

THE MURMUR

COPENHAGEN
EDITION

Can you be
a political
party if you
don't have
any opin-
ions? Meet
The Initiative

Activists
claim a win
in the fight
to preserve
a plot of
wilderness

Taller and
smaller –
new types
of homes
might fix
the crisis

NEWS

CULTURE

POLITICS

COMMENTARY

OCTOBER 2017 VOL. 4 ISSUE 9



Leading the climate insurgency

Mayoral candidate Niko Grünfeld wants an even more sustainable Copenhagen

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

THE MURMUR



Peter Stanners
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LAST MONTH the student organisation Konservativ Studenter (KS) announced they would be holding a talk by Helmuth Nyborg, a Danish psychologist who is known for his theories on racial intelligence and concern that Denmark's average IQ will reduce due to immigration.

His views are not widely shared, as there is little evident to suggest that genes, rather than environmental factors, are primarily responsible in IQ variations that have been measured between groups around the world. Sadly, some Danish newspapers continue to publish his articles, though last year a slew of high profile academics penned two op-eds in which they thoroughly picked apart Nyborg's assertions.

So I wrote to Konservativ Studenter on their Facebook wall to share my view that Nyborg is a charlatan and not a serious choice for a speaker, given that their stated mission is to "hold talks with controversial speakers to create debate about important subjects in our society". If his widely debunked ideas on racial intelligence qualify as an 'important subject', I hoped to see them invite 911 truthers, flat earthers, chemtrail advocates, and holocaust deniers, because that's where I think the quality of his work stands.

Nyborg's views are directly connected to the far right groups that he is associated with. For example, this summer he spoke at a conference organised by the white supremacist organisation American Renaissance. These groups, and others like them, use his research as evidence to support their view of the superiority of white European culture. The end consequence could be the dehumanisation of non-whites around the world, and their denial of rights.

KS argue that they are merely driven by intellectual curiosity and that

they would have no problem with inviting a flat earther or a holocaust denier. After all, how are we to undermine these views if we don't first give them some air time?

And ultimately I agree. What objective criteria could we possibly use to decide which ideas should and should not be open to debate? I am worried that people might believe Nyborg's views, with their social and political implications. But I am more worried that establishing a tool to silence hateful ideas could be abused to silence reasonable debate and dissent.

My Facebook post started a little discussion, in which I was essentially accused of silencing free debate:

"You'd never give voice to Nyborg or anyone else controversial, and it seems to me you're too caught up not just with being right, but by making sure none will ever know the difference," one person wrote.

Am I a freedom hater because I think it's problematic to give Nyborg an unchallenged platform? How do we balance free speech with the fact that some ideas are factually wrong and dangerous? And I don't mean true but uncomfortable ideas about the world. I mean ideas like the ones Nyborg presents, which purport to be objective fact but are actually a highly selective use of facts to support a divisive political agenda.

I'm not sure what the answer is, but I do believe we need to develop strategies for reaching out across the political and intellectual divide. Appearing to shut down debate is counter productive, I've learned, and maybe my debate with KS would have been more productive if I had been more clear about my intentions – "before you listen to Nyborg, here is something to think about".

At any rate, it's not the last time I'll get into a debate like this on Facebook. Just in the future, I'll make sure I have my facts straight and try and kill them with kindness. It's worth a try. Free speech is only a virtue in a free, open and tolerant society where all people are equal, regardless of their intellectual capacity, skin colour, or gender. I'm sure we can all agree on that. Right? **M**

Every time you build, you use an opportunity to make the city better, which is why the city makes demands on developers to make sure they give back. Deregulating lessens the demands on developers and results in a less attractive and liveable city.

KATRINE LOTZ,
HEAD OF THE INSTITUTE FOR ARCHITECTURE, URBANISM AND LANDSCAPE AT THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS
P26.



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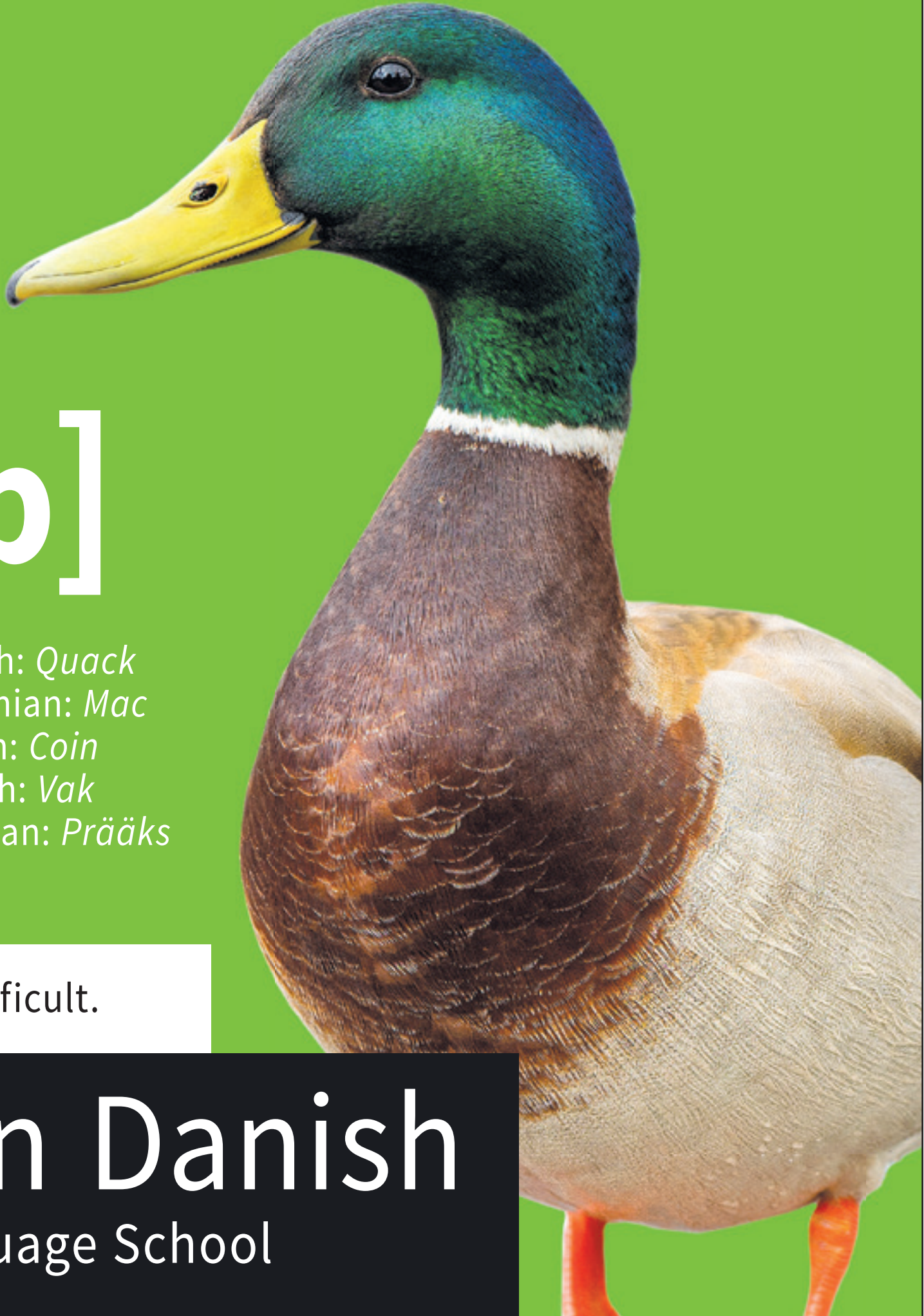
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[rap]

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MONTH IN REVIEW

No longer a doctor
Disgraced researcher Milena Penkowa has had her doctorate withdrawn by the University of Copenhagen. It follows a 2016 ruling by the Eastern High Court, which found that her 2003 thesis contained falsified data.

Peaceful beggars are jailed after law change
The first Danish citizen has been charged with begging after the law was tightened earlier this year.
Politicians had argued that the new measures were specifically designed to target organised and foreign

beggars who affected public safety. But it has since come to light that a 58 year-old Dane has been sentenced to 14 days in jail after a passerby placed some money in a cup he had sitting beside him. The man was sitting outside Hundige station and was not a threat to public safety when he was arrested by police, who confiscated 18 Danish kroner and five Swedish kroner from him. It was his first criminal offence.

Fake news
Denmark has special brothels where humans can lawfully have sex with animals. So reported Russian media in Belarus and Georgia according to the EU's special unit for counteracting fake news.

INNOCENTS SHOT
Two innocent people were the victims of a shooting episode in Nørrebro on September 21. An innocent Swedish woman was hit by a stray bullet and was treated in hospital, while a man was grazed by a bullet. Police were nearby when the shootings took place, and chased the assailant on foot across the Red Square, before shooting two warning shots and apprehending the suspect, a 26-year-old who has been arrested for attempted manslaughter. The man is thought to be connected to the gang community on Blågård's Plads in Nørrebro.

Gabriele Dellisanti

Smoking when young increases chances of developing breast cancer
Women who start smoking at a young age are at a higher risk of developing breast cancer, according to research from the University of Copenhagen. While women who smoke are 27 percent more likely to develop breast cancer, women who smoked a lot while young are 58 percent more at risk. For women who smoked 15 to 20 cigarettes a day before having their first child, quitting smoking does not decrease the chances of developing breast cancer later in life.



Susanne Nilsson / flickr

SLAVE LABOUR
The Danish Navy's latest vessel was partly built by forced labourers from North Korea, according to a documentary aired on DR2. The labourers were employed in Poland, where part of the ship was built due to cheaper labour costs. South Korean ambassador to Denmark, Jai-chul Choi, stressed that North Korean workers abroad are one of the regime's primary income sources for its nuclear missile programme. According to the United Nations, North Korea earns the equivalent of 14 billion kroner a year for sending workers abroad.



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First gay wedding

The first homosexual couple got married on the Faroe Islands after legislation that allows same sex couple to marry came into force on July 1. The two men, both British citizens, said it was a "great honour".



Azerbaijan's capital Baku. Photo: Niyaz Bakili

Danske Bank accused of money laundering

Danske Bank's department in Estonia helped the Azerbaijan government transfer around 18 billion kroner of public funds to the private bank accounts of powerful supporters of the regime. According to Berlingske, which received leaked documents from the Estonian branch of Danske Bank, the money was

used to shore up support for the brutal regime as well as buy positive media attention.

Danske Bank has apologised for breaking laws on money laundering. The revelations arrive months after the bank was accused of laundering billions of kroner through Moldova.

REFUGEES IN WORK

The number of refugees finding employment has risen sharply over the past two years according to new figures from the Ministry of Employment. In June 2015, only 12 percent of refugees who had been in Denmark for three years had found work. By June 2017, this had increased to 30 percent. Employment Minister Troels Lund Poulsen argues that the improvement demonstrates that it will be possible to reach the government's target for 2020 that half of all newcomers are in employment within three years.

Athlyn Cathcart-Keays



HALF MARATHON CANCELLED AFTER FREAK THUNDER STORM

Copenhagen's half marathon was suspended for safety concerns after the city was hit by torrential rain and hail. Two people were hospitalised after being struck by lightning while running the 21-kilometre course. 21,000 runners took part in the event and many managed to complete the course before it was closed. Among them was Athlyn Cathcart-Keays, above right, who completed the run in 1:58.



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CITY



Urban Power

The artificial island Nordhaleøen would provide new land for housing and offices, create a transport link between Refshaleøen and Nordhavn, as well form a barrier to rising sea levels and storm surges.

Artificial island proposed to connect Copenhagen

An artificial island named Nordhaleøen, to be located between Nordhavn and Refshaleøen, has been proposed by architects at the Danish firm Urban Power.

The architecture firm points out that as Copenhagen may have to build sea barriers for protection from rising sea levels, the island could serve that function while also adding thousands of square meters of land for residences, businesses, recreational parks and a beach.

"We expect that there will be room for 900,000 square meters of construction on the island. Some will be offices and institutions, but there will probably be room for about 6,000 homes," Rune Veile, architect at Urban Power, told Politiken.

The island would serve as a transport link for cars, public transport and bicycles between Nordhavn and Refshaleøen, which are currently unconnected. With the planned extension of the Metro to Nordhavn, Nordhaleøen would be in

78 percent of Copenhageners believe that the city is capable of accommodating more tourists.

Gabriele Dellisanti

striking distance of public transport for commuters.

The project also presents an alternative to the proposed harbour tunnel to connect traffic from the north of the city with the motorway south of Copenhagen. Instead of a tunnel, a motorway would carry traffic from the north across the island and south to Amager, where it would reconnect with the road network there.

Considering all the benefits the island would bring to the city of Copenhagen, from flood protection, to the construction of new metro sites and the sale of new building areas, Urban Power believes Nordhaleøen is worth the investment.

Copenhagen is open to more tourism

Although tourist numbers have grown by 55 percent since 2009, Copenhageners have a surprisingly upbeat view of tourists, according to two surveys.

The first, by Epinion, found that 78 percent of Copenhageners believe that the city is capable of accommodating more tourists, especially during high season. Compared to re-

sponses in cities such as Barcelona, Munich, Lisbon, Berlin and Amsterdam, Copenhageners were the most positive about tourism.

This view was confirmed in a second survey carried out by Norstat for Wonderful Copenhagen, in which 98 percent of the survey's 1,000 respondents agreed that tourism is an overwhelmingly positive contribution to the city.

According to a study by Mastercard, Copenhagen is one of the five European cities experiencing the sharpest growth in tourism.

And it may continue to grow, now that business and growth minister Troels Lund Poulsen has launched a strategy to increase tourism to Denmark by a third before 2025.

Aarhus light rail opening delayed

Aarhus has been working for years on the construction of a new light rail system that would significantly expand the city's public transport network. The new Letbane, which has cost a total of 3.7 billion kroner, will connect the northern area of Lystrup to Aarhus' central station.

After months of delay, the much-awaited inauguration of the Letbane was planned for September 23. But due to safety concerns, the opening of the service to the public was delayed once again.

Keolis, the French company responsible for the light rail's construction, announced just a few hours before the inauguration event that the Transport, Building and Housing Agency had not approved the launch of the service.

"One of the main issues is that those operating the light rail, Keolis, do not have a safety system that meets today's standards," Kåre Clemmesen, deputy director of the Transport, Building and Housing agency, told DR news.

In a press release, the director of Aarhus Letbanen, Claus Rehfeld Moshøj, apologised for the cancellation of the event, stating that it was a "historic moment" that citizens of eastern Jutland were looking forward to.

Aarhus Letbane has now begun the process of obtaining all outstanding approvals so the service can be opened to the public as soon as possible. **M**

If he calls you a herring, should you be pleased?

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POLITICS

PUTTING A NUMBER ON THIRD-GENERATION IMMIGRANTS

The government argues that more information is needed on the group, whose performance in school remains below average

IMMIGRANT. Second-generation immigrant. Dane.

It currently takes three generations before children with non-Danish heritage are classified as Danes, according to Statistics Denmark. But they may have to wait yet another generation, if a majority in Parliament gets its way.

The government, Danish People's Party (DF) and the Social Democrats (Socialdemokratiet) argued this summer that there was a need for more statistics about the make-up of Danish society. Specifically, they want data on Danes who have at least one parent who was born in Denmark to foreign-born parents – third-generation immigrants.

This followed news that third-generation immigrant children were underperforming in school, doing almost as poorly as their parents, the second-generation immigrants.

Immigration minister Inger Støjberg has since argued that as this group has grown in size, more statistics are needed in order to track their use of day care, success in the labour market and so on.

While she also wants more hard data on how large this group is expected to grow by 2060, she hasn't found the funding to enable Statistics Denmark to calculate it.

DF is now proposing to find the necessary 600,000 kroner in next year's budget. The proposal was criticised by the immigration spokesperson for the Red-Green Alliance, Johanne Schmidt-Nielsen.

"I think it's crazy that someone doesn't count as a 'real' Dane even after three generations," she told Information. "The threshold keeps on getting pushed back. I don't think anything positive will result from it. Especially not if your goal is better integration." **M**

CHEAPER, BIGGER, SAFER CARS

Medium and large cars are made cheaper with the new tax arrangement. The income shortfall will be made up by charging foreign motorists to drive on Danish roads

AFTER WEEKS OF SPECULATION that saw car sales plummet at showrooms across the country, the government finally announced it would be lowering car taxes.

The deal was struck with the Danish People's Party (DF) and included a number of infrastructure investments and the introduction of fees for foreign drivers on Danish roads.

"This deal will make it cheaper to buy a

safe, family-friendly car, while also ensuring a permanent solution to the traffic problems on Western Funen and the West Funen motorway," Finance Minister Kristian Jensen stated after the deal was announced.

The goal of the reform is to make medium and large cars cheaper, while also incentivising cleaner and safer vehicles.

To start with, the deal tweaks the registration taxes on new cars. The tax is progressive, meaning that it is inexpensive up to a certain threshold of the car's value, and more expensive above it. Previously, it was the very smallest cars that benefited the most because of where the threshold between the two tax brackets had been set.

The government now wants to lower the rate on the bottom bracket from 105 to 85 percent of the car's value. And while the rate on the top bracket will remain the same at 150 percent, the threshold between

the brackets will be raised from 106,600 kroner to 185,000 kroner.

Cars with the highest safety standards will also have their taxes reduced by 8,000 kroner, compared to 2,000 kroner today, while cars with poor mileage will have to pay up to 6,000 kroner more in tax.

The result is that while the most and least expensive cars on the market will get slightly more expensive, mid-sized cars will see a dramatic reduction in cost. A five-door VW Passat estate, for example, will cost 12.7 percent less after the reform, bringing its cost down to 400,100 kroner. The cost of a two-door Citroen C1, however, will increase by 8.3 percent to 102,800 kroner.

Lower car registration taxes will be offset by a new road tax to be imposed on all Danish road users beginning in 2020. But while Danish drivers will be compensated for the tax, the same will not be true for foreign drivers.

The road tax is based on similar initiatives planned in countries such as Germany. Drivers will be charged depending on the length of stay, the size of their vehicle as well as its environmental impact. A ten-day pass will cost between €2.50 and €25, while two months will cost €7 to €50.

While the final proposal has yet to be fleshed out, the government states that the program will probably be digitally managed, allowing foreign road users to register their cars and pay their tax using an app.

After Danish drivers are compensated – an annual pass is expected to cost around 1000 kroner – and the cost of running the system is deducted, the government expects to earn around 300 million kroner a year.

DF's finance spokesperson praised the deal.

"We will get better and cheaper cars without taking anything from anyone. Foreign drivers will end up paying for it, and that's a good thing, because otherwise we would have to find the money elsewhere," René Christensen, told Berlingske.

The money raised from the new road tax will also pay for a third lane to be added to the motorway on West Funen between Nørre Aaby and Odense. Once this is completed in 2018, the fee for crossing the Great Belt Fixed Link between Zealand and Funen will be lowered by 25 percent. A one-way trip over the 18-kilometre, two-bridge connection currently costs 240 kroner for a regular sized car. **M**



Sund & Bælt

The cost of travelling over the Great Belt Fixed Link will drop by 25 percent for motorists.

IN BRIEF



Peter Stanners

Uffe Elbæk launched Alternativet in 2014. The party has a strong position on tax havens.

ALTERNATIVET ACCEPTED DONATION FROM A TAX HAVEN

450,000 kroner was donated to the party through Gibraltar and Luxembourg. But Alternativet has ruled out giving back the money

THE ALTERNATIVE (Alternativet) was launched in 2014 with a strong stance on tax havens – they need to be abolished.

"Alternativet is working to close tax havens ... by providing additional resources to SKAT, Alternativet wants to strengthen the fight against those who take advantage of tax havens," the party writes.

So they were embarrassed to discover in September that a 450,000 kroner donation in 2015 had been transferred from Gibraltar and Luxembourg, two well-known tax havens.

According to tabloid Ekstra Bladet, the donations came from London-based Danish entrepreneur Ditlev Bredahl, who first transferred the money from accounts in Gi-

braltar and Luxembourg to the Danish bank Arbejdernes Landsbank before it was deposited in Alternativet's account at Merkur Andelskasse.

Nilas Bay-Foged, chairman of Alternativet's board, told Ekstra Bladet in an email that the party didn't have enough staff at the time to investigate the source of the funds.

"The donation was made almost 2.5 years ago, and we were not at all aware that it came from a country with different taxation legislation. We had communicated directly with Ditlev Bredahl," Bay-Foged wrote, adding that the party was now working together with the charity IBIS, which has experience fighting tax havens, to prevent a repeat.

Party leader Uffe Elbæk also apologised for the situation on Facebook.

"Some people might ask, why don't we give the money back? We will not, because it will be put to much better use on the green transition in Denmark than in a tax haven. Besides, the money was used up long ago, and we don't think the money should be taken from our members' pockets." **M**

SECRET BID FOR EU AGENCY REVEALED

The European Medicines Agency will enjoy free rent, property management, IT facilities, water and electricity for 20 years if the EU selects Copenhagen as its new home. The bill, according to Politiken newspaper: 1.7 billion kroner.

The EMA is currently located in London, but will have to move by April 2019 following the UK's decision to leave the EU. 19 European cities are vying for the agency and its 890 knowledge workers, which will make the host city a European hub for the pharmaceutical industry.

The government has only secured around 50 million kroner in financing from Parliament to help lure the agency to the city. These funds were to be used to place a six-month reservation on the potential future home of the EMA, the 27,000-square-metre Copenhagen Towers in Ørestad.

The full cost of the bid submitted by the government in July was never formally released, but has now been leaked and is drawing condemnation from the Socialist People's Party (SF) and the Danish People's Party.

"It's a substantial sum, and it puts Denmark in an embarrassing situation because the bill doesn't have a full parliamentary majority," SF's finance spokesperson Lisbeth Bech Poulsen told Politiken.

The government is confident it will secure a majority, however, as the opposition Social Democrats (Socialdemokrater) support the bid for the agency, which they argue will be a net gain for the Danish state. **M**

TRAIN FUND GETS A BOOST

The Danish train fund will receive a two billion kroner investment in next year's budget to fill a financing shortfall.

But it's not because the governing parties want better rail infrastructure. On the contrary. The funding has been secured by the entire left-wing opposition, working together with the Danish People's Party (DF).

These parties created the train fund in 2014 to improve rail infrastructure and reduce rail journey times between Denmark's major cities. The 28.5 billion kroner fund was supposed to be financed from the taxation of oil and gas revenue, but fell short as the price of oil dropped sharply.

Last month's deal forces the government to transfer two billion kroner in unassigned funds from another pot of money that the same parties set aside in 2012 for investment in public infrastructure.

The deal means that the first stage of infrastructure investment can proceed, which will involve constructing a new train line across West Funen. **M**

FACT-RESISTANT POLITICIANS

Politicians ignore facts that don't support their own opinions. So concluded researchers at Aarhus University after carrying out a study that included 1,000 local politicians.

"You might have thought that decision makers would correct their views as they receive more information that points in one particular direction – but the opposite happens," Associate Professor Martin Bækgaard of the Department of Political Science told Information newspaper.

The politicians were asked to assess different political proposals after being presented with information about schools, hospitals, road maintenance and rehabilitation. Even when the documentation pointed to a different conclusion, the politicians maintained their original political outlook.

"Their answers were very much determined by the party-line political position they had to start with. Those who preferred privatisation thought that the private sector was better, regardless of what the information suggested," Bækgaard said, adding that the phenomenon applied to politicians from across the political spectrum. **M**

Peter Stanners



Sebastian Winther (left) and Holger Thorup, two of the three founders of The Initiative.

Taking the INITIATIVE

A new political party wants to crowdsource its positions on legislation. The party's founders argue that its approach will revive society's waning interest in politics, but critics argue that few voters are interested in taking a position on complex legislation

Sebastian Winther, Holger Thorup and Mikkel Møller Andersen are laying the foundations for a new political party, The Initiative (Initiativet) in their open workspace a few minutes' walk from Store Kongensgade in central Copenhagen. The journey started a year earlier on a trip to Krakow, Poland, when they got talking about politics and the need to shake up the system. They weren't particular-

ly politically active. Only Winther had ever belonged to a political party, The Alternative, but he left after realising it excluded the views of some of its members.

"I simply haven't found a good place to participate, and I have often rejected the idea of joining a political party and adhering to its agenda," says Winther. "The same goes for all of us here at Initiativet. We like politics, but we

do not feel like we fit in the current system."

In recent years, confidence in politicians has fallen along with youth participation in general elections. A survey conducted by Ugebrevet A4 in 2015 discovered that 63 percent of Danes have little confidence in politicians, almost twice as many as in 2007. The participation of 19 to 29-year-olds likewise dropped ten percentage

Gabriele Dellisanti

points between the 2007 and 2015 general elections.

"Not long ago, I held a talk at the Technical University of Denmark on the development of our new platform, and I started the presentation by asking people to raise their hands if they were interested in politics. Barely anyone did," Thorup explains.

"Then I asked who was interested in society and believes that the decisions we make are important for everyone. Almost all students raised their hands."

CROWDSOURCED POLITICS

Initiativet wants to broaden public participation by allowing citizens to vote on parliamentary legislation using an online public platform. Initiativet's MPs will then vote according to what a majority of the party members decide is the right course of action.

"The party is not a platform for us to use as a political microphone. Our idea is that the sum of Denmark's people are smarter than the sum of its politicians," says Winther.

When it comes to selecting a Prime Minister following a general election, Initiativet MPs will follow the will of the remaining majority in Parliament. If there is no clear majority, the issue will be settled through a vote on the online platform. They also hope to use the platform to allow members to present legislation that other members can vote on before being presented to Parliament.

Thorup argues that by making the views of the party's members their own, they will give a voice to those who want to see societal change but have little to no trust in politicians and the current system. And by encouraging members to play an active role in parliamentary decision-making, they hope to counter the diminishing participation in politics across Denmark in recent years.

REGAINING TRUST

Professor Rune Stubager from the Department of Political Science at Aarhus University argues that the party might run into trouble by appearing too neutral to voters.

"The idea of voting for a party that has no policies, but will base its positions on online votes, would seem a rather risky business from a voter's perspective, as you never know what you'll end up getting in terms of policy," says Stubager.

Professor Kasper Møller Hansen from the Department of Political Science at the University of Copenhagen adds that the issues that are discussed in Parliament can often be incredibly complicated, which limits how appealing it is for citizens to get involved enough to formulate a position.

"I think that the idea of handing everything over to the people is unlikely to work in Denmark. Politics demands a lot of thought and effort in order to be understood, and that is why we have a representative democracy that can secure thoughtful and deliberate decisions," Hansen explains.

He points to Switzerland, which has a long history of direct democracy through referendums at the federal and local level. On a federal level, for example, a vote is held on a popular initiative if it receives more than 100,000 signatures within 18 months. But despite its greater level of citizen involvement in political decision-making, Switzerland has also suffered from voter apathy and a decline in voter turnout in recent years.

"I believe it is up to the politicians to gain their trust back, by finding time to talk to and engage with the public, and parties are trying to do just that right now," says Hansen.

SHAKING UP THE SYSTEM

Initiativet is currently collecting the 20,000 signatures that are needed in order to run in the next general election. Thorup acknowledges that the party will probably not grow to the size of the established parties, but they hope to obtain just enough support to be the determining vote on parliamentary legislation.

"This is the perfect situation to be in, because the vote will end up being determined by the people rather than by a bunch of elected politicians," he explains.

Winther adds that, ultimately, their goal is to shake up the current political system, rather than to cultivate parliamentary influence.

"The declining trust in politics and the lower voter turnout among younger generations is signalling that the current system is not working successfully, so now is the time to start doing things differently." **M**

THE INITIATIVE

A new political party that allows Danes to choose its position on policies using an online platform. For more information, visit:

initiativet.net

www.cis.dk



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Anti immigration and pro-welfare – a shaky alliance forms across the middle

The Social Democrats remain the largest party in the polls, in large part due to its support of the government's strict immigration policies. But while this might make the party popular among voters, it is increasingly becoming alienated from the rest of the parties on the left wing

AT THE DANISH PEOPLE'S Party's (DF) annual conference in September, leader Kristian Thulesen Dahl took to the stage to speak to the assembled grassroots delegates in Herning, Jutland.

He used the moment to send a message to the Social Democrats (Socialdemokratiet), who were holding their conference over the same weekend, 120 kilometres to the north in Aalborg.

"I hope Socialdemokratiet's members back up the party leadership in their change of policy on immigration and thereby also their cooperation with us," Dahl told the assembled delegates.

Socialdemokratiet members were poised to vote on a new manifesto that would cement the party's tougher line on immigration. The manifesto passed, and now states:

"Denmark takes many asylum seekers, and we will continue to give asylum to many people fleeing hardship and conflicts in the future. However, the current asylum system is being abused by human traffickers, who are helping migrants come to Europe and Denmark that have no need for protection as refugees and no claim of asylum. We would prefer that refugees were distributed according to principles of solidarity and justice through a UN quota system."

WARMING RELATIONSHIP NO GUARANTEE

Socialdemokratiet's shift to the right on immigration has taken place since Mette Frederiksen took over leadership following Helle Thorning-Schmidt's general election loss in 2015. While in opposition, the party has supported all of the right-wing government's immigration restrictions, including the decision to stop resettling 500 refugees a year under a UN programme – a commitment Denmark has fulfilled since 1989.

Mette Frederiksen has worked deliberately to demonstrate to voters that she has no intention of weakening the current government's immigration policies.

**HANS MORTENSEN,
WEEKENDAVISEN**

Joshua Hollingdale



Mette Frederiksen, leader of the Social Democrats (Socialdemokratiet).

Of all the parties on the right wing, Socialdemokratiet has the most common ground with DF, which provides the parliamentary majority for the minority right-wing government comprised of the Liberal Party (Venstre), the Conservative People's Party (Konservative) and the Liberal Alliance (LA). It's a function that DF also performed between 2001 and 2010.

Though bitter enemies in the early 2000s, DF and Socialdemokratiet are now cooperating on immigration with the minority government. But they have also united in defence of welfare and blocked the minority right-wing government from lowering income taxes for the wealthy and increasing the pension age.

"Our cooperation with the Danish People's Party is still new," Frederiksen told the Socialdemokratiet conference. "But the results have been convincing. We have forced the government to commit to policies that are not their own. We have secured a better social profile in Denmark. I

see great opportunities in working closely together."

But while the relationship has warmed, it's unlikely that DF will swap sides to join a left-wing government following the next election, argues liberal political commentator Jarl Cordua from Radio24Syv.

"Socialdemokratiet and DF can work together to block elements of the government's ambitions. If you think that's political cooperation, fine. But in my opinion, political cooperation is making real political decisions, and prioritising and co-signing legislation. I cannot see that happening in a broader context. They are a non-coalition," he says.

"S and DF might sit at the negotiating table together, but [Prime Minister and Venstre MP] Lars Løkke Rasmussen has sat at the head of the table on all those occasions."

Cordua argues that DF is better off staying where it is – a support party working to soften the liberal financial policies and harden the

immigration policies of a government led by Venstre.

"At the moment, DF is moving towards the left on financial issues, coming in from the right. That role works very well for them as support party for a liberal government – a sort of stand-in for the Social Democrats. But they are a protest party and have never been truly tested as a party that takes responsibility," he says, downplaying the possibility that DF would ever join a government on the left or right wing.

HAVING CAKE AND EATING IT

Socialdemokratiet's support of immigration restrictions limits the number of voters that the party loses to DF, but it could also upset its chances of forming an effective left-wing government.

For example, at the conference, Frederiksen said she looked forward to working with the centrist Social Liberal Party (Radikale) on environmental issues.

"A continued green transition. A fierce fight to secure a better future for our children. New commitments



News Oresund

Kristian Thulesen Dahl, leader of the Danish People's Party (DF).

to education. We are looking forward to achieving those goals with Radikale. A continued strict immigration policy. Better conditions for the elderly. A strong effort to combat social dumping. We are looking forward to achieving those goals with the Danish People's Party," she said from the stage in Aalborg.

But given that the Radikale are among the most internationalist and pro-immigration parties in parliament, Cordua argues that Frederiksen will have a hard time keeping both parties happy.

"If what Mette Frederiksen proposes here is going to work, then we are working from a presumption that the Radikale are willing to accept S working with DF to keep the immigration policy strict and are happy to have no influence in that area. Why would the Radikale ever go along with that?" he asks.

Hans Mortensen, writing in *Weekendavisen*, also identifies this conflict that Frederiksen faces by working so closely together with DF.

"The danger is that it pulls Socialdemokratiet even further away from the parties that are meant to make Mette

Frederiksen prime minister," he writes, adding that Socialdemokratiet and Radikale have never been more polarised.

"The invisible boundary is immigration. Mette Frederiksen has worked deliberately to demonstrate to voters that she has no intention of weakening the current government's immigration policies. Research by the party shows this has worked. But the same studies show that there is still doubt over whether she will be able to stand firm if she forms a government with the votes of the [left wing parties in parliament]."

While many commentators rule out a possible Socialdemokratiet - Danish People's Party coalition government, one should never rule out the unexpected in Danish politics. Former DF leader Pia Kjaersgaard, now Speaker of the Parliament, told *Fyens.dk* that DF could in the future support a Social Democratic prime minister.

"At some point, when it makes sense, it is plausible that Dansk Folkeparti could point to a Social Democratic prime minister. Or be PM ourselves. Kristian (Thulesen Dahl. red.) doesn't want me to say that, but I will anyway." ■

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VISIT
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Niko Grünfeld, mayoral candidate for The Alternative, cycling through the common Amager Fælled. He wants the entire common to be protected from new building developments.

Pristine land on Amager Fælled might be saved

Lord Mayor Frank Jensen has agreed to find an alternate site for a housing development on Amager Fælled, after a majority in City Hall withdrew their support. But activists are concerned he may just change his mind after the election

ACTIVISTS say it's a pristine piece of nature. A plot of land on the outskirts of Copenhagen that was a beach for 5,000 years and has never been farmed, so its soil remains rich with microorganisms.

Around 60 years ago, as the city began to reclaim land from the sea, the beach became a corner of a common known as Amager Fælled. You can't tell just by looking at it, but compared to the rest

of the landfilled common, it's especially rich in wildlife, according to a report commissioned by the municipality in 2014.

But the city didn't know this in 1992, when authorities decided that it would be the perfect location for a future housing development. The government passed a law setting aside the plot, which accounts for six percent of Amager Fælled, and protecting the remaining land.

Peter Stanners

The plans remained dormant until last year, when the city finally approved a proposal for the plot – a state-of-the-art housing complex with 2,500 homes that would blend seamlessly into the wild landscape.

Selling the plot would raise 1.8 billion kroner for landowner By & Havn, a company owned by the state and municipality. The company's 20 billion kroner of debt was used to finance the Metro and will

be recouped by selling empty plots of land to developers.

LORD MAYOR CLIMBS DOWN

But at what cost to biodiversity? As the master plan for the land started to take shape last year, activists began to organise and launched a media offensive against Lord Mayor Frank Jensen. A petition to save the land has amassed almost 50,000 signatures.

Jensen, of the Social Democrats (Socialdemokratiet), stood firm against the initial campaign. The building would go ahead, he declared, but he promised it would be the last development to eat into the common.

Other politicians in City Hall, however, succumbed to the pressure, and one by one they withdrew their support for the development. When the right-wing Liberal Party (Venstre) and Conservative People's Party (Konservativer) proposed moving the development to a different part of the common, Jensen conceded that there was no longer enough political support to proceed.

"When I realised that there was no longer a majority to build here, I had to do something. Someone – that was me – had to draw a line in the sand and say we are dropping plan A and are instead going to build on the plot that Venstre and Konservativer have identified," Jensen told Politiken newspaper.

Speaking later to Berlingske, he indicated that the old beach was safe.

"I cannot imagine either in the current or post-election City Hall that there will be a majority in favour of returning to the area we know as the old beach. That chapter is closed because Venstre abandoned the majority."

MOVE THE SITE OR PROTECT IT ALL?

The alternative site – currently a landfilled camping ground – lies slightly to the west, and was first proposed as an alternative in November 2016 by Jakob Næsager, mayoral candidate for Konservativer. Moving the site to a different location would mean that the municipality would still be honouring the 1992 law to build on six percent of the common.

"We don't want to stand in the way of moving the construction over to the old landfill if it is determined to be a more optimal site," Næsager told Berlingske.

Cecilie Lonning Skovgaard, mayoral candidate for Venstre, says her party supports an investigation into the feasibility of moving the building site.

"That does not mean we are abandoning the original agreement, or that we have even agreed to the alternative placement."

If the camping site is not deemed to be a feasible alternative, both parties say they support leaving the development at its current location.

The left wing is in less agreement as to how to proceed. With the ex-

ception of Frank Jensen's Socialdemokratiet, all parties on the left wing oppose the development at its current location and have agreed to support an investigation to find a suitable alternative site.

The Alternative (Alternativet), however, wants a total moratorium on building on the common.

"We want to save all of Amager Fælled," says Niko Grünfeld, mayoral candidate for Alternativet, adding that there are other plots of land around the city that could be used instead.

"There is the risk that if we start building on the common, we will just continue to slice pieces off of it. And the suggestion that there is nowhere else in the city where we can build is simply not true."

But while the Social Liberal Party (Radikale) agrees with Grünfeld in principle, it has stated that it is willing to compromise and move the building site to the camping ground if it means saving the old beach.

DEVELOPMENT STILL POSSIBLE

The problem is that parties on the right wing – concerned about having to foot the bill for a possible hole in the finances of either the municipality or By & Havn – are insisting that the city honour its commitment to build on Amager Fælled, if not at the current location. If the left-wing parties also block a development on the camping ground in an effort to completely protect the common, it is likely that Socialdemokratiet and the right-wing parties will simply proceed with building on the old beach.

"I think the parties risk shooting themselves in the foot by refusing to consider moving the building site to the old landfill," Tommy Petersen, chairman for the Radikale in Copenhagen Municipality, told Berlingske.

"If they don't accept a compromise, they may be responsible for building going ahead on the old beach."

In an editorial, Berlingske newspaper laid out why it was important that the promised development proceeds on the common.

"It doesn't matter if the development is located on the specific and highly-debated plot of land in Copenhagen. What is most important is finding a suitable alternative. Otherwise, two billion kroner will be lost along with the credibility of Copenhagen's politicians, which would be enormously damaging for the city's future development." M

I cannot imagine either in the current or post-election City Hall that there will be a majority in favour of returning to the area we know as the old beach.

LORD MAYOR
FRANK JENSEN



By & Havn

Above: Amager Fælled is a common occupying the north end of a strip of green land on west Amager. It is bordered to the south by a road and a golf course, and hemmed in to the east by the Metro and Ørestaden. The red plot of land was set aside for redevelopment since 1992, but the city will now investigate whether it is possible to build on the blue plot instead, on the common's southern edge. Activists argue that there is a major difference in natural value between the two plots of land. While the blue site is landfill, the original site used to be beach that had never been cultivated. As a result, the soil held a unique and rich mix of wildlife and microorganisms.

Below: A map of west Amager from 1932 with the plot of land first set aside for redevelopment superimposed over. It shows how much land has been reclaimed over the past 85 years.



Geodatastyrelsen

A man with short blonde hair, wearing a dark jacket over a patterned shirt and dark jeans, stands in a sun-dappled forest. He is looking off to the side. The background is filled with dense green foliage and trees.

Copenhagen is selling out on its **social** and **environmental** values

Copenhagen should go 'carbon negative', reduce the work week to 30 hours, and create housing that serves the needs of the city's residents instead of enriching developers. Niko Grünfeld, mayoral candidate for The Alternative, explains his vision for the city ahead of the party's first-ever municipal elections



months before the municipal election this November, one issue was dominating the news: the future of a small plot of land on the south-east corner of the common known as Amager Fælled. For more than 25 years, it has been slated for development. But now, many of the city's residents and politicians want to save it. They argue it is unique – because it has remained uncultivated for over 5,000 years, it hosts rare amphibians and plants that live nowhere else, not even elsewhere on the common.

Lord Mayor Frank Jensen of the ruling Social Democrats (Socialdemokratiet) was alone on the left wing in his support for the development. He argued that Copenhagen needed the 2,500-unit sustainable housing project – a

quarter of which would be earmarked for low-income workers.

But in September, after several right-wing parties joined the chorus, he backed down and proposed moving the development to a different plot of land.

Niko Grünfeld ought to be ecstatic. He's the mayoral candidate for The Alternative (Alternativet), a green party first elected to Parliament in 2015 that champions sustainable development, support for entrepreneurs, and rethinking the prevailing political culture.

A week before Jensen climbed down, I visited Grünfeld at Christiansborg, the Danish Parliament building, for an interview about the party's platform and vision for the city.

"We want to rescue Amager Fælled and build somewhere else," he said at the time.

"So if we have a green majority after November 21, then that will be one of the first things we will change. For a city trying to be one of the greenest and most sustainable cities in the world, it would be suicide to destroy that land."

I called him after Jensen's announcement, expecting him to sound thrilled. But he's cautious. For while Jensen has suggested moving the development to a spot on Amager Fælled where a camping ground is now located, that land is protected under current national legislation. If the government doesn't agree to change the law, there is nothing to stop Jensen from proceeding with the original development plan after the election.

"We want to save all of Amager Fælled from development. There are plenty of other places around Copenhagen where we can build the new homes that the city needs. It's not true that we have to build on Amager Fælled."

GREENEST OF THE GREEN

While Jensen might have been trying to avert an immediate political crisis, the arrival of Alternativet could signal a major 'green shift' at Copenhagen City Hall. A poll by Gallup in June suggested that Alternativet would secure ten percent of the vote in Copenhagen municipality.

These voters are likely to be cannibalised from the other left-wing parties that dominate the municipal government – 39 of the 55 seats in City Hall belong to parties in the left-wing 'red bloc'. But Grünfeld argues that there are some key differences between Alternativet and its political allies, not least with respect to how much more seriously they take issues such as climate change and sustainability.

"The Alternative will hopefully create an alliance for a faster renewable transition. The longer we wait, the more expensive climate

We need green companies, green education, and a green public sector. Parties on the left such as the Red-Green Alliance don't focus on businesses and the private sector because they perceive them as the bad guys – we see them as part of the solution.

Words:
Peter Stanners

Photos:
Rasmus Degnbol

change will be. The Metro, for example, is already looking into how to tackle the impact of sea level rise on metro stations, because it's a serious problem if we want to expand the system. Every day that we push the transition into the future, it ends up costing us," he explains.

"Everyone needs to be part of the solution – companies, entrepreneurs, institutions, NGOs, the education sector and the public sector. We need everyone to move in the same direction. We need green companies, green education, and a green public sector. Parties on the left such as the Red-Green Alliance [Enhedslisten] don't focus on businesses and the private sector because they perceive them as the bad guys – we see them as part of the solution."

For a start, Copenhagen Municipality could make an enormous impact by being more critical about how it spends its 45 billion kroner annual budget, argues Grünfeld.

"We want to make it more attractive to be a green entrepreneur and create green and sustainable companies. So when it comes to catering, for example, organic and local food will be prioritised. And when we renovate schools, we can use sustainable entrepreneurs and craftsmen," says Grünfeld, acknowledging that this approach may prove more costly.

"We want the municipality to stimulate a market. It might be expensive in the short term, but it will help bring about greater sustainability. So instead of renovating ten schools next year, we might only afford eight. But we need that compromise in order to make that transition. We want to contribute so that entrepreneurs can see that there is a market. It's very difficult to compete with conventional companies on price."

ALMOST AN MP

Grünfeld is an archetypical big-city Dane, wearing sneakers and jeans, and a dark blazer over a t-shirt that advocates public transport and cycling over car use. On his lapel is a colourful circular pin representing the UN's 17 Sustainable Development Goals for 2030 on which his party has based its election manifesto. For example, the global goal of abolishing poverty is reflected in five concrete goals to tackle homelessness in Copenhagen.

It's not surprising that the party chose to present its ambitions for the city in this way. Alternativet was created out of a sense of frustration that modern politics wasn't capable of addressing the most important challenges facing the world, notably climate change.

Its leader, Uffe Elbæk, launched the party in 2013 after resigning as Culture Minister and leaving the Social Liberal Party following



accusations of nepotism. While the state auditor cleared him, he resented the media and political pressure surrounding the case. In his opinion, it epitomised a political culture that put personal scandal above policy.

Grünfeld was invited to join a small team in developing the party, having taught leadership and coaching at Elbæk's school for entrepreneurs, the Kaos Pilots, in Aarhus. The party's globalist vision, focus on sustainability, and grassroots organisation were ridiculed from the start – political 'laboratories' and creative workshops were no way to create a stable political party, its detractors suggested.

Voters clearly disagreed, and Alternativet easily secured the 21,000 signatures needed to stand in the 2015 election, in which it won nine of Parliament's 179 seats.

But it was a bittersweet night for Grünfeld. Despite being the party's third-most popular candidate, he missed out on a seat in parliament. The problem was that he was running in the same electoral district as fellow party member Josefine Fock. Alternativet was only granted one seat in the district, and because Fock secured more personal votes than Grünfeld, the seat went to her.

"For 24 hours I felt hugely disappointed," he said. "If I had been the primary candidate in some of the other areas, I would have been elected. It was a political mistake that we were both sent out there."

BEYOND PROFIT

And yet, despite the political setback, Grünfeld may be the party's first representative to wield real power. In Parliament, Alternativet is in opposition, but in Copenhagen City Hall, the party is within reach of securing enough support to earn control of one of the city's seven administrations. Each has its own mayor, with the leader of the Economy Administration carrying the title of Lord Mayor.

As the party's leading candidate, Grünfeld could become one of these mayors. But he downplays the suggestion, arguing that his party will focus its attention on making the city as green and sustainable as possible.

And he admits that under Frank Jensen's leadership since 2010, the city has demonstrated global leadership. In 2012, Copenhagen set a target of becoming the world's first climate-neutral city by 2025. The same year, the city presented plans to tackle heavy rainfall and prevent flooding – an issue that is likely to grow with a changing climate. Public transport and cycling have also been prioritised to reduce car use in the city centre.

Still, Grünfeld argues, the Amager Fælled development demonstrates that when it comes to developing the city, the administration has prioritised profitability over sustainability. This is especially the case for By & Havn, the company that is tasked with redeveloping Copenhagen, and which was established with around 20 billion kroner of debt to finance the construction of the city's Metro.

This debt is to be recouped by selling undeveloped land in Copenhagen to developers, such as the plot on Amager Fælled, which is expected to raise around 1.8 billion kroner. It would be a major blow to By & Havn's finances if the development doesn't proceed, but Grünfeld argues that the situation is not as dire as it is being made to seem.

"It's a contradiction that we say we are a green city, but on the other hand we prioritise building more houses over protecting wild land such as Amager Fælled," Grünfeld argues.

"We are selling out our social and environmental values in order to ensure that developers profit. We need to slow down and find a new way to develop the city. Sure, we need to take responsibility for the agreements that have been made, but when we are in power, we are going to take a close look at the coming

It's a contradiction that we say we are a green city, but on the other hand we prioritise building more houses over protecting wild land such as Amager Fælled.

NIKO GRÜNFELD

Born in Svendborg in 1975, and moved to Aarhus age 20 to study economics, leadership and organisational theory. Worked in PR and consulting for football team AGF before joining the entrepreneurial education, the Chaos Pilots. This is where he met The Alternative's co-founder and party leader Uffe Elbæk. He now lives in Valby, Copenhagen, with his wife and three children, and runs a consultancy What is Pink?

Some of the party's key policy platforms in November's municipal election include:

- Protecting the common Amager Fælled from any future housing developments.
- Starting a transition to a 30-hour work week.
- Changing the municipality's procurement rules to favour green and sustainable businesses.
- Legalising the sale of cannabis through state-owned dispensaries.

projects in the city and ask what their long-term impact on sustainability will be. Do we risk creating even more anti-social areas of the city that are dead?"

Developments like the one on Amager Fælled are designed to do more than raise money for By & Havn – they are also supposed to provide housing for the city's growing population. Copenhagen receives 10,000 new residents a year.

Grünfeld argues that since many of these new residents are actually children rather than immigrants from abroad or other parts of Denmark, there isn't actually a need to build new large and expensive apartments. On August 1, when Bohr's Tower opened in the new Carlsberg district, 53 of the 88 apartments remained unsold, according to TV2 Lorry, with the most expensive priced at 16 million kroner.

But the task of getting developers to focus on creating housing that improves the social and environmental fabric of the city is hampered by local and national building regulations, he contends. For example, new housing must be accompanied by a minimum amount of parking for cars. This needlessly occupies space that could be set aside for nature or rec-



reation in a future city where residents increasingly share cars and use bicycles and public transport to get around.

Other regulations that could be revisited are those that dictate the minimum size of new homes. Currently, the average size of an apartment in a new building must be 95 square metres. But Grünfeld argues that this regulation results in apartments that are often far too large for new buyers and young people, who would be happy with a 20-square-metre room if they could also share facilities such as a kitchen, for example.

"We should experiment and prototype new types of housing that have smaller private spaces and larger common spaces. And we shouldn't leave it up to developers to decide what type of housing is available on the market. We could perhaps create a publicly-owned housing developer that builds according to the needs of the city."

RAISING THE AMBITION

This is just one example of the type of experimentation the party advocates. Another is their support for a basic income – a salary that all residents receive, regardless of wheth-

er they are in work or not – and a 14-year transition to a 30-hour work week.

"We want to create a better balance between life and work, and improve our standard of living, so people are less stressed and can spend more time with their families and share the jobs that are available in the future. There are many studies showing that jobs are going to disappear with the growth of technology," says Grünfeld.

There is also a lot of work to be done in making Copenhagen green and climate-friendly. The current ambition is to become carbon-neutral by 2025, though Alternativet wants an even more ambitious target of going carbon-negative – emitting less carbon than the city absorbs. Both targets hang in the balance after a miscalculation was discovered in the city's carbon budget this August, which means the city will have to cut emissions from traffic by a further 70 percent.

"If the city really wants to go carbon-neutral by 2025, we need to make some dramatic changes in transport, food and energy. For example, Copenhagen's busses will be running on electricity in 2031. But that's not ambitious from my point of view. People are dying from

We shouldn't leave it up to developers to decide what type of housing is available on the market. We could perhaps create a publicly-owned housing developer that builds according to the needs of the city.

air pollution, and there are traffic jams every day in the city, but [Frank Jensen] refuses to consider road pricing," says Grünfeld.

"We are also not addressing the impact that the 75,000 meals the municipality serves every day in kindergartens, schools and institutions have on the environment. Yes, there's a lot of places where the city is going in the right direction. But to be honest, we could be more progressive and ambitious, and turn up the heat to make the transition faster."

LORD MAYOR UP FOR GRABS

Many of Alternativet's views on climate and the environment are shared on the left wing. But on the right wing, another narrative can be found, one where families who rely on cars are forced out of the city by traffic and parking regulations, and businesses struggle with high taxes and bureaucracy.

Grünfeld doesn't take this view seriously.

"The right wing are living in the past in their view on how to develop the city. They think private transportation will remain important in the future, and they want to build tunnels and more roads, and I don't believe that. I believe the future has more public transport and cycling, more metro and buses. It's easier and faster. Last year was the first year that more people cycled to work than drove. Their priorities are individualistic, that we should have cars and parking. We believe in collective values and in making the city environmentally sustainable, with clean air and mobility. These aren't values that should be limited to green parties. They should be universal, because climate change is universal," says Grünfeld.

While it is almost certain that Copenhagen's next Lord Mayor will not be drawn from a right-wing party, it's also not certain that Frank Jensen will remain in the job. Socialdemokratiet used to be the largest party on the left wing, but are now polling only slightly above the far-left Enhedslisten. Together with Alternativet, the Social Liberal Party (Radikale) and the Socialist People's Party (SF), they could choose to form a green left-wing majority without the Socialdemokratiet bringing that party's century of rule to a close.

"Socialdemokratiet have been in power for a hundred years, and that's good in a way, because it brings professionalism and continuity," says Grünfeld, who has not ruled out supporting Enhedslisten for the Lord Mayor position.

"But there are challenges, and you can question how progressive they are. Is it a good thing for democracy that one party has sat so heavily in power for so long?" **M**



CAPTURED

Peter Stanners

Soldiers guard the synagogue

It's a sight you might have seen while traveling in Europe. But it's a first for Denmark – armed military in the streets. Par-

liament has decided to use 160 soldiers to man the border and guard Jewish institutions in Denmark in order to free up police resources.

Here, two soldiers are on patrol outside the synagogue in central Copen-

hagen, on the first day of their deployment. Plain-clothes police have guarded the synagogue since February 2015, when Omar el-Hussain murdered a volunteer guard, Dan Uzan, here on Krydstalgade. **M**





**SIDSELE DAHLAGER, 22,
student**

At first, we thought there was only one soldier, so we thought he must get super bored, because it seems a bit meaningless that they have to stand there like that. I feel that there are other ways to protect a synagogue then to let a couple of guys from the military stand there with huge AK-47s. I don't think it creates that much security, I honestly think it's a bit uncomfortable. I think it's a strong message to send that we need the military to protect us.



HANS JOHANSSON, 87, retired

Well, it's something new, because before it was just the police. That was somehow more anonymous, but now it's overwhelming and looks violent. But the soldiers look very friendly. We have to guard those who are threatened, though. We saw it back in 1933, so we have to learn from that.



PETER TORM, 21, student

I don't have any problem with them being there. I went by and thought that it looked a bit strange, and thought that it perhaps was because of some sort of threat. It's almost like there's a state of emergency, with all the police cars and the soldiers with machine guns.

I don't feel uncomfortable with the military being there, but I don't feel unsafe in Denmark, so it's different.

"We have to guard those who are threatened"

Two soldiers now guard the synagogue in central Copenhagen, having taken over the duties previously carried out by plain-clothes police. We hit the streets to find out what the city's residents think of the military patrolling the streets of Copenhagen.



**CLAUS OLSEN, 53,
pedagogue**

I came by randomly and I just saw them standing there. I think it's sad that we live in a society where that's necessary. It's also sad that the police were there to begin with, but now with the military it just looks a bit more overwhelming. There are soldiers in front of the building and the road is blocked.

But on the other hand, I think it's good that the police get more resources for other things. I live in Nørrebro, by the Red Square where all the shooting is taking place, so that's scary too.



**KAROLINE AMALIE SEVERINSEN, 23,
student**

Somehow it's better that they are visible like this. There used to be just one police car and then some dude who would talk into the collar of his jacket. And you would know that he's an undercover cop. This way it's more transparent. If this makes people more comfortable, then I'm fine with that. I've been staring at the soldiers for the past 15 minutes and I think it's super comforting that they're actually talking to the passersby. More of that please!



**MALOU (right), 24, student
DAVID 32, diving instructor**

MALOU: Well, we're both Jewish and we know that there's usually police and the congregation's own guards, but I've never seen the military like this before. It's necessary, but it's also a bit frightening. In a way, it's overwhelming. It looks different when a soldier is walking around then when it's a police officer. But as long as they're looking after us, it's all right.

DAVID: It's a good thing. Thanks brother (says to a soldier passing by). We had a very good friend who was shot here, you know? So there's a need for it, unfortunately. But it's crazy that Denmark makes its military available.



**ANDERS RAMBØL, 21,
student**

I liked it better when it was the police. But I don't know if having the soldiers there creates insecurity. I think it's good that we show, from the government's side, that we want to protect minorities here in Denmark.

Words: Hana Hasanbegovic

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Vestas

Danish wind giant Vestas is among the Danish companies to participate in the new green growth partnership, P4G. The company has installed wind energy around the world, including Lake Turkana in Kenya, above.

Denmark's global climate leadership masks weakened national ambitions

The launch of the P4G initiative at the UN last month reasserts Denmark's international leadership in fighting climate change and championing sustainability. But at home, Denmark's climate ambitions are starting to falter

ON SEPTEMBER 22, US President Donald Trump threatened to annihilate North Korea in a speech at the UN General Assembly. While a menace, North Korea isn't the greatest risk to humanity – that title can comfortably be taken by climate change. Trump remains unconvinced, however, and has already pulled the US out of the Paris Agreement to limit global warming to 1.5 degrees Celsius.

Thankfully, he and the Syrian government are alone in their position on climate change. And elsewhere in the UN headquarters, on the same day as Trump's bombastic speech, a new initiative

Peter Stanners

was launched to combat climate change – Partnering for Green Growth and the Global Goals 2030 (P4G).

The goal of the initiative is to create partnerships between governments, cities, businesses and the financial sector to drive green growth. So far, members include Denmark, Chile, Ethiopia, Kenya, Korea, Mexico and Vietnam.

"The P4G will focus on key economic systems that, if transformed, will drive green, inclusive and equitable growth," the organisation states. "Key economic systems have been identified where opportunities and impacts are

greatest such as land-use/agriculture, energy, cities, manufacturing, water and circular economy. Commitments to develop market conditions combined with innovation and new business models will drive the green transition and have a positive impact on the environment."

TAKING THE LEAD

P4G hopes to address the commitments made in the 2015 Paris climate agreement to limit warming to 1.5 degrees Celsius, as well as the UN's 17 Sustainable Development Goals for 2030. These global goals include ambitions to eradicate poverty and hunger, to reduce inequal-

ity and increase gender equality, as well as to tackle climate change and make cities more sustainable.

Speaking to Berlingske newspaper after the announcement, Danish Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen argued that there was a need to show leadership following the election of climate-sceptic Trump.

"Trump is missing out on American leadership, for this is also in the interest of the US, since the air we breathe knows no border limits – like climate change at large," said Rasmussen.

"And we see a long list of states – like California and Texas – want-

ing to do something different on the climate issue."

Despite Trump's declared intention to exit the Paris agreement, a number of US cities have stated their continued commitment to tackling climate change. New York, San Francisco and Houston are all members of the global C40 network of megacities that are collaborating to tackle climate change and that support P4G. Other cities in the network include Nairobi, Rio de Janeiro and Tokyo.

Over the coming months, partner countries and cities will select a number of specific challenges that they want to address. P4G will then facilitate collaborations with businesses or other stakeholders that can help address those challenges.

A number of big Danish businesses have announced their support, including wind energy giant Vestas and insulation manufacturer Rockwool. They are joined by PensionDanmark, which controls assets worth 224 billion kroner.

"We see a great opportunity for us and for Danish businesses in addressing climate change and the Global Goals," PensionDanmark CEO Torben Möger Pedersen told Information newspaper.

"Danish businesses are already strong competitors in areas where solutions are in demand, while we as investors can offer financing for projects around the world. That is the economic dimension. But we and other participating Danish businesses also feel a duty to make a contribution toward meeting the goals."

Danish pump manufacturer Grundfos also supports the initiative, and hopes to help countries that face issues with clean water and sanitation.

"We know investments in water infrastructure need to triple to

reach the universal goals by 2030," Grundfos Group President Mads Nipper stated in a press release. "We also know that it is not very likely to happen, so we need to think differently. We must find new, sustainable business models to close the investment gap between investors on one side and water utilities in water-stressed developing countries on the other."

DEVIL IS IN THE DETAIL

P4G isn't the first international organisation to be established to tackle climate change through sustainable and green economic development. In 2011, the Danish government launched the Global Green Growth Forum (3GF), which also brought together national governments – including South Korea and Mexico – and industry to promote green growth.

But while 3GF was a Danish-led initiative, P4G benefits from being co-owned by its different partners, argues Jarl Krausing, international director at Danish green think tank Concito.

"This design carries a lot more legitimacy, and offers reason to believe that when partner countries sign up, they commit themselves, which means you can put pressure on them to prove they are committed," Krausing explains.

Partnerships like these are vital if the Paris Agreement and the Global Goals are going to be reached.

"You need large innovative partnerships that bring together the coalition of the committed, in order to leverage financing and disseminate the necessary technology and solutions," Krausing says.

The Danish government has taken the lead on the financing for P4G, donating 25 million kroner a year to incubate and scale

the different partnerships that are formed. Early next year, they will also establish a Sustainable Development Goals Fund that is expected to raise around 30 billion kroner in investment capital.

"What we need are structures and platforms that turn ideas and efforts into real activities. There are so many great ideas, but they often fail to take off because they lack the seed financing to lure the right partners. But the devil is in the detail. Can they now make sure that institutional investors, pension funds and the financial sector are sitting at the table and working in partnership so that investment-grade partnerships and projects result? Can they convince the financial sector that this is of sufficient quality?"

SCALED-BACK AMBITIONS

While co-owned, Denmark's leadership on P4G cements Denmark's reputation as a global leader in sustainable development. However, this reputation masks the fact that the right-wing Danish government has quietly weakened Denmark's own climate ambitions in recent years.

This apparent hypocrisy was not lost on the far left Red-Green Alliance (Enhedslisten). On Facebook, climate spokesperson MP Maria Gjerding pointed out that Rasmussen's government lowered Denmark's ambition for reducing CO2 emissions by 2020 from 40 percent to 37 percent, increased CO2 emissions in agriculture, introduced cuts to rail operator DSB, and struck a deal that will result in increased oil and gas production in the North Sea.

"It's great to bring together countries and American cities against Trump's catastrophic direction. But the hypocrisy is obvious," Gjerding wrote.

There is a great disparity between what the government is trying to do in the world and its unsatisfactory effort and level of ambition here at home.

**JARL KRAUSING,
INTERNATIONAL
DIRECTOR AT
CONCITO**

"All in all, the Løkke government has been black as coal without a hint of ambition or responsibility for the climate. The consequence will be that Denmark's CO2 will rise again after many years of reductions."

KRAUSING AGREES.

"The government is good at telling others internationally what to do, and supporting others in what to do, while taking the foot off the pedal at home. That's a huge paradox. Ultimately, at Concito we think P4G is a great initiative on a global platform. But we want a similar effort at home – a coalition of Danish leaders that can build a green transition. There is no indication that this will happen," says Krausing, pointing out that the government's decision to lower car registration taxes missed an opportunity to incentivise electric cars.

"What has served us well in Denmark is taking an early-mover position, where we decided to subsidise the development of new tech for the future. We did that for 30 years and we are now in a position to reap all the fruits – and we are. So it's a mystery to many people that the government wouldn't recognise that this is an opportunity that we can build on further – to build the next generation of technologies. There is a great disparity between what the government is trying to do in the world and its unsatisfactory effort and level of ambition here at home." **M**

P4G

Partnering for Green Growth and the Global Goals 2030 (P4G) was launched in September by Denmark, Chile, Ethiopia, Kenya, the Republic of Korea, Vietnam and Mexico.

The P4G will facilitate cross-sector public-private partnerships to stimulate green growth and address the commitments made in the Paris Climate Agreement and the UN's 17 Sustainable Development Goals.

P4G will publish a "State of Art of Green Growth" report coinciding with biennial P4G Summits.

A 30 billion kroner Sustainable Development Goals Fund will be launched next year to finance projects. The Danish government will donate 25 million kroner a year to facilitate the partnerships.



Danish PM Lars Løkke Rasmussen, sixth from right, at the launch of P4G in New York.

COPENHAGEN: is the future **taller, denser, and darker?**

As house and apartment prices skyrocket, housing minister Ole Birk Olesen proposes slashing regulations to ensure a more varied and affordable housing market. But weakening requirements placed on developers could make Danish cities antisocial, segregated and unattractive

F

rom Nordhavn to Sydhavn, shiny new apartment buildings are shooting up around the city to accommodate the 10,000 new arrivals Copenhagen must absorb every year.

But they're not being built fast enough, and competition in the city's housing market remains fierce. According to Finance Denmark, apartments cost 70 percent more than in 2010, while houses are 45 percent more expensive. Renting an apartment is also 50 percent more expensive than in 2010, according to Politiken newspaper.

The problem might be that demand isn't being met because the wrong types of homes are being built. So argues Minister of Transport, Building and Housing Ole Birk Olesen, who believes that a bonfire of regulations will help make Copenhagen's housing market more affordable.

"The only thing that will reduce housing prices in Copenhagen and other large Danish towns is a larger and more varied supply of housing," Olesen stated in an op-ed in Berlingske last month.

He may have a point. According to Statistics Denmark, the market for larger and more expensive apartments has grown four times faster than small apartments. Compared to the market in 2010, there are 12 percent more apartments sized 100 square meters and over, and only three percent more that are under 100 square meters.

Olesen blames municipal housing regulations that require the

average size of apartments in new housing developments to be at least 95 square meters.

"The current conditions for housing in Copenhagen are far too restrictive. The regulation that an average home be 95 square meters, tight restrictions on how tall a block of flats can be, and a ban on building flats near old villa areas, all contribute to limiting the number of new homes as well as making them too similar and too expensive."

COPENHAGEN, TEXAS

Olesen has now asked his ministry to investigate the structural barriers and incentives that impede the development of a varied hous-

ing market in order to help inform better housing policies across the country.

His preference is less, not more, regulation, and he points to cities such as Houston, Texas as an example of how a deregulated housing market can supply enough and affordable homes.

"It's an international city with very liberal rules about building new and taller. It's attracting people from across the USA because there is strong business and cultural development, but without very high housing prices," he told Politiken newspaper.

He stresses that he doesn't want 50-floor skyscrapers in the middle of residential zones. Rather, apart-

ment buildings should be permitted to rise a few stories higher, and closer to other, less dense forms of housing.

Professor Gertrud Jørgensen, from the Department of Landscape Architecture and Planning at the University of Copenhagen, agrees that deregulating the housing market might provide smaller and cheaper homes, but they would also likely be of lower quality.

"This might be tempting in the short run, but in the long run, it undermines the quality of the city as a living space for families who already have trouble finding affordable homes. There is also the significant risk that deregulation would be used by speculative developers



A proposed housing complex for students in Nordhavn, designed by Henning Larsen Architects for Nordic Real Estate Partners. The plot of land is approved for 100 fully furnished apartments, but the design proposes housing 277 students in smaller rooms but with shared common space. The proposal was rejected by Copenhagen Municipality, but Minister of Transport, Building and Housing Ole Birk Olesen thinks ideas like these can help provide much needed affordable housing.

Peter Stanners

to build small, low-quality dwellings and use the intense pressure on the housing market in Copenhagen to get high prices for them anyway. There is already quite a large share of relatively small dwellings in Copenhagen, and they go for very high prices," says Jørgensen.

And while Houston might have affordable housing, it has come at a high price, she argues.

"Houston is – on a global scale – an exemplary case of how not to build a city. The density is extremely low, which means that the city and its citizens mainly depend on cars for transportation. It is difficult to sustain services at close proximity to homes, and public transit is not feasible due to the low number of people in the vicinity of stations. While this might be a tempting model for Olesen, it would definitely ruin Greater Copenhagen as a green and liveable city region. Apart from environmental concerns, it would create chaos on the roads and long travel times for the population – even longer than today. Houston might have cheap housing, but that comes at the cost of other qualities that a modern city wants in order to stay competitive in the long run."

RIGHT DIAGNOSIS, WRONG CURE

An expensive housing market can have grave consequences for the social fabric of cities. In London and Paris, homes in the city have become unaffordable for average workers with middle and low incomes, who are forced to commute long distances for work.

It's an issue that preoccupies Copenhagen's Lord Mayor Frank Jensen, who wants to ensure that Copenhagen does not become a rich man's ghetto. One tool at his disposal is a national regulation that allows municipalities to require that up to 25 percent of homes in new building projects be set aside as social housing for low-income workers. Doing so will ensure an 8,200-unit increase in social housing capacity by 2025.

But Olesen argues the policy is counter-productive and does not bring down prices in the rest of the housing market. This is because while most people might want to own their own home, either outright or as part of a co-op, social housing still remains an attractive and inexpensive alternative.

In an interview in Politiken, he claims that left-wing city administrations promise cheap social housing in return for votes from low and middle-income workers, who might be fortunate enough to qualify for housing below market price – a market price that would be lower if it weren't for the fact that 25 percent of the new

housing stock was set aside as social housing.

Katrine Lotz, Head of the Institute for Architecture, Urbanism and Landscape at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, regards Olesen's position as a political attempt to undermine the municipality's efforts to ensure a mixed city. For while the city is in need of new and cheaper housing, the benefits of deregulating the market and stopping the construction of social housing do not outweigh the risks.

"Every time you build, you use an opportunity to make the city better, which is why the city makes demands on developers to make sure they give back. Deregulating lessens the demands on developers and results in a less attractive and liveable city. So in the short term it could increase the city's population, but it exacts a cost in terms of the city's attractiveness," says Lotz, arguing that this would affect Copenhagen's ability to recruit international knowledge workers.

"A mixed and heterogeneous city, with high density in one place and lower density another, doesn't have to be bad. Working deliberately with contrasts can work well. But when housing gets more dense, you end up with homes that get no sunlight, and we have invested a great deal of effort since the 1950s to provide people with that basic quality," says Lotz, referring to the demolition of the city's inner courtyard buildings.

"I doubt we can argue that the situation is now so severe that we have to ignore that."

Still, Lotz agrees that Copenhagen's housing regulations could be tweaked. The 95 square metre rule could be revisited, and experiments could be made with new types of homes that have, for example, private rooms but shared common spaces.

One major issue is a national regulation that forces land owners, such as the city developer By & Havn, to sell land at market price. This means private developers, buying land at high prices, are essentially in charge of how the city develops. They have an incentive to build homes that will best recoup their investment, rather than improve the city as a whole. If the city were able to set aside small plots of land for smaller housing associations and philanthropic organisations, it could result in a more varied housing stock too, she argues.

"Olesen's diagnosis is right, the prices are skyrocketing because demand is outpacing supply. I just think his cure is wrong." ■

LORD MAYOR PROMISES SMALLER AND CHEAPER HOMES

Beginning in 2019, developers in Copenhagen will be allowed to build smaller homes to meet increasing demand in the city

A WEEK after the transport, building and housing minister proclaimed that municipal regulations were partly responsible for the lack of affordable homes, Copenhagen's Lord Mayor, Frank Jensen, presented a plan to incentivise developers to supply smaller and cheaper homes.

"My housing plan will ensure that Copenhagen will remain a city with space for everyone, which means we need not only homes that are affordable for families, but also for singles and students living in the city. That is why we need a supply of housing that matches all of our different means," Jensen told Berlingske.

Jensen concedes that too many large apartments have been built in Copenhagen in recent years – the average size of an apartment in the city has increased from 76 square meters in 2000 to 81 square meters today.

According to Jensen, the city's earlier focus on larger apartments was designed to make Copenhagen more attractive to families with children, after many left the city for the suburbs. As a result, the city required that the average size of a home in a new development be 95 square meters, and that the smallest apartment could be no less than 65 square meters.

Jensen has already eased the requirements on developers. Beginning in 2015, rules dictating the average and minimum size of homes were only applied to 75 percent of any new development. In the remaining 25 percent, developers were free to decide the size of the homes.

Jensen now wants this rule to apply to developments on land whose municipal zoning plans were established before 2015. He also expects that size requirements will be eased in new municipal building plans drawn up after 2019.

"We can either choose a model where we remove the size requirements and leave it up to the developers to decide what the customers want, or we can reduce the average size from the current 95 square meters to, for example, 85 square meters," Jensen told Berlingske. ■



CPH Village

CONTAINER VILLAGES GET THE GREEN LIGHT

New rules mean that container housing can be erected on unused municipal land for ten years, instead of just three

WHILE DEVELOPERS can take years to put together a proposal to build homes for students, old shipping containers can easily be retrofitted to create temporary homes.

Floating in Copenhagen harbour is one example, the Urban Rigger, by design firm BIG. It consists of six containers welded into a circular two-storey mini village.

The Urban Rigger is just a concept piece for now, but the city's first actual temporary container village is taking shape on nearby Refshaleøen.

"Since we received the green light from the

municipality, we've been building round the clock to welcome the first batch of students on November 1," says co-founder Frederik Nøttenius Busck.

The project was only able to go ahead after the government changed the law earlier this year. Municipalities used to be able to rent out undeveloped land as sites for temporary housing for only three years at a time. This has now been increased to ten years.

"We've been working hard to get the planning law for temporary housing changed from three years to ten. We need 10 years at a guaranteed location to make a sound business case that banks will support," Busck explains.

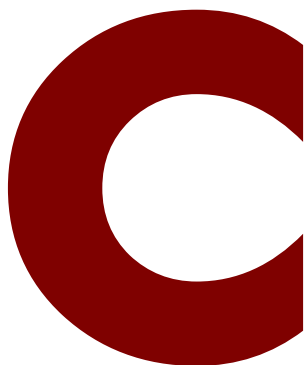
CPH Village 1 will house around 170 students when fully occupied this spring. The 20-square-meter homes will cost students around 4,000 kroner a month. Although they will have their own kitchens and living spaces, students will have to share a shower and toilet with one other person. ■



A render of The Carlsberg City District and its nine towers when the district is completed in 2024.

COPENHAGEN: becoming **unrecognisable,** or just **growing up?**

Looking at the glass towers and expensive apartments that are popping up around Copenhagen, it's easy to be pessimistic about Copenhagen's urban development. But architect Helle Søholt believes that the city is constantly learning from its mistakes to ensure that it maintains its character even when developers profit



Copenhagen has developed rapidly over the past three decades. Brand new districts such as Ørsted on Amager have risen out of nothingness, while deprived inner-city neighbourhoods Nørrebro and Vesterbro have had thorough makeovers.

Not all changes have been successful, however. Vesterbro's gentrification was so rapid that many

residents were suddenly forced to seek cheaper housing and, while Ørsted appears impressive from afar, its lifelessness makes it a textbook case of how not to build a social and liveable city.

As the next stage of the city's development gets underway with the creation of new districts in Carlsberg, Nordhavn and Sydhavn, it is worth investigating whether

the mistakes of the past have been learned.

Some insight can be gleaned from architect Helle Søholt, founding partner and CEO of Gehl Architects, an urban research and design consultancy that advises cities and developers on how to manage the relationship between the built environment and its users' quality of life.

Bradley Axmith

Søholt was a central player in the genesis of Carlsberg City in 2006, and was on the jury that choose the winning design for the first phase of development at the brewery's old factory site on the outskirts of Vesterbro. She has since criticised later phases that made the towers bigger than envisioned and drastically increased the number of apartments.

At the offices of Gehl Architects in Vesterbro, Søholt starts by explaining that much of Copenhagen's urban redevelopment has its roots in the city's close shave with bankruptcy in the late 1980s. The resulting Capital Development Strategy understood that Copenhagen needed to become a driving force for Denmark's economic development.

"That's when the idea to build the bridge to Sweden came up, as well as the plan to expand the airport and build the metro. In terms of planning however, the issue was that Copenhagen hadn't made any master plans since the 1960s, so they lacked experience. They ended up tackling it in an incredibly conventional way by creating a competition for the Ørestad district in the 1990s, which resulted in a masterplan that reflected a post-modern and almost de-constructivist approach to urban planning, rather than a continuation of the urban midrise and compact urban block structure, with large public spaces and streets that characterised Copenhagen. So Ørestad is a bit weird because in one sense it isn't really urban and the plan hasn't been adaptive enough to change."

The municipality established the company By & Havn to develop Ørestad and other parts of the city. Do you think they've learned anything from Ørestad when it comes to how they've approached Nordhavn?

Yes, By & Havn [see fact box on page 30] has certainly learned what not to do – for example not to gather all commercial activities in a shopping centre, or have housing developments constructed like a massive figure eight. These huge developments are not such a good idea because you don't get the fine details, or the human scale.

The approach was different in Nordhavn, where the plots are smaller, the density is higher, and the proximity and human scale is a little bit better. They are buying

back the ground floors to get more control, so they can rent them out and have shops around the main streets. They also kept some of the old buildings like silos, so there are signs that Nordhavn will be better in terms of urban form.

Sluseholmen in Sydhavn is working well too. One of the issues we have in developing Copenhagen is that there are very few people per apartment, so there is quite a bit of space per individual – we are spread out over a bigger area. But if you want to create life, you actually have to squeeze people together and make them meet in the same spaces.

Sluseholmen addressed the issue well by compressing pathways and introducing canals that minimised the public space and forced people to walk in the streets together. Their courtyards are actually livelier than we in this office thought they would be. We were actually a little sceptical about the open courtyard concept, but there are a lot of young families that have moved out there, and the courtyards are used and the streets are pretty lively.

How much can the municipality influence what developers do with their land?

The city cannot decide how an area is designed. They can try – through comments and criticism – to push the plan in a direction where they will get higher quality. But it is up to the developer or building owner to create the actual design. Then it's up to the municipality to approve it or not. So the city cannot design a development, it can only comment and say yes or no.

One of the problems in the city is how expensive it is to buy a home. Aren't these neighbourhoods in danger of gentrification?

Nordhavn has an issue with being too expensive, and there is a lot of talk about gentrification. But gentrification is not the problem – the problem is displacement. Gentrification in itself is a good thing because the city develops as society does, and it's difficult to stop that completely. The city has been through various cycles of urban renewal, and it has become better at integrating people. When you look at the first plans for Vesterbro, a lot of people were displaced compared to later urban renewals in the Prags Boulevard and Holm-

I'm worried about some recent national policies that are very counter-productive and disappointing. They talk about smart cities and then go out and make it easier to have bigger cars, which is so illogical.



Helle Søholt, founding partner and CEO of Gehl Architects.

bladsgade area of Amager, where most of the original residents still live. The city has been able to tackle the process better over time.

In Vesterbro, renewal has led to better kitchens and bathrooms, but rents that are terribly burdensome. You're saying that planners have recognised the problems here?

Yes. Some of these processes have been too hurried and managed in a way that people were essentially replaced. The very first urban retrofitting that took place in Copenhagen was in the late 70s and early 80s, and involved ripping down entire city blocks and building new buildings, for example in inner Nørrebro around Blågaards Square. That model of urban renewal was heavily criticised all over the world.

The second phase was like what we saw in Vesterbro, where they kept the old buildings and used renewal funds to join a lot of small

apartments together into bigger apartments, renewing kitchens, and connecting courtyards.

Some of that has been amazing, but the process of putting apartments together happened a little too quickly. They became too big, and there weren't enough small apartments left for people with modest means to remain in the area. Upgrading inner Vesterbro ended up displacing a lot of people to outer Nørrebro.

And then the city learned again. They saw that first-generation Blågaardsgade and second-generation Vesterbro weren't good models. So when they moved on to Prags Boulevard on Amager, the process was slowed and focused much more on engagement. That process has been taking place over 10 or 12 years instead of five.

It seems like there is a tension between long-term interests in livability and inclusion on the one hand, and commercial interests on



Payton Chang / flickr

Sluseholmen is a new city district built along the harbour. Helle Sørholt argues that developers succeeded in producing a vibrant social space by introducing canals that minimised the public space, which forced people to walk in the streets together and spend time in common courtyards.

the other. It also seems like the city and By & Havn bow to commercial interests and quick returns on investment.

No, I don't think you can say that. By & Havn is extremely strategic and thinks very long-term. When the idea for the company was first suggested in the early 90s, it was one piece of a 50-year strategy to build a Metro and more train lines while properly developing public land. It remains a very forward-thinking model.

One possible criticism is that it is a very infrastructure-led strategy – a very building-led approach. Perhaps they haven't placed as much value on social infrastructure. Even though they have tried to learn from their efforts to create public life and lively areas and so forth, I think they could have been better.

Is there a poorly-conceived building that stands out for you, where you think, this doesn't make much sense?

One thing that is important is the placement of schools. Sydhavn School is a fantastic example. The building is great, and in many other countries you wouldn't see public schools built by the waterfront.

It's a public place, it faces the water, and it becomes a meeting hub for the new district in Teglholm. However, because it's placed where it is, it's not functioning well as a social connector between old Sydhavn and new Sydhavn. If you had thought differently about placing the school where it could become a social integrator between new and old urban districts, you could have actually socially engineered or programmed that area quite differently.

That's one case where By & Havn could have done better. Again, seen from an international perspective, the model of a national government in partnership with a municipality in order to finance infrastructure is a very sensible model. It's long-term thinking, but then once it's actually being implemented, I think we could have seen more focus on the social infrastructure of Teglholm and Nordhavn, and I think we could have seen more focus on the adaptability and the resiliency of the plan. I'm also very worried about some of these huge towers. They were designed like sailboats or something, very tall with huge foundations.

In terms of infrastructure needs, liveable spaces and affordable

housing, where do you see Copenhagen in ten years' time?

I really hope the city stays on the track it's been on. Copenhagen has been improving public spaces and schools, the social infrastructure of the city, for almost 30 years as part of its strategy. It has done quite a lot to cope with market forces, and prices are still lower than Stockholm and Oslo. But it's still not enough. I'm very impressed with Vienna, for example. They have one of the most progressive housing policies in Europe. About 50 percent of their housing stock is social housing. They are very progressive in terms of social housing and gender strategies, and focus a lot on equality between men and women, also in public life. They measure how spaces are used and try to mitigate inequalities as much as possible. There is much to be learned in the public life sphere, and if we can merge that with a focus on resiliency, I hope we can still make progress in Copenhagen.

I'm worried about some recent national policies that are very counterproductive and disappointing. They talk about smart cities and then go out and make it easier to have bigger cars, which is so illogical. **M**

Gentrification is not the problem – the problem is displacement. Gentrification in itself is a good thing because the city develops as society does, and it's difficult to stop that completely.

FACT BOX – By & Havn

Established in 2007 after merging several companies responsible for Copenhagen's urban development, By & Havn owns large areas of public land slated for redevelopment.

The company took on 20 billion kroner of debt that was used to finance Copenhagen's Metro. This debt is being slowly paid off as By & Havn sells its land to developers.

The Transport Ministry expects the company will pay off its debt by 2037.

Copenhagen Municipality owns 95 percent of By & Havn, and the Danish state owns the remaining 5 percent.

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2720 Vanløse

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Rådhuset
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Smakkegårdsvej 112
2820 Gentofte

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Ørestad Bibliotek
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Krystalgade 15
1172 København K

Gentofte Hovedbibliotek
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2900 Hellerup

Østerbro Bibliotek
Dag Hammarskjölds Allé 19
2100 København Ø

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Nyropsgade 1, stuen
1602 København V

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2920 Charlottenlund

Dyssegård Bibliotek
Dyssegårdsvej 24
2900 Hellerup

Gentoftegade Bibliotek
Gentoftegade 45
2820 Gentofte

Curators at **Kunsthal Charlottenborg** want to 'reactivate' art and text that **Yoko Ono** has produced during her career, but which was never necessarily intended for gallery walls. It will spill out of the frame and into the foyer, cover the façade, and escape into the streets and onto buses, billboards, newspapers and posters – all in search of an audience



Open Your Box
45rpm sleeve.
©Yoko Ono

"The artist needs the audience to find the answer



Kunsthal Charlottenborg's director Michael Thoubert was, in late 2016, deliberating over what Christmas message he wanted to send to his friends and family. He wanted to offer some yuletide merriment and hope for 2017 after a year dominated by grim political headlines, a climate crisis, and the fracturing of community ideals.

He settled on *Happy Xmas (War is Over)* by John Lennon and Yoko Ono, which finishes with the lines: "Happy New Year / Let's hope it's a good one / Without any fear / War is over, if you want it / War is over now."

Released in 1971, the song was a key component of Lennon and Ono's peaceful activism against America's participation in the Vietnam War – protests that included their famous

bed-ins in Amsterdam, in March, during their honeymoon, and in Montreal, in May 1969. Alongside this, the multimedia campaign spread to cities around the world as John Lennon and Yoko Ono rented 12 billboards internationally for black and white posters carrying the slogan: 'WAR IS OVER! If You Want It – Happy Christmas from John and Yoko'.

When he clicked 'send', Thoubert had little idea what would blossom from his Christmas message. But just as Ono's work demonstrates, small acts, art, and ideas, can have enormous ripple effects. When Danish curator Lars Schwander received Thoubert's message, he was inspired to host a small exhibition of Ono's graphic works, both political and conceptual, and 'reactivate' them in a much wider sense.

AN EXHIBITION THAT LEAVES THE GALLERY

What followed was a week-long trip to New York to discuss the ideas with Jon Hendricks, Yoko Ono's curator, and to look at material related to the ideas, resulting in the exhibition opening this month at Kunsthal Charlottenborg, entitled, *Yoko Ono Transmission*. It features newspaper pieces from the New York Times, posters, albums, 'WAR IS OVER!' and other billboards

on display, alongside contextual information documenting their production and proliferation.

This work is not limited to the walls of the gallery. It spills out into the foyer, where participants can rubber-stamp *IMAGINE PEACE* on maps of the world, pinpointing the places they would most like to see peace on an interactive map. A work entitled *OPEN WINDOW* in Arabic, English, and Hebrew, will bedeck the gallery's façade, addressing the conflict in the Middle East, while also invoking the message of the exhibition: that art spills out of the closed windows of the art gallery, and into the world.

Thoubert makes it clear that the exhibition in the gallery is actually only one component of Yoko Ono: *Transmission* – the 'exhibition' can be experienced throughout Copenhagen, and even throughout Denmark. The gallery has worked with PostNord to produce two stamps – the first Ono has created – bearing new works, while newspapers, bus stops, billboards and radio programs will carry her words and interactive 'instruction paintings', which invite people to engage with the works they encounter.

SEEKING AN AUDIENCE

Ono was born in 1933 in Tokyo, and for more than five decades, her work has been at the

Emily Tait

WAR IS OVER!

IF YOU WANT IT

Happy Christmas from John & Yoko

Original 1969 WAR IS OVER poster. ©Yoko Ono

forefront of avant-garde art, transmitting profound messages of philosophy and peace. She has utilised advertising spaces in newspapers, the famous 'bed-ins', and has even used sky writing to disseminate her peaceful yet radical ideas. Her works include conceptual thought pieces like 'instruction paintings' – 151 preparatory typescripts for her germinal text, *Grapefruit*, will be on display in Charlottenborg – that invite people to tread on, photograph, and even break objects. They are works that do not exist without the viewer's imagination, much as her more political pieces do not exist without the viewer's engagement. In an interview in 1966, Ono observed, "The work becomes a reality only when others realize the work."

Thouber points out that this kind of art can actually have an incredibly profound impact.

"The *War Is Over* song and billboard campaign gave the public an anthem, a theme, and actually won a lot of people over in the fight against the Vietnam War. Historically, it is one of very few examples of contemporary art that actually changed the world, and that can only be done through mass media, but in an artistic way. If you look at her work, her posters, her instruction paintings, we have the power in a democratic way," says Thouber.

"Since 2001, she has been widely recognised as one of the leading contemporary artists. Long before she met John Lennon, even from the early 1960s, she put very conceptual works in Japanese magazines, and would give out pieces like merchandise. In later years, she took up social media. You can follow her today on imaginepeace.com and watch how her campaign develops across the world. The *WAR IS OVER* / campaign can even be downloaded in your own language, and you can stick the posters up wherever you are – she has a global reach all the time, through the participants in her art."

DO YOU REALLY WANT IT?

Twelve days after 9/11, Ono used a full page in the New York Times to share the simple idea: "Imagine all the people living life in peace". In quoting the lyrics of Lennon and Ono's song, *Imagine*, she was not offering an answer, but, as in all of the works exhibited in Yoko Ono: Transmission, the power lies in usurping the spaces that are typically dedicated to advertising, to answers, to journalism. She was making a statement, yes, but also asking a question, asking her readers to visualise, to change perspective, and to change the world.

"The main difference between journalism

The main difference between journalism and art is that journalists seek the truth [...] but artists start with a question instead of an answer.

**MICHAEL THOUBER,
DIRECTOR AT
KUNSTHAL
CHARLOTTENBORG**

YOKO ONO: TRANSMISSION

From October 2017 to January 2018, Kunsthall Charlottenborg presents YOKO ONO TRANSMISSION. The exhibition explores the unique ways in which the artist transmits her profound messages of artistic philosophy and peace through numerous channels to reach people throughout the World.

YOKO ONO TRANSMISSION is curated by Jon Hendricks, Lars Schwander and Michael Thouber in collaboration with Yoko Ono. The exhibition is supported by Det Obelske Familiefond and Statens Kunstfond.

**October 13 – January 14, 2018
Kunsthall Charlottenborg
Nyhavn 2, 1501 Copenhagen
75 kroner**



Horizon billboard. Photo Courtesy of Yoko Ono

and art is that journalists seek the truth – they want articles to end with a 'yes' or a 'no'. They need to know before they go to print. But artists start with a question instead of an answer, and the artist needs the audience to find the answer," says Thouber.

Utilising social media, the internet, advertising spaces and newspapers, Ono is a master of the communication media that overloads the modern world. Her art is all about spreading and sharing, gaining maximum impact by ensuring that the messages build and grow. One of her pieces, to be reprinted during this exhibition, even requires participants to photocopy her images and spread them through public spaces. Her work does not fetishize the sacred gallery space, but sees the streets as a canvas for her words and message, actively engaging viewers, and making sure that those who encounter her work, leave a little bit changed.

As in John and Yoko's song, and their posters: *WAR IS OVER*! / If you want it, the weight of this piece is in the small print. You have to want it – to want to participate, to think, to act. **M**



Some of the works that are on display at the National Gallery of Denmark, of both Japanese art and its influence on Danish artists.

Clockwise from top: Katsushika Hokusai, 'The Great Wave off Kanagawa'; Anders Zorn, 'Frøknene Salomon'; Henriette Christine Hahn-Brinckmann, 'Aftenstemning'.



Celebrating a relationship that's gone the distance

A

predisposition for clean, minimalist aesthetics, a love of folklore, even the presence of a Royal House – the threads of similarities that bind Japan and Denmark are notable, though perhaps only coincidental. After all, with 27 times the population and nine times the land-

mass, Japan may seem – at least physically – worlds away from Denmark.

150 years ago, however, the two countries came a little closer when they signed the "Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation between Japan and Denmark", which formalised Danish-Japanese diplomatic relations.

These nations are bound not only by diplomatic civility, however, but also by notable cultural overlaps that 2017 has been dedicated to exploring.

In 1616, when the Danish East India Company was formed under King Christian IV, one of its objectives was to reach Japan in order to establish trade. But despite missions in 1619 and 1644, the Company never made it. In 1645, a Japanese world map pinpointed Denmark for the first time under the name 'Tania', but it still took two more decades before diplomatic relations were formally established.

PLENTY TO DO

When Japan's borders were opened to international trade in 1853, traders flooded the Eu-

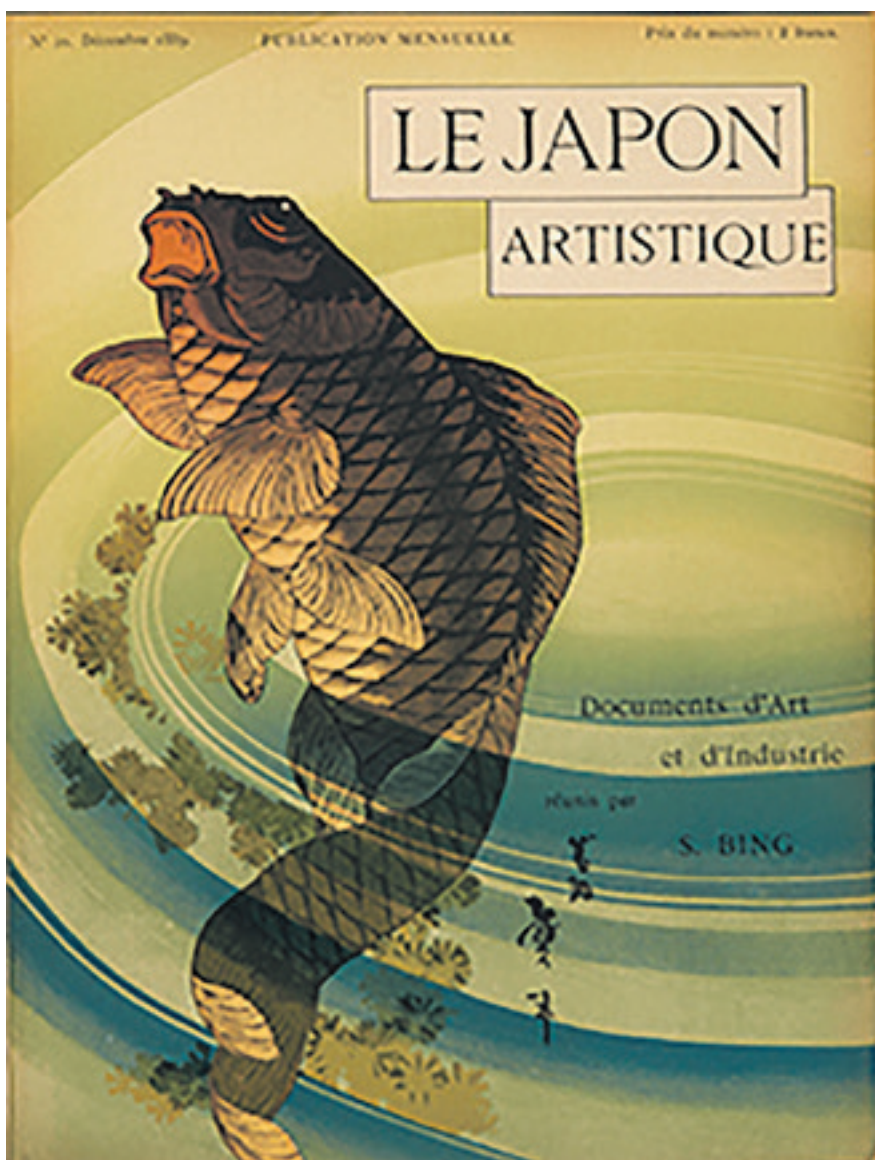
ropean market with Japanese goods and art objects. These were increasingly fetishized, giving rise to the term 'Japonisme', coined to express the aesthetic influence of Japan that persists to this day.

The National Gallery of Denmark (SMK) chose to mark the year by focussing on Japonisme, especially how Japanese art and composition filtered into the work of young Danish artists in the 19th and 20th centuries. Woodcuts, for example, provided a new lens through which to consider the artistic potential of Nordic wood. The style of composition also shifted, becoming more asymmetrical and symbolic, with artists heavily influenced by the Japanese focus on both nature's motifs and the sublime grandeur of landscape.

SMK's decision to root Danish-Japanese relations in their historical and artistic roots provides the groundwork of a relationship that has matured since the infatuation of their early acquaintance.

As spring turned to summer, Copenhagen

Emily Tait



Cover of *Le Japon Artistique* from 1889. Photo: Pernille Klemp



Live calligraphy at this year's Sakura Festival.



Jens Markus Lindhe

Japanese architect Hiroshi Sambuichi's exhibition 'The Water' is on show at The Cisterns (Cisternerne).

Events to mark 150 years of diplomatic relations between Denmark and Japan have been held all year long – and there's still a lot to see and do

hosted its very own Sakura Festival in Lange-linie Park, home to 200 cherry trees gifted to Denmark by Japan in 2005. Events continue in both countries, with Danish artists taking up residencies in some of Japan's major art galleries and Denmark's crown prince and princess will be travelling to Japan in mid-October to mark the occasion more formally.

But even though the year is slowly coming to an end, there is still plenty to get involved in, with a variety of cultural, historical and athletic events continuing well into December and even the first part of 2018.

Until February next year, the wonderful underground exhibition space The Cisterns (Cisternerne) will be filled with Japanese architect Hiroshi Sambuichi's exhibition, *The Water*. In the artist's first major exhibition outside Japan, he uses nature as a building material, both to point out the dependence of architecture on environment, and to facilitate a symbiosis between the two. In accordance with Sambuichi's working method, the opening hours of the exhibition will depend on the hours of sunlight.

During winter, the exhibition will close when the sun sets in the early afternoon.

CULTURE INTERSECTS

From nature as influence, to nature as equipment, Faaborg Museum hosts Johannes Larsen and Japanese woodcut art until December 31. Johannes Larsen was born in the year that diplomatic relations were initiated, and although he never visited Japan, he used his work as a medium with which to explore Japanese art and culture. This exhibition presents two unique collections of privately-owned Japanese woodcut books and woodcuts alongside the Japanese-inspired works of Johannes Larsen.

The Karate Championships, taking place on October 28 at Shotokan Karate Akademi, is another opportunity to participate in the celebrations this year. It's the 50th year of the Championship, and even if you don't fancy risking it on the mat, it should make exceptionally lively viewing.

These events and exhibitions do not just exchange examples of Danish and Japanese cul-

ture, but rather display and celebrate the merging of cultural interests and the bond that arises between two countries in the process: Danish kids love karate, Japanese kids read Danish fairy tales. *Skyggen (The Shadow) – A Chamber Opera* by Aya Yoshida, is an example of one such intermingling, to be performed on November 16 and 17 at Kapellet in Assistens Kirkegård.

Inspired by the Hans Christian Andersen tale *The Shadow (Skyggen)*, Copenhagen-based Japanese composer Aya Yoshida has written the music and libretto for this chamber opera, with the visual components created by Danish artist Magnus Pind Bjerre and Japanese calligrapher Suitou Nakatsuka. Exploring the space between humans, Aya Yoshida questions the roots of a human identity – are we self-defined, or defined by our interactions with other people?

In pieces like *The Shadow*, we are not looking at explicitly 'Danish' or 'Japanese' work transplanted to 'foreign' soil, but instead admiring the mutual respect and intersections that can exist between the two. **M**

OP-ED

THE COPENHAGEN LETTER

Copenhagen, 2017

To everyone
who shapes technology today

We live in a world where technology is consuming society, ethics, and our core existence.

It is time to take responsibility for the world we are creating. Time to put humans before business. Time to replace the empty rhetoric of "building a better world" with a commitment to real action. It is time to organize, and to hold each other accountable.

Tech is not above us. It should be governed by all of us, by our democratic institutions. It should play by the rules of our societies. It should serve our needs, both individual and collective, as much as our wants.

Progress is more than innovation. We are builders at heart. Let us create a new Renaissance. We will open and nourish honest public conversation about the power of technology. We are ready to serve our societies. We will apply the means at our disposal to move our societies and their institutions forward.

Let us build from trust. Let us build for true transparency. We need digital citizens, not mere consumers. We all depend on transparency to understand how technology shapes us, which data we share, and who has access to it. Treating each other as commodities from which to extract maximum economic value is bad, not only for society as a complex, interconnected whole but for each and every one of us.

Design open to scrutiny. We must encourage a continuous, public, and critical reflection on our definition of success as it defines how we build and design for others. We must seek to design with those for whom we are designing. We will not tolerate design for addiction, deception, or control. We must design tools that we would love our loved ones to use. We must question our intent and listen to our hearts.

Let us move from human-centered design to humanity-centered design.

We are a community that exerts great influence. We must protect and nurture the potential to do good with it. We must do this with attention to inequality, with humility, and with love. In the end, our reward will be to know that we have done everything in our power to leave our garden patch a little greener than we found it.

We who have signed this letter will hold ourselves and each other accountable for putting these ideas into practice. That is our commitment.

The Copenhagen Letter was drafted over 48 hours by 150 technologists, designers, philosophers, educators, and artists during the 2017 Techfestival.

The goal of the letter was to start a conversation on the values and principles that guide technology.

More than 3,000 people have signed the letter. Agree?
Head to COPENHAGENLETTER.ORG

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THE MURMUR

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2000 Frederiksberg

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2800 Kgs. Lyngby

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1172 København K

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Dyssegård Bibliotek
Dyssegårdsvej 24
2900 Hellerup

Gentoftegade Bibliotek
Gentoftegade 45
2820 Gentofte

WHAT'S ON • OCTOBER



I AM BLACK VELVET
The exhibit shows more than 70 haute couture creations by the Danish fashion designer Erik Mortensen for the French fashion houses Pierre Balmain and Jean Louis Scherrer from 1982-95.
Design Museum
Bredgade 68, KBH
designmuseum.dk

ALL MONTH

SOUND INSTALLATION
In September, visitors to Ofelia Plads will be greeted by a new sound artwork created especially for the new urban space by the artists Ragnhild May and Ea Borre.
Ofelia Plads
Kvæsthusbroen, KBH
www.komponistforeningen.dk
All month



YOKO ONO TRANSMISSION
This new exhibition focuses on Yoko Ono's publications: printed matter and on how the artist has been able to disseminate her work from small whispers to broadcast through mass media.
Kunsthal Charlottenborg
Nyhavn 2, KBH
kunsthalcharlottenborg.dk
Opens on October 13

ALL MONTH

100% FRAME?
100 personal stories from refugees to Denmark, selected to represent the 161,000 people from 29 different countries who have been granted asylum over the past 60 years.
Sept 23 - Oct 21 : Køge
OCT 23 - Nov 10: Nørrebro
bit.ly/100refugees

5

REFLEKTOR LIGHT FESTIVAL
An urban light art exhibition exploring the stories of light in our daily lives. Under darkness, the festival opens up Søndermarken with talks, guided walks and workshop.
Søndermarken
reflektorlightfestival.com
Ends October 7



LATIN-CARIBBEAN NIGHT
CPH Street Food is closing, and with it, the foodie social events PapirØen has become known for. This is one of the last 'hurrah's', with a dancefloor all night with all kinds of latin rhythms.
PapirØen
Trangravsvej 14, 7/8, KBH
copenhagenstreetfood.dk
October 7



CPH PIX: WILLY WONKA
As Simply Chocolate opens their brand new factory, CPH:PIX will screen the most iconic chocolate movies - the original 'Willy Wonka & The Chocolate Factory' from 1971.
Amager Landevej 123, 2770
Cphpix.dk
October 8

13

CULTURE NIGHT
One night a year the museums, cultural institutions and places that are generally closed to the public, invite curious guests inside.
Various Locations
kulturnatten.dk

20

POSH ISOLATION SHOWCASE
Copenhagen's flagship for experimental and border-seeking techno, industrial and noise, Posh Isolation is part of a new concert series at Jazzhouse, focusing on Nordic curators and niche sounds.
Jazzhouse
Niels Hemmingsensgade 10
jazzhouse.dk



ASTRID S AT VEGA
Astrid S released her second ep 'Party's Over' on June 30th and delivers with her beautiful, present vocal, catchy lyrics and danceable beats, pop music at its best and most emotive.
VEGA
Enghavevej 40, KBH
Vega.dk
October 22

27

HELLO VINTAGE KBH
A vintage kilo sale, in which you pay by weight rather than by item. The entry fee is only 40 kroner and the two day event promises a huge variety of items worth taking an afternoon to sift through.
KPH Volume
Enghavevej 80, KBH
kph-projects.dk
Ends October 28

Emily Tait



BENNY ANDERSEN
For the first time in 40 years Benny Andersen, will be published in an English translation. To mark the occasion, Andersen and his American translator Michael Goldman present a reading pf his work in both languages.
Den Frie Udstillingsbygning
Oslo Plads 1, KBH
denfrie.dk
October 28

WHAT'S ON • NOVEMBER



HARRY POTTER QUIZ

The day after Halloween, Absalon will host their Harry Potter quiz. Test your knowledge of the wizarding world and enjoy themed snacks and drinks.

Absalon
Sønder Boulevard 73, KBH
absaloncph.dk
November 1

3

FUTURE ISLANDS

The American synthpop band became famous in 2014 when their performance at the Late Show with David Letterman in March 2014, became the most-viewed video on the show's YouTube page.

Tap1
Ny Carlsberg Vej 91, KBH
TAP1.DK

4

GORILLAZ IN COPENHAGEN

A virtual band created in 1998 by musician Damon Albarn and artist Jamie Hewlett, the four animated members are entirely fictional, but their alternative hip-hop music is anything but insubstantial.

Royal Arena
Hannemanns Allé 18, KBH
royalarena.dk

12

DANISH ON A SUNDAY

Part of Cinemateket's 'Danish on a Sunday' film screenings, opening up Danish film to English speakers, 'Waiting for the Sun' follows the stories of three children who are placed in an orphanage.

Cinemateket
Gothersgade 55, KBH
dfi.dk

COPENHAGENCARD

SEE MORE. PAY LESS.

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



SPROGCENTER
HELLERUP

sprogcenterhellerup.dk