

THE MURMUR

COPENHAGEN
EDITION

When mums
and dads
split their
parental
leave, eve-
ryone wins

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new tools to
register and
tackle hate
crime

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beer? It's
(sometimes)
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says brewer
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MAY 2017 VOL. 4 ISSUE 5



A slow motion train wreck

Journalist and historian Adam Holm has written a book about Europe – and it's pretty bleak

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

THE MURMUR



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“A worried Per Stig Møller warns: The EU is about to disintegrate, and it's getting pretty serious.”

The headline of the article in Berlingske was shocking. One of Denmark's most

highly-regarded former foreign ministers, a Europhile conservative, was warning that Europe is on the verge of collapse.

But, as is so often the case these days, it was clickbait. Møller isn't suggesting that Denmark should pre-emptively exit the union, as the Brits have done. Instead, he calls for even closer European cooperation and for politicians to emphasise the importance of a united Europe.

“[Politicians have] not started a clear discussion about how far we want to take the EU. They hesitate because they sense a latent opposition in many countries. That's why they never really explain why we need a strong EU. A changed EU on some points, but not an end to the EU – I don't think that will ever happen.”

Compare that last sentence with the headline, and they don't really add up. But the headline serves a pervasive narrative: Europe's in crisis. There's Brexit, the rise of leaders such as Le Pen and Wilders, the development of illiberal regimes in Hungary and Poland, the continued economic crisis in southern Europe.

This narrative forms the common thread in Adam Holm's latest book, a collection of interviews with European thinkers, all of whom share a pessimistic view of Europe's future. Among them is British historian Antony Beevor, who said regarding Europe: “We are witnessing history's slowest train crash.”

Beevor blames European federalists for creating a backlash to the EU by pushing for too much cohesion.

“Are we to have a super state, a common European ‘country’ with a flag, language, currency?”

It's a strange question, because the idea that the EU poses a threat to the nation state is not something that worries my generation. We don't really know ‘sovereign states’ in the way Beevor does. A borderless Europe is all that many of us know, and telling us that we can't live and

work where we like in the union seems as absurd as telling someone from Copenhagen they need a visa to work in Aarhus.

This doesn't mean that young people aren't aware of the problems the EU faces. My generation is extremely focused on the migration crisis, social dumping and youth unemployment in southern Europe. But few, if any, argue that the best way to solve these problems is by ending the EU. On the contrary, as Møller points out in the article, the EU is the best tool for solving all of these problems.

Nevertheless, Beevor's metaphor is an important one. I would argue that if Europe is a train at risk of derailing, the most likely cause would be if the builders put down their tools and stopped laying the track ahead of it. We are the builders, and our belief in the project is what builds the track and sustains it.

The UK lost its EU membership out of neglect, because too few politicians dared to stand up for the importance of the European project. This is obvious from the ignorance expressed in British tabloids about the workings of the EU, and reality of what leaving will mean for the UK unless it accepts free movement.

And I am heartbroken because I know that millions of people who voted to leave will be worse off in a UK where they and their children lack the right to live, work and travel on the rest of the continent, where qualified workers from neighbouring countries can't plug labour shortages in their vital public services, when the market for their products diminishes.

I write a lot about the EU in The Murmur, because I am worried we all will lose it through neglect. I worry that too few understand what it is and what it does, so there are too few to stand up for it.

But there is reason for hope. While the rise of modern populism is often blamed on the EU, the modest success of populist parties is perhaps actually a testament to the fact that Europeans prefer the status quo, where our interests are intimately intertwined, to a Europe predicated on national and ethnic divisions.

So maybe the dream of a federal EU is over. But that's alright, because the EU we've got is pretty incredible. Rather than replace nation states, it's made them stronger, by creating a platform for negotiating differences and finding common ground based on shared values, rather than identity. And that's worth fighting for. **M**

If you asked the various peoples of Europe whether they would rather go back to a period of unrest and warfare, or retain political stability and unity, I think most would choose the latter. But some would say they don't see much unity. They feel more and more alienated from the political process and experience less genuine democracy.

ADAM HOLM, P22



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Japanese: *Hihiin*
Swedish: *Gnägg*
Polish: *I-haaa*
Russian: *I-go-go*



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MONTH IN REVIEW

Poverty level increases

The number of Danes living under the poverty line doubled between 2002 and 2015 according to the Economic Council of the Labour Movement. Child poverty fell after 2011, but the total number of poor has increased to 45,000.

One in five Danes receiving a state pension

Almost one-in-five Danes now receives the state pension, which turned 60 years old in April. In 2016 there were 1.1 million recipients, up from 860,000 recipients in 2008. Around 100,000 more women than men receive the pension, as they live longer. Copenhagen has the lowest proportion of residents receiving the pension (9.9%) while the island Aarh has the highest (26.5%). The pension age is 65, and will increase to 67 by 2022.



Danes getting older

Since the 1990s, life expectancy in Denmark has increased due to lower consumption of alcohol and tobacco. Men now live for 78.8 years and women 82.8 years – an increase of about four years since 2000.

HARD TO MOVE HOME

After a number of rule changes, it is now harder for non-EU nationals to move to Denmark with their spouses. Among the more high profile cases is that of Quynh Doan, an American woman who had planned to relocate to Denmark with her Danish husband Uffe Hellsten, an astrophysicist, and two children after 20 years in California. Her application for family reunification has been rejected, however, because they didn't pass the "attachment" rule, which requires the couple to have a greater total attachment to Denmark, than any other country.

Gabriele Dellisanti

Bridal shops introduce fee for trying on dresses

Several shops selling wedding dresses have recently chosen to impose a fee for brides who want to try on the dresses, reports Politiken. This is due to an increasing number of customers who spend several hours in stores trying on dresses and getting their measurements, before going and buying the same dress online, for much less money. Brudekjoler-Weddingdeluxe in Stenlase now charges 150 kroner for every hour a bride-to-be spends trying on dresses.



Office of Public Affairs / flickr

COST OF IMMIGRANTS

Immigrants cost Danish public finances around 28 billion kroner a year, according to figures from the Finance Ministry. While Western immigrants contribute five billion kroner to the state each year, non-Western immigrants and their descendants cost a total 33 billion kroner a year. The higher cost of non-Western immigrants is in part due to higher levels of unemployment. However, the calculation also includes the children of immigrants who are in school and do not pay taxes, and therefore are a net cost on tax payers.



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Millions choose Metro
Copenhagen's Metro is getting increasingly popular, with 61 million passengers alone in 2016. It's good news for the service, that was beset in early years with breakdowns and low customer satisfaction.

TURKISH PRESIDENT ACCUSES MP OF SUPPORTING TERRORISM
MP Nikolaj Villumsen from the Red-Green Alliance (Enhedslisten) has been accused by Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan of being a terrorist sympathiser. On a Turkish TV broadcast, Erdoğan showed photos of Villumsen speaking at a 2015 protest in support of the YPG, an armed Kurdish group fighting IS in northern Syria. "He is holding a speech for these criminals," Erdoğan stated. The YPG is claimed to have connections to the PKK, another Kurdish group classified as a terror organisation by the EU.

Rise of the machines
Robot technology is so advanced that 40 percent of Danish jobs can currently be replaced by machines, concludes a report by McKinsey and the University of Aarhus, and commissioned by the government's Innovation Fund.

OYSTERS AT RISK
Pacific oysters are spreading aggressively in Danish waters, and are a particular threat to native Danish oysters in the Limfjord, reports Politiken.
The invasive Pacific oysters, which can grow more than 20cm long and are characterised by folded and sharp shells, were first noticed in Danish waters around ten years ago. The Environmental Protection Agency says it can easily map the location of the Pacific oysters, but it still has not figured out an effective method to eradicate them from Danish waters.



Movia

NEW ECOFRIENDLY 5C BUS TO REPLACE THE 5A
The 5A bus line is the most busy in Scandinavia, carrying more than 20 million passengers across Copenhagen last year. The diesel busses have now been given an eco-friendly replacement, the 18-metre 5C busses that run on biogas and carry up to 147 passengers – 82 more than the 13-metre 5A. The 5C is carbon neutral, and will emit 72 percent less NOx and 33 percent fewer particulates.

More biker gangs
Eight foreign biker gangs are believed to be operating in Denmark, despite the government's efforts to reduce gang crime, reports Ekstra Bladet. German biker gang Guerilla Nation, known to the Danish authorities for a number of drug-related crimes and killings, even managed to open a branch in Denmark last month. The government's new measures to tackle gang crimes include a minimum of two years' imprisonment for those who possess weapons and harsher consequences for using firearms in public. "What we can do with these types is give them harsh prison sentences and, if they are foreign, we have deportation laws," said justice minister Søren Pape Poulsen.



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CITY



By tunnelling beneath the city, busy streets such as Åboulevarden can be turned into green avenues and redeveloped.

Tredje Natur

that could have a much greater impact by investing in public traffic and other means of transport," he told Politiken newspaper.

All cars must pay

Copenhagen's Mayor of Technical and Environmental Affairs, Morten Kabell, is not a big fan of cars, and has proposed ending free parking in the areas of the city where it still exists.

In March, the city extended paid parking zones further into Nørrebro, Østerbro and Valby, as local residents discovered that commuters were taking their parking spaces.

"There are many people who commute to the city every day and park their cars where Copenhageners would otherwise park their own car. It would make sense if it cost money to park across the whole city," Kabell told Berlingske newspaper.

City residents who live in paid parking zones are still able to buy annual parking licenses for up to around 1,000 kroner a year, depending on the type of car.

The proposal was criticised by transport spokesperson for the Liberal Party (Venstre) Kristian Phil Lorentzen.

"It looks like an ideological crusade by Morten Kabell," he told Berlingske. "I am disappointed that he wants to stop non-residents from parking their cars in their own capital city, instead of focussing on creating even more parking spaces in Copenhagen, where people currently have to drive around in vain."

Stone reefs in the harbour

Aquatic life in Copenhagen harbour was given a boost with the creation of six stone reefs placed around the Royal Theatre's Skuespilshuset.

The 300 tons of natural stones were placed in water two to four meters deep, in areas that are otherwise too shallow for boats to use. It is hoped that the stones will create a safe habitat for fish and crustaceans, as well as attract plant life.

"If we are really lucky, we'll get a visit from some of the seals that are out in the Øresund right now near Saltholm," marine biologist Lars Anker Agantyr told TV2 Lorry. **M**

Tunnels instead of roads

Åboulevarden is one of Copenhagen's busiest roads, funnelling traffic from the Hillerød motorway directly into the heart of the city. Beneath it runs a small river, Ladegårds å, which was incrementally buried in the first half of the 20th century.

Calls have been made to expose the river and bury the road for some years now, but have been repeatedly rejected by the city council due to the overwhelming cost.

But the Social Liberal Party (Radikale) has now presented the most realistic proposal yet, which would not only return the river to its natural state, but also close one of the city's most congested roads, H.C. Andersens Boulevard, in the process.

For fifteen billion kroner, they pro-

pose building a five-kilometre City Tunnel, starting where Åboulevarden meets the Hillerød motorway in the north, and ending south of the city where it will connect with the Harbour Tunnel, a proposed eastern ring road carrying traffic from the north to the south of the city. A large underground car park beneath the city centre will mean drivers will still be able to access the city centre. The Radikale estimate that the two tunnels will carry around 85,000 cars a day by 2032.

"We have had reservations regarding a harbour tunnel, because it risks sending more traffic into the city," Radikale leader Morten Østergaard told Politiken. "But now that the harbour tunnel seems to be on its way to becoming a reality, it is important to think constructively and

use the opportunity to go even further to remedy traffic in Copenhagen. Otherwise we will lose an opportunity to solve several problems at once."

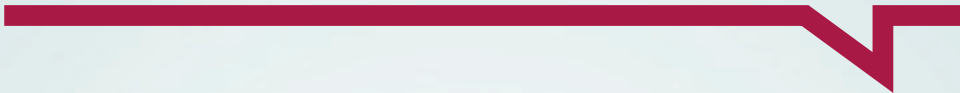
The City Tunnel will be financed both through a 20 kroner toll, as well as through the redevelopment of the land that will be freed up when the six lanes of Åboulevarden and H.C. Andersens Boulevard are cleared of traffic.

The Radikales' proposal was received with scepticism by Copenhagen's Mayor of Technical and Environmental Affairs, Morten Kabell of the Red-Green Alliance (Enhedslisten). He sees the City Tunnel as legitimising the Harbour Tunnel, which he opposes.

"The 40 billion kroner that the Harbour and City Tunnels will cost is such an insane amount of money

Johanna Sveinsdóttir
& Peter Stanners

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POLITICS

Russia hacks Danish military

The Danish Military has been hacked by the same group of Russian hackers that infiltrated the US Democratic Party ahead of last year's election.

According to the Danish military intelligence agency, FE, in 2015 and 2016 the hackers gained access to military computers and email servers using 'phishing' strategies. They sent hundred of emails to selected employees in the Defence Ministry, asking them to reset their email passwords and directing them to websites that looked identical to their email login page. Staff who unwittingly entered their login information into these fake pages gave the hackers access to their accounts.

While the hackers only had access to non-classified documents, FE states that the hack still represents a security risk.

"The information can be misused in an attempt to recruit, blackmail or plan further spying," FE states in the report.

Hackers were also able to use the email accounts to send new emails that could spread the infection and gain access to an even wider web of information.

Defence Minister Claus Hjort Frederiksen said he was shocked.

"This is very organised. These are not small hacking groups doing it for the fun of it. This is tied to the intelligence services and to central elements in the Russian regime – it is an eternal struggle to keep them at bay," he said.

According to the report, the hackers also tried to gain access to computers and servers in the military and Foreign Ministry using password-guessing software, but were unsuccessful.

The impact of the hack could have been minimised if better security protocols had been in place, the report states. In some cases, passwords for the hacked accounts were not immediately changed when the hack was detected.

"Accounts that should have been closed or forced to change password remained open to the actor after the password was stolen. This made it possible for the actor to copy the contents of several accounts even after the hack was discovered," FE states in the report.

In an email to Information newspaper, FE states the accounts were on an old system that could not accommodate a mechanism to force users to change passwords. **M**



Wind turbines at the National Test Centre for Large Wind Turbines at Østerild, north Jutland. Government investment has supported Denmark's wind energy industry.

Peter Stammers

RENEWABLE ENERGY FACES SUBSIDY CUTS

The government wants market forces to drive the country's transition to renewable energy, but Politiken newspaper warns that Denmark's position as a green energy leader was only possible due to government investment

SUBSIDIES FOR RENEWABLE ENERGY should be abolished and more money spent on research instead. These are among the recommendations in a long-awaited report from the government's Energy Commission on how Denmark can achieve its ambitious climate goals while also stimulating economic growth.

Parliament has set targets to produce half of Denmark's energy from renewable sources by 2030, and completely phase out fossil fuel sources of energy by 2050.

"In order to achieve the objective, it is absolutely crucial that the energy policy includes a cost-effective combination of energy-efficiency improvements, renewable energy deployment and electrification of the energy system," the commission writes.

They argue, however, that this is only realistic if the government starts to reduce subsidies to allow market forces to drive the transition to renewable energy.

Other recommendations include strengthening connections between European energy markets, maintaining economic support for research and upholding Denmark's place as a global leader in renewable energy technology.

Following the release of the report, energy lobby group Dansk Energi called for the government to review energy taxes with the goal of bringing down the cost of electricity. The Danish District Heating Association also argued that more could be done with the surplus energy produced by wind turbines.

"The technology is available to use the rising level of wind energy in district heat-

ing through large electric heating pumps," Kim Mortensen wrote in a press release, adding that reducing tariffs would spur investment in the technology that transforms wind energy into heat.

It's not the first time the Liberal Party (Venstre) government has called for reducing subsidies for renewable energy. In January, they doubled the taxes on electric cars from 20 to 40 percent, causing the sale of electric cars to plummet. In April, they reset the tax at 20 percent, but it will increase again to 40 percent in January 2019, or when 5000 electric cars have been sold.

In a leader, Politiken newspaper acknowledged that while market forces are vital in completing the transition to a fossil-free economy, the fact is that Denmark's renewable energy industry would never have emerged without political support.

"Increasing the role of markets in energy policy can strengthen competitiveness and sustainability. That's a good thing. But politicians shouldn't forget that the path to new climate goals and victories is the result of not being afraid to intervene." **M**

FREE SPEECH VERSUS RELIGIOUS SENSITIVITY

The government is split over whether to support a proposal to abolish the blasphemy law, arguing that doing so might threaten Denmark's security if the move is "misinterpreted"

IT REMAINS ILLEGAL in Denmark to deride gods or religious faiths under a rarely-used blasphemy law. The far-left Red-Green Alliance (Enhedslisten) argues the time has come to abolish the law, which states, "He who publicly mocks or derides the teachings or worship of a legal religious community shall be punished with a fine or up to four months in prison."

Since March, Enhedslisten has been gathering the support of a number of political parties from across the political spectrum, including Liberal Alliance (LA).

"It is an unreasonable intervention in our freedom of speech," LA's legal spokesperson, Christina Egelund, told Information newspaper. "In an open and informed society with free debate, we should be allowed to express criticism, even of religion."

Enhedslisten's proposal comes after a 42-year-old man was charged under blasphemy laws in February for posting a video of himself on Facebook burning a Koran in his garden. Only four people have been charged under the law since its current form was introduced in 1933, and the last successful conviction using blasphemy law was in 1946.

The proposal to abolish the law had its first reading in parliament in late April, but the parties in the right-wing coalition government – LA, the Conservative People's Party (Konservative) and the Liberal Party (Venstre) – are still not united behind the idea.

Konservative had earlier expressed a desire to abolish the law, but party leader and justice minister Søren Pape Poulsen stated in the parliamentary debate that there was no rush to do so.

"The reasons for abolishing it could be oversimplified or deliberately misconstrued. It would therefore pose a risk if political or religious leaders interpreted the act as an anti-religious signal," he said.

The Danish People's Party (DF) was disappointed by Poulsen's about-face, with legal spokesperson MP Peter Kofod stating

that he didn't think the security argument was very compelling.

"The justice minister is standing up in parliament saying that we have to take people's feelings into consideration when we make laws in parliament. I think it's weak."

Venstre is the coalition partner most in favour of keeping the law, according to Berlingske, because of the party's deep roots in western Jutland, an especially religious part of the country.

The Social Democrats (Socialdemokratiet) are the only opposition party to come out against abolishing the law.

"I don't see how we create a stronger society, or a richer public debate, by making it legal to burn holy books," party leader Mette Frederiksen said when she was justice minister in 2015.

Jacob Mchangama, director of legal affairs at think tank Justitia, is a major supporter of abolishing the law. In an article for Zetland, he wonders why a right-wing government that so actively supported the publication of the Mohammed cartoons would now express concern about the impact of free speech on national security.

"We live in a liberal democracy, but we are still seriously considering whether to protect those who threaten us from being offended, or to insist that the law should only protect those who offend from being threatened. It is the nature of free speech that its use offends."

Norway and the Netherlands have both abolished blasphemy laws in recent years. **M**



Jacob Mchangama, director of legal affairs at think tank Justitia, is lobbying to abolish the blasphemy law.

Getting tough on gangs

Municipalities should be given the power to prevent biker gangs from renting property if they make the community unsafe, argues the government in a package of new laws targeting the criminal organisations.

"Biker gang headquarters should not be allowed to settle in ordinary residential neighbourhoods and make communities insecure," stated justice minister Søren Pape Poulsen, from the Conservative People's Party (Konservative).

"I also hope to deploy a broad arsenal to target biker and gang crime so there will be both longer sentences and tougher prison conditions. If you choose to be a gang member and turn your back on law-abiding life, you will find out what it's like when we stand up to you."

The new initiatives also include increasing the sentences for public use of firearms or explosives by 50 percent, increasing the sentence for extortion by 30 percent, and only allowing parole for gang members after they have participated in an 'exit' programme.

With support from the Danish People's Party (DF) and the opposition Social Democrats (Socialdemokratiet), the government has a majority to pass the new laws.

Proposal for massive education spending

The Social Liberal Party (Radikale) has called for an increase in the pension age to pay for investments in education.

In an op-ed for Altinget, education spokesperson Sofie Carsten Nielsen writes that something needs to be done to address the cuts to education at all levels in recent years.

By bringing forward the planned increase in pension age from 2030 to 2025, Nielsen argues, one billion kroner would be freed up annually that could be spent on education for people of all ages.

"You deserve the opportunity to keep up when the world changes. You deserve the future you choose yourself, regardless of where you come from," she wrote.

Foreign aid at historic low

Spending on foreign aid is at its lowest level since 1983, after the government followed through with proposed cuts. Denmark now spends 0.75 percent of GDP on

foreign aid, compared to 0.85 percent in 2015, according to the OECD.

The government's target is an even lower 0.7 percent of GDP, which is the level of spending recommended by the UN.

"We would rather use the money in Denmark, for example on health care," said Michael Astrup Jensen, foreign affairs spokesperson for the ruling Liberal Party (Venstre), to Altinget.

"It's not because we don't need good development projects. But we have yet to find the money tree that so many politicians in parliament believe exists. It's about priorities."

Setback for the handicapped

In 2011, a number of homeowners near Aarhus were reported to the police because their new homes had terraces that were not wheelchair accessible. Specifically, the terraces were about eight centimetres lower than the doors on the ground floor, compared to the limit of two centimetres.

The government, however, has now decided to abandon the building rule that requires newly-built homes to be wheelchair accessible in order to give homeowners and builders more flexibility in home design. But the advocacy association Danske Handicaporganisationer is not impressed.

"It will affect the social lives of people living with handicaps – children in wheelchairs will have a more difficult time visiting friends," chairperson Thorkild Olesen stated.

"It will be expensive and difficult in the future if we stop building accessible buildings. If you have a child with a handicap, it will mean that you have to rebuild your home. We also have an ageing population that will require more accessible homes in the future."

New government cost millions

In December, the minority Venstre government decided that ruling alone was proving too much of a challenge, and invited the Liberal Alliance (LA) and the Konservative to join a coalition.

The ministries were divided between the parties and reshuffled into a brand new mix of portfolios that divided the Finance Ministry in two and created the brand-new Ministry for Economic Affairs and the Interior.

The cost, according to a freedom of information request from Altinget: 17.9 million kroner. **M**

ATONING FOR THE PAST:

The Social Democrats promise a tougher stance on immigration

It's not possible to preserve a welfare state with high levels of redistribution while also allowing permissive immigration, say the Social Democrats in their new political agenda, which also focuses on inequality and sustainability

"OUR POLICIES HAVE TO balance the necessity of helping people in need with considerations of social cohesion and welfare in Denmark. We cannot accept more immigrants than we can effectively integrate."

So state the Social Democrats (Socialdemokratiet) in their latest political agenda, only the seventh since the party was established in 1876. MP Dan Jørgensen spent 18 months condensing input from 4,600 party members into a 30-page draft called *Together for Denmark* (*Fælles om Danmark*), published in April. The final agenda will be voted on in September.

While the party has hardly moved on a range of topics over the past 141 years, that's not the case for their outlook on immigration. *Fælles om Danmark* devotes a full page to the subject, covering everything from the need to improve integration efforts to opposing patriarchal and parallel communities – as well as the moral duty to accept some (but not too many!) refugees.

It's the first time a Socialdemokratiet political agenda includes a specific section on immigration. The party's current policy agenda, dating from 2004, touched on the need to improve integration, though the tone was somewhat softer in the two paragraphs dedicated to the topic. "Many ethnic minorities live in Denmark. In many ways this makes us wealthier," the party stated.

ERRORS OF THE PAST

And yet, it shouldn't come as



MP Dan Jørgensen was tasked with writing the Social Democrats' new political agenda, which was the result of input from over 4,600 party members.

Peter Stanners

much of a surprise that the party has taken a harder line on immigration. Since losing power in 2015 to the right-wing 'blue' bloc of parties, Socialdemokratiet has supported all of the Liberal Party (Venstre) government's immigration reforms.

Their goal: to remind voters that they need not vote for the right wing if they want strict immigration regulations. In so doing, they hope to stem the flow of voters to the Danish People's Party (DF), a pro-welfare party that otherwise allies itself

with the right wing to ensure that its hard-line immigration positions are accommodated.

The past two decades in Danish politics have shown that voters are prepared to forsake welfare in order to restrict immigration. DF supported right-wing minority and coalition governments between 2001 and 2011, and again from 2015 to today. During this time, liberal and conservative governments have cut education, pensions, and unemployment benefits while the left wing

watched from the sidelines – but no longer.

"The era of the humanitarian utopia is over," wrote Social Democrat MP Henrik Sass Larsen in Information newspaper. "No more mass immigration – instead we must control the number of immigrants. No dissolution of the nation state – the nation state is the basis of international cooperation. And global trade goes hand in hand with proper terms of competition and fair taxation – otherwise, no thanks. No thanks to uto-

pian humanism – yes to practical humanism."

A more conciliatory tone was struck by his fellow party member, MP Mattias Tesfaye, who recently published a book called *Welcome Mustafa* about the party's historic divides on immigration. Speaking to Politiken, he says he was tired of being told the party has always supported open borders.

"The line that [leader] Mette Frederiksen stands for has always existed in Socialdemokratiet," he said. "You can't both have open immigration and a welfare state with a high level of redistribution."

Tesfaye refers to the party's mayors in Copenhagen's western suburbs in the 1980s, whose concerns about the development of ghettos were ignored by the party's leaders. MP Dan Jørgensen agrees that they should have listened back then.

"I'm sad that we didn't take the obvious issues with immigration seriously before now," Jørgensen told Berlingske. "If we don't solve the issue of so many immigrants coming to Denmark, it may threaten our social cohesion and trust, which will undermine our societal model."

EMBRACING GROWTH

The political agenda is meant to serve as inspiration for more concrete policies that the party will present ahead of future elections. If it were up to Tesfaye, these policies would include an annual cap of 5,000 immigrants per year and a renegotiation of UN conventions to prevent refugees from travelling across safe countries before deciding where to lodge applications and settle.

But Jørgensen has been keen to stress that the political agenda isn't just about immigration. The party's two other main themes are sustainability and the fight against inequality, along with integrating these con-

cerns into the development of the economy.

"Whereas Socialdemokratiet once thought that we would need to limit growth to save the planet, we now come out and explicitly state that the party considers economic growth to be fundamental in the world," Jørgensen told Information.

"Instead of saying that there should be fewer cars on the streets of Beijing, we say the cars should be electric. And when the Chinese build a new city, the buildings ought to be insulated with Danish technology: windows from Velux and district heating from Løgstør Rør."

OUT OF BALANCE

Left and left-leaning newspapers responded coolly to Socialdemokratiet's new policy agenda. David Rehling, writing in Information, wondered whether the party is as interested in sustainability and inequality as its voters appear to be – and whether these concerns will remain as important to the party when they must fight to gain influence in Parliament.

"This is the conflict that currently tortures both the British Labour party and France's traditional parties. Jeremy Corbyn reflects the members, rather than the voters. Emmanuel Macron is trying to do the opposite," Rehling wrote.

Politiken was rather more scathing, especially when it comes to the party's shift on immigration, accusing the party of cynicism.

"Of course there needs to be balance. Of course there needs to be a limit to how many of the world's record number of poor refugees Denmark can accept. But what about quota refugees or unaccompanied minors? Who is more in need than they are? Still, Socialdemokratiet rejects them. How balanced is this Mette Frederiksen?" **M**

'Together for Denmark' – The Social Democrats new agenda

The Social Democrats (Socialdemokratiet) have published seven political agendas since the party was established in 1871. The latest, 'Fælles om Danmark' (Together for Denmark) replaces the 2004 agenda, 'Hånden på Hjertet' (Hand on our Heart). More than 4,600 of the party's members contributed to the new agenda, which the party calls "Denmark's biggest political conversation". MP Dan Jørgensen spent more than a year bringing their thoughts together for this draft agenda, that will be voted on in September.



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For women to earn more money, men need to take off more time to be dads

Fathers in Norway, Sweden and Iceland take four times more parental leave with their children than fathers in Denmark. It's a pity that Denmark lags behind, because when parents split the leave more evenly, mothers get a career and earnings boost

K

lara Svendsen and Ask Hybel were hiking in the mountains of Corsica not long after becoming a couple when they realised that they had forgotten to take contraception with them.

"We were forced to have that conversation about children – and we were like, let's just go for it," says Klara about their whirlwind relationship.

As the couple eats breakfast in their Frederiksberg apartment, 27-year-old Klara has their eleven-month old son on one knee while their two-and-a-half year old daughter plays in the adjoining living room.

"I always thought of myself as wanting kids early, but I am also a person that wants everything at the same time. I suffer from high self-esteem, so I thought I would be able to cope with working and being a mum. I would just put the baby on my arm and I'd continue working, but I quickly discovered that's not possible," she says, laughing.

Klara – who currently works in digital business development – re-

Instead of the split where I work more, and she does more household duties, we see ourselves as a team that gets things done.

ASK HYBEL

Words and photos:

Peter Stanners

turned relatively quickly to work after having each child, handing their care over to Ask after just six months.

"It was great to take time off," says Ask, who started his own digital agency Cope after his first paternity leave. He also took six months with each child.

"I was used to having five weeks' holiday a year, and now I was walking in the streets in the middle of the day. I had the freedom to go where I wanted, and it was fantastic."

FALLING BEHIND

Klara's decision to spend only six months away from the labour market may have contributed to her career success. There is plenty of research demonstrating the relationship between maternity leave and lost earnings – and the longer women stay out of the labour market, the greater the impact.

For example, a 2015 study from Cornell University found that because "women are more likely than men to reduce their hours of work during childrearing years, firms will invest less in women early in their careers, leading to a gender gap."

The gender wage gap is present in economies around the world. In Denmark, women earn on average six percent less than men, while the OECD average is around 15 per-

cent. Parental leave policies may be a contributing factor, according to Pew Research Centre, which found that countries with longer paid parental leave also had higher gender wage gaps. For example, New Zealand offers 18 weeks of paid parental leave and has a gender wage gap of only 5.6 percent, while the Czech Republic offers almost 40 paid weeks and has a wage gap of 15 percent.

TACKLING THE GAP

Over a lifetime, the gender wage gap results in a considerable loss of earnings for women. But the losses increase exponentially over time, as women end up occupying senior, well-paid positions for fewer years of their career than men do.

As a result, with lower lifetime earnings and fewer years of pension contributions, women are more at risk of poverty in old age than men. According to the OECD, ten percent of female retirees in Sweden live in poverty, compared to five percent of male retirees. The Swedish gender wage gap is around 15 percent.

So the challenge facing progressive societies – especially those struggling with low birth rates – is how to support families with children while not harming the career advancement of women.

One widely-acknowledged solution is to get men to take more

leave and women to take a little less. The hope is that if women end up taking less time off work, the effect on their career progression – the so-called motherhood penalty – will be minimised.

The argument is this: if parental leave is more equally shared, women will be perceived as less of an investment risk relative to men.

"The fact remains that it is primarily women who take advantage of family-friendly policies like flexible working arrangements, so perpetuating the idea that family responsibilities are a woman's affair," writes the OECD in the executive summary of its 2012 report, *Closing the Gender Gap: Act Now*.

FATHER'S QUOTA

The OECD argues that one of the best tools to encourage a better sharing of parental leave is to reserve a portion of paid leave exclusively for fathers. And there is good evidence that this policy is effective in getting more men to take time off with their children.

For example, Norway introduced a four-week "father's quota" in 1993, which was gradually increased to 14 weeks in 2013. Although it was subsequently cut to ten weeks in 2014, the proportion of parental leave taken by men increased from 5.8 percent in 1995 to 21 percent in 2015.

Notably, the OECD reports that



Klara Svendsen and Ask Hybel are parents to two-year-old Nor and eleven-month-old Klint. With both children, Klara and Ask took six months parental leave each.

Norway's gender wage gap has dropped from 10.2 percent in 2000 to seven percent in 2013.

Similar policies exist in Sweden and Iceland, where, according to the Nordic Council, men take 26.8 percent and 29.6 percent of parental leave, respectively.

In Denmark, however, where no portion of leave is reserved for fathers, men take only 8.6 percent. Statistics Denmark figures from 2013 show that 45 percent of men took only two weeks off after having a child, and 18 percent took no leave at all.

POLITICS

Danish fathers choose not to take leave despite the fact that it is their right. Danish parents are entitled to 52 weeks of leave in total. 18 weeks are reserved for the moth-

er – four weeks before birth and 14 weeks after – and fathers get two weeks directly after birth. The remaining 32 weeks can be divided between the father and mother as they see fit.

Denmark's position as the only Scandinavian country without a "use-it-or-lose-it" father's quota looked to be coming to an end in 2011 with the election of the Social Democrats, who promised to set aside 12 weeks for fathers only.

But in 2013, they got cold feet and decided not to follow through, with one Megafon poll showing 28 percent of voters agreeing with the proposal and 55 percent opposed.

Momentum may be building in Danish society in favour of a father's quota, however. A 2016 survey by Gallup for Berlingske found that 56 percent of Danes are now in

Many people want a father's quota, but we believe in freedom for the family.

**KAREN ELLEMANN,
EQUALITY MINISTER**

favour of reserving 12 weeks solely for men. A number of political parties, such as the centrist Social Liberal Party (Radikale) and far-left Red-Green Alliance (Enhedslisten) support the measure, as do unions, which argue that employees would face less discrimination for taking time off.

Their concerns are not unfounded – 80 percent of 119 business leaders surveyed in Gallup's 2016 poll were opposed to a father's quota. If businesses create a climate where paternity leave is frowned upon, it could explain why 88 percent of the men who took no leave at all were employed in the private sector, according to a 2006 survey by SFI.

The same survey found that while 48 percent of working men are employed by the public sector,

they accounted for 67 percent of parental leave-takers. This might be because they work in more gender-mixed workplaces, where taking parental leave is more common, or because the public sector offers better paid-leave programmes than the private sector.

These conclusions are supported by a 2011 DJØF survey, which found that 50 percent of men who took less than three months' leave said they would have taken more if their employer had assured them that it wouldn't affect their job situation, or if their workplace had a culture of male employees taking leave.

REDUCING SPECIALISATION

There are good economic reasons to get men to take more parental leave. A recent study from the



Klara Svendsen and Ask Hybel say that splitting the parental leave helped Klara keep up her career and also enabled them to better empathise with each other over the challenges of childraising.

Rockwool Foundation found that an extra week of parental leave taken by the father can increase household income by up to 14,000 kroner per year.

Instead of focusing on the impact of the length of father's leave on household earnings, the study's research leader and author, Signe Hald Andersen, tested the effect of the extent of the father's leave relative to the mother's.

She found that increasing the father's involvement in childcare ultimately benefits the earning power of both father and mother, resulting in a higher total household income.

Andersen argues that when couples split parental leave more evenly, women are less likely to become specialised as primary caregivers, which can suppress their careers and earnings.

"The degree to which mothers become specialised reflects the extent to which the parents divide the leave – the absolute length of leave each takes doesn't matter. If mothers take more leave than fathers, their specialisation as caregivers continues after leave ends, meaning they are more likely to take time off work to care for sick children, and so on," Andersen explains.

This phenomenon is reflected

If mothers take more leave than fathers, their specialisation as caregivers continues after leave ends, meaning they are more likely to take time off work to care for sick children.

SIGNE HALD ANDERSEN, SFI

in Ask and Klara's relationship, where they found that the benefits of splitting leave extended beyond simply improving Klara's career and earnings.

"I fell in love with the ambitious and hard-working Klara," says Ask. "Instead of the split where I work more, and she does more household duties, we see ourselves as a team that gets things done."

Their major source of conflict, then, is when the balance of household chores ends up skewed.

"We are both ambitious and want to do the fun things with our kids – neither of us is interested in doing all the cooking and laundry," says Ask, adding that because both have stayed home and done the boring and dirty housework, they are better able to sympathise with each other.

"I understand Klara saying she will be home in 30 minutes and it takes an hour, because I've done that a hundred times. And she understands why I'm angry waiting half an hour with a screaming kid that's been screaming the whole day."

NO CHANGE SOON

If a father's quota encourages men to take more parental leave, and increased parental leave increases household income, it seems like

a no-brainer. But don't expect the right-wing government to rally behind it any time soon.

"I know that there are many people who want a father's quota, but it's not the government's position – we believe in freedom for the family," said equality minister Karen Ellemann of the Liberal Party (Venstre) in March.

She argues that the issue is best tackled in the private sector by changing workplace cultures to become more accepting of men taking parental leave.

"My ambition is to challenge a culture where we see it as natural that parental leave is 'maternity leave'. That's why we are going to launch a campaign to encourage men to take more leave."

To the government, then, the principle of freedom of choice weighs heavier than implementing a proven policy. But it's an argument that even Ask identifies with.

"I don't think the state should be so deeply involved in decisions such as these. I think that families know best what is good for them, and that the major issue is that businesses don't provide enough flexibility for their employees," he says, with a caveat.

"But I still don't have an alternative solution for getting men to take more time off." **M**

FACTS – Parental leave

Danish parents are entitled to 52 weeks of leave in total. Mothers receive four weeks before and 14 weeks after birth. Fathers receive two weeks of compulsory leave after birth. They are together given an additional 32 weeks that they can share as they wish.

Many employers offer full or part pay during parental leave. When a parent is not receiving pay from their employer, they can qualify for parental leave pay (barseldagpenge) from the state. They must have been in work for 13 weeks and worked 120 hours before they start their parental leave. They must also be in daily contact with their child during the parental leave to qualify. Parental leave pay is 4,245 kroner per week before tax.

Proportion of parental leave taken by men in the Nordics:

Denmark: 8.6%
Finland: 9.7%
Norway: 21.0%
Sweden: 26.8%
Iceland: 29.6%

Source: Nordic Co-operation

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Banking on the digital future

Denmark's enthusiastic deployment of digital technologies is laying the foundation for a cashless society where the smartphone is central to commerce

FOR EIGHT DAYS, the 160,000 person strong Roskilde Festival will go completely cashless, issuing special refillable debit cards linked to ticket-holders.

"We're only doing this because it will make things easier for the people buying and selling stuff at the festival. Which means everyone," a press release declared, adding that credit and debit cards will still be accepted.

It's the latest example of how cash is disappearing in Denmark – a digital transformation driven by the government, industry, and mobile devices. Some enjoy the ease of mobile payments and banking, but other segments of the population are threatened by the disappearance of cash.

RISE OF FINTECH

The constant push to cut costs and the explosive growth in financial technology (fintech) are accelerating the shift toward digitisation, and banking in particular is undergoing great change. Fintech investment has soared in recent years, increasing from just 2 billion USD in 2013 to 15 billion USD three years later. Over the same period, mobile payment systems increased their share of cashless purchases from zero to three percent.

At the same time, the amount of cash in circulation continues to fall. In 2000, cash accounted for 60 percent of all purchases in Denmark, falling to just 20 percent last year. Shops are still required by law to accept bills, but proponents of a cashless Denmark are in the driver's seat, especially as the digital payment industry becomes more competitive and grows in scale and market share.

Going cashless is about convenience, increasing productivity,

According to the 2017 European Digital Transformation Scorecard, Denmark is one of the top enablers of digital technology.

Bradley Axmith



The new Dankort eWallet is designed to compete with Danske Bank's popular MobilePay app.

lowering costs, minimising crime associated with cash, and helping the environment, according to the World Economic Forum's digital transformation initiative, where Danes are leaders in internet readiness. In 2015, 85 percent of the population aged 16 to 74 surfed the net daily, and 79 percent executed online transactions. Mobile connectivity is high too, with smartphones in the pockets of more than 80 percent of the same group.

As conditions for a digital economy ripen, legislation required to bring Danish rules into compliance

with European law will be implemented by early next year, likely moving the Nordic nation further down the digital rabbit hole. The Danish Payments Council – a forum chaired by the National Bank – has already expressed an interest in imitating Sweden, where retailers are no longer required to deal in cash.

Retailers may want to move away from cash for a number of reasons, among them security. As consumer use of cash has fallen, so have holdups of petrol stations and banks. There were 135 bank heists in 2010, but that number had plum-

meted to just 16 by 2016. The disappearance of traditional targets is a huge factor, with only 54 of Danske Bank's 120 branches providing cash services in 2016.

THE FUTURE IS MOBILE

The government's Digital Strategy 2016-2020 embraces the fourth industrial revolution being ushered in by digitisation and the rise of fintech. According to the 2017 European Digital Transformation Scorecard, Denmark is one of the top enablers of digital technology, ranking second only to Ireland

in integration, second only to the Netherlands in infrastructure, and best overall in the supply and demand of digital skills and labour.

No doubt attracted by these favourable conditions, Facebook and Apple recently announced plans to open huge data centres around the country.

But for Denmark to truly become a digital champion, a technology pact is required that obliges business, academia and government to harness public-private investments and streamline integrated digital solutions in a competitive but collaborative environment. So argued Finance Minister Brian Mikkelsen (Konservative) in a recent speech to the Confederation of Danish Industry. His vision will see smartphones accounting for 50 percent of all payments by 2020, and a cashless Denmark in 10 to 20 years.

Meanwhile, competition in the mobile payments industry is heating up. MobilePay from Danske Bank is currently the most popular platform, but it is now being challenged by Nets, which has launched Dankort Mobil. The eWallet connects a user's Dankort debit card to their smartphone, which they can then use for contactless payment at the checkout.

While other competitors have failed to challenge MobilePay's dominance, Nets stands a chance because Danes trust the nationwide Dankort system. Worth almost 30 billion kroner, Nets expects to capture 75 percent of Denmark's four million mobile consumers, and has already struck a deal with supermarket chain Netto to remove MobilePay from its 461 locations.

John Strand of Strand Consult, however, argues that MobilePay is the most user-friendly platform in the world, and says Nets' strategic partnership with Netto demonstrates their choice to "give big chains good transaction prices and rip off small retailers and consumers."

"Danske Bank created an absolutely great product that people love. It's a disruptor that's proven it can continually improve,"

says Strand, adding that they have launched the service MobilePay Subscription to compete with Nets' Betalingservice.

HOMELESS AND ELDERLY

While the majority of Danes gleefully embrace the digital transformation, the elderly and homeless are left behind. Almost a quarter of a million Danes over the age of 65 do not use the internet, according to data from Ældre Sagen, an advocacy organisation for seniors. They worry that the elderly will be disenfranchised by legislation that allows shops to refuse cash payments at certain times or in certain high-risk neighbourhoods.

"That's not true," claims Henrik Theil of the Danish E-commerce Association, pointing to the increasing number of elderly using digital technology. In 2010, 516,000 people over the age of 65 had never been on the internet, compared to just 224,000 in 2016, according to Statistics Denmark. "The only area where Danish seniors are falling behind is in the use of smartphones," he admits – this demographic was responsible for 22 percent of online sales in 2016, even though only 65 percent have smartphones.

Plans to integrate the homeless into the ongoing mobile metamorphosis are also materialising. According to Rasmus Kristensen, director of the homeless magazine Hus Forbi, sellers are challenged because fewer people carry cash to purchase a magazine. So Danske Bank has provided 35 vendors with special debit cards that work with MobilePay to collect payments. Eventually, 500 Hus Forbi vendors will gain access to a digital payment system.

David Skov sells about 20 copies of Hus Forbi along the walking street Strøget in Copenhagen every day, a number that has not changed. "Not yet," he says, expecting sales to drop as cash disappears from circulation. While he has a smartphone and a digital signature, called NemID, financial services are still out of reach for him.

"Danske Bank won't allow me to open an account." **M**

As consumer use of cash has fallen, so have hold-ups of petrol stations and banks. There were 135 bank heists in 2010, but that number had plummeted to just 16 by 2016.

NemID and the risks of convenience

Activating a digital payment app such as MobilePay requires a NemID, the digital signature that allows Danes to connect with their bank, access health care and pay taxes, and which also enables businesses to handle sensitive information securely.

The Agency for Digitisation recently announced that NemID would become MitID, a more comprehensive and user-friendly version. The new signature will be developed over the next few years by one of fourteen companies invited to compete for the contract.

Nets is one of them, but so is Safran, a Dutch firm that has recently provided facial recognition software to police to identify persons of interest. Though MitID is in its incubation phase, the agency confirmed that biometric identification will likely be a component of its security features, and with it the prospect of more control.

Cost cuts and convenience are coming, but at what price?



David Skov sells Hus Forbi along Copenhagen's walking street. He expects his sales will decrease in future as cash disappears from circulation.

How companies can hire illegal labour without even knowing it

Employers unknowingly hire illegal workers due to inadequate transparency and communication between government agencies. And while politicians are calling for tougher penalties on businesses employing illegal labour, Katia Østergaard, director at Horesta, warns it will only make companies shun workers from non-EU countries, legal or not



Aleksander Klug

117 companies were fined 121 times for employing illegal labour last year, resulting in a total of 5.6 million kroner of fines.

THINK OF AN ILLEGAL WORKER, and what do you see? Maybe an underpaid foreigner doing manual labour. But while this certainly happens, it is more often the case that when businesses are fined for using illegal workers, neither the employee nor the employer were aware they were doing anything wrong.

The issue was raised following a freedom of information request by TV2, which found that 117 companies were fined 121 times for employing illegal labour last year, costing a total of 5.6 million kroner. In 22 of these cases, the businesses were charged under a tougher law, entailing heavier fines, for employing someone who lacked both the right to live and work in Denmark.

While politicians have called for increased enforcement, higher fines, and stronger measures such as the closure of businesses that are repeat offenders, the situation is more nuanced than it appears – in most cases, the workers were employed on a valid contract and paid income taxes to the state.

Katia K. Østergaard, director of the hotel, restaurant and tourism trade association Horesta, explains that companies often un-

knowingly employ illegal workers due to a lack of transparency in the system.

"You can get a tax card regardless of whether you are in Denmark legally or illegally," she says, adding that many companies believe that only legal workers can be given a way to pay income taxes.

"It seems absurd that a company can lawfully pay an employee their salary and hand over a share to the state, according to a contract, with no indication that anything is amiss. But then they are suddenly fined 10,000 to 20,000 kroner for every month that the worker has been with the company. And of course it is easy for the government to calculate the fine – they know exactly how long the worker has been there, because of the tax records!" says Østergaard.

SKAT DOES NOT CARE

The central problem is that the tax authority, SKAT, must issue a tax card even if a non EU-citizen refuses to provide residence and work permits when submitting their application.

To help businesses avoid hiring illegal workers – who happen to have tax cards – in 2014, the government gave SKAT the responsibility to in-

form companies if a tax card belonging to an illegal worker was being used.

Two years on, the ordinance has still not been fully implemented. Instead, SKAT has begun reminding employers that, when hiring, a tax card is not sufficient evidence that the potential employee has the legal right to work – they must also ask to see a valid work permit.

Police commissioner Kenneth Damkjær stresses that employers must always keep this in mind.

"It is the responsibility of employers to make sure that the person they are hiring has a valid work permit. SKAT is interested in collecting tax, not in verifying whether your workers are legal or not. Workplaces need to have procedures in place in order to make sure that they are complying with the law."

Other government-issued documents do not qualify a person to work legally. For example, an immigrant without a work permit can still go to the police and ask for a copy of their criminal record for their employer.

Damkjær explains that this is possible because the issuing of criminal records is done electronically, and is tied to the personal identi-

Johanna
Sveinsdóttir

fication number. He agrees, however, that there is still need for a better exchange of relevant information between government agencies.

Østergaard is disappointed that different branches of the government have difficulty communicating with each other – except when it comes to issuing fines.

"We have been drilling this into our members, that a tax card and a health insurance card are not enough, and that a valid work permit is needed as well," she says.

NO ROOM FOR HONEST MISTAKES

There are still more pitfalls that companies unwittingly fall into, however. According to TV2, many of the companies that were fined last year were acting in good faith and unaware they were violating the law. This is because work permits often come with conditions or restrictions, and the employer may have no way of knowing what these are or whether they are being met.

Østergaard explains that one common type of case relates to work permits for foreign students, which can be very difficult to navigate. As a foreign student at an institution of higher education or a qualifying course approved by the Ministry of Education, you are allowed to work 20 hours a week – 15, if you obtained your residence permit before January 1, 2015 – as well as full-time during June, July and August.

If the student drops out of their study programme, they also lose their work permit. But if their employee does not tell them, the company has no way of knowing this. It does not matter that all the papers were in order at the time they were hired. Alternatively, an employer can be liable if a student gets a second job that exceeds the 20 hour limit without telling either employer.

According to TV2, the second-highest fine last year was issued to Zen Cph nightclub. They had employed a Chinese student who worked more than the 15 hours allowed, and who also continued to work after his studies concluded, causing him to lose legal residence.

Speaking to TV2, Zen Cph nightclub stated that it had been a single mistake and that the club had not been informed that the work permit had been rescinded. The mistake ended up costing them 300,000 kroner.

FOREIGNER WORKERS A RISK

Østergaard argues that issuing high fines

in these situations is counterproductive.

"The whole idea of fines is that they are intended to regulate behaviour – that companies will not commit the offence if they know the penalty is this crippling. But in these cases, companies have no idea they are breaking the law, so you can make the fine as high as you want, but it is just not going to change anything."

She argues that companies end up refusing to hire workers from non-EU countries because of the risks involved.

"Businesses do not have an easy way to comply with the rules, and cannot take the risk of owing sky-high fines like these. So they stop hiring. And I can say that there are already some large chains that have stopped hiring non-EU foreigners. Businesses are simply afraid of making a misstep."

HARSHER PUNISHMENTS

Politicians aren't listening to the hospitality industry, however, and following TV2's revelations, some argued that tougher penalties were needed to reduce the number of businesses employing illegal workers.

"The Danish People's Party proposes higher fines and making it easier to shut down the businesses that hire illegal immigrants," MP Martin Henriksen of the Danish People's Party (DF) wrote on Facebook. "Both the government and the Social Democrats are open to more severe punishments."

Østergaard concedes that if the issue of illegal labour was simply about 'black' work (in which companies don't pay taxes and therefore operate in bad faith), she would be fine with stiffer penalties.

"There is no excuse for off-the-books labour. It is extremely destructive for competing businesses that act in a professional manner. But until there is a functioning system that helps honest companies comply with the rules, higher fines for everyone is unacceptable," she says, adding that it is important to differentiate between off-the-books illegal work – which is much more difficult to detect – and administrative offenses.

"There are many ways we can reduce these problems. We have suggested that if the government cannot figure out how to warn businesses, why not make a registry in which companies can look up their employees, so that they can regularly check their worker's status for themselves?" **M**

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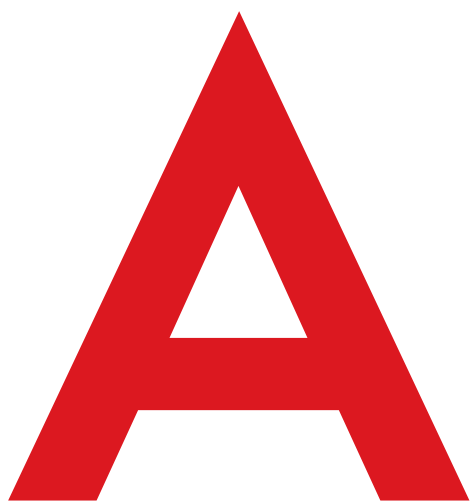
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THE TRAUMA OF WATCHING EUROPE'S PROMISE FADE



Adam Holm is self-conscious about smiling because he's missing a tooth and doesn't have the 28,000 kroner he needs to replace it. He lost it to an elbow in the face while playing football, and as he poses for photos of his shaved head, stocky build and muscular jaw, I catch myself thinking that the historian and journalist could easily pass for a hooligan.

But he's a hooligan who wrote a PhD on the rise of right-wing populism in the interwar period. A Dane with a Jewish father and an atheist mother. A social-minded internationalist who still identifies with his upbringing in a left-wing commune. Who ruffled feathers with controversial op-eds mocking religious sentiment and condemning Danish coverage of the Gaza war when he was host of the flagship debate programme Deadline on DR2. Who resigned not long after being reprimanded for briefly showing the infamous cartoons of the Prophet Mohammed live on air.

But while religion, free speech and the Middle East were his central preoccupations in the past, he has turned his attention to Europe with his latest book, *Endestation Europa* (*Last Stop for Europe*), a collection of interviews with ten prominent historians, writers and journalists from nine European countries. All are concerned about the continent's future.

"My book is very pessimistic, and I didn't mean for it to be. It's an almost apocalyptic vision that un-

When Adam Holm asked some of Europe's biggest thinkers how they viewed the state of Europe, he was shocked by their pessimism. But the journalist and historian is also struggling to reconcile whether his dream of a free and inclusive Europe is possible without more control over who is allowed to call the continent home

folds through the chapters. I was a bit amazed to see how negatively they view the current situation. Many bring up the spectre of the 30s, the interwar period. I believe there is a feeling, not just among the literati, that Europe is heading in a new direction – but no one knows where we are going."

FADING OPTIMISM

At 47, Holm is only a little older than his youngest interviewee, 40-year-old Finnish writer Sofi Oksanen. The eldest, at 72, is Daniel Cohn-Bendit, an MEP from France and co-president of the Greens/Free European Alliance Group in the European Parliament. They all remember a Europe before the Iron Curtain came down and Germany was reunified, when European cooperation promised wealth, peace and happiness.

But the events of the past decade have disrupted this vision.

"We came out of the Cold War, and there was a sense of optimism. The wall came down, the Eastern bloc melted away, Francis Fukayama talked about 'the end of history'. I remember that period – I thought we had fought all the necessary wars and that all the conflicts were now behind us. In the 1990s, nobody would have predicted that religion would now be an issue, that ethnicity would still be an issue," he says.

Holm's book isn't supposed to be a comprehensive analysis of the state of Europe. It's a bellwether – a sampling of the zeitgeist – by European intellectuals about the present state and future prospects of the continent.

They regard the conflicts that the EU now faces as evidence that its original vision has not been fulfilled, and that the Europe of the fu-

The vision of the 90s, of a collected, united Europe growing ever stronger, is crumbling. Europe has come to an end, at least the Europe we knew.

ture might not be what they had hoped for or imagined.

And there are many conflicts that concern Holm's interview subjects – the clash of ethnicity and religion, the refugee crisis, the identity crisis that provoked Brexit, the political situations in Turkey and Ukraine, and the ongoing social tensions in the aftermath of the financial crisis.

"The vision of the 90s, of a collected, united Europe growing ever stronger, is crumbling. Europe has come to an end, at least the Europe we knew. Sure, the continent will always be here, and things aren't as bad as during the interwar period, and we've still accomplished an enormous amount after 70 years of developing democratic institutions and free speech. I'm not saying we are approaching a new Auschwitz, but we are coming to the end of the Europe we thought would exist after the enlargement in 2003. We are at a crossroads, and I think the book reflects that."

A LEADERSHIP CRISIS

For Holm and his interview subjects, the European project started to waver following the EU's expansion into Eastern Europe in the early 2000s. But it was the combination of the financial crisis and an unfair refugee system that has most weakened the project. For while Greece, Spain, Italy and Portugal struggled to recover from their spiralling debt obligations, they were also made to care for the vast majority of refugee arrivals.

Efforts to distribute refugees across Europe more fairly have so far failed, with EU member states arguing that strengthening Europe's outer borders is a higher priority than simply redistributing those who arrive. But despite the reinforcement of the EU border agency Frontex and a €20 billion deal with Turkey, the refugees continue to come.

For some, the EU's collective inability to effectively tackle the economic and refugee crises reflects a leadership vacuum.

"I agree with Anthony Beevor when he says that [European Commission chairman Jean-Claude] Juncker is a bloody fool. He's got no

Words and photos:

Peter Stanners

ADAM HOLM

With a PhD in history, Holm is best known for hosting the debate programme Dead-line on DR2 for a period of ten years. He currently writes for Weekendavisen and appears on DR's radio programme P1, where he primarily discusses his main interests – the Middle East and right wing movements in Europe. His latest book 'Endestation Europa' ('The Last Stop for Europe') features interviews with ten big thinkers from European nine countries, who all share their concerns about the future of the European project.

sensitivity. He's the agent promoting the idea that the Euro is not in a serious crisis, that it's simply technical and not structural errors that need to be addressed. He's ignoring the disenchantment in vast parts of Europe," says Holm.

The growing split between Germany and France is also undermining European unity, with German Chancellor Angela Merkel increasingly being called upon to fill Europe's leadership void single-handedly. But she too is seen as out of touch.

"It was incredibly unpopular when she opened the country to refugees and migrants, and she ultimately had to backtrack. But it was too late, and it was used by all Europe's populist parties who could point to her and say, 'Look, she's not paying attention. Our countries cannot handle so many new arrivals with a different religious background and without skills for the labour market'."

So Europe is not necessarily lacking leadership, but the right type of leadership. What Holm's interviewees have in common is that they regard the rise of ethno-nationalist and populist parties across Europe as a dangerous development for Europe. And for Holm and others, the root cause of the rise of these parties is that immigration concerns were not taken seriously.

But if the wrong leadership for a united Europe is the type that calls for open borders regardless of the consequences, is the right leadership one that says Europe's borders are open to the world's oppressed, victimised and disenfranchised?

"If there weren't a migration crisis, we wouldn't have seen Brexit, we wouldn't have seen Hungary or Poland threaten to leave the EU. We wouldn't have seen [Dutch populist MP] Geert Wilders coming so close to winning power in the recent election. We wouldn't have the new far-right party New Conservatives in Denmark if it weren't for the Syrian crisis."

MIGRATION REALISM

The rise of ethno-nationalist and populist parties across Europe has been a challenge mainly to Social Democrat parties, which have responded by sharpening their own rhetoric on immigration. This is certainly the case in Denmark, where Socialdemokratiet have voted for all of the immigration restrictions proposed by the right-wing coalition government over the past two years. Their message is clear: the dif-

I believe in multi-ethnic societies and open borders. Of course I do. On the other hand, it's something of exclusive pleasure for the likes of us. What about the working classes, who find it very hard to make ends meet? They don't like people coming up here and taking a job for less than the minimum wage, and I understand why.

ference between a left and right-wing government is not immigration.

But for Holm, it's telling that populism has been especially strong in the Scandinavian countries over the past two decades.

"We are among the most egalitarian countries on the continent, so why did these parties gain ground here?" he asks, pointing to the rise of the Sweden Democrats (Sverigedemokraterna) and Norway's Progress Party (Fremskrittspartiet).

"I think this is about ethnicity and identity and a sense of giving away benefits – something that has been hard-earned. If immigrants came and supported themselves and didn't draw on social welfare, I'm quite sure Danes would say it's OK. But it's obvious from the statistics that this is not the case, so the Danes say, 'Hey, come on, we earned these rights, we are entitled to the benefits, not you'. It's not about being rich enough to let people in. It's not so much racism or xenophobia, even though that plays a part. In Denmark, it's an idea of social justice."

Holm appears uncomfortable saying this, however, and quickly qualifies the remarks by insisting that he is not a supporter or ally of the Danish People's Party (DF). It's not surprising. While the party is now the second-largest in Parliament, it is vilified by the left wing for its brazen nativist and anti-immigration stance.

But despite his aversion for DF as a political party, he doesn't believe their voters are driven by racism, but rather protecting the social contract – a sense of building and owning a system that can only be shared by those who are willing to put in the effort to maintain it.

"I believe in multi-ethnic societies and open borders. Of course I do. On the other hand, it's something of exclusive pleasure for the likes of us. What about the working classes, who find it very hard to make ends meet? They don't like people coming up here and taking a job for less than the minimum wage, and I understand why."

He brings up an interview with American economist Jeffrey Sachs, who argued that Europe cannot maintain an open door immigration policy given the rapidly increasing populations in sub-Saharan Africa.

"Where will they seek a future to escape conflict and poverty? They will head north. Despite the short-lived Arab Spring, the region

is now in winter. The situation in Syria is terrible, people have no hope whatever. It's not much better in Jordan or Egypt. So millions more refugees arrive, and withholding benefits for them would simply create a new underclass. But paying them benefits would lead to a fiscal crisis."

Holm would prefer that Europe invest more heavily in helping refugees closer to the conflict, as well as play a more active political and diplomatic role in pushing for stability. But he has watched as internal divisions within the EU have undermined its ability to cobble together a meaningful and coherent foreign policy. This inaction has been seized on by populists, who see their chance to change Europe's priorities from inclusive and internationalist to withdrawn and nationalistic.

And they have ammunition – the political elite has ignored legitimate concerns about the social and cultural impact of immigration.

"It's hard for me to say, because I was born and raised in a different era and tradition. I am not a follower of DF's ideas, but a long time ago they realised that ethnicity and culture would become a primary political focus. I'm not blaming them – I am more having a go at the people I identify with, that they didn't realise the effects of increasing immigration at an earlier stage. In the 70s, there were one million Muslims in Europe. Now it's nearing 28 million. I'm not afraid of them – I have travelled a lot in the Middle East – but the problems associated with the arrival of non-Europeans...." he trails off.

"My point is hard to explain, because it's coming from a great deal of confusion. I think that's my point really, and maybe that, again, going back to the book, there's a lot of confusion because people like myself have lost their natural position. Ideally speaking, I know what I want and what my values are, but they clash. Just look at Stockholm – it gets all the more difficult to stand up and make a staunch defence of multiculturalism."

HEED THE DISENCHANTED

Holm apologises several times during the interview. As an interviewer, he likes his subjects to have clear answers, but when it comes to the EU, those are in short supply.

"My interview subjects and I are confused, and it's borne out of having one position, having a strong footing somewhere, and then realising you are standing on a landslide, and you



start losing ground. That's where they are, and that's where I am. Young people might not be as sceptical, because all they know is a more or less borderless Europe. I, and the people I talked to, grew up in the wake of the Second World War, so we are marked by that history. We carry it on our shoulders," he says.

"That's why I use the landslide metaphor, because the Europe they saw in the making, and hoped was in the making, is not there. Some are pro-federalist, but we aren't going to see a federalist state."

Despite its accomplishments, the promise of the EU doesn't burn as brightly as it once did. But is the union actually failing, or are we merely witnessing a psychological fatigue in the project? Has the EU only failed because we expected so much more from it? And has the distance between its real accomplishments and its ambitions opened up a space where populists can thrive to such a degree that the project is now at risk?

"If you asked the various peoples of Europe whether they would rather go back to a period of unrest and warfare, or retain political stability and unity, I think most would choose the latter. But some would say they don't see much unity. They feel more and more alienated from the political process and experience less genuine democracy. The EU machinery is no longer seen as an engine creating peace and stability, perhaps even the opposite."

The problem with this analysis is that the EU has never been more democratic. The 2009 Lisbon Treaty gave more weight to regional and local power, and boosted the powers of the European Parliament in the legislative process. Still, after years of steady support for the EU, the British people suddenly voted to leave last year.

Perhaps, then, the biggest crisis facing Europe is a psychological one, born out of a lack of faith in the project despite its many accomplishments. And as Europe now faces a number of difficult and concrete challenges, the question is whether without that faith, it will survive.

"I think we need to heed the call of the disenchanted, and there seems to be great disenchantment in certain European countries. Obviously, as a supporter of the EU, I can take heart in Geert Wilders' not having a terrific election. But we still have to pay attention to the fact that there is a movement of protest around Europe. Is it because people don't have anything better to do? Obviously not. It's because of open borders," he says, before pausing and shaking his head.

"Now I just sound like a populist." **M**



Aleksander Klug

Eva-Luise Kumari Andersen says police haven't taken her seriously when she has tried to report hate crimes.

Victims of hate crimes find cold comfort with the police

Two political parties and the Danish Institute for Human Rights are calling for a new action plan on hate crimes to ensure that police take reports more seriously

ON FEBRUARY 24, 2015, Eva-Luise Kumari Andersen was walking down Nørrebrogade in Copenhagen with her bike on her way home from university. Suddenly, three young men surrounded her. They called her a "nasty negro" and told her that she was in no way welcome in Denmark. She shouted back be-

fore one of the young men spat in her face and the group ran off. After the shock subsided, Andersen called the police, but they told her that they couldn't help. It wasn't the first time she had contacted the police to report a hate crime. In fact, she has reported several hate crimes committed

against her. On one occasion, the police said they couldn't do anything without the name or a detailed description of the assailant. "What was I supposed to do? Quickly ask his name so I could report him to the police? That's impossible," she says. On another occasion, she was

Christian Fomsgaard
Jensen & Joshua Ursin
Hollingdale

subjected to racism on Facebook. But even though she had the person's name, the police still refused to act. "I was told that if I did not fear for my physical safety, then it would be difficult for the police to help, but that if I ever experienced a crime where I did fear for

my safety, then the police would come. That day on Nørrebrogade I felt unsafe, but when I spoke to the police I was told the same thing – that they could do nothing," Andersen says.

A 2016 report on hate crimes produced by the consultancy CO-WI for the Ministry for Integration found that 2.9 percent of the Danish population – 188,000 people – experience a hate crime every year. In 2015, however, the National Police (Rigspolitiet) only classified 198 reported crimes as motivated by hate.

The underreporting of hate crimes is a serious problem, according to political parties The Alternative (Alternativet) and the Red-Green Alliance (Enhedslisten). Together with the Danish Institute for Human Rights, they have called on the government to draw up an action plan to devise better ways to combat hate crimes.

HIDDEN NUMBERS

In 2015, Rigspolitiet introduced a new monitoring scheme to ensure that police register and can search for crimes according to a variety of different motives, such as ethnicity, skin colour, faith or sexual orientation.

The scheme hasn't significantly increased the number of registered hate crimes, however, leading to criticism from Lisbeth Garly Andersen, a special consultant at the Institute for Human Rights, who is calling for a more holistic effort to address the issue.

"We have a very high number of experienced hate crimes and a very low number of registered ones. For that reason, more needs to be done in this area. These are very serious crimes that should not be happening in Danish society," she says.

Rigspolitiet also recognises the continuing discrepancy between registered and reported

hate crimes, and has called for new measures to help police register them. They hope this will increase the likelihood that citizens will report hate crimes to the police.

Ask Ulrich, spokesperson for hate crimes at LGBT Denmark, says that individuals in high-risk groups often experience being the victim of a hate crime more than once.

"The numbers indicate that this is a very serious systemic problem," he says.

"If they learn that there is no benefit to reporting the crimes to the police, then they won't keep doing it. That can contribute to the statistical mismatch."

This is precisely what is happening, argues Birgitte Schepelern Johansen, lector in the Department of Cross-Cultural and Regional Studies at the University of Copenhagen.

"They simply don't believe the police will do anything about it. Something needs to be done to create confidence in the police among the citizens reporting the crimes," she says.

Johansen is backed up by Linda Kjær Minke, a sociologist and law professor in the Legal Department of the University of Southern Denmark, who co-authored the COWI report on hate crime.

"It is a problem because when a citizen reports a crime, the police should take it seriously, and there should be a clear reaction from law enforcement. When that does not happen, the victim feels violated," she says.

NO CLEAR OVERVIEW

The lack of concrete new initiatives exposes years of inaction by successive governments. In 2014, the former centre-left government promised to set out a plan to tackle hate crimes, but none materialised before the 2015 election. The

When a citizen reports a crime, the police should take it seriously, and there should be a clear reaction from law enforcement. When that does not happen, the victim feels violated.

PROFESSOR LINDA KJÆR MINKE, UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN DENMARK

Ethnic marker on CPR number?

According to the UN's Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, Denmark should register a person's ethnicity with his or her social security number (CPR) – just as it does with gender – to make it easier to register and track hate crimes. This would require new legislation, however, as it is currently against Danish law to register a person's ethnicity.

subsequent right-wing Liberal Party government did invest a million kroner in a project to combat hate crimes in four schools, and is currently deciding whether new measures are needed to improve the reporting of hate crimes.

Enhedslisten has suggested a number of initiatives that the government could take up. They want all law enforcement officers to participate in a one-day course on hate crimes in order to develop closer cooperation between police and representatives of high-risk groups, such as the Jewish Society, LGBT Denmark, and other local interest groups in all police districts. Their proposed monitoring scheme has already been adopted by Rigspolitiet, but they also want a full review of criminal convictions prosecuted using hate crime legislation.

Alternativet also wants more attention on combating hate crimes.

"We do not currently give hate crimes enough attention. We simply don't take it seriously enough," says legal and equality spokesperson Carolina Magdalene Maier.

"When there is no national plan of action or public body to which victims of hate crimes can turn for legal and psychological aid, then we are not showing people that we as a society take it seriously. Alternativet wish to go a bit further than Enhedslisten on this subject, as we are calling for a public body with a specific focus on aiding victims of hate crimes – this body, according to the party, should be part of the national action plan."

FOCUS EFFORTS ON SCHOOLS

In addition to providing legal and psychological support to victims of hate crimes, Alternativet also want to implement an in-depth pre-emptive strategy by building awareness in schools.

"If we really want to combat this

issue pre-emptively, we need to get much better at challenging young Danes by showing them that there are many different ways of being a person," says Maier.

"We need a long-term strategy in place with the aim of building more respect between citizens across different groups throughout society – and this needs to be done as early as primary school in order to combat the issue of hate crimes long-term."

The Institute for Human Rights believes that a cross-ministerial effort is needed, and that the government's current efforts are insufficient.

"A plan of action could include efforts in primary schools, high schools and other educational institutions, and include the development of educational material and training of teachers. Furthermore, the plan of action could include municipal actions and pre-emptive efforts," says Garly Andersen.

Birgitte Schepelern Johansen is not convinced, however, and points to evidence from the UK that pre-emptive strategies are not always effective.

"In Denmark, we have experienced that it is crucially important that teachers tightly control the efforts in schools, as it can result in even more serious bullying – especially if the at-risk students are in small groups."

LOST ALL FAITH

Eva-Luise Kumari Andersen's experiences have left her without faith in the police.

"I no longer believe that I can use the police when I am in urgent need of help. They will no doubt show up if there is a break-in in my basement, but not if I am the victim of a hate crime."

Government representatives did not return requests for comment. **M**



BIG TIME – a documentary about dreaming big without the shackles of the Jantelov

For six years, KASPER ASTRUP SCHRÖDER followed the architect Bjarke Ingels, and documented his precocious rise to fame as cities around clamour for a slice of the BIG philosophy

Self-taught film director Kaspar Astrup Schröder has trained his camera on issues large and small, at home and abroad, for over a decade. His documentary, *The Invention of Dr. Nakamats*, about the prolific Japanese inventor, was nominated for the CPH:DOX award in 2009. And in 2013 his documentary *Rent a Family Inc.*, about the secret rent-a-person business started by Ryuichi Ichinokawa, was both nominated for best documentary at the Bodil awards, and won the same prize at the Zurich Film Festival.

His latest project is *BIG TIME*, which follows Danish 'starchitect' Bjarke Ingels over a mindboggling six-year period as he and his architecture firm, the Bjarke Ingels Group (BIG), set out to design

one of the skyscrapers to be built at the Ground Zero site in Lower Manhattan.

The film will have its world premiere at the Copenhagen Architecture Festival this May, so we took some time to talk to Schröder about what's holding back Copenhagen's architectural potential, the difficulty of finding unique stories in homogeneous Denmark, and why Bjarke Ingels has managed to succeed internationally when so many others haven't.

What was it like to spend so much time on this project?

The filming itself took place over a very long time, during which Bjarke Ingels' career soared. It was in constant development, so I had to figure out mid-process what this documentary would end up being about.

Bjarke would call me up and tell me that they'd gotten another pro-

ject – the craziest one yet – where they had to rethink the Smithsonian, the national museum of the United States. Then one month later, he'd call me up to say that now they were going to design Google's headquarters. So during our time together, his career skyrocketed.

But I wanted to do a film that had something at stake as well – where there was some sort of drama or conflict. So for me, it was about figuring out what the flipside of success is. The flipside of the modern man, who wants a lot of things, but who in turn has to give up something the rest of us perhaps take for granted.

Which challenges have you faced?

When you film for such a long time, you need to make choices and focus on specific things. And at some point you also need to

**Architec-
ture in
Copenha-
gen is a bit
dated and
traditional.**

**Hana
Hasanbegovic**

stop shooting, because otherwise you could just go on and on. But the hardest part was probably his time. It's very hard to get him all to yourself for a few days. He has a billion meetings and flies more than any other Dane. So the challenge was figuring out when to shoot.

What is so special about BIG?

There's definitely a genius in him that goes deeper than just being a good salesman. He comes up with some great ideas that are easy to understand. When he explains an idea, it feels like the only logical option. He's good at finding naïveté in a project, and he's good at telling stories.

He didn't want to be an architect, he wanted to be a comic book artist, so he doesn't have this huge ego. He just wants to take a fun, different approach, not necessarily the aesthetic one. That's proba-



Stills from 'BIG TIME'

Bjarke Ingels at work (far left), cycling through New York (top left) and with his girlfriend (above).

To the left is his VIA 57 West 'courtscraper' that has been built on the west side of Manhattan, New York – a skyscraper that pays homage to the courtyards typical to Copenhagen.

bly why he moved abroad, because he wants more than the Danish framework allows. Here you can't even build something more than five stories high – I mean you probably can now, but nobody will let you build a skyscraper.

A few years ago, he was considered this weird comic book guy, and I'm sure the Jantelov [tall-poppy syndrome, ed.] has something to do with that, but now he's won over most people here in Denmark.

Do you also feel restricted by the Danish social framework?

I think it's hard to find the extraordinary stories here, because we're pretty bloody similar. Sure we have a left and right wing, but even they don't really differ from one another. People think alike and feel alike, we all have white walls, beige sofas and sneakers. I think Denmark is a hard place to find those

There's definitely a genius in Bjarke Ingels that goes deeper than just being a good salesman.

stories, where you really challenge your mind and become enchanted. But I do my best to find something here that awakens the same feeling in me that Asia does, for instance.

How do you depict architecture on film?

I've always been interested in communicating architecture on film, but I think that it often ends up being about beautiful panning, in which case I'd rather just look at pictures in a book.

So for me it's about finding an interesting story. I did a film called *My Playground*, which was about parkour and how its practitioners perceive urban space differently. These people use the city in a completely different way, so the film was about how movement changes architecture.

But with *BIG TIME* it was about finding the personal story with a lot of universal emotions. The human

story about doing something that you're really good at. Film about architecture needs to be about more than images of beautiful houses – it needs to be about human relationships.

What is special about the urban space in Copenhagen?

There are a lot of opportunities in Copenhagen, like the Parkour park, which was the first of its kind. So there are a lot of progressive ideas that get developed here. Our entire bike network, and the fact that the fastest way to get around is by bike. Not many cities have that. In terms of architecture, the proper values are in focus in Copenhagen. But again, it's the same sets of values. You don't really get a chance to go crazy. I mean, it would be great to see some brutalism here, or cable cars above the roofs or whatever. Buildings here

need to be protected, and we look after everything. But you can take care of buildings and still be progressive, in my opinion.

What city does that well?

Tokyo. There you can see a 2000-year-old temple squeezed between two completely modern glass buildings. That synergy is super cool. And best of all, nobody complains. It's a playground for far-out ideas. Here in Copenhagen, it's all a bit dated and traditional.

What do you hope people take away from the documentary?

I hope that people take a look at their own homes and think about what makes them happy living there. It's a film about architecture and a world in progress, but it's also about the personal relationships. **M**

'BIG TIME' opens in cinemas across Denmark on May 3.



Wikimedia Commons

Fighting e-waste and connecting the world

NGO Rhinotivity addresses the growing problem of e-waste in Denmark while tackling unemployment and a lack of educational opportunities in developing urban communities

AS ELECTRONIC DEVICES become increasingly important in our everyday lives, so too grows the mountain of outdated and discarded smartphones, laptops and tablets. Around 50 million metric tons of electronic waste (e-waste) is produced every year, of which only 15 to 20 percent is recycled or reused, with the rest ending up in incinerators and landfill. Estimates from the US indicate that around 70 percent of toxic heavy metals in landfills come from e-waste.

Part of the problem is that e-waste is hard to recycle. A single unit can be composed of more than 60 different elements, with many containing materials that are hazardous to both the environment and to those handling the waste. In the developed world, the disposal of e-waste is therefore a costly endeavour that requires specialised and regulated processes to ensure safety.

To circumvent this cost, much European and American e-waste is shipped off to developing countries, which have become a

dumping ground for these hazardous materials. Those who try to collect the small amounts of precious metals concealed in the mounds of waste risk their lives in the process.

ROUTERS MEAN OPPORTUNITY

But out of this sad reality, Danish NGO Rhinotivity has seen an opportunity to both reduce e-waste and improve internet connectivity in the developing world. Its three co-founders are studying product development and integrated technology at KEA, and stumbled across two interesting facts.

Firstly, around 70 percent of Danes have unused routers at home, but only about five percent donate their electronic devices to charity. And secondly, people in the developing world lack opportunities because of a lack of internet connectivity. So, why not collect unused Danish routers and put them to better use?

"The premise is simple enough – if you have a router, an internet dongle, or any kind of device lying about that can you can use to access to the internet, let us know and we will come pick it up," says co-founder, Hjalti Jónsson, who has been biking around Copenhagen for the past few months, picking up old routers. "Alternatively, you can leave your old router at one of the collection boxes we have at Cafe Salonen and Cafe Retro in downtown Copenhagen."

They were able to start Rhinotivity during their studies, which satisfied a school internship requirement. Then, after some research, they reached out to Kenyan NGO The Tunapanda Institute – Tunapanda means "we are growing" in Swahili – which agreed to partner with the three students.

The institute provides internet access and courses designed to help students become tech-savvy enough to take advantage of online education and employment that would otherwise be out of reach. The Institute is

Johanna Sveinsdottir

Rhinotivity

Rhinotivity is a non-profit organisation that sends donated router hardware to unsettled urban communities. The goal is to provide them with internet access that in turn will improve their commercial and educational opportunities.

To donate a router, head to Café Salonen, Sankt Peders Stræde 20, in central Copenhagen. You can also organise a pick up by heading to:

RHINOTIVITY.COM



Left: An e-waste dump in Agbogboshie, a suburb of Accra, Ghana.

Right: Rhinotivity collects unused routers from households and businesses across Denmark, that they send to communities that can benefit from internet connectivity.

crowd-funded, and around 85 percent of their students have successfully found work after attending one of their courses. The Tunapanda Institute also provides internet access to local schools and health clinics.

"Through Tunapanda, we can make sure that the routers we collect are put to good use. For now, our task is focused on providing internet to Kibera, which is part of Nairobi," says András Nagy, another Rhinotivity co-founder.

Kibera is one of the largest urban slums in Africa, where there is high unemployment and most residents earn less than seven kroner a day. With few other educational opportunities to be had, the online courses facilitated by Tunapanda offer new prospects to the residents.

INTERNET ACCESS IS ESSENTIAL

Rhinotivity has been very busy and has collected hundreds of routers to date.

"We have been very lucky," says the group's third co-founder, Sean Jones. "In just our first

We are happy to be doing our part to minimise e-waste in Denmark, which has become such a problem.

SEAN JONES, RHINOTIVITY CO-FOUNDER

week, we were contacted by a company that had 400 routers gathering dust in a storage room since they updated their IT system. They had been there for almost three years, I think."

After that, the ball started rolling, and they now have enough routers to fill a shipment to Kibera.

"We are heading off to Kenya next month with our shipment, and we couldn't be more excited to see our project finally bear fruit," says Jónsson.

"But that does not mean we are done. We have had some great feedback and interest in the project, and have recently partnered with Periamma and Fair Denmark. Café Retro has provided us office space too – we are just getting started."

They say that the main problem is raising enough funds to make the project sustainable.

"We have just reached our first milestone at GoFundMe, which we are very happy

about, but there is still a long way to go. This is of course all new to us, and we are learning as we go, but thankfully we are getting a lot of support and advice from our partners, who have been through this process before," says Jónsson.

"We are happy to be doing our part to minimise e-waste in Denmark, which has become such a huge problem and is in need of better and more sustainable solutions," says Jones.

He adds that while existing organisations such as their partner Fair Denmark already collect and recycle a variety of electronic devices including computers and displays, Rhinotivity focusses on routers because of their longer lifespan.

"We believe that internet access has become essential to daily life and is a powerful means of creating progress and prosperity. This is how we came up with the name, Rhinotivity. The rhinoceros is a symbol of power in Kenya, and with connectivity, you can grasp this power for yourself." **M**

Vitaly Torchez



Nanna Ivarsson and her work below.

Smokingpipes.com



Sharri Rabbi

Anne Julie, above, and her creation, right.



Sharri Rabbi

Some of Denmark's most acclaimed pipe makers are women, producing internationally sought after collector items. We spoke to four of them

I LOOK AT ITS GRAIN, TAKE AWAY WHAT'S UNINTERESTING, AND SHAPE WHAT'S LEFT. I DO THE SAME WITH LIFE

Earlier this year, hundreds of Danes gathered in Frederiksberg for the Danish pipe-smoking competition and exhibition, an annual event now in its 39th year. The competition's popularity – in which contestants battle to keep their pipes lit for as long as possible – typifies the enduring appeal of pipe-smoking in Denmark.

Indeed, the country has long been believed to possess the highest number of pipe-smokers per capita. It has a remarkable legacy of pipe-making, too. After the Second World War, a number of craftsmen found fame making pipes. Their beautiful creations remain collectors' items around the globe, often fetching tens of thousands of kroner

Perhaps more astonishing still, given pipe-smoking's reputation as a traditionally male pastime, is the fact that Denmark now boasts a number of top fe-

male pipe-makers. Some have been doing it for decades, while others are in the nascent stages of their careers. Either way, they upend the notion that pipe-making is only for men.

A FAMILY AFFAIR

Nanna Ivarsson has been making pipes since her childhood. "I behaved like an old man when I was 16," laughs Ivarsson, now 42, who preferred the work to hanging out with friends. She inherited the trade from her late grandfather, Sixten, and her father, Lars, who are themselves considered among the most skilful pipe-makers in the world.

The second of two daughters, Ivarsson grew up in her father's workshop. "I was fascinated that you could take a piece of wood and make an extremely beautiful shape," she says. "I thought it was magic."

She began using her father's tools and sold her first pipe when she was nine. At 18, she went to

work with her grandfather in Copenhagen and later studied at Denmark's top design school. She now makes between 50 and 60 pipes per year in her workshop in Køge, a coastal town southwest of the capital. Collectors snap them up from as far afield as the US, Germany, and China.

Ivarsson describes her pipes as "very organic," with feminine curves. With each pipe, her aim is "to respect the wood and display its grain in the most beautiful way." Besides being well-balanced and pleasurable to smoke, a pipe should be "very friendly and loving," she explains. "A pipe is like a little pet. You have to want to sit with it." The next generation seems to be in good hands, too. Ivarsson's eight-year-old son, Sixten, has already started making his own pipes.

THE LEGEND OF LÆSØ

Anne Julie was only 27 when her first husband, a renowned pipe-maker named Poul Rasmussen,

A pipe is like a little pet. You have to want to sit with it.

NANNA IVARSSON

James Clasper

died. After mourning him for several months, she resolved "to make every day the most beautiful day" of her life. She also began to make pipes, having experimented with Rasmussen's carving tools while he was in the hospital. With a handful completed, she headed to the United States from Denmark and wound up appearing on the celebrity panel show 'What's My Line?'

"They showed my pipes all over America," she says.

That was in 1967, when, as a woman, she had to be "twice as good" as men at making pipes. Fifty years on, Anne Julie is considered one of the world's most original pipe-makers.

"My pipes are like sculptures," the 76-year-old says. Indeed, with their ornate carving, liberal use of gold, silver and copper, and red-and-white maker's mark, her pipes are strikingly distinct and highly coveted, especially by collectors in China, Japan, and the U.S.

Inspiration comes from her sur-

Rie Jakobsen



Manduela Riger-Kusk, left, and one her pipes, below.

Lars Kiel



Marlene Micke, right, and holding a finished product, below.



Justine Hoegh



Justine Hoegh

roundings on the remote island of Læsø — especially its flowers — and also from women's bodies.

"They're the most beautiful shapes you can find," she says.

Though thrice-widowed, Anne Julie describes herself as "one of the happiest people on the planet."

The secret, she explains, lies in how she carves a new block of briar root.

"I look at its grain, take away what's uninteresting, and shape what's left," she explains. "And I do the same with life."

SLOW-SMOKE CHAMPION

In May, Manduela Riger-Kusk will defend her title at the US Slow Smoke Contest, an annual competition held at one of the tobacco industry's fanciest trade fairs, the Chicago Pipe Show. The 49-year-old has won the women's contest five times since 2009, and last year kept her pipe lit for 43 minutes.

Victories aside, smoking competitions hold fond memories for

Manduela, who is known professionally by her first name – just like the pop stars she once wanted to be. The first five pipes she made and submitted to a Danish contest were snapped up by a tobaccoist at Copenhagen airport in 1987. The enthusiastic letters she received from jet-setters who had bought her pipes at the airport suggested she could make a living from them.

After running a workshop in Copenhagen for many years, she now lives on Denmark's second-largest island, Funen. Often working at night to avoid distractions, Manduela makes pipes quite unlike the cheap corncobs she smoked as a teenager. She prefers classic shapes like the Bulldog, with its tapered stem and grooved bowl, because it demonstrates her ability "to read the grain of the wood" and carve it accordingly.

Her signature details include colourful stems – instead of black or brown, she prefers hues like

All pipe makers are weird. I've never met a normal one. If you followed the stream, you wouldn't be a pipe maker.

MARLENE MICKE

blue or amber. She believes half are bought as collectors' items and will never be smoked. Even so, what drives her is the same impulse that first attracted her to pipes. "I want to make the perfect pipe," she smiles. "And if I ever do, I'll stop."

NEW KID ON THE BLOCK

In 2013, the president of Japanese pipe company Tsuge flew from Tokyo via Copenhagen to spend four hours on the Baltic island of Bornholm. His aim? To persuade a young Danish woman named Marlene Micke to visit Japan and learn to make pipes. Before his death in 2005, Micke's father Jørn had enjoyed success as a pipe maker, and had sold pipes to Tsuge. Tsuge's president now hoped to revive his name, and believed his talent could be hereditary.

"That was a crazy day," Marlene Micke laughs. "My life turned 180 degrees." She accepted the offer without much hesitation. After leaving school, Micke spent nearly two years as an apprentice in To-

kyo, overcoming the language barrier with "a lot of body language" before returning to her native Bornholm to make pipes exclusively for Tsuge for three years.

For now, the 25-year-old only makes her father's designs, which were often modelled on women's bodies. "He really liked curves," says Micke, who used to hang out with her father in his workshop. "I grew up with his pipes, so that's what I think pipes should look like." Inspiration also comes from Bornholm's abundant natural beauty, which Micke explores on long walks with her Papillon-Pomeranian mix called Bailey.

She recently sent her first batch of pipes to Tsuge, and she hopes they meet her father's standards.

"He didn't send anything to Japan that wasn't perfect."

In any case, Micke believes she has the right mindset. "All pipe makers are weird," she says. "I've never met a normal one. If you followed the stream, you wouldn't be a pipe maker." ■



"It is automatic that I would write about jazz and women"

Over three pieces of smørrebrød in the Hvide Lam, James Clasper talks to American writer Thomas E. Kennedy about being introduced to jazz by his Trump-supporting brother, how his children might not like his new book, and moving to Denmark in the 1970s – and never leaving

THOMAS E. KENNEDY can't recall how often he has eaten "three unspecified pieces" of *smørrebrød* at the Hvide Lam on Kultorvet in central Copenhagen.

"At least a hundred," the novelist shrugs as a waitress slides a stacked platter across the table.

The Hvide Lam has been one of the American's favourite watering holes ever since he moved to Copenhagen in 1972. It even appears in his novels. Indeed, Kennedy is one of the best chroniclers of Copenhagen's bar culture. His characters are forever licking their wounds in the dark corner of a serving house, often with just a drink and a cigarette for company.

In the 2000 novel *Kerrigan in Copenhagen*, for instance, his eponymous hero sets out to visit a hundred of the capital's drinking dens for a book he has been commissioned to write.

"He has no idea what might happen in each of the places he visits, what adventures he might encounter, what dark nights of the soul he might descend to, what radiant bodies he might win with a flattering tongue," Kennedy writes.

Yet many of his beloved bodegas are long gone. Kennedy sips his Julebryg and summons up ghosts.

"Long John's is a dress shop, Café À Porta became a McDonald's – a lot of poets went there..." his voice softens, drowned out by the stereo.

A GIRL FROM POUGHKEEPSIE

Traditional Danish open-faced sandwiches, smørrebrød, have been the staple meal at pubs such as the Hvide Lam for years, and we are presented with a selection of fried fillet of plaice, pork sausage, shrimp and egg, plus something that looks like ham with cress and aspic.

"They say you should swim before you fly, and fly before you walk," Kennedy says, referring to the traditional order of procession when eating *smørrebrød*.

Not a lot of flying, I say, unless you count the egg.

"Just a lot of pork," Kenne-

I read the newspapers frenetically every morning to see if the world still exists. That madman in the White House...

James Clasper

dy replies and reaches for the fried plaice. "But these are good. They're made by the organic butcher across the square."

Kennedy was born in Queens, New York, in 1944. When he was 18, he joined the US army, and was taught stenography and typing. He was very good at it, and was assigned to the White House communications department in 1962. He left Washington in October 1963 – a month before Kennedy was assassinated – and went hitchhiking across the country. He made it to California, where he met a young woman from Poughkeepsie, New York.

"The gas-pump cowgirl," he says. "I met her in a gas station in San Diego. She was wearing a cowboy hat and hot pants."

Earlier this year, Kennedy abandoned a novel set in downtown Copenhagen. Instead, he threw himself into a book tentatively titled *The Consolations of Jazz*, or *My Life With Women*.

It starts with the story of the gas-pump cowgirl and may yet prove to be his defining work.

"It is automatic that I would write about jazz and women," he shrugs. "It is a creative non-fiction."

What does that mean, I ask. "I don't want to give you any spoilers, but it's about the various women that I've been involved with – and I'm not merciful to them or to me." It sounds like a warts-and-all account, I say. "Well, attractive warts."

Every chapter will be named after a jazz piece. The first is called 'Jazz on a Summer's Day'. That doesn't sound like an especially warty one, I suggest. "Well, it's a long book."

The warts make an appearance in the chapters based on his one and only marriage, to a Danish woman he wed in December 1974, a couple of years after moving to Copenhagen to work for the Danish Medical Association. They remained married for 22 years and had several children together.

"I don't know how my kids will take it," Kennedy says, choosing

his words carefully. "My wife was very special. I change her name because I don't want her to come looking for me." Might she? "She doesn't read my fiction."

Eighteen months ago, doctors discovered a cyst on Kennedy's brain. Though it is not cancerous, it presses down on the area responsible for his speech, slowing his conversation. He has since retired from teaching, but with his ability to write undiminished, he remains as busy as ever.

"I am able to write perfectly well," he says, adding that it's always come easily to him.

"When I worked, I wrote all day. I once wrote a short story in a management meeting – in shorthand."

BERNIE BRO

Every morning Kennedy sits in his courtyard to drink coffee and smoke cigars. The muse arrives "around my second cup of coffee." He writes longhand with a Mont Blanc pen and types up hundreds of pages of notes months later.

He is a voracious reader, too. He likes the New Yorker, literary journals, and contemporaries such as Junot Diaz and Alain de Botton, who got in touch after reading *Falling Sideways* and became a friend.

These days, too, Kennedy reads newspapers "frenetically to see if the world still exists." A lifelong Democrat who supported Bernie Sanders in the primary, he was "astounded" by the election of Trump. "That madman in the White House," he mutters, prodding his smørrebrød.

Kennedy has two older brothers who still live in New York. One has senile dementia and did not vote, and the other cast his ballot for the Republican president-elect. The political gulf between them must sadden Kennedy. He credits his brothers for introducing him to his other great love – jazz.

"My older brothers played jazz records. I grew up on Charlie Parker and Stan Getz."

Will his brother read his new

book? "When I last saw him he said he was proud of me, so maybe. But it's laced with democracy and socialism."

At a quarter to three, our waitress thumps an ashtray on the table. Kennedy recalls the time when a typical værtshus permitted smoking at mealtimes. Hvide Lam permits it only after it has stopped serving smørrebrød. Others, such as Palæ and Rosengårdens Bodega, have banned tobacco altogether.

"I prefer smoking, but it's a thing of the past," Kennedy says.

He lights a cigarillo and reels off a list of Vesterbro bars that permit smoking, Blomsten, McKlud, Café Snork, Skipper Bodega. The itinerary echoes lines from Dan Turèll's elegy Last Walk Through the City, one of many poems that Kennedy translated with the permission of Turèll's widow.

"I'll walk through Vesterbro's poets' quarter in the gloaming and I'll stop in someplace in one of the serving houses, maybe Café Guldregn, and savour a bitter and nothing else," goes one of the poems

Through his translation of Turèll and his own novels, Kennedy established himself as a Copenhagen writer – not just one who lives in the Danish capital, but one who explores it on the page. With the afternoon light stretching shadows across Kultorvet, I ask if the city will play a significant role in his coming book.

Kennedy looks fondly at his cigarillo and stubs it out. "I'm getting away from identifying Copenhagen lore," he says. "I've done that." **M**

Lunch at Hvide Lam

2 x 3 unspecified pieces of smørrebrød: DKK 170

4 x large Tuborg Christmas beers: DKK 252

TOTAL: DKK 422

**HVIDE LAM
KULTORVET 5
1175 COPENHAGEN K**

We can't grow wine here – we're a beer country

Mikkeller's international beer festival returns to Copenhagen in May, so we had a chat with the brewer's co-founder **Mikkel Borg Bjergsø about which beers to watch out for, what makes beer and running natural partners, and why ice cubes really can go in beer (but only if it's a Berliner Weisse)**

W

ith the Carlsberg tower looming over the Copenhagen skyline, and a main ingredient, hops, indigenous to Denmark, it's safe to say that beer is deeply rooted in Danish culture. But with the rise of the craft beer scene in recent years, ordinary lager has started to lose its monopoly to more than one hundred microbreweries across Denmark, producing strange, quirky and beautiful beer for the people.

Spearheading the Danish craft beer boom was Mikkel Borg Bjergsø, who co-founded the internationally-acclaimed brewery Mikkeller with a batch of his now-renowned stout, called Beer Geek Breakfast, in his kitchen in 2005. A so-called 'gypsy brew-house' – they rent rather than own their own brewing facilities – Mikkeller has a global reach, with bars from Singapore to San Francisco, and has produced beers for airlines, runners and even for Rick Astley.

The brewery has hosted an annual beer festival since 2012, and on May 12 and 13 the sold-out Mikkeller Beer Celebration Copenhagen will take over Øksnehallen in Vesterbro, where serious beer buffs

Beer is an addition to living a healthy life. It's proven that beer isn't bad for you – in fact beer drinkers are often shown to live longer.

Emily Tait



Mikkel Borg Bjergsø co-founded Mikkeller brewery in 2006.

will get an education in avant-garde brewing experiments.

For the ordinary consumer, there's Mikkeller Beer Week between May 7 and 15, with "tap take-overs" at Mikkeller's bars, collaborations with Hija De Sanchez and Cleaver's, and live music events taking place all over the city.

As Bjergsø explains, the festival

has come a long way since its first incarnation.

You established the Copenhagen Beer Celebration in 2012 with a focus on quality rather than just consumption. How has the event grown and changed since it was first launched?

Well, so much has happened. In the first year, there were 18 brew-

eries and we sold 1000 tickets. This year, we have 100 breweries and almost 12,000 tickets sold. Although it's certainly changed, we have kept it very down to earth and very personal. You can meet brewers, and we have maintained the ethos we had at the start: brewers aren't allowed to advertise. We make the signs, and that keeps everyone pretty equal. I would say the biggest change is that the competition is a lot stiffer. Everyone wants to bring their 'A' game, and if they don't, their neighbour can and will do better. It's not just a case of showing up.

Why is it important to have both the Beer Week and the Celebration?

The Beer Week is a new addition that started in 2016, but we've always had events surrounding the festival. There are just so many people in Copenhagen, so many beer drinkers and brewers, and for a lot of people, it's their main trip of the year: they want to drink a lot of crazy beer. Having a whole week means getting to drink the best beer and run into your favourite brewers, with the culmination being the celebration. It makes it more of a community thing – you can be involved even if you're not at the celebration. Next year, we want to make this an even greater priority and see if we can work with the city so that Copenhageners get more involved, too.

What are you most looking forward to about this year's beer celebration and the wider Copenhagen Beer Week?

On Monday, May 8, we are launching a new restaurant, Hyggesund, that will have a particular focus on breakfast food around brunch time, and which will also be available in the evening for private dinners. And on Tuesday and



The Barrell Room, above, on Refshaeløen is being reopened as a pub and event venue called Mikkeller Baghaven.

Far left: Queues form outside Øksnehallen and the Mikkeller Beer Celebration Copenhagen.



Small glasses but big flavour at the Copenhagen Beer Celebration.

Wednesday, we have Amândio, a chef from northern Portugal, taking up residency. He is undoubtedly the most charismatic person I've ever met, and he'll do a pop-up event. He is the best host – I've been to his restaurant several times, and now I even have a portrait of him tattooed on my arm. At his restaurant in Portugal, he has

a glass of wine at each table and moves around the restaurant all night, drinking and talking with his guests. To try and measure up, we'll have bottles and bottles of wine – I'm really looking forward to that.

Also, on Saturday, we are reopening The Barrel Room as a pub and event venue called Mikkeller Baghaven. Saturday is essential-

ly going to be a big party. We're even working to get a British couple married there in the Mikkeller world with a magician, lots of cool people and plenty of beer – a Mikkeller Las Vegas.

How does home brewing fit in to the week?

We have a homebrew event running all week at Mikkeller Bar Vik-

toriagade, where homebrewers can bring their own creations to be judged by experts and other beer enthusiasts. It's a great opportunity for homebrewers to share what they are doing. You can brew the best beers in the world in your kitchen because you have so much control with the process on a small scale. It's great to be able to show-



The Mikkeller Beer Celebration Copenhagen is already sold out, but there are plenty of other events throughout the city during Mikkeller Beer Week.

case that, because some of these homebrewers will be at the festival in future. Alefarm was actually a homebrewer when he worked at one of my bars, and now his brewery has been invited to join the celebration this year.

Could you tell us more about the festival's official beer, SpontanYuzu?

The MBCC beer this year is a spontaneously fermented beer with Japanese yuzu – a very unique product. And if you find one of the 10 cans marked 'Lucky Bastard' you can win tickets to the festival – a golden ticket. Our bar manager in Reykjavik found one, but he's now raffling it off – he thought it could find a better home.

Any beers you are particularly excited to try?

I almost get stressed out because there's so much stuff I want to taste! But I'm excited to see what the Lambic blender Bokkereyder is producing, because every time he brings new stuff it's so exciting.

We also have a new brewery we invited very late, Voodoo, from Erie, Pennsylvania. They sent me some beers that were just amazing. And I want to explore the whole New England-style IPA craze, which we are a big part of too.

To be honest, I'm looking forward to just being able to compare such an enormous range of beer. Because I've tasted a lot of them, but never at the same time, and it's interesting to experience a new brewer's take on a new style that isn't defined yet. There are going to be 600 or 700 different beers, and I want to try them all. With all the tap takeovers at our bars and

the celebration at the end of the week, there's going to be a lot of beer to drink!

How you think beer fits into a healthy lifestyle? The Mikkeller Running Club is expanding rapidly and more and more people are pointing out the benefits of natural yeast, from kombucha to sourdough.

Beer is an addition to living a healthy life. It's proven that beer isn't bad for you – in fact beer drinkers are often shown to live longer. Obviously you shouldn't get stupid drunk every day, but everything in it is good. In the same way that you shouldn't drink lots of beer, if you become too focussed on exercise that's not good either, but the running club combines the best of both worlds. We now have more than 160 branches of the running club. I've even had a meeting with the athletic federation in Denmark, discussing the way the Mikkeller Running Club is changing the world of running.

What do you think about Denmark being a 'beer-drinking nation', and how does this affect the culture here?

Denmark is beer country. I can see the big Carlsberg tower from where I'm sitting right now, and the new Mikkeller offices are even located on the old Carlsberg site. Obviously that brewery is such a large part of Danish culture, and it's the reason that Danes get into beer drinking. But beer in Denmark isn't just about Carlsberg, it's deeper than that. When I was five, I remember we'd drink a sweet, low-alcohol beer for Christmas. It's part of our culture – people drink beer for every occasion. We still

We do a lot of Berliner Weisse, which has a low alcohol content, and so I drink it a lot with ice cubes in the summer. That may be an utter no-go, but I don't care.

have Christmas beer and Easter beer, and ten or fifteen years ago you'd be drinking beer at work. We can't grow wine here – we're a beer country.

What are you most looking forward to in the next year with Mikkeller?

I'm looking at some sour beers, and also I'm looking a lot at non-alcoholic beer. Being able to drink beer 24/7 purely for the taste, and not get drunk – which is never really my aim – is part of the future.

We are also about to open in the Faroe Islands. We have bars all around the world, in Tokyo and beyond, but there's something about the Faroe Islands that I can't get out of my head. There are only 50,000 people, and it's the most breathtaking place in the world.

We are opening in a very old house that is going to be such a unique bar – the most unique in the

world. And the people of the Faroe Islands are so wonderful and so supportive. When we started the running club up there, 100 people showed up, and now it's the biggest chapter in the world, even with such a small population. With that kind of enthusiasm, the launch is going to be a fantastic event.

But with Mikkeller, I always look forward to the next thing we are doing. Right now it's having all my friends in the industry here in Copenhagen, for all the tasting and talking.

Now that the seasons are shifting, what's your favourite beer to drink in the summer?

We do a lot of Berliner Weisse, which has a low alcohol content, and so I drink it a lot with ice cubes in the summer. That may be an utter no-go, but I don't care. It has tartness and sweetness – it's just perfect in the summer. **M**

MIKKELLER BEER WEEK // MAY 7 - 15

Didn't get a ticket to Mikkeller Beer Celebration Copenhagen? Don't worry, Mikkeller Beer Week is a city-wide celebration of beer with lots of free events. Here are some highlights:

SUNDAY, MAY 7 / Mikkeller Bar Viktoriagade / Viktoriagade will be closed off for the birthday of Mikkeller's first Copenhagen bar for a street party.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 10 / Mikkeller & Friends Stefansgade / Cloudwater Brew Co has been brewing beers specially for this tap takeover.

SUNDAY, MAY 14 / WarPigs Brewpub / Annual Big Pig Competition Spicy Edition. This year it's not about quantity but about bravery as they challenge competitors to feast on the Hottest wings.

For the full program, visit: bit.ly/mbcc17

OP-ED

Evil empire or Berth's delirium?

MP Kenneth Berth Kristensen is so blinded by rage against the EU that he overlooks even the most obvious benefits of European cooperation. And that's a shame, because there are many



communautés Européennes - 1985

Plenary Session at the European Parliament in Strasbourg in January 1985.

EVERY FRIDAY in Parliament's European Committee, I debate EU politics with the EU spokespersons from the other parties. It's important work, and we have many good debates.

But I couldn't avoid noticing the confidence of the committee's deputy chairman Kenneth Kristensen Berth, of the Danish People's Party (DF), when he occasionally asserts that the EU isn't a peace project, but quite the opposite. According to Berth, the EU is a form of evil empire that works against peace and encourages divisions. It's totally wrong, of course, and deserves a response.

If there is anything at all that characterises cooperation in the EU, it's that the conflicts that occasionally arise between member states are framed within democratic institutions that can ensure that banal disagreements don't spiral into potentially violent con-

The EU is and will continue to be the most successful peace project in modern history.

Holger K. Nielsen

flicts. The cooperation originated, after all, as a way to control the access that Germany and France have to coal and steel – the ingredients for war. In that sense, establishing peace is in the very DNA of the EU.

As a citizen of one of the EU's smallest member states, Kenneth Berth Kristensen should consider the obvious advantages of being tied into European institutions. It's not the strong who rule, but rather the law. Small countries are not trampled, but enjoy a degree of influence far greater than what their size would suggest.

Last year, Forbes magazine conducted a large study asking 40,000 people from all over the world which country they had the highest opinion of in terms of tolerance, life satisfaction, lack of corruption and pollution, and a number of other positive characteristics. The conclusion was clear: of the 20 high-

est-ranked countries in the study, 15 were European. The USA came in 28th place, and China was way down the list, in 57th. That so many European countries are placed so highly on the list tells us that Europe has found an exceptional way to organise itself.

You can of course choose to ignore the progress that has been made over the past 60 years, in terms of welfare, freedom and peace. But it's pretty hard to avoid the reality. The EU is and will continue to be the most successful peace project in modern history. Just look at Spain and Portugal, whose accession to the EU helped strengthen and stabilise their democracies after their transition away from authoritarian regimes.

The EU has absolutely contributed to spreading and maintaining peace in Europe, supporting human rights and the democratisa-

tion of candidate countries, while also pushing back against the arbitrary and odious uses of power that we have witnessed so often throughout history.

Despite the fact that Europe has possessed considerable military power, we have often been reluctant to use it and have instead specialised in alternatives to military solutions. In fact, it is precisely in this area that the EU has globally exerted enormous power, but through peaceful means.

The EU has supported peace, both in Europe and around the world, for over 60 years. Sadly, Kenneth Berth Kristensen is so blinded by rage against the EU that he overlooks even the most obvious benefits of European cooperation. And that's a shame, because there are many. **M**

MP Holger K. Nielsen represents the Socialist People's Party (SF).

WHAT'S ON • MAY

ALL MONTH

NORDIC HIGHLIGHTS
This exhibition shows Nordic art at its very best, with a particular focus on the 19th century. SMK has a fantastic collection of artists from this era.

Statens Museum for Kunst
Sølvgade 48-50, KBH
smk.dk
Until the August 13



CISTERNES X SAMBUICHI
Japanese architect Hiroshi Sambuichi has created an enchanting underground world beneath Frederiksberg Hill.

Cisternerne
Søndermarken, Frederiksberg
cisternerne.dk

7

ØSTERBRO EXPAT FAIR 2017
Meet representatives from culture, public, sport organizations and clubs in Østerbro and Copenhagen and get inspired to get involved.

Østerbrohuset
Århusgade 103 KBH
kulturoesterbro.dk/expatfair



FULL MOON PARTY
This is the second year of the immersive full moon party at Refshaleøen. Grab your glowsticks and your brightest clothes to join a party that combines light shows and even a 'room of illusions'.
Halvandet
Refshalevej 325, KBH
halvandet.dk
May 11



BRUS B-DAY BASH
To mark a year since To Øl launched BRUS, the brewpub is throwing a party. First beers will be served for free and there will be soft-serve ice cream and a jolly brass band.

BRUS
Guldbergsgade 29F, KBH
tapperietbrus.dk

18

INTL MUSEUM DAY
The worldwide community of museums celebrates on and around 18 May 2017 with the theme this year being 'Museums and contested histories: Saying the unspeakable in museums'.

Various Locations
bit.ly/intlmuseumdag



CLICK FESTIVAL
The 7th year of CLICK Festival examines the crossovers between art, science and technology under the theme 'Quirky Ecologies'.

Kulturværftet
Allegade 2, 3000 Helsingør
clickfestival.dk
May 20-21

20

"OK COMPUTER" LIVE
The day before "OK Computer" celebrates 20 years of UK release, Kristian Leth and Ralf Christensen present live the album that changed rock history.

Bremen Teater
Nyropsgade 39-41, KBH
brementeater.dk

21

COPENHAGEN MARATHON
The route weaves its way through the centre of town from Islands Brygge and there were over 8,000 runners participating last year.

copenhagenmarathon.dk



FORTOVSFEST
Enghave plads hosts a family friendly sidewalk party in Vesterbro. The day will combine children's games with live music and a variety of streetfood vendors serving throughout the day.

Enghave Plads
fortovsfest.dk
May 27

28

BEER IN KØDBYEN
If you're not too tired of beer after Mikkeller Beer Week, the food market at Kødbyen dedicates this Sunday to all things hoppy.

Meatpacking Food Market
Flæsketorvet 1, KBH
koedbyensmadogmarked.dk



CPH STAGE
Every June, CPH STAGE brings the theatrical world to the public eye, drawing attention to the exciting contemporary theatre of Denmark and beyond.

cphstage.dk
May 31 – June 11

Emily Tait

WHAT'S ON • JUNE



CPH PHOTO FESTIVAL

Every year 300-400 photographers contribute to the festival program with varied events including exhibitions, seminars, photo tours, and portfolio reviews.

Around Copenhagen
copenhagenphotofestival.com
 June 1-11

4

ROSÉS DAY

With the start of June, Rosé season will be in full swing, and to celebrate this, Kokkens Vinhus in Glostrup and Frederiksberg will host a day of rose tasting in the (fingers crossed) summer sunshine.

Kokkensvinhus
 Hovedvejen 102, 2600 Glostrup
kokkensvinhus.dk



DISTORTION Ø 2017

The two-day finale of the week of Distortion parties on Refshaleøen with a mix of container stages, outdoor dance floors and sound and light installations.

Refshaleøen
 Refshalevej 163, KBH
cphdistortion.dk
 June 2-4

5

PROFESSOR BRIAN COX LIVE

Professor Brian Cox is a British particle physicist is interviewed by actor and writer Robin Ince, during his entertaining and knowledge-based show.

Bremen Teater
 Nyropsgade 39-41, KBH
brementeater.dk

COPENHAGENCARD

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COPENHAGEN CARD APP

The Copenhagen Card guide is also available as an app for iPhone or Android.



Free access to 79
 museums and
 attractions

Free transport by train,
 bus and Metro
 in the entire
 metropolitan area

One adult can bring
 along 2 children
 under the age of
 10 for free

A woman with dark hair tied back, wearing a pink and white plaid shirt, is looking towards a whiteboard. On the whiteboard, the Danish words "Stumt d" and "Hund" are written in cursive. The word "Hund" has a double underline under the 'd'.

DANISH. CONCENTRATED.

INTENSIVE DANISH COURSES
IN HELLERUP AND LYNGBY



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sprogcenterhellerup.dk