peak no later than 2020, and start dropping rapidly thereafter, if we are to have a realistic chance of staying below two degrees of warming, according to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change.

The energy investments that are being made today are therefore central to tackling climate change. This is particularly important in developing economies such as India that have seen a boom in the construction of coal-fired power plants that currently produce 60 percent of the country's electricity. These plants are needed for President Modi to fulfil his promise to provide all Indians with electricity by 2022.

Hedegaard says that Modi's promise to electrify all Indian households is incredibly important to his mandate to rule. But while coal would be the easiest solution, given India's massive reserves, it's also dirty and is responsible for high levels of harmful air pollution. It's also not necessarily cheaper to install than renewables, which can produce electricity on a more local scale.

"Coal might look like the cheap solution here and now. But that means having a central coal power plant and then building the infrastructure out to the last outpost village. When you see what's happening with solar and wind, solar is starting to get competitive in India and you wouldn't have to build extremely expensive infrastructure."

And there is reason for hope. India ratified the Paris Agreement on October 2 and has promised to invest in 175 gigawatts of solar power by 2022 – India's total electricity generation capacity is currently around 300 gigawatts.

ENVIRONMENTAL COOPERATION

Europe, too, has to make big decisions about its energy infrastructure over the coming years, as ageing power plants reach the end of their useful lives. In February 2015, the EU launched the Energy Union to create a secure, integrated, efficient and low carbon electricity grid across the continent.

The Energy Union wants to connect national electricity grids across Europe, which are currently relatively isolated from each other. This will solve a major issue with renewable energy – intermittence. Wind turbines only turn when it's windy, and solar panels only create current when the sun shines. But you can bet the wind is blowing, and the sun shining, somewhere in Europe at any given moment.

By connecting Europe's energy grid together, we can send Norway's hydroelectric power south, Danish wind power west and Spanish solar energy north. And, in the process, the need to burn fossil fuels will steadily drop.

There is still plenty of coal still being burned in Europe, however, particularly in Poland where around 100,000 people are employed in the coal mining industry. While powerful unions make the government wary of challenging the increasingly unprofitable industry, Hedegaard argues they could always use EU structural funding to ease the transition.

"No one is asking Poland to go out of coal tonight," she says. "Poland is starting to realise they have an outdated and old energy system with a lot of loss and waste. But if you have 100,000 people in the coal-mining sector, then of course it takes time to retool and reskill these people, so you need a strategy and that's what the EU can do. Poland is biggest recipient of money from the EU and one of the things we got adopted a few years back in the structural funds must be used to do things, for example, in climate that move in the right direction."

THE NEED FOR EUROPE

Poland's transition to a low-carbon economy is only possible because of the incentives created when Europe comes together to set ambitious targets, Hedegaard argues. These targets drive innovation and the development of new technology, which boosts the economy and creates jobs. The Danish wind energy sector, for example, has definitely benefited from the EU's renewable targets.

"Europe needs to keep its leadership and harvest the benefits of being a frontrunner, also in terms of exports in technology," she says.

"It's the worst possible time to lean back and see what's happening in the US, China and India. It would be such a shame for Europe if we were so preoccupied with other things that we sold out of this frontrunner position we had, and the same goes for Denmark. There is this tendency to say we shouldn't be so ahead of the crowd. Well we are not that much ahead of the crowd and if you want to harvest export revenue from this then you have to understand that your competitors in the Far East are moving. And if they want to move they can move really fast," she says.

There is reason to worry that climate could slip down the list of priorities in Europe, especially following the UK's referendum to leave the EU. European leaders are scrambling to avoid calls for referendums in their own countries, while the European Commission has promised enormous investment to drum up support for the European project.

It's a difficult time for Europe. Not only do important decisions about how to address climate change need to be made. The EU also has to demonstrate that it is a vital tool for protecting European interests, stimulating economic growth, and preserving the rights and standards of living of all Europeans.

"It's easy to say we don't have time for the climate and that there are other more pressing issues. But the climate change challenge and the resources challenge are not going to solve themselves." **M**

We can make all the big international deals that we want, but what really matters is when we start at a higher way to put our money where our mouth is.





Matilde Kimer has spent the last 30 months documenting the ongoing conflict in Ukraine following the Euromaidan revolution. She explains how a conflict tied up in centuries of history has managed to claim over 9,000 lives and shows little sign of ending

The revolution grew inside me

Sorry Mette, I've got to run – FUCK." It's not the sign off a TV news host wants to hear from their reporter in the field. But Matilde Kimer hadn't much choice. It was February 2014 and she was in the midst of the Euromaidan protests in Kiev, Ukraine. Around her shots were being fired and tear gas burned her eyes. She needed shelter, and fast.

It was her first trip to Ukraine as a correspondent covering Russia and the former Soviet Republic for state broadcaster DR. She has since returned almost 40 times to cover the conflict that has claimed over 9,000 lives since the first protests started in November 2013.

In September, she published a book about her experiences covering the Ukrainian conflict. *The War Inside* follows three characters, each with differing reasons for getting involved in the uprising and ensuing war with separatists. But in each case, including her own, they actively chose war.

"The revolution grew inside me. It was much more than work – it was also personal and at some point it took priority over my life and family. I was obliged to go back again and again and again, to go deeper into it and stay there and document the horrific things that were going on. And getting out again."

THE EUROMAIDAN UPRISING

Since its independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, Ukraine has been caught in a political struggle between Russia and Europe. Residents in the west of the country see their future in the EU, while Russia struggles to keep the Ukraine under its sphere of influence by appealing to the large Russian-speaking population in the east.

In November 2013, it looked like

Russia was winning the struggle for influence when Ukrainian President Victor Yanukovich decided to abandon an Association Agreement with the EU that would have increased trade and diplomatic relations with the bloc. Yanukovich instead moved ahead with a new deal with Russia, which consisted of cheap loans and natural gas.

Thousands of Ukrainians took to the streets of Kiev to protest the decision. Over the following months, the protestors swelled in numbers and established camps on Kiev's central Maidan Square. Conflict between the police and protestors steadily escalated over the winter until, on February 18, all hell broke loose.

Kimer was in DR's Copenhagen headquarters and was watching videos of the police and security services shooting civilians, while protestors retaliated, armed with makeshift weapons. She had just returned from covering the Sochi Winter Olympics and finally convinced her producers that she had to go cover the uprising in Kiev. She landed on February 18, 2014, a day when dozens lost their lives.

"It was horrific. Protestors were shot and police were being beaten to death in the streets. When I went to bed that night I had no idea what was coming, but I was afraid like everyone else. Snipers were rumoured to be about town, big roads were blocked, no one knew what the army was going to do."

The violence in Kiev transformed into a revolution on February 21, when Yanukovich was unseated and replaced by acting President Oleksandr Turchynov. Russia condemned the move as a coup, and on March 18 annexed Ukraine's Crimean peninsula, which has a large Russian-speaking population. In April, Russian-backed separatists started occupying government buildings in the eastern Donbass region bordering Russia, ultimately declaring the

Many Ukrainians regard those who have been left behind as traitors. If they didn't manage to get out in time, or oppose the separatists, then they have to accept their occupiers.

Luhansk and Donetsk provinces independent states.

"Each day the conflict escalated with bigger weapons and more occupations of police stations or intelligence facilities. There was catastrophe after catastrophe – a mass murder, arson in Odessa, and bombings in Slovyansk. It was one big snowball rolling, no one had time to sit down and think, it was happening so fast and intensely."

A TOUGH DREAM JOB

Kimer's frequent visits made her a regular fixture on the Danish evening news. It was her dream job, as she had only become a journalist to continue to satisfy her fascination with Russia and the former Soviet Union. When she joined DR as an intern in the foreign desk in 2005, she was the only one to raise a hand when the offer of traveling to Russia was brought up.

She has worked for DR since as an editor and journalist and met her husband in 2008 while covering a story in Iraq. He was a travel photographer and the following year he followed her to Moscow where she worked as a correspondent. He returned to Denmark a few months later, leaving his pregnant wife to continue reporting on human rights abuses in Chechnya.

Later the same year, she returned to Denmark to join the foreign desk as a journalist, before landing the job as correspondent for Russia and the former Soviet states in January 2014 – just as the Ukrainian revolution was gathering pace.

The reporting has taken its toll, however, and a year after her first trip to Kiev, Kimer realised she needed some time off.

"It was right after a very big battle in Debaltsevo where thousands of soldiers and civilians were killed. I went to a soldier's funeral – I didn't know him he was just killed in the area that we were in. It was just before the first year anniversary of Febru-

ary 20. I think I cried for two or three days – more or less non-stop. When I got home I just felt so tired and I met with a psychologist who told me I'm not supposed to cry more than the people I interview," she says.

"But then I went back because I still think it's important. Its not like I want every Danish person to constantly think about the Ukrainian war, but I think its important that when we have a war in Europe that is so ideologically fuelled, that we do acknowledge the fact that it is ongoing."

WITH US OR AGAINST US

Almost 1.5 million people have fled the fighting in the Donbass and separatists currently control around half of the territory in the Donetsk and Luhansk provinces.

Not everyone can flee, however, particularly the elderly who own little more than their homes. From one day to the next, they found themselves caught in the struggle between the two sides. While their lives are at risk from the ongoing fighting, they also face practical struggles to remain fed and keep their homes warm. For those forced to live in separatist held territory, their lives are made especially difficult, as they have to travel to Ukrainian territory to withdraw money.

"It's a bloody nightmare. It takes so much administration and you need permission from all sides to cross the border, which can take weeks. Then the lines can be so long that you have to stand up for 16 hours at a time and if you're elderly you can't – especially when the temperature is either minus 30 or plus 30. The remaining population think they are being harassed, while many Ukrainians regard those who have been left behind as traitors. If they didn't manage to get out in time, or oppose the separatists, then they have to accept their occupiers. Which is tough, obviously."

Kimer says she met a woman in ►



Matilde Kimer on location in eastern Ukraine.

her fifties near Donetsk City, who said the remaining population felt like they were being treated like the children in a cruel divorce.

"But in a normal divorce the parents would fight for the kids, whereas here mum and dad are fighting, but no one wants the kids. That was a metaphor for the feeling of neglect and lost love from somebody above. No one cares about them. They feel used in a game essentially about Crimea not them."

INFORMATION WAR

Kimer's job is to cut through the propaganda that permeates both sides of the conflict and report on the what's actually going on. For while Russia is known for spreading misinformation – such as false allegations that the Ukrainian airforce shot down the passenger jet MH17, or that Russian soldiers are not fighting alongside the separatists – Kimer says both sides distort information when they hit civilian buildings, and lie about the number of dead and casualties.

"The Ukrainian side is also full of shit. I remember going to Slavyansk in May 2014, which was one of the main military headquarters in the beginning of the separatist movement, after they had shot down two Ukrainian helicopters. For some reason the separatists let us through and we found ourselves inside the city listening to the heavy bombardment nearby. We were sitting in a parking lot waiting to do an interview with a high level separatist leader and we turned on the radio and heard a spokesperson for the Ukrainian forces saying they had the city completely under control. But we were sitting there and couldn't see a single Ukrainian soldier, instead all around us were separatists with their massive mortars."

The Russians have also been caught lying about the conflict, and hiring actors to pose as distraught civilians begging for Russian intervention. These sorts of lies are unlikely to be reported in the Russian media, which Kimer says is becoming increasingly singular in their attitudes.

"The narratives are so polarised that we are pulling and pushing against each other. What I think we have not done well enough in our coverage of this conflict is showing the bad things committed on both sides. It's equally horrendous if it's a Russian or Ukrainian raping a woman or murdering civilians. I think me and the camera crew have tried to show a trustworthy and accurate picture on the ground."

That her reports could support the Russian agenda is perhaps why she has been allowed access to separatist areas, when other major media such as the BBC and ARD have been denied.

"I document when a mum has been blown up in her house because it was close to a separatist checkpoint, which is how it works on both sides. The civilian casualties happen not because either side are blood-thirsty satanists. It happens because it's a war in a populated area. Both sides think me, and the likes of me, are fairly annoying. But we are also necessary because I validate their points when they have a point that's not just bollocks. Whenever they put their own journalists out there, everybody is going to question them."

RUSSIAN INTERVENTION

In recent years, tension between Russia and the West has steadily escalated. Kimer explains that Russia is increasingly dividing the world into those who are on their side, and those who are not. Ukraine's decision to move towards the EU, rather

than Russia, was a betrayal that could not go unpunished.

"The day Ukraine left the Soviet Union it ceased to be a union. It was the biggest and most populous of the Soviet states after Russia, and had such a symbolic connection to Russia historically. It's where the Russian people were born – the whole culture grew out of Kiev and eastward into Russia. So they saw their closest ally taking the enemy's side. Russia had been trying for years to establish a customs union for economical cooperation in its own sphere, and rebuilding some of the structures of the Soviet Union. But Ukraine didn't want that, they wanted to join the faction Russia saw as a threat to the sustainability of the Eurasian sphere. Also, Ukraine had been doing worse than all the other soviet countries, so they should be easier to control. And they still couldn't."

Kimer stresses that Russia was also threatened by the potential for popular democratic uprisings to spillover into Russia. A decade before the Euromaidan revolution, Ukraine experienced the Orange Revolution that arose following a presidential election marred by fraud, voter intimidation and corruption in favour of Viktor Yanukovich, who was set to succeed the pro-Russian president Leonid Kuchma.

Pro-European candidate Victor Yushchenko ultimately prevailed over Yanukovich – but not before Yushchenko was poisoned with dioxin under suspicious circumstances – following an election rerun prompted by the massive protests.

"The Kremlin has been staring at Kiev after the Orange Revolution and feeling intimidated by it, because there is no doubt that if something like that succeeded in the Ukraine it would be an inspiration

It's not that I don't think it's horrible that people were killed in the Charlie Hebdo attack, of course it is. But I look out on the street and I see 100 people being killed every day. Why don't their lives matter?

to a lot of Russians. That is why in the aftermath of the Orange Revolution a number of nationalist youth groups were launched in Russia to counter youth dissatisfaction. The protests in Russia 2011 also scared the Kremlin, as it showed that people can be so disappointed and annoyed that people will sit in the streets. So when the Euromaiden protests started in Ukraine, Russia was not going to let it repeat itself. On a number of occasions, Putin has said he urged Yanukovich to be more tough."

Five years ago, Kimer might have been optimistic that Russia would move in a more liberal direction. But the events of recent years suggest the opposite is true.

"You have laws that have gone the other way, that reduce free speech and assembly. There is also a massive brain drain of intellectuals and ambitious people who are not interested in wanting to join state companies such as Gazprom – people who want to create things and have ideas. I regret to be such a pessimist but I don't see anything going that way," she says

CUTTING TEETH

Unlike other war correspondents, Kimer seems to have found herself working in conflict zones less because she thrives on danger, and more because she cares about the lives of those she gets to meet. So she can get frustrated when she wants to tell a story, but other world events get in the way.

"I remember driving into Donetsk when there had been no shooting for two days and then suddenly I'm surrounded by massive rockets being fired and people dying in the streets. I wanted to do a story about the civilians living in bunkers beneath the city and spent some time with a family underground that was only surviving thanks to the Red Cross and UNICEF. There were around a million people at risk of malnutrition and starving in and around the city that winter," she says.

"Above ground I found a church that had built a concrete wall so that people can still attend services and not get hit by all the shrapnel flying around. So I call the newsroom and tell them about a piece from inside the church where people are singing and crying. But it was just after the Charlie Hebdo massacre and there was no interest. And obviously I'm frustrated because I'm underwater in this war, and think it's the only thing that matters. It's not that I don't think it's horrible that people were killed in the Charlie Hebdo attack, of course it is. But I look out on the street and I see 100 people being killed every day. Why don't their lives matter? Now that I'm outside my war bubble I know their lives do matter, it's just the fact that if 100 people are dying every day, it's not news anymore. That's the cynical truth." **M**

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"The 2025 plan is a Thatcherite wet dream"

Should Denmark gamble its future wealth on tax cuts and underfinanced public services? Kasper Fogh from think tank Cevea doesn't think so. He argues that preparing Denmark for a technological future requires investing in lifelong education for everyone



Peter Stanners

The photographer wanted to take a serious photo but Kasper Fogh wanted to play on the swings. Fogh's idea was better.

"THIS IDEA that you can make such long-term plans for the future – it's technocratic arrogance and carnival economics with make-believe money".

Kasper Fogh is not impressed by the government's National Reform Program 2016 – dubbed the 2025 Plan in the media. Head of policy and communications at centre-left think tank Cevea, he's a likeable, outspoken and ironically self-proclaimed champagne-socialist, whose job is to provide knowledge that shows the value of community.

Because Denmark has accomplished something rather unique, he argues. It has shown that collec-

tive solutions are a viable alternative to competition. When the government decides to invest in green energy it results in a lot of wind turbines, green jobs and competitive business. When the government focusses on healthcare, the result is diabetes medicine and hearing aid-companies. Then there is district heating so everyone can sustainably warm their homes and affordable daycare so children can have a safe childhood, while women are set free to pursue their ambitions.

In other words, Danes found solutions to modern problems by distributing the burden of finding solutions amongst each other.

"But if we continue to turn all corners of society into business, I'm afraid the welfare system won't survive," he warns. "We meet the world with collective efforts that have been able to perform on more than one bottom line – we've shown that you can make solutions that are both competitive, sustainable and human."

Fogh's concern for the future of the welfare state started early in his career while he was working for Copenhagen's former Lord Mayor Ritt Bjerregaard, a Social Democrat. His co-workers were disillusioned, had little time to do their actual job, the public schools

were doing poorly, and the nursing homes were not a place he'd want to grow old in.

While the city has since invested heavily in welfare, particularly in affordable day care, successive governments have passed welfare reforms that reduced unemployment benefits, limited early retirement and cut funding for further education. Municipalities have also been told to cut one percent of their annual budget per year until 2019, which will potentially impact frontline welfare services, such as elder care.

The 2025 Plan only piles pressure on the welfare state.

"This new plan is an expression

Hana
Hasanbegovic

of the continuous target management of the public sector, kind of like the corporations' target management of the production cellphones," Fogh argues, adding that we could be witnessing the dark and final hours of the welfare state.

"You can't run a school-system like you run a car-company. You pervert the public sector with absurd goals and standards. The employees hate it and don't respect it. Guess what that does to the quality of the schools and nursing homes?" he asks rhetorically.

"There are other things too – like the privatisation of clean drinking water and district heating. It won't give us cheaper water or heating – to me it seems more like a way to slowly squeeze the life out of something spectacular and working great with community ownership."

A GIGANTIC CONSUMER LOAN

In the 2025 Plan, the government argues for the need to make some small adjustments to the Danish economy in order to avoid much larger reforms further down the road.

Among their proposals is the ambition to cut the rate of the top tax bracket from 15 percent to 10 percent, for earnings of up to one million kroner. The argument is that it would give high earners a larger incentive to work more, which would then stimulate the economy and generate the tax income that was lost from the cut.

Fogh is unconvinced. "If all of their fantastic assumptions come true, then public finances might balance at best in nine years time," he says, arguing that top earners won't necessarily work more if they pay less tax. They are wealthy people, after all, and they might just choose to work a little less and spend that time with their children instead.

Either way, Fogh stresses that we do not have enough knowledge or insight into the future and how it's going to turn out. This makes the tax cuts an extreme risk and a massive blow to the Treasury.

"It is like going to your bank and telling them that you want to spend more money now, because you expect to earn much more in nine years time. It's not math, it's not science – it's bullshit," Fogh says.

If we continue to turn all corners of society into business, I'm afraid the welfare system won't survive.

Reducing tax receipts also makes public finances incredibly vulnerable to the turbulent global markets. If anything unexpected should happen in the world economy – another financial crisis, the collapse of China's debt bubble, or rapidly rising oil prices – government finances could just fall apart and lend Denmark in a lot of debt.

But raising taxes to pay off the debt won't be an option. Globalisation has placed a downward pressure on all sources of government income, as nation states compete to appear attractive to global investment. The only solution is to cut welfare programs, pushing the poor further into poverty, and lining the pockets of the wealthy.

"I think that there are a lot of people in the conservative-liberal Denmark, who are fine with an underfinanced welfare state," he says, arguing that previous efforts to streamline the public sector made it more expensive without improving its performance.

"If you're a hammer, the world's a nail. If you're an economist, the world is about performance management and productivity. New Public Management is how we run the Danish community and it's a slow cannibalization of something rather spectacular, the welfare state, which was developed in the middle of the last century," he says.

NO MENTION OF THE GOOD LIFE

Fogh also criticizes the 2025 Plan for lacking any reflection on what the good life consists of – it focuses singularly on economic growth and consumption.

"Is it just super awesome to work a lot?" he asks rhetorically. "Like John F. Kennedy said about the GDP – it measures everything, except for the things that matter."

In Fogh's view, Denmark is a wealthy and successful country in large part due to its free education and health care, combined with a fair work-life balance, which enables citizens to enjoy time with family and their interests. Sustainability is also high-

ly prized in Denmark, which has committed to become fossil free by 2050. How, then, could the 2025 Plan make no reference of climate or sustainability?

Still, there is one aspect of the 2025 Plan, which Kasper Fogh can get on board with – support of small businesses.

"Studies have shown that almost all new jobs in the economy come from new businesses," Fogh says. "This is important when trying to stimulate economic growth."

The problem is that most new and small businesses rely on banks for investment, who in turn are reluctant to lend them money. This results in poor conditions for growth. The government's new proposal offers the possibility of using retirement savings as capital, a tax deduction for private investments, while new business owners can postpone paying business tax the first few years.

It's a small part of the larger equation, but it all adds up says Fogh.

"We need to make sure that people want to start new businesses and, more importantly, we need to get them out of the strong grip of the banks. I'm impressed that the government proposed something so diametrically against the interest of the banks," he says.

Another positive feature in the government's plan is making it easier to save up for retirement.

"One of the biggest poverty bombshells in Denmark, and the largest cause of financial inequality, are the people on the road to retirement who don't have any savings," he says.

DISILLUSION ABOUT EDUCATION

Before you start a business or reach retirement, you'll probably need to get an education. But while Denmark's future wealth depends on its intelligent and educated population, the 2025 plan does little to support this future.

"If we want to compete globally based on the fact that we are skilled and hard-working people – as opposed to our non-existent di-

amond mines or mineral resources – the important thing isn't only how many people we educate, but how good the education itself is," he says, arguing the Danish education and research sector is challenged by successive cuts.

"The fact that our educations aren't good enough isn't addressed anywhere in the plan. This means that the government does not understand the future it is planning for."

Fogh isn't against making savings in the public sector. His issue is that the 2025 plan is not focused on improving public services, just making them cheaper. He points to the cuts that have been proposed for the student grant system, SU.

"In Norway they've tried to increase self-financing for students, which resulted in a lower completion rate. I'm afraid we'd see the same trend here. And it would probably be at the expense of the kids from non-academic homes – and that just violates my sense of justice."

With a constantly developing economy where technology is making many jobs redundant, while creating new markets and opportunities, people are entering a reality where they may have to change jobs far more often than in previous generations. Fogh believes that developing a lifelong educational system is the right way to address this new reality.

"Unless you are able to offer people new proficiencies continuously, the chance of them being able to handle big changes decreases. To me that's logic for dummies," Fogh says.

So what are Fogh's final thoughts on the 2025 Plan as a whole? Well, he wouldn't call it a plan for a start.

"It's an irresponsible budget that is basically a large spending loan. To use business language, there is no research and development and there is no innovation capacity to develop the unique welfare system, which is to be permanently underfinanced. It's a grinding down of something unique, and financed by a Thatcherite wet dream – not reality." **M**

Soldiers keep fighting long after the guns go silent

The government has promised 20 million more kroner to better support veterans suffering from PTSD. But it is still too hard for veterans to claim compensation says the Veterans Alliance, which is calling for mental illness to be treated on par with physical disabilities

DURING JESPER MAILAND'S first deployment to the Balkans on a UN peacekeeping mission in 1995, he found himself in the midst of battle.

"It was full-out war 500 meters from our camp. Snipers, mortar attacks, all that shit. We felt the blasts when they struck close enough and heard the whistling of grenade shrapnel. Just weeks before we left, two grenades struck our camp and destroyed 96 percent of our vehicles."

Mailand returned from his tour in the Balkans with a growing sense of psychological distress. He decided to reach out for help, but was put off by suggestions from his superiors that doing so might make him a worse soldier.

"The debrief we got back then was pretty straightforward. The military psychologist would ask 175 men in the auditorium of the Farum Garrison if anyone was feeling bad. When no one came forward, the psychologist pointed us in the direction of a phone number that hung in the hallway."

He eventually volunteered to do two more tours abroad in rapid succession. He was committed to his occupation as a soldier and worked hard. Over the course of two years he only took three weeks of holiday, and was otherwise in a state of constant preparedness.

Psychological duress started to grow within him, however, but he continued to perform his duties, leaving his colleagues none the wiser about what was going on inside. But when the psychological pressure spilled over, he finally reached out for psychological help.

"Honestly, I sobbed through half an hour with a psychologist on the phone. I realised I was sick and within a week I was overwhelmed with anxiety and fear. For 11 months I couldn't go to work," he said, describing the anxiety as paralysing.

"These fears are to do with my

I sobbed through half an hour with a psychologist on the phone. I realised I was sick and within a week I was overwhelmed with anxiety and fear.

JESPER MAILAND

Jon Stubbe Wissing



Jesper Mailand, right, during a deployment in the Balkans.

mind wanting to have complete control of a situation. When I am out somewhere it sends my brain into a kind of uncontrollable overdrive. When it happens I leave the area to regain my composure."

MANY AT RISK

Mailand is one of around 55,000 Danish soldiers to have been sent to conflict zones since the end of World War II. Of around 20,000 soldiers who were sent to Iraq and Afghanistan, 43 died and around 500 were injured.

But many more returned with psychological injuries, such as Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). One Military study examined the mental well being of 749 soldiers who were stationed in Afghanistan between February and August 2009. It found that 22 percent would ultimately suffer some degree of PTSD. Around six percent appeared healthy on their return to Denmark, but slowly deteriorated after seventh months. And around ten percent still suffered symptoms of PTSD two-and-a-half years later.

The government recognises the need to help veterans and in September increased its annual spending on veterans by 20 million kroner, to 200 million kroner a year.

Several new initiatives were also announced, including more local health and social centers for veterans, a 50,000 kroner grant to employers for each veteran they hire, easier entry to education, and improved PTSD treatment.

"[Veterans] perform an enormous service for the Kingdom of Denmark and we should do everything we can to support and help those in need," defence minister Peter Christensen told Jyllands-Posten newspaper.

THE VETERAN ALLIANCE

Veteran support group the Veterans Alliance (Veteranalliancen) support some elements of the government's proposals, such as new health and social centres that make it easier for veterans to seek support from social workers and psychologists.

But spokesperson Claus Stenberg warns that the most vulnera-

ble veterans are still at risk.

"We had hoped for the establishment of an outreach-unit similar to the mobile psychiatric nurse service, but explicitly for veterans. And then there is the big issue of compensation for psychological trauma such as PTSD being recognised on par with physical injuries. Sometimes soldiers fight for 10 or 15 years to claim compensation for their psychological injuries."

Veterans have only been possible to claim compensation for mental health issues resulting from their work since 2013. Parliament expected that it would cost around 500 million kroner in compensation claims, but according to Ugebrevet A4, around 1.3 billion kroner has already been paid to veterans suffering from PTSD.

Despite this progress, Veteranalliance argues that mental health injuries are not considered as severe as physical injuries. As a result, compensation for PTSD tends to be lower than for physical injuries.

Even worse, they argue, are veterans who have been diagnosed



Claus Stenberg, spokesperson for Veteranalliancen that campaigns for increased support for military veterans.

with PTSD, but who have had their claims for compensation turned down by the Labour Market Insurance (Arbejdsmarkedets Erhvervssikring), the government agency responsible for assessing compensation claims for work-related injuries. One veteran, for example, was denied compensation because they were "not exceptionally threatened or under catastrophic pressure" during their time as a soldier.

According to Ugebrevet A4, Arbejdsmarkedets Erhvervssikring dismissed 30 percent of PTSD compensation claims.

RECOGNITION

While soldiers suffering from PTSD are helped by the financial windfall that compensation brings, the money also serves as a recognition of the dangerous work they have done.

But even soldiers who return home physically and mentally fit want the government to recognise their work.

"I have served with many brave soldiers over the years who were deserving of recognition for their extraordinary service," says Lars

Sometimes soldiers fight for 10 or 15 years to claim compensation for their psychological injuries.

CLAUS STENBERG

Madsen, a veteran of five deployments in Afghanistan.

Madsen currently serves as the chief of human resources in the European Union Police Mission Afghanistan (EUPOL), which trains the Afghan police force. He was one of the principal advocates for the establishment of Forsvarets Medalje for International Tjeneste (The Military Medal for International Service) in 2015, that is awarded to civilian and military personnel who participated in international missions between 1948 and 2009.

"As a leader and an officer I felt the official recognition insufficient," he says. "To be able to take that medal out now and again, and wear it knowing that you made a difference means a lot."

Madsen said he knew the focus on medals could divert attention and resources from important areas such as PTSD. And he is worried about the high suicide rate among veterans. He abhors the "bureaucratic nightmare" many soldiers encounter when seeking help, describing it as a second war on the homefront.

"Ideally, the funds for their treatments should be allocated as part of the budget for deploying them in the first place," he said.

ONE AND A HALF VICTORIES

In September, Veteranalliancen held a demonstration outside Arbejdsmarkedets Erhvervssikring to draw attention to issues related to awarding compensation to veterans. One woman held a sign stating: "1998->2016 = 18 years. How much longer? When will you learn to take responsibility?"

But despite their grievances with the system, Claus Stenberg acknowledges that the government's new initiatives are, in part, inspired by Veteranalliance's campaigning.

"The first victory is that highly-specialised PTSD treatment will be available in all regions. The half-victory is the way veterans will be handled by municipal authorities. Municipal staff will be better equipped to make a holistic assessment of the often complex set of problems veterans encounter upon return to a normal life on the home front." M

More help for veterans

Spending on veterans to increase by 20 million kroner to 200 million kroner a year.

Employers can claim 50,000 kroner for each veteran they employ for at least six months.

More regional veteran centres for treating severe trauma to be established across the country.

GPs given extra training on how to diagnose and treat mental health issues.

More offers of sport and physical activity.

PTSD

Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) is an anxiety disorder caused by very stressful, frightening or distressing events.

Someone with PTSD may experience feelings of isolation, irritability and guilt. Symptoms are often severe and persistent enough to have a significant impact on the persons day-to-day life.

PTSD can develop immediately after someone experiences a disturbing event or it can occur weeks, months or even years later. Source: (nhs.uk, SFI-rapport "Danske hjemvendte soldater" fra 2009).

To get help

Specialist PTSD treatment is ascribed through contacting your GP.

For acute help with negative thoughts or anxiety call:

Sct Nicolaj Tjenesten: 7012 0110 (9-03, sun 13-03)
Angsttelefonen: 7027 9294 (mon-thu 19-22, sun 16-19)

The official Veteran Center hotline for soldiers, veterans and relatives is open 24 hours: 7281 9700



Wrestle mania on the streets of Copenhagen

There are countless odd subcultures all around us, and occasionally they invite us to participate. Spending a night at Copenhagen Championship Wrestling made me realise we should accept these invitations, as we can learn a lot from them

HE ARRIVED clad in the Danish flag Dannebrog – a modern day Holger Danske – and stepped up as Denmark's last hope. But now he lies beaten, bruised and humiliated, pinned down by Mr Universe – a skinny man with a ponytail and leather jacket to illustrate he's the villain.

The crowd goes wild as the referee taps his hand on the ring floor for the third time, putting our hero out of his misery. Denmark has lost. The rambunctious and drunk audience boos and cheers the wrestlers, as Mr Universe steals the Danish flag and exits through the smoke filled arena door.

Luciano – aka Mr Opera, a perverted-looking, full man in a white suit and sporting a twirled moustache – announces through a broken and distorted soundsystem that there will be an intermission before the main event – the epic matchup between Michael Fynne and The Hangman.

Words:
Elias Thorsson

Photos:
Aleksander Klug

This is a wrestling show, but it's not taking place in Las Vegas or at a packed arena somewhere in the Deep South. Instead, we are in the decidedly less glamorous KPH Volume on Enghavevej.

GETTING SUCKED IN

I only heard about the event the day before and was immediately intrigued. I've always been interested in the quirky and weird subcultures that exist beneath mainstream culture. Where niche interests can flourish and likeminded weirdoes can congregate and enjoy themselves.

The morning before the show I learned that the newly founded Copenhagen Championship Wrestling had only sold 13 tickets to the show. I could already picture the condescending article I would write, ripping on geeks who think they are Hulk Hogan.

But standing outside in the hot

September night, waiting for the show to recommence, me and my friends – who I had dragged with me – are positively pumped.

We had just witnessed possibly the most outlandish evening entertainment Copenhagen has to offer. Grown half naked men body slamming each other and hurling insults at the audience and each other. It was a curious mixture of fitness competition and soap opera melodrama, with the latter being much more prominent and interesting.

Thankfully, about 150 people had shown up, as this is not an event that would work without a loud and participatory audience. I chat with a Swedish man who had crossed the Øresund bridge just to attend.

"I love wrestling!" he exclaims. I'm not there, but I get the appeal.

HONEST FUN

The only way to explain wrestling is by comparing it to a children's play

for adults. The audience participates, boos, cheers and the wrestlers constantly interact with the crowd. Everything is fairly obvious. In many ways wrestling is the anthesis to everything that defines our culture today. From our TV shows to our politics, the lines between heroes and villains have never been less clear. But in wrestling we know which is which. The bad guys wore masks, black clothes, or just tell us to "fuck off". Great, we get it.

We Europeans have had an arrogant sense of the New World as being populated by philistines and the uncultivated. The CIA was so aware and worried about this problem that during the Cold War it threw money at Rothko and Jackson Pollock, and sent Louis Armstrong on European tours to combat this image among the cultural elites.

And it's undeniable that wres-

ting is as American as bodegas are Danish. It captures all the elements we associate with American entertainment – violent, crass, silly, but ultimately just honest fun.

It is this honesty that was so evident during the Copenhagen Championship Wrestling show. Despite being a choreographed, pretend event, it was paradoxically devoid of pretense. I might have entered the wrestling 'arena' expecting to roll my eyes and laugh ironically at an undoubtedly weird episode. But as soon as I started laughing shouting and cheering, my intentions went out the window.

FINDING COMMUNITY

The headline event was the most captivating. The Hangman had a sizeable fanbase of grown men wearing nooses around their necks. And Michael Fynne got right in the audiences faces, aggressively grabbing people and looking like he was out for blood.

In the end, after a tightly fought match, our hero won – this is after all a children's play for adults. We scream, we have been entertained.

Outside I meet The Hangman, aka Jesper, and what stands out is his undeniable passion for wrestling.

"I have loved wrestling since I was nine. And the chance to be able to do this with all these incredible people is amazing. I always want to improve my wrestling, and tonight I made so many mistakes. Michael Fynn made me look like an idiot."

He explains how wrestling has not just been fun, but has had an incredibly positive effect on his life.

"I have started to eat better, train more, but there is also this incredible community. We all are there for each other, we all support each other, and I have not been able to find that sense of community anywhere else."

Walking away from the arena, we are pretty much all smiles. It has been ridiculous, and somewhat embarrassingly entertaining. It has given us that special joviality that can only come from watching people do what they love – from when people stop worrying what other people think, and just go for it. There is a unique honesty in that, which cynical times could use a lot more of. **M**

I have not been able to find that sense of community anywhere else.

THE HANGMAN



OP-ED



I will not defend myself from the tyranny of Danishness

I own the right to live in Denmark, without having to explain or defend who I am

I HAVE SAID YES to writing this piece in order to say no.

No to answering the most ubiquitous question – do I feel Danish. I do not acknowledge the question's premise. I refuse to validate it. Because if I do I am only reproducing the fallacious discussion about "us and them". Two groups that time after time are presented as being representative of something real. And they are not.

I am not a representative of anything. I refuse to be reduced to a role model, an assimilated Turk, a Dane with a foreign ethnic background, a descendant, a second-generation immigrant, a coconut,

Ayşe Dudu Tepe

or Dane. I own the right to be here in Denmark without having to explain or defend who I am. But I especially own the right to myself and my feelings. And my feelings do not want to be drawn into the theatre that is currently being played out in these emotionally-pornographic times.

The way I see it, some of us have been turned into extras in an absurd play, which sees the media and politicians state one tired cliché after another. The ending is always the same: idiotic. And pointless. I refuse to be reduced to an idiotic cliché. And I refuse to be co-opted in this play that is run-

ning on constant repeat. Enough is enough. And now I am saying no.

No to when politicians and the media ask me the same ridiculous questions, such as: Do you feel Danish? Do you love Denmark? Do you feel at home in Denmark? Do you believe in Santa?

I don't give a fuck about these questions! I do not acknowledge them. And I will never allow myself to be put in a position where I have to defend myself from the tyranny of the elite or the masses.

The "do-you-feel Danish" question reminds me of when a close relative stormed into my teenage bedroom and beat me up, while

they explained that I was a Turkish girl and should behave accordingly. No. No. No.

I will not allow Martin Henriksen – or anyone else for that matter – to humiliate me because I don't have feelings that fit into their outrageous and emotionally-laden concept of nationality. They cannot tell me who I need to be, in order to be something.

Wallah, I swear on the Koran that if they challenge me I will strike back with a resounding 'no'. ■

This op-ed was first published in Politiken newspaper

Leading the charge against tax fraud

Continued from page 15

it's not illegal to create a company in Panama, but it can be used for illegal purposes. The way to get around that problem is to ensure that we know the beneficial owners of all companies and that we can track any transaction of money. That way authorities can decide if it is illegal activity. It is very important to get rid of the secrecy around a company registration, because these companies don't just deal with money, they also own a lot of real estate in London and big yachts, gold, and so on.

Should the EU have a coordinated tax policy, and possibly even its own tax authority?

Definitely, I believe in a strong European cooperation and coordination around issues that are transnational, which a lot of tax issues are. If cash flows from one part of a company in one country, to another part of a company in another country, or from a rich individual's account to an offshore company, then you need the tools to ensure that what is happening is legal, and not an attempt to avoid taxes or to hide assets.

I also want the EU to establish a minimum corporate tax rate, because globalisation will erode the welfare state and create a downward pressure on taxes, especially on corporate taxes and capital gains. We've already seen that over the last 30 years in many European countries. Following Brexit, the UK government is possibly planning to lower corporate taxes in an attempt to attract businesses to the UK.

We need to stop that race to the bottom. Because without everyone paying their fair share of taxes, we will not be able to have hospitals, elderly care and so on. So this is a fundamental political fight for a civilised welfare state.

Does the recent Apple case show that the EU is very ill-equipped

Without everyone paying their fair share of taxes, we will not be able to have hospitals, elderly care and so on. So this is a fundamental political fight for a civilised welfare state.



to deal with their member states on taxes?

Definitely, this is a failure in the construction of the single market. When we created the free flow of services, capital and labour, we forgot to ensure that member states have tools to protect their tax base. The EU has focussed too much on the free flow of everything and has forgotten that in order for a market to function in a fair way then we need instrument that ensure companies can't play different countries against each other.

Has the tax burden shifted more onto income tax and away from corporate tax in recent decades?

It is clear that, compared to corporate taxes, income tax has not been declining, I think it has been quite stable and maybe even rising in some countries. The sole argument for low corporate and capital gains taxes is that we are losing in the free flow of capital under globalisation. But it is important to remember that a market is a political construction. There are laws that enable me to open a bank account in Luxembourg. We have been too much on the side of market fundamentalism at the expense of fair competition and democracy.

As exemplified by the Brexit vote, we seem to have reached the nadir of public trust in the EU, but at the same time the public has shown a strong opposition to tax evasion. Do you believe that fighting tax evasion could help reinvigorate trust in the EU?

Definitely, the EU is really about dealing with transnational problems that no country can solve on their own. No country can deal with tax dodging and tax havens alone. Already good things have happened, but we still have a long way to go. So we need to show

people that the EU is taking action to protect our tax base and the economic security of our member states.

Do you think that Brexit will have an effect, especially considering low tax areas that belong to the UK?

Yes, discussions need to be held with the UK about capital flow to crown properties, and to make sure it is taxed. You have to remember that if the UK leaves but wants an agreement to stay in the single market, then they need to fully accept the EU and regulations on financial services, and establish tools to prevent tax dodging. So either the UK has to separate totally from the single market, as some in the hardcore Brexit camp advocate, otherwise we need good tools to deal with Channel Islands such as Jersey, Guernsey.

For example, the EU has made agreements for the exchange of information with Switzerland, Lichtenstein and Monaco. The deal with Switzerland, which I was a part of making, will take affect next year and will be the *de facto* end to bank secrecy in Switzerland, which has been in place for a hundred years. That is a big step forward and we will fight to make sure the same kind of agreements are implemented for the Channel Islands and crown dependancies.

Do you expect, or possible fear a strong backlash from big companies like Apple?

I do. Take Tim Cook's [Apple CEO] reaction to the commission's ruling. He used the classic argument, 'we've created a lot of actives and employment in Ireland'. But that is not the point. They have created a lot of jobs and technological advancement, but it has to be done in a fair way. And when they have 100 billion Danish kroner in tax breaks, then it is not a fair competition. They have to understand

that companies of that size have to pay their fair share of tax like everybody else. So I don't buy the argument that 'we are so innovative, and therefore we have special rights'. No, everybody has to follow the same rules and pay their share, also Apple or Google, or other big tech companies.

Do you fear that they will come after you personally?

No, I don't fear that. I sense huge public support. This summer I was in the US for the Democratic National Convention and I talked to Bernie Sanders and others in the Democratic Party about the issue. There is also huge support in the US, so I think we have a good chance of winning this fight. But there will always be companies that will look for ways to maximise their profits through tax evasion. Politicians have a responsibility to end that. Politicians have for too many years failed, for many different reasons, to do a proper job.

Will a part of your work include trying to find concrete ways to protect and help whistleblowers in cases like these?

Definitely, that is a very important topic. We've called for strong guidelines to protect whistleblowers, because under criminal law whistleblowers are very poorly protected. The Luxleaks whistleblowers were prosecuted in Luxembourg, which was a disgrace as they exposed illegal activities. If we don't create laws to protect whistleblowers, and I see some governments hesitating, then we are effectively deterring people from coming forth and that will be catastrophic for us. I think it will deter big banks or law firms from engaging in tax dodging, or illegal business if they know that there are strong protections for employees who make public illegal activities within their companies. **M**

WHAT'S ON • OCTOBER

Anders Sune Berg



AN AGE OF OUR OWN MAKING
The exhibition showcases the works of artists from all over the world in an attempt to examine how "shaping or claiming the public space is a form of citizenship".

Kunsthal Charlottenborg
Nyhavn 2, 1051 København K
charlottenborg.dk

ALL MONTH

ICELANDIC LOVE CORP
Aarhus' famous contemporary art museum will showcase the works of an Icelandic group of artists whose collection carries the name "Love Conquers All".

Aros Kunstmuseum
Aros Allé 2, 8000 Aarhus
Aros.dk



GENTOFTE LOPPEMARKED
Located just by Charlottenlund train station, this flea market offers a wide range of second hand products for very little money.

Gentofte Loppemarked
Bregnegårdsvej 2, 2920
gentofteloppemarked.dk
Every Sunday 8-14

7

COUNTRY FESTIVAL AALBORG
Musicians from Denmark and abroad will be performing in Aalborg in celebration of country music for two days of dancing and fun.

Aalborghallen
Europa Plads 4, 9000
akkc.dk
Ends October 8

8

SEKUOIA
Through deep electronic beats and atmospheric sounds, Sekuoia made his name in the Danish and German music scene.

Pumpehuset
Studiestræde 52, KBH
pumpehuset.dk



PJ HARVEY
After a highly appreciated performance at Roskilde Festival this summer, PJ Harvey is returning to Denmark for two unmissable dates.

Falconer Salen
Falkoner Alle 7, Frederiksberg
October 9-10
Billetlugen.dk

10

TIVOLI HALLOWEEN
Before Christmas market season gets under way, Tivoli gets decked out with 20,000 pumpkins and autumn flowers to celebrate Halloween.

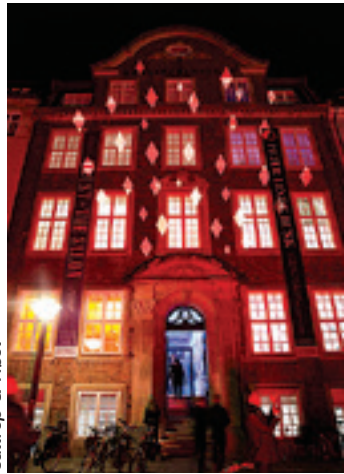
Tivoli Gardens
Vesterbrogade 3, KBH
Tivoli.dk
Ends October 31



PLACEBO
2016 marks the british band's 20 year anniversary of their first release. To celebrate, the band is touring Europe for a "period of celebratory retrospective activity".

Vega
Enghavevej 40, KBH
Vega.dk
October 14

EVENT OF THE MONTH



Sattrup & Høst

14

CULTURE NIGHT COPENHAGEN
Culture Night is Copenhagen's largest one-day event of the year and has proved increasingly popular year after year. Over 250 museums, theatres, parks and squares offer exciting events for the whole town, all night long. All you need is a Kulturpas (DKK 90), that also covers public transport for the night.

kulturnatten.dk



RIBE CULTURE FESTIVAL
The medieval centre of Denmark, and its oldest town, will turn into a celebration of culture through drama, music and all sort of performances in different venues across Ribe.

Ribe Town Centre
ribes-kulturnat.dk
October 16

21

CHOIR OF YOUNG BELIEVERS
Through their latest release "Grasque", Danish group Choir of Young Believers impressed fans and critics with their alternative pop sounds.

Den Grå Hal
Refshalevej 2, Christiania
dengraahal.dk

Gabriele Dellisanti



WHAT'S ON • NOVEMBER

4

J-DAY

Drunk teenagers (and indeed adults) will populate the streets of Denmark to mark this yearly recurrence: the launch of Tuborg's annual 'Christmas Brew'.

Bars & pubs across Denmark
tuborg.dk



FLUME

After performing at this summer's NorthSide festival in Aarhus, the popular Australian DJ is returning to Denmark for an upbeat party.

Falconer Salen
Falkoner Alle 7, Frederiksberg
November 7

8

DEMS ELECTION NIGHT 2016

An all-nighter for Democrats abroad and politics fans, to closely follow the results as they tick in. God, we hope it's not Trump.

Vega
Enghavevej 40, KBH
Vega.dk



SAMPHA

His silky-soft voice caught all our attention thanks to colabs with SBTRKT and Little Dragon. Catch him on his solo tour ahead of the release of debut album 'Process'.

Lille Vega
Enghavevej 40, KBH
vega.dk
November 16

A SOLO EXHIBITION
BY PABLO SABORÍO

RETURN TO SOURCE



RED DOOR GALLERY

HEINESGADE 13

2200 COPENHAGEN

FACEBOOK.COM/REDDOORCPH

VERNISSAGE OCT 22, 2016 2-10 PM



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