

THE MURMUR

NEWS

CULTURE

POLITICS

COMMENTARY

NOVEMBER 2017 VOL. 4 ISSUE 10

COPENHAGEN
EDITION

Everything
you need
to know to
vote in
the local
elections
this month

Vincent F.
Hendricks
and Mads
Vestergaard
discuss fake
news

Chew this
over: the
brain and
gut have a
deep rela-
tionship



The search for perfection

Pianist August Rosenbaum reflects on how he keeps his creative flame burning

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

THE MURMUR



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

I WANT YOU to vote in the municipal and regional elections on November 21, especially if you're an international worker or student. Unlike in many countries, these two levels of local government have enormous spending powers, and their political make up has a huge influence on everything, from health care and education, to daycare and transport.

And it's likely that if you're reading this, you can vote. All EU and EEA residents over the age of 18 are eligible. Other internationals are eligible after three years of residency in Denmark. You don't even need to sign up – if you're eligible, you're automatically added to the voter registry and will get a poll card in the post in the weeks before the election. Want to know more about the election? We've got seven pages, starting on page 10, with loads of useful information – I'm sure there are plenty of Danes, too, who will benefit.

I really hope more internationals vote in this year's election than in 2013, when only 33.5% made use of their right, compared to 74.8% of Danes. I get it – many don't feel informed enough, or simply see themselves as just passing through the country.

To the first point, that's what The Murmur is for! We really hope the election section informs you a little more, or at least helps point you in the right direction.

On the second point, it's important that as many internationals use their vote as possible because it sends a signal that we are invested. The low levels of democratic participation by internationals strengthens the argument that non-Danes should feel and behave like guests in the country, regardless of how long they have been here.

It also makes it easier to justify weakening our rights. In May, the populist Danish People's Party proposed limiting the vote to internationals who have passed a language test, while far right party Nye Borgerlige wants to completely revoke the right of all internationals to vote.

These proposals should not be taken lightly. International residents have been voting in local Danish elections since 1980. Denmark is, and always has been, a country with a large foreign population that have largely supported Denmark's economic growth and therefore should be given a say in Denmark's political direction.

I remember someone explaining the difference between an immigrant and an expat – the former was making an investment in remaining in the country, while the latter was only passing through. In which case, why should they have a say?

I don't believe this distinction is relevant any longer. Sure, there are some people who expect to move home. But I also know many internationals and their families who thought they were only moving to Denmark for a short period and ended up staying for decades. Because they had internalised the 'guest' mentality, however, they didn't do enough to integrate and later found themselves in limbo – no longer truly part of the Danish society or their home country.

Participating in the election aids integration, as it encourages internationals to learn about the political system, and the issues affecting Denmark. And it also sends a signal to Danish society that internationals are engaged and active members of their society.

The problem is, many Danes don't realise that we exist. I moved here in 1994, and while most of my friends are Danes, I know how good they are at self-segregating. I am the first international friend some of my Danish friends ever made. I doubt most Danes realise that there are 360,000 eligible international voters in Denmark! Copenhagen Municipality has 413,000 adult Danish residents, and around 42,000 adult EU and EEA residents – around nine percent of the total electorate. That's HUGE.

We must challenge the Danes who think opening their borders means a gradual undoing of Danish culture and identity, and show that we are a social and democratic resource. But we also aren't here to keep our heads down and be polite and subservient second-class citizens.

So I implore of you, do your civic duty, and VOTE! **M**

The real leeches are the class of ultra rich people who come into your country, exploit its democratic systems, and use the laws to achieve what they want, which is usually not to pay their taxes.

PROFESSOR BROOKE HARRINGTON, P32



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@MURMURDK



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CONTRIBUTORS



Rasmus Degnbol Photo Editor and a winner at last year's Danish Press Photo Awards. Rasmus produced most of the photography in this issue, including portraits of pianist August Rosenbaum for this month's cover interview. **@rasmusdegnbol**



Joshua Hollingdale Staff writer. Danish/British Student at Danish School of Media and Journalism and freelance reporter. He interviewed professor Brooke Harrington about wealth managers and tax evasion. **@joshuaursin**



Hana Hasanbegovic Staff writer. Originally from the Balkans, Hana has a master's degree in English. This issue she interviewed the co-founder of think.dk **@HanaHasanbegov2**



Gabriele Dellisanti Editorial intern. Media and communications student at Lund University, Gabriele took a look at the rising levels of depression among Danish youth. **@gabriedellisanti**



Emily Tait Editorial intern. Graduated with a degree in English literature from the University of Cambridge last summer. She wrote a preview of the exhibition 'Mind the Gut' at Medical Museion.

MASTHEAD

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

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

Lyndsay Jensen Supplements Editor / lyndsay@murmur.dk

Mette Salomonsen Art Director / salomet.dk

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

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

PRINT Trykkeriet Nordvestsjælland, tnvs.dk

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PROOFREADING Aileen Itani, aileenitani.com

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[sumsum]

English: *Bzzz*
Japanese: *Bún*
Turkish: *Vzzz*
Korean: *Boong*
German: *Sum*



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SPROG

MONTH IN REVIEW

Tourist bus found

A Belgian tourist bus that went missing in August near Ingerselvsgade in Vesterbro – and which prompted terror fears – has been found in Kvistgård near Helsingør. A 60-year-old man from Serbia has been arrested.

Iraqi asylum seekers caught lying

Asylum seekers from Kuwait used social media and mobile data, to prove they were actually from Kuwait. 300 of them belonged to the same family. "We have previously seen cases of fraud where you try to lie to another nationality to gain an advance,

but not to this extent," said Anders Dorph, Deputy Director of the Immigration Service. All 634 asylum seekers had their cases rejected this summer. 16 of the appeals have been processed and upheld.

16-year-old killed

Servet Abdija, a 16-year-old boy, died after he was shot several times near his home on Ragnhildgade in Copenhagen. According to the police, the incident was not gang related and Abdija had no criminal record.

FREE HOSPITAL RIDE

The Danish health-care system is owed millions of kroner for treating tourists and foreigners who are not resident in Denmark and entitled to free healthcare. According to Berlingske, the health service last year spent around 428 million kroner on people who were assigned a so-called replacement CPR. These are identity numbers given to individuals who do not live in Denmark, but need treatment for injuries and illness while passing through. Danish hospitals usually send an invoice for reimbursement, but many hospitals fail to do so.

Gabriele Dellisanti

HPV vaccine a success

The Danish Cancer Association has revealed that none of the 2,000 women who were first given the HPV vaccine 12 years ago have developed cervical cancer, or tested positive for precursor cell changes. There are over 100 different types of the HPV virus and the vaccine protects from the most common ones, which cause cervical cancer. Every year, around 375 Danish women contract cervical cancer – 100 die every year as a result.



Pan American Health Organization / flickr

KIM WALL UPDATE

A saw, believed to be used in the Kim Wall murder this summer, was found by Køge Bay. Police are now investigating whether it was used to dismember her body. Her torso was discovered in August, and in October her limbs and head were also recovered from the bay. Police have charged inventor Peter Madsen with manslaughter. He denies his guilt and has stated that Wall was killed following an accident on the submarine, which forced him to "bury Kim Wall at sea". Her precise cause of death has yet to be established.



HOUSE OF INTERNATIONAL THEATRE

House of International Theatre (HIT) is an extended platform for international and English-language theatre, cultural activities and cultural exchange. Located in the heart of the city, on Huset-KBH's 4th floor stage, HIT presents international theatre that is unique, daring and engaging.



NOV



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Sun, Nov 12 at 14.00

NOV/DEC



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A Manusarts production

Nov 30 - Dec 10, 2017
Tue–Sat: 19.00
Sun, Dec 3 at 17.00
Sun, Dec 10 at 14.00



HOUSE OF INTERNATIONAL THEATRE



www.houseofinternationaltheatre.dk

HIT at Huset-KBH, Rådhusstæde 13

Mail blues

Mail provider Postnord is set for another miserable year, after the number of letters sent has dropped by 21 per-cent in just one year. Post-nord lost 171 million kroner in the third quarter of 2017, ac-cording to the company.

Unknown toxin kills two children and leaves two needing liver transplants

The police are still investigating the causes of poisoning that killed two chil-dren in Haslev, and resulted in two oth-ers needing liver transplants.
The children belonged to a family of 11 UN refugees that were relocated from Congo. The family speaks little English or Danish, and had trouble explaining to

health workers the severity of the symp-toms they were experiencing to their gen-eral practitioner, and doctors in Næstved hospital. They first raised the alarm on a Monday, but only on Thursday were they admitted to hospital for treatment.
While early reports suggested the family had eaten poisonous mush-

rooms, the family denies foraging any-thing from the wild.
"My children died because of errors made by the health service. We were not helped. If they had helped us ef-fectively from Monday, they would not have died," the mother Diane Kahinda told Politiken newspaper.

REFUGEE CHILD ABUSED

A 52-year-old woman employed as a ped-agogical assistant at the Children's Cen-ter in Tullebølle, has been sentenced to three months impris-onment for sexually assaulting a 17-year-old refugee. The woman will also have to pay the young man 10,000 kroner.

While she claims the young man kissed her first, he explained to the court that he feared the consequences of turning down her ad-vances.

The woman admit-
ted to two acts of in-
tercourse with the
unaccompanied refu-
gee in her car.



Anders Kjærbye/www.fodboldbilleder.dk

Women's national team World Cup campaign in jeopardy over conflict with football association

The Danish national women's football team had to call off a World Cup qualifi-er with Sweden last month over a conflict between the player's union, Spillerfore-ningen, and the Danish football associa-tion, DBU.Each group blamed the oth-er for the two sides' inability to finalise an agreement before the game – without it, the match could not proceed. According to Ekstra Bladet, the main issue was that while DBU offered a temporary deal, Spil-lerforeningen wanted a completed long-

term agreement. Specifically, Spillerfore-ningen wanted to increase the monthly fee paid to team members, as well as increase bonus payments to the team based on crowd sizes and performanc-es. In total, the increased annual expense to DBU would be 471,000 kroner, which DBU rejected. The team members argue that they are underpaid, earning month-ly fees ranging from only 1,000 kroner to 4,000 kroner. DBU counters that the wom-en's team loses money, meaning that any

raise they are given would have to come from the men's team.
Unlike the men's team, however, the women are winners, and were runners up at the European Championships this sum-mer in a final watched by 1.5 million Danes. The cancelled match against Sweden has damaged their World Cup hopes, and while an agreement was reached to play the following match against Croatia, the team may yet be sanctioned by UEFA for failing to play the match against Sweden.



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CITY

A tunnel or a food market?

Every day, 46,000 cars cross Bispeengbuen, a six-lane elevated motorway in Copenhagen that cuts through Frederiksberg, connecting Åboulevarden with Borups Allé. Completed in 1972, it was the first stage of a planned network that included a new motorway through the city along the lakes. The plan was abandoned, but Bispeengbuen remains a concrete monument to the automobile in a city that now worships cycling and public transport.

Although the road authority, Vejdirektoratet, has set aside 125 million kroner to refurbish the motorway bridge in 2020 to give it another 55 years of life, its days might be numbered.

In September, Frederiksberg City Council agreed to spend 200,000 kroner to investigate how much it would cost to install a tunnel and open the 800-metre stretch of land for new housing and green spaces. According to Ingeniøren, the engineering firm Rambøll estimates that it could be done for around 1.6 billion kroner.

Last month, two MPs joined forces to lend their support for the tunnel proposal. Ida Auken (Radikale) and Jan E. Jørgensen (Venstre) argue that the "noisy and ugly" bridge should be torn down, and the landowner – the state – should invest in developing the area. Selling some of the land to developers could even cover some of the cost.

"There are naturally limits to how much money the state and [Frederiksberg and Copenhagen] municipalities can invest in the project, but we need to investigate to what extent the project could be self-financing," they write.

"This model could correct a historic error and create an exciting new area. It ought to be in everyone's interest that Bispeengbuen does not stand for another 55 years."

In the meantime, the space beneath the bridge may get a new lease of life. Normally a car park, the space is also used for the occasional flea market and concert.



A render of how the land around Bispeengbuen could be used, if the motorway was – in this case only partially – torn down.

Gabriele Dellisanti

But now Frederiksberg municipality has approved the construction of a food market under the bridge, named "Food and More" (Mad med Mere under Buen).

"Food and More under the bridge will fuel the creative industries that we in Copenhagen are so heavily investing in. If Copenhagen wants to maintain its position as a creative metropolis and continue to evolve, it requires these smart and clever solutions, such as a food market under a six-lane highway," said Carl Christian Ebbesen (DF), Copenhagen's deputy mayor for culture and leisure.

The market will not be limited to selling food, but will be open to hosting exhibitions, creative workshops

and other similar initiatives that could benefit the community.

Half a million kroner to cancel a party

The new light rail network in Aarhus cost 3.5 billion kroner and was designed to strengthen the city's weak public transport network. But a series of errors delayed the planned opening on September 23, and it's now not expected to be operational before November 26.

The delay has proved a huge scandal in the city, which will have to spend millions on replacement bus services in the meantime.

The opening was cancelled with just one day's notice, meaning that

a party to celebrate the new line had to be abandoned at the last minute. The cost? 570,000 kroner.

Hitchhiking statues around Copenhagen

A number of wooden sculptures depicting men with outstretched arms and a thumbs-up have been placed around Copenhagen at designated hitchhiking spots. The initiative copies efforts in countries such as Germany and Holland, and is designed to celebrate and encourage carpooling. The wooden figures will soon be replaced with official road signs marking the hitchhiking spots, and be kept in place for a two-year trial period. **M**

ENJOY A SLICE OF **AMERICA** IN COPENHAGEN

Traditional handmade pie to round off your Thanksgiving meal!

THERE IS A famous saying in the USA: "Nothing is more American than Mom, Baseball, and Apple Pie". Creative Director and partner at The American Pie Company, Erin Chapman, says that in the USA, pie is truly a part of every Americans' DNA. And in October 2015, The American Pie Co. opened its doors, offering Danes this unique taste of America.

The pie shop's vibe itself is unique in that it has a vintage feel, appealing to both mom and pop. "My grandmother always said 'Men love pie', and we have found that to be true – a lot of our regulars are men coming in to enjoy a savoury pie with a beer, or a sweet pie with a cup of coffee," explains Erin. Every pie is made from scratch each day using authentic American recipes – some of which Erin's family favourites. "I think we are unique in that our sweet pies change every three months to reflect



Erin Eberhardt Chapman (left) Dorte Prip (right)

the seasons, meaning there is never a dull moment at the pie shop – especially at Thanksgiving!" Erin loves the down-to-earth nature of pies, and their easy-going, no-stress, handmade philosophy – something The American Pie Co. tries to embody in its Copenhagen shop. **M**

WORD ON THE STREET

Don't take our word for it, these pie fans share their experiences of The American Pie Co. and America's biggest pie day – Thanksgiving:

JEFF NIELSEN happened across The American Pie Co. one October day a few years back. Being Thanksgiving time, he was desperate to find a good American pumpkin pie.



Q WHAT HAS YOU COMING BACK FOR MORE?

A I come back because their pies taste like they are home-made in New York City and flown to Copenhagen the same day. They're made just as every American remembers from childhood.

JASON PETERS says that the pies and coffee at The American Pie Company is great, but what keeps him coming back is the atmosphere and the people. It's a slice of home.



Q HOW WILL YOU BE CELEBRATING THANKSGIVING?

A We are celebrating Thanksgiving twice, once with The American Pie Co., the second with a group of friends. There's bound to be lots of pie at both meals!

JULIE LANDRY lives around the corner from the shop, and couldn't pass up the opportunity to try it out.



Q HAVE YOU ATTENDED ONE OF THE AMERICAN PIE CO. BAKING CLASSES?

A I have, and it was such a fun experience. In addition to learning how to make a pie crust from scratch, Erin also taught us how to make a lattice crust, a meringue and we each brought home two pies we made in class.

The American Pie Company will be offering special gift cards as Christmas gifts to those home bakers out there who want to learn the fundamentals of pie baking. Check out the website for details on their next pie-making class: www.theamericanpieco.com

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POLITICS



ELECTION DRAMA

Anna Mee Allerslev withdraws from mayoral race after allegations of nepotism

COPENHAGEN'S mayoral candidate for the Social Liberal Party (Radikale), Anna Mee Allerslev, has withdrawn from the upcoming municipal elections after a series of revelations about her conduct as deputy mayor for employment integration.

In September, tabloid BT discovered that Allerslev held her wedding reception in City Hall without having to pay the normal fee of 65,000 kroner. A verbal agreement between the political parties allows officials to borrow City Hall's facilities free of charge, but City Hall's own written rules require payment. BT also revealed that Allerslev asked civil servants a total of 84 questions in organising the wedding.

BT also discovered that Allerslev intervened to help a personal friend who had submitted a building application to City Hall. Allerslev sent 45 detailed questions about the application.

After a number of high-profile members of the local division of the party withdrew their support and criticised Allerslev's behaviour, she withdrew her candidacy from the November municipal election.

The affair revealed deep splits in the party, which has long questioned Allerslev's methods. In a leader in Information newspaper, they argue that the party let voters down by supporting her candidacy despite dissatisfaction with her behaviour.

An article in Altinget describes Allerslev as incredibly hard-working and with a high level of attention to detail. While this work ethic served her well in her duties as deputy mayor, her mixing of public and private interests ultimately led to her downfall. **M**

OPPOSITION BUILDS TO RUSSIAN GAS PIPELINE

Allowing Russia to build a second gas pipeline through Danish territory would legitimise Russia at a time of heightened tensions, argues a broad majority in the Danish Parliament.

PARLIAMENT may block the construction of a planned gas pipeline from Russia to Germany, Nord Stream 2, which would stretch 1,200 kilometres through the Baltic Sea.

The pipeline is slated to pass through Danish territory off the coast of Bornholm, giving the Danish government a say over the pipeline's fate. And in Parliament, there is growing opposition to giving Russia increased influence over Europe's energy supply.

The first pipeline between Germany and Russia, Nord Stream 1, was completed in 2012 and has an annual capacity of 55 billion cubic metres. Nord Stream 2 would run parallel to the first, doubling its capacity.

The pipeline has been planned for a number of years, and has proved a geopolitical headache for the Danish government. Nord Stream 2 has a number of European investors, including Shell in the Netherlands and Engie in France, and is tacitly supported by the German government, which is a major consumer of Russian gas. But a number of EU states, as well as EU

Council President Donald Tusk, have expressed their disapproval, as has a majority in the US Senate.

Now a broad consensus is building in the Danish Parliament to deny approval for the new pipeline to run through Danish territory. First, the combined left-wing opposition voiced its objection to the project in mid-October, demanding that the government reject the project.

"It is strange to be in a position in which Russia is behaving so aggressively that we have to have soldiers in the Baltic states, while at the same time we are enabling their investments," Nicolai Wammen, defence spokesperson for the Social Democrats (Socialdemokratiet), told Politiken newspaper.

When Parliament opened this autumn, the government presented legislation that would enable the government to refuse infrastructure projects, such as Nord Stream 2, based on Danish security interests.

Soon after, two of the three governing parties, the Liberal Party (Venstre) and the Conservative People's Party (Konservative), publicly announced their opposition to the pipeline.

In a joint op-ed in Berlingske, they argued that Russia's aggression in Ukraine and aggressive military manoeuvres in the Baltic mean that Denmark and the EU need to take a tougher line. For while the pipeline is technically a private enterprise, they argue that permitting its construction through Danish territory would effectively

grant Russia official recognition as a legitimate trading partner.

They add that the pipeline would also enable Russia to exert even more control over Eastern Europe and Ukraine, which are heavily reliant on Russian gas. The pipeline would allow Russia to keep the gas flowing to Western Europe even as it cuts off supplies to countries it is trying to exert influence over.

"It would send a signal that we accept Russia's bullying methods. These not only include the violation of Danish airspace, hacking of our military, and threats towards our good European neighbours, but also Russia's illegal invasion and occupation of portions of Ukraine and the shooting down of a passenger jet on its way from Amsterdam to Kuala Lumpur, resulting in 298 deaths," they write.

"The question of Nord Stream 2 is not simply a question of gas supply. It is a question of whether we are prepared to defend our democratic principles."

Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen (Venstre) would much rather that Denmark not decide the issue on its own, but that the EU Commission negotiate on its behalf. Without Germany's support, however, Rasmussen has been unable to secure a mandate for EU negotiations.

"If this is to be negotiated, it ought to be on a European level," Rasmussen told Ritzau. "It's about ensuring that Europe is energy self-sufficient, and ensuring that Russia is not given such a strong hand." **M**



Construction of the pipes for the Nord Stream 2 pipeline.

IN BRIEF



The burqa

FACIAL MASKS TO BE BANNED

A majority in Parliament has now agreed to a de facto ban on the burka and niqab

IT WILL SOON be illegal to cover your face in public, after the Danish People's Party (DF) secured a majority for a proposed ban on facial masks in early October.

The ban is a compromise whose ambition is to indirectly target women in the Muslim community who wear the niqab or burka – both fully cover the body and face, though the former has an opening for eyes and the latter does not.

Jakob Ellemann-Jensen, political spokesperson for the Liberal Party – a member of the minority right-wing coalition government – argued that people cannot reasonably expect to hide their identities in public.

"This is not a religiously-specific masking ban. Of course the burka and niqab are included. But that does not mean we are banning headscarves, turbans, skullcaps, crosses or anything else. It is not only about burkas, but also Ku Klux Klan costumes and drug dealers in Christiania covering their faces," Ellemann told Ritzau.

DF's proposal comes after the European Court of Human Rights upheld a similar ban in Belgium this summer. But the government was initially divided. Liberal Alliance (LA) and Venstre were officially opposed, while the Conservative People's Party (Konservative) was fully behind it.

MASK BAN COMPROMISE

During the autumn, a number of Venstre MPs changed course and called for a ban of the burka and niqab. But the party remained divided, and a number of prominent MPs said they could not support a ban that specifically targeted one religious group. LA also expressed concern over legislating how people should dress.

In early October, Venstre and LA decided that they would support a law that banned masks



The niqab

without specifically targeting Muslim attire. LA leader and foreign minister Anders Samuelsen says he will vote for the law so that Parliament can move on from the issue, but is unsure that it will work as intended.

The legislation is also receiving support from the opposition Social Democrats (Socialdemokratiet), who opposed a similar law as recently as 2014.

"The challenges presented by parallel societies have increased, and we have to take it seriously. The burka and niqab are part of the problem," the party's political spokesperson, Nicolai Wammen, told DR.

DANES IN FAVOUR

Together, the governing parties, DF and Socialdemokratiet represent an overwhelming majority in Parliament, which reflects public attitudes towards the ban. A recent survey by Epinion for DR found that 62 percent of Danes stated they supported a ban on the burka and niqab.

Morten Østergaard, leader of the Social Liberal Party (Radikale), agrees with the government and Socialdemokratiet that both the niqab and burka are symbols of oppression. But he argues that the ban is the wrong strategy.

"Instead of a ban, we should put all of our forces into fighting coercion and social control in all of its forms, regardless of who is committing it. We should not turn victims into perpetrators, but help those who want to break free," Østergaard wrote on Facebook.

Venstre MP Eva Kjer Hansen has promised to vote against the ban, arguing that it is illiberal to legislate on clothing.

"This issue is about fundamental values of freedom, liberalism and tolerance, and I think the integration problems we face should be attacked in another way," she told DR.

In 2010, the University of Copenhagen found that no more than 200 women in Denmark wore the niqab. They could find only three who wore the burka. The study also found that the majority of those who wore the clothes were converts. **M**

OBSTACLES TO COLLECTING EU STUDENT DEBT

EU students owe the Danish state millions of kroner in unpaid debt because the state has no way to recoup it.

In September, DR reported that the state has been unable to recoup 40 percent of the loans owed to it. EU students owe a total of 782 million in student loans, of which 123 million is in arrears – up from 58 million in 2011.

Following an EU ruling in 2013, EU students who work at least ten hours a week are entitled to Danish student maintenance grants (SU) and student loans.

But EU students who leave Denmark after their studies can get away with not repaying their debt. There are EU laws that enable countries to cooperate in recouping debt across borders, but these laws do not apply to student loans.

The main issue is that while student loan recipients agree to update their address information when they leave the country, many do not or are unaware that they should.

The government has now contacted the European Commission to express its concern and request a legislative fix to the problem.

Each year, around 23 percent of EU student loan recipients have not begun to repay the debt as mandated, compared to 17 percent of Danish students.

CLEARER TAX RULES FOR AIRBNB RENTAL

The 'sharing economy' presents enormous opportunities and needs to be encouraged, argues the government, which presented 22 initiatives to support companies that employ the business model.

Broadly speaking, the sharing economy involves economic activities in which a person rents their property to a stranger – for example their home (AirBnB) or their car (Go-More) – and pays a fee to the platform that connected them.

"We want more and larger businesses that employ the sharing economy model, and we want more

Danes to take advantage of the opportunities that the sharing economy offers. It will create development and growth, which benefits the environment, society, and the individual citizen," Business Minister Brian Mikkelsen stated.

To improve the economic incentive, the government will allow Danes to earn 5,000 kroner tax-free per year renting their cars or boats. Homeowners will now be able to earn 36,000 kroner a year in tax-free property rentals, up from 24,000 kroner, though they may only rent their homes for 90 days per year.

These tax deductions can only be taken, however, if the property is rented through an established platform, such as AirBnB, that reports earnings directly to the tax authority, SKAT.

NEW METHODS TO DEPORT CRIMINALS

The government has presented a raft of new measures that will make it easier to deport foreign criminals.

"We have sadly seen a number of examples of deeply criminal foreigners who have claimed the right to family life in order to stay in Denmark – while the rest of immigrant gang is outside the court cheering," Immigration Minister Inger Støjberg stated in a press release.

In the spring, the government established a commission tasked with recommending strategies to increase deportations without violating Denmark's obligations under international human rights law.

The five new recommendations include increasing information sharing between authorities regarding deportation cases, increasing the use of administrative deportations of criminals for the sake of public order, as well as changing the law to increase the number of crimes that can result in a deportation order. **M**



Photos from the 2013 municipal election in 2013, taken inside Copenhagen City Hall on election night.

VOTE! Municipal & Regional Elections 2017

Are you an EU or EEA national living in Denmark? Or are you an international citizen who has been a resident of Denmark for three years or more? If so, you can vote in municipal and regional elections on November 21. Here is a brief guide with all the information you need

You can vote in the election if:

You are age 18 or over, and satisfy one of the three conditions:

- You are a Danish citizen.
- A citizen of an EU nation, Norway or Iceland, and resident in the Kingdom of Denmark.
- A citizen of any country who has legally resided in Denmark for at least three years before the election.

How do I register and vote?

All residents of Denmark who qualify to vote are automatically added to the electoral roll. Polling cards will be mailed out to all qualifying residents and will arrive no later than five days before the election. If you do not receive a polling card, contact your municipality. The polling card includes information on how and where to vote on November 21.

If you know that you cannot vote in person on November 21, you can vote early until November 17. Most often, early voting will take place in your municipality's City Hall. In Copenhagen, several libraries will also be open for early voting. Contact your municipality for more information.

What do municipalities and regions do?

Denmark is divided into five regions (regioner) and 98 municipalities (kommuner), which are responsible for providing a range of services. Unlike local authorities in many countries, regions and municipalities have enormous authority, and allocate around half of all public spending in Denmark.

Municipalities are responsible for social services, schools, unemployment programmes, integration of immigrants, environmental planning, and libraries. Municipalities also set income tax levels. Their total budget in 2017 was 368 billion kroner.

Regions are responsible for health care and hospitals, psychiatry, soil pollution, resource mapping, regional traffic, and regional development of the environment, tourism, businesses, education and employment. Their total budget in 2017 was 115 billion kroner.

How does local politics work?

Municipalities are run by a political council (regionsråd or kommunalbestyrelse), which is elected every four years. There are always 41 members in a regionsråd, while the number of seats in a kommunalbestyrelse varies from 9 to 55, depending on the size of the municipality in question.

Seats in the regionsråd and kommunalbestyrelser are divided between parties using the d'Hondt method. To prevent lost votes, parties can join together in electoral alliances that pool votes and then divide them between the parties in the alliance. This means that small parties that don't stand a chance of winning a seat can effectively give their votes to larger parties they are aligned with.

Each municipality has a mayor, who directs the finance committee. This is the only committee a municipality is obligated to have, though many municipalities have a number of permanent political committees. Each manages an administration with a specific area of responsibility, for example culture and leisure, or social affairs.

Leadership of the political committees is divided between the political parties after the election based on the performance of the parties and deal-making between political alliances. Very crudely speaking, the leader of the largest party will become mayor, then the leader of the next-largest party gets to choose their preferred committee, and so on.

This isn't always the case, however, and it is not uncommon for parties to form unusual alliances and/or forsake the mayoral position in order to control prized political committees.

How is Copenhagen City Hall different?

Copenhagen municipality is the only municipality with 55 seats, making up what is called the borgerrepræsentation. The top political leader is called the Lord Mayor (overborgmester), which can be confusing in an international context, given that the Lord Mayor is normally a ceremonial, and not a political, title.

In Copenhagen, leaders of the permanent committees are called mayors, but in The Murmur we often refer to committee leaders as 'deputy mayors' for clarity.

Who are the parties?

There are nine main parties contesting almost every municipality in Denmark. These are divided roughly between two blocs, the left-wing "red" bloc and the right-wing "blue" bloc. However, political parties are more likely to form cross-aisle alliances in local, rather than national, politics.

Left-wing "red" bloc

Social Democrats (Socialdemokratiet)

The centre-left 'labour' party, traditional leaders on the left wing. Pro-welfare, but has adopted populist positions on immigration.

Social Liberal Party (Radikale)

Centrist, attempting to balance fiscal discipline with a social conscience.

Socialist People's Party (Socialistisk Folkeparti)

Sitting to the left of the Social Democrats, SF has a pro-welfare and environmental profile.

Red-Green Alliance (Enhedslisten)

Sitting even further left than SF, Enhedslisten wants a strong public sector and has a strong focus on tackling inequality.

The Alternative (Alternativet)

A new centrist, pro-green and pro-entrepreneurial party, contesting its first municipal elections.

Right-wing "blue" bloc

The Liberal Party (Venstre)

A traditional centre-right liberal party and the leading party on the right wing.

The Conservative People's Party (Konservative)

A traditional conservative party with a focus on fiscal discipline and family values.

Liberal Alliance (Liberal Alliance)

A libertarian, small-government and low-tax party.

Danish People's Party (Dansk Folkeparti)

An anti-immigration and pro-welfare party with populist characteristics.

359,106 33.5%

The number of foreign nationals who can vote in the 2017 local elections across Denmark. 180,121 are EU, Norwegian and Icelandic nationals. Foreign nationals make up 7.6% of the total electorate. (Source: Ministry for Economic Affairs and the Interior)

The share of eligible foreign nationals who voted in the 2013 local elections, compared to 74.8% of Danes. (Source: Centre of Voting and Parties, University of Copenhagen)

INTERNATIONALS DON'T KNOW THEIR RIGHTS

In October, The Murmur carried out a survey and quiz of its readers to find out what they knew about their voting rights, which 122 readers completed. The simple fact is that many didn't have a clue. We asked two questions and gave three possible answers each

Can EU and EEA residents in Denmark vote in municipal and regional elections?

CORRECT ANSWER: Yes, immediately after becoming a resident – 58.2%

Wrong answer: Yes but only after three years residency – 36.9%

Wrong answer: No – 4.9 %

Can non-EU and EEA residents in Denmark vote in municipal and regional elections?

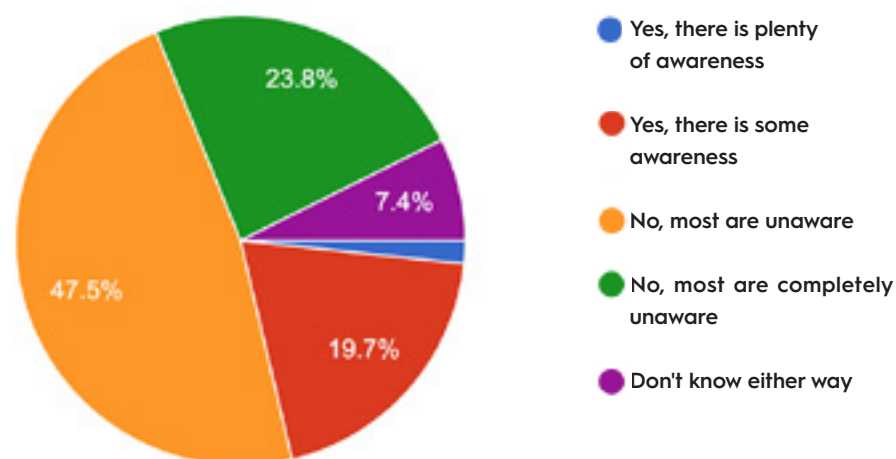
CORRECT ANSWER: Yes but only after three years residency – 51.6%

Wrong answer: Yes, immediately after becoming a resident – 33.6%

Wrong answer: No – 14.8%

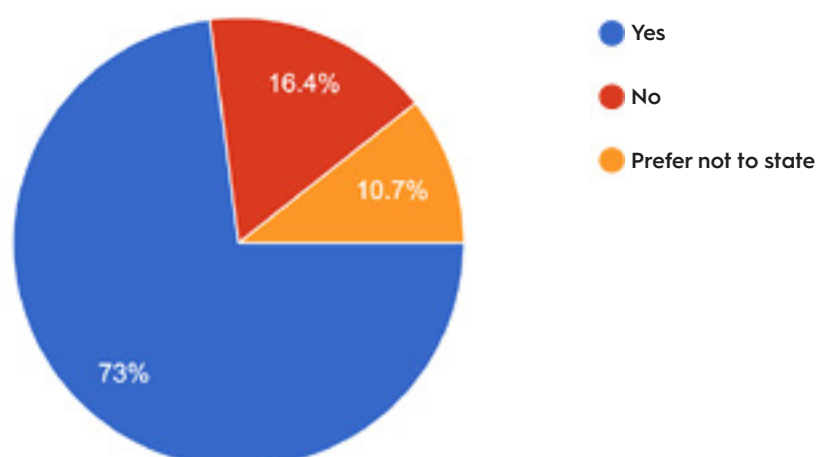
In summary, only around half of the internationals we surveyed, knew who was and was not entitled to vote in the coming election. This was reflected by their response to the question:

Do you think internationals in Denmark are aware of their voting rights?



But there is some positive news too, as almost three quarters of internationals reported that they will take advantage of their right to vote.

Will you vote in the upcoming Municipal and Regional election on November 21?



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Copenhagen
International
School



"Education is the remedy for a bad start in life"

Lord Mayor **FRANK JENSEN** is the mayoral candidate for the Social Democrats (Socialdemokratiet) in Copenhagen Municipality. Justice minister between 1996 and 2001, he was first elected Copenhagen's Lord Mayor in 2009, and is now seeking a third term in office

Do you think that the city's developer By & Havn is pursuing the right strategy regarding to whom it sells land, in terms of creating an inclusive and liveable city? For example, there are now concerns that even Papirøen – which currently houses a street food market – will be transformed into expensive apartments that are out of reach for ordinary citizens. Even if 25 percent of new housing is social, are we at risk of losing unique cultural and social space in the city with the current development strategy?

We have an urgent need for more housing, as Copenhagen is growing day by day. We want to keep our social and cultural spaces as vibrant and diverse as possible. I hope you get the same impression, when biking through the city on the weekend.

At Papirøen, we have made proposals to build an indoor swimming pool, something Copenhageners have longed for for decades. The current street food market and other activities on Papirøen will be moved further out on Refshaleøen, where there is even more space for creativity and visitors. Refshaleøen will be full of life and also host modern housing for students.

The Liberal Party (Venstre) candidate for Lord Mayor, Cecilia Lonning-Skovgaard wants to close schools that don't accept the government's offer of extra funding for challenged schools. She argues that it demonstrates that the schools are not ambitious enough in improving the quality of student learning and outcomes. Why is she wrong?

I want to keep the long view in

FRANK JENSEN

Socialdemokratiet



Main points:

Cleaner air

More cheap rental apartments

More social workers to work with children at risk of joining gangs

Better housing and living conditions for elderly in care.

Continued investment in school infrastructure and staff

Peter Stanners

my approach to policy and refrain from grandstanding and populism. If the government starts to micromanage our city every time Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen gets a supposedly good idea, we'll dissolve the trust that we've worked so hard on building up with strong principals, teachers, social workers and every other public employee in our city. Once you're outside City Hall, the world is rarely black and white, and legislation works in a myriad of different ways.

When Lonning-Skovgaard proposes to shut down schools that are facing challenges, it makes me genuinely worried about the future of our bipartisan approach and long-term view of politics, and about the uncertainty it creates among city employees.

Lonning-Skovgaard links the poor scholastic achievement of children of immigrants with gang and crime activity. At one point she proposed firing family members of convicted gang members employed by the municipality. Are tougher measures needed to disincentivise a life of crime?

Copenhagen is the biggest and most diverse city in Denmark. That doesn't mean that we aren't committed to constantly improving our schools, especially in neighbourhoods with a high proportion of immigrants. Education is the remedy for a bad start in life. And our education system is our most effective way of reaching youth.

I do not believe in punishing family members of criminals. Let's say you're the brother of a gang member, but you've worked your whole life to break away



from his path with education and work. Now you're employed in the city's after-school care, and you're doing an excellent job of keeping young kids off the street. Does anyone genuinely believe it would be good policy to fire you because your brother doesn't possess the same willpower?

The finance minister has criticised the municipality for not lowering income taxes despite its budget surplus. Couldn't Copenhageners benefit from paying less in property and income taxes?

Everybody could probably benefit from lower taxes, but it would impede our ability to deliver the best welfare to Copenhageners. Oh, and maybe the finance minister should compare the taxes in his hometown of Herning with Copenhagen before he criticises us – in Copenhagen the municipal tax rate is 23.8 percent, while in Herning it is 24.9 percent.

Copenhagen remains a climate

leader, but faces challenges reaching its CO2 goal unless more is done to reduce emissions, particularly from transport. Is this possible without government incentives to move toward electric vehicles? Why doesn't the city bring forward its electric bus programme? And won't banning diesel cars affect many ordinary families?

We've recently launched a clean air policy wherein we wish to ban new diesel cars from the city by 2019, speed up the conversion to electric busses so that every bus will run on clean energy by 2023, and make sure cruise ship captains turn off their ship's engine when docked. Another big source of pollution are the wood-fired stoves in private homes. We've introduced a cash incentive for people to exchange them for newer and cleaner ones. With regards to diesel cars, they will be phased out gradually, making sure citizens have time to adapt. **M**

frank-jensen.dk

"We want to respect ordinary taxpayers and their money"

CECILIA LONNING-SKOYGAARD is the mayoral candidate for the Liberal Party (Venstre), the leading right-wing opposition party. Lonning-Skovgaard has represented Venstre on the City Council since 2005, has a Master of Public Administration from Harvard University, and also works as a Senior Director at Dong Energy

Finance minister Kristian Jensen, who is also from Venstre, has criticised Copenhagen for not lowering its income tax rate despite running a large surplus. Do you agree with Jensen that taxes should come down?

Yes. Copenhagen is financially a very strong city, and we should be able to reduce taxes for ordinary taxpayers to make it more affordable, especially for families with young children, to live in Copenhagen. We know that property prices are high and it's expensive to be here. Alternatively, we could lower taxes on business, as we have relatively high taxes compared with other cities.

The problem is we are throwing millions and millions of kroner away on things like green recycling baskets for organic waste. Overall, asking people to contribute to recycling is fine, but our main objection to the initiative is that it feels rushed out as a last hurrah for Morten Kabell [Deputy Mayor for technical and environmental affairs, who is not standing for re-election]. The system isn't working, people are complaining about flies, it's been expensive to distribute, and the biogas facility is a long distance from the city.

Venstre has historically been very pro-car. Is individual car ownership really the future for Copenhageners?

Leading up to the election, we have tried to broaden our position on transportation. We want to update and improve public transportation, especially the metro, which we want to build out to Nordhavn, Sydhavn, Refshaleøen and Brønshøj. Of course, we also need safe bicycle

CECILIA LONNING-SKOYGAARD

Venstre



Main points:

Stronger public schools

More Copenhageners in work

Mobility – for cars, bikes and pedestrians

Confronting ghettos and parallel societies

A green city

paths, too. And Copenhageners are buying more cars, which is why we want to build the harbour tunnel so drivers can avoid the city centre. We also want to develop car-sharing programmes, which are popular among the younger generation.

What about Frank Jensen's proposal to ban diesel cars from the city? You wrote on Facebook that it wasn't a realistic proposal. What is?

To start with, pollution levels are not rising to the levels that Frank Jensen is saying they are. But overall, our take on the environmental agenda is that we would much rather pursue solutions in which we offer residents positive incentives to shift towards new technology. For example, rather than banning diesel cars and wood-burning ovens, as the left wing has suggested, we could provide an economic incentive to retrofit cars and ovens with filters to reduce pollution. It's hypocritical to ban these things while throwing taxpayers' money away on green garbage cans or city bikes that aren't working properly and so on. We want to respect ordinary taxpayers and their money and their ability to just lead their lives in Copenhagen.

The government created a special fund for underperforming schools this year, in which they can apply for around 1.4 million kroner a year for three years to boost performance. None of the Copenhagen schools that qualify have applied for the funding, however, arguing that the process was bureaucratic and that they had to demonstrate improvements in student performance before they even received the funding. But even though it's voluntary, you have threatened to close the schools. Why?

Peter Stanners



Rasmus Degnbøl

It's their choice to decline the funding, but for the life of me I can't see why they would. What sort of signal are they sending to their students and teachers – that under no given circumstances can they improve in three years? It's a massively wrong signal to send. I believe there is consensus in the city's schools that it's impossible to change anything – that there are students who are impossible to teach. But a quarter of students don't learn to properly read, write, and do math. It's not good enough. It's not acceptable that we are worried about gangs, but then feed the gangs with students who have no basic skills and are unable to pursue a youth education. Maybe in this situation we need to tell the worst schools that they need to commit to immediate change, and if they do not change within a few years, to close them and open them again with a new profile and management.

In an interview with Politiken newspaper, you proposed firing municipality employees if their children continue in gang activity. Is that a

policy you still stand behind?

I clarified my position afterward in which I explained that firing the parents of criminals is too severe and wouldn't solve the problem. But Venstre in Copenhagen wants to stop welfare payments to registered gang members, and introduce stronger demands on families to supervise and support at risk or criminal children, or risk eviction from public housing or cuts to benefits.

How does it feel going into the election as the underdog?

Obviously it sets a certain framework for the election – we know we won't win the position of Lord Mayor. So instead, we are looking to hold onto our mayoral position, improve on 2013, and start building toward 2021 or 2025. New residents are increasingly right-leaning, as are young people. But for now, I am energised, the party base is energised, and we are looking to fight for our lives. **M**

kobenhavn.venstre.dk

COPENHAGEN MUNICIPAL ELECTION

MEET THE CANDIDATES

On the previous two pages, we introduced you to the mayoral candidates in Copenhagen Municipality from the largest parties on the left and right political wings. On the next three pages, you will find Q&As with the mayoral candidates from the remaining seven major parties contesting the election in Copenhagen. Sadly, we don't have space to cover the five regional elections, or the contests in the other 98 municipalities around Denmark. But we hope that their answers will offer insights into how the parties think.

**ALEX VANOPSLAGH – LIBERAL ALLIANCE**

What is the biggest challenge facing Copenhagen today?

Ensuring that the city's services actually work, both for the most socially marginalized as well as for the breadwinners of our city who toil everyday to keep it all running. The city currently spends far too much on frivolous stuff that benefit only the well-paid consultants who work on it. The Liberal Alliance is running on a comprehensive plan that seeks to cut taxes substantially by 2025, reduce spending on frivolous stuff and increase funding for activities that help the marginalized people of our city.

What can City Hall do to address to lower gang crime?

Taking the gloves off when it comes to ensuring law and order. No more leniency towards hardened criminals or subsidizing their activities, as has been the case with the publicly funded Folkets Hus (The People's House) in Nørrebro, which on several occasions was used by the Loyal to Familia gang. We also need to look at loosening our policy regarding narcotics – hopefully and eventually by legalizing marijuana and other drugs – but that has to be carried out together with parliament to be effective

Are climate and environmental issues prioritised highly enough by City Hall?

They hardly talk about anything else. But climate and environmental issues are not an end to themselves, as the left-wing parties controlling City Hall claim, but a means. It is about ensuring that Copenhagen is a city with good conditions for a decent and good life, and of course such policies play an integral part. But Copenhagen already has too many hair-brained environmental schemes enacted without regard for the real life costs and benefits they create.

What can be done to make Copenhagen a better city for businesses and entrepreneurs

Our 2025 plan includes substantial tax cuts to both individuals and businesses, and we are dead set on removing barriers to businesses and entrepreneurs – while the left-wing parties are all too keen to create more. It is also a matter of ensuring that Copenhagen is open to traffic by cars and vans, which are indispensable to most businesses.

What can be done to better support the city's most marginalised citizens?

We need to ramp up support for additional hostels for the homeless as well as facilities for drug addicts to safely consume their drugs instead of hounding them. We need to look into more temporary housing solutions in containers, and we need a fresh perspective on all of social policy after too many years with far too many scandals and too little action.

What are your party's ambitions for the next four years?

We hope to make Copenhagen a better city to live in – for everyone, especially people working hard to keep the city running everyday. Copenhagen must not be turned into a ghetto for the creative class.

la-kbh.dk

**JAKOB NÆSAGER – CONSERVATIVE PEOPLE'S PARTY (KONSERVATIVER)**

What is the biggest challenge facing Copenhagen today?

The biggest challenge is to prepare Copenhagen for the future. The city is growing by 10,000 inhabitants a year – we have grown by 100,000 over the past ten years, and expect to grow by another 100,000 inhabitants over the next ten. It is therefore important that there are enough homes, schools, daycare and sports facilities for all Copenhagens. The infrastructure must also be prepared for the future. We have to bury traffic underground. We need more Metro lines and a harbour tunnel for car traffic, which will provide more space for pedestrians, cyclists and local traffic.

What can City Hall do to reduce gang crime?

In order to address gang crime, we must break up the parallel societies. We must integrate everyone through the labour market and sports associations. Anyone who receives unemployment benefits from the municipality must be prepared to work and give back to the municipality that is helping them. Integration in the labour market is the solution to abolishing parallel societies.

Are climate and environmental issues highly prioritized at City Hall?

We want Copenhagen to be CO2 neutral by 2025. We want to be environmentally friendly, so it is important that the municipality uses renewable energy, not only for heating, but also to power the municipality's electric vehicles. We also need to protect ourselves from climate change, and the threats posed by rising sea levels.

What can be done to make Copenhagen a better city for businesses and entrepreneurs?

It is expensive to operate a business in Copenhagen, as well as inconvenient, because of the many traffic jams and the lack of parking for company cars, employees and customers. We will make it both easier and cheaper to start and run a business in Copenhagen.

What can be done to better support the city's most marginalised citizens?

Many of Copenhagen's homeless are foreigners. It's the responsibility of their home country and embassies to take responsibility for their compatriots. The municipality must help Danish homeless with housing, and out of possible substance abuse.

What are your party's ambitions for the next four years?

In the next four years, Copenhagen will be cleaner and better prepared for the future, with far better infrastructure, and with metro reaching out to all the districts.

kbh.konservative.dk



TOMMY PEDERSEN* – SOCIAL LIBERAL PARTY (RADIKALE)

What is the biggest challenge facing Copenhagen today?

The biggest overall challenge is to make sure that our children's opportunities are not negatively affected by the educational and economic situation of their parents. We can see that it's hard to break that cycle so we need to invest much more heavily in the early years. To do so we need more professionals in our day care to take care of our kids.

What can City Hall do to address to lower gang crime?

City Hall is already doing a lot of things when it comes to the social services, employment and integration projects. We are also discussing how to stop the income that is derived from the illegal cannabis market, and Radikale Venstre supports a trial period of public sale of cannabis to see if it has an impact. Otherwise, it's a task for the police, which is why Radikale wants fewer police on the borders and more on the streets.

Are climate and environmental issues prioritised highly enough by City Hall?

They are definitely highly prioritised. It's a centre of our agenda and City Hall has passed a number of policies to support that, including carbon going neutral. Obviously we can only do so much in City Hall, it's a task for the EU to set tougher regulations that will make a much bigger impact. Much of the air pollution in Copenhagen, for example, is blowing in from other countries.

What can be done to make Copenhagen a better city for businesses and entrepreneurs?

One of the biggest issues is that we have a lot of startups but it's hard for them to grow and survive. One problem is access to capital, which is tricky to address from a city hall perspective, as this normally comes from private investors and banks. But we are still looking at how on earth we can assist that. Secondly, in certain industries there are too few caseworkers in City Hall, which creates delays in approval processes. So we can definitely improve their experience with City Hall. It's in our interests to create businesses and jobs in Copenhagen, and I do think we can do much better.

What can be done to better support the city's most marginalised citizens?

I think we have reached a point where we really need to put some legislation in place that will allow us to open public hostels to non-Danes as well – currently only Danes can sleep in publicly funded hostels. In theory, EU regulations allow us to deport EU citizens who don't have a home or job. But it's not high on the police's priorities, and European homeless are coming back regardless. From a humanist perspective, we can't leave them to sleep on the street, we need a solution to that. But City Hall can't do that alone – we need the government and EU.

What are your party's ambitions for the next four years?

Our ambition is that over the next four years Copenhagen will become even more open and diverse as a place where more people feel like it's safe to be themselves. We also want to hire 500 more daycare workers. And before the next election, we hope the first steps will be made to turn H.C. Andersen's Boulevard into a tunnel. It's Denmark's busiest stretch of road, but the space should be used for housing and people, not cars.

radikalehovedstaden.dk

*Mia Nyegaard was elected the mayoral candidate for the Radikale after this interview was carried out.



NIKO GRÜNFELD – THE ALTERNATIVE (ALTERNATIVET)

What is the biggest challenge facing Copenhagen today?

The environmental crisis is global by nature, and the number one political challenge in my opinion. For many politicians and citizens, CO2 neutrality is an overarching aim for Copenhagen, but I believe we need higher expectations and aspirations. We must seek to make a positive environmental impact, so that our city becomes the best city for the world.

What can City Hall do to reduce gang crime?

We need to give children and young people the space to seek healthy activities in their spare time and create a more inviting society where gang-related culture and communities are less attractive. So far, we have not been able to provide young people with enough settings where they can apply their energy to meaningful activities. We therefore need comprehensive action with multiple actors to create alternatives to the communities of criminality and violence, create mentor projects for the socially marginalised and reform our housing policies to counter ghettoisation.

Are climate and environmental issues prioritised highly enough by City Hall?

Copenhagen must position itself globally at the absolute forefront of innovative and green solutions. I believe that green policies need to pervade all other areas of politics: traffic, entrepreneurship, education, health, housing and so forth. I can hardly think of an area of politics where sustainable solutions are not beneficial or relevant. It is of utmost importance that we preserve the Amager Fælled common. We need more sustainable energy sources like solar power. We also need less polluting traffic, to reduce food waste, and to increase the number of green urban spaces.

What can be done to make Copenhagen a better city for businesses and entrepreneurs?

Copenhagen holds great potential for inspiring the inventiveness of social entrepreneurs, but as a serial entrepreneur, I know that we need to cut away some of the bureaucracy. New start-ups face a minefield of permits, applications, licenses and taxation across multiple administrations. This, I believe, can be streamlined through already established measures, such as Business House Copenhagen, where entrepreneurs can get optimal guidance and help dealing with the municipality. We also want to experiment with micro-loans and alternative crowd funding, and create 10-year-long business-related PhD positions.

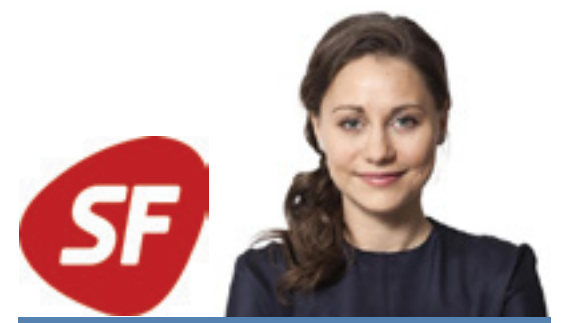
What can be done to better support the city's most marginalised citizens?

We just launched a new policy for the homeless and socially marginalised. This is something we are proud of, as it was established in collaboration with relevant organisations working at street level as well as with 50 homeless people. We suggest that the municipality grant personalised budgets for socially marginalised citizens. We believe in trust rather than control. The individual budgets are to be given without any conditions, only guidance and aid when needed and asked for. We will work towards having caseworkers permanently assigned to the most socially marginalised, with more flexible and tailor-made help depending on individual circumstances.

What are your party's ambitions for the next four years?

We aspire to spark and drive a new political culture. Trust in democracy and politicians is under scrutiny, so we need to invite Copenhageners to co-create the policies that influence their life. We want to introduce the Copenhagen mandate that gives residents the opportunity to propose policies and actions through digital voting and ensure sure that the city's residents have an enhanced influence on public life between elections.

kbh.alternativet.dk



SISSE MARIE WELLING – SOCIALIST PEOPLE'S PARTY (SF)

What is the biggest challenge facing Copenhagen today?

Air pollution in Copenhagen, which kills 500 residents every year, is clearly the biggest challenge. We can have good daycare centers and nursing homes, but if we die or get sick from breathing, there's something wrong. We need to ban wood-burning stoves as well as diesel cars, and spend even more on bicycles, pedestrians and public transport.

What can City Hall do to reduce gang crime?

We have to stop people before they even join gangs, and we must be tough on those who are gang members and make trouble. Young people need to be taken off the streets by extending the opening hours of our clubs and ensuring that there are more clubs for young people age over 18. If we want to eradicate gangs completely, I believe we should remove their biggest source of income: cannabis. We will legalise cannabis and hash and introduce state-authorized dispensaries.

Are climate and environmental issues highly prioritized at City Hall?

We do an insane amount for the climate at the City Hall. Unfortunately, we are very restricted by laws passed by Parliament. If they gave us more leeway, we would introduce road pricing in Copenhagen and ban diesel cars and wood-burning stoves.

What can be done to make Copenhagen a better city for businesses and entrepreneurs?

We made it easier for international companies and the self-employed to gain a foothold in Copenhagen by establishing the International Citizen Centre. In addition, we would like to create even more offices that self-employed residents can use as a base.

What can be done to better support the city's most marginalised citizens?

Marginalisation often begins in childhood, and therefore it is important that we reach out to more at-risk children. By offering them more support in their education, doing more outreach in health-care, and ensuring free access to recreational activities, we can help prevent children from becoming homeless or experiencing other social challenges later in life. Marginalised residents need greater access to free healthcare. We will also build more legal injection rooms in neighbourhoods around the city, and make sure that there are more homeless hostels.

What are your party's ambitions for the next four years?

My biggest ambition for Copenhagen is that we address the situation in which many ordinary citizens are unable to afford to live in the city and where green areas have become a luxury. We are going to build more cheap homes, as well as housing for students and the elderly. We need more nature in the city if we want to get our air quality under control so we can breathe properly.

sf.dk/kommunalvalg/koebenhavns-storkreds

COPENHAGEN MUNICIPAL ELECTION MEET THE CANDIDATES



NINNA HEDEAGER OLSEN – RED-GREEN ALLIANCE (ENHEDSLISTEN)

What is the biggest challenge facing Copenhagen today?
One of the greatest challenges in Copenhagen today is growing inequality. The government's reforms of unemployment benefits have had a huge impact on many citizens in Copenhagen, who are having increasing trouble paying their rent. Homes are becoming more and more expensive, so the unemployed, teachers, and social workers are having to move further away from the city. The ill and homeless are being treated terribly due to across-the-board cuts to social services and job centres.

What can City Hall do to reduce gang crime?
Copenhagen needs to be a safe city for all of its residents, regardless of one's background or where one lives. It is therefore extremely important that we put an end to the ongoing conflict. We must build preventative and inclusive communities that offer an alternative to the destructive communities of gangs. At Enhedslisten, we have proposed investing in local citizen initiatives, expanding the opening hours of city clubs and strengthening social work at the street level. It is vitally important that we prevent young people's participation in these gang communities by offering the best recreational opportunities possible for the city's youth. This very urgent problem must be solved by local police who know the neighbourhoods, and by the people who live in the areas where the conflicts are.

Are climate and environmental issues highly prioritized at City Hall?

We have a polluted city because there are too many cars. Every year, Copenhageners die from air pollution, and marginalised residents are at special risk. Copenhagen has a goal to become carbon neutral by 2030. But we demand that this happens now. Copenhagen should create less CO2 and damaging particulates. We need to make more space for bicycles – after all, it is the most popular form of transport. We need to make sure it is easier to get around the city, so we also need to invest in more climate-friendly public transport.

What can be done to make Copenhagen a better city for businesses and entrepreneurs?

We must strengthen the wellbeing of Copenhageners, as welfare contributes to the creation of security. In addition, we must ensure that Copenhagen has good schools that can educate citizens that are wise and capable of critical thinking. Last, but not least, we must of course provide infrastructure that enables businesspeople and contractors to get around the city quickly. We want the municipality to support non-profit companies that aren't driven by profit, but by the goal of creating space for people in the labour market. We want to take social responsibility by creating sustainable employment opportunities for those who have been out of the labour market, but who can and want to work.

What can be done to better support the city's most marginalised citizens?

Conditions for the city's most vulnerable citizens are getting worse and worse. We will put an end to that. We must secure more hostels for homeless citizens so they have a safe place to go. In addition, we must invest in housing for the citizens who are on their way out of homelessness and need to get used to having a home. We must prioritize workers who come into contact with the city's most vulnerable citizens and provide security for them. We must do everything we can to prevent substance abuse and homelessness, but we also have to make sure that the city's vulnerable citizens get all the help they need. It requires multiple and flexible efforts and strong professional specialization.

What are your party's ambitions for the next four years?
Enhedslisten is working hard to ensure proper treatment of and trust in the city's sick and unemployed citizens. At present, the conditions at city workplaces are so bad, and caseworkers under so much pressure, that there is no time or opportunity for proper treatment. We will put an end to that. We must make sure that caseworkers can provide qualified and individual treatment to all the sick and unemployed who need it. We need to change the culture of the entire system – from the mayor to the job centres – so in the future, we focus on trust instead of distrust.

kbh.enhedslisten.dk

CARL CHRISTIAN EBBESEN – DANISH PEOPLE'S PARTY (DF)

What is the biggest challenge facing Copenhagen today?
Gang crime is completely out of control. Young men, primarily from the immigrant community, are driving around and shooting at each other and often hitting innocent residents. It needs to be stopped immediately. But the gang war arises from the parallel societies that have developed in marginalised communities, and that challenge needs to be addressed. We should never accept closed communities where the children don't go to ordinary Danish primary schools, and instead are sent to dubious Muslim private schools of a religious and orthodox character. Nor should we accept men and women with foreign ethnic backgrounds remaining at home and drawing unemployment benefits. They need to get back into the labour market.

What can City Hall do to reduce gang crime?
It is primarily a job for the police. But politicians in Parliament also need to address the issue and increase the criminal penalties so that we can get the worst and most criminal elements deported from Denmark, like the leader of the Loyal To Familia gang. The role of Copenhagen Municipality is to place demands on immigrants so that they participate actively in Danish society, abandon their parallel societies, and be prepared to take on work. That applies to both men and women.

Are climate and environmental issues prioritised highly enough by City Hall?

I can calmly answer yes to that. We have a plan to be CO2 neutral by 2025, a massive investment on public transport – notably the Metro Cityring that is opening in 2019 – as well as a bicycling culture that is admired around the world. At the same time, we can swim in clean water in the city cen-

tre. It's a completely unique capital. Copenhagen has several times in the past few years been named the world's 'most liveable city'.

What can be done to make Copenhagen a better city for businesses and entrepreneurs?

Copenhagen is undergoing rapid development and has over the years been the catalyst for the entire Greater Copenhagen region and the rest of the country. But we can become even better. We need to listen to the wishes of the private sector. We have many creative businesses that we are doing a lot to support. We have just launched a new plan for the area under the Bispeengbuen motorway, where interested actors can create a cultural food market. We know that creative businesses don't just create experiences, but also create more businesses in the city. If it were solely up to me, we would do even more. We know, for example, that skilled labourers experience trouble when they work in Copenhagen. They pay hundreds of kroner in parking tickets every day – that is, if they are lucky enough to find a parking space near their clients. That is not fair to anyone. That is why I propose that labourers or any other business that is dependent on car transport should be able to park for free in Copenhagen.

What can be done to better support the city's most marginalised citizens?

We sadly have large problems with foreign homeless sleeping on our streets. They live a wretched existence, unlike anything we have witnessed before. It's a sad development that requires new solutions. We therefore need more opportunity to send homeless foreigners back to their home countries. But this requires that EU laws on free movement be tightened. That is why I am pleased that this is an area that my party DF is focussed on in Parliament. Danish homeless are helped by our special unit for home-



lessness, who help them toward a permanent living situation. They do so through making contact on the street, in hostels and in crisis centres. Homeless are also allowed to contact the unit themselves, and receive advice and guidance on their finances, housing, and other urgent social circumstances.

What are your party's ambitions for the next four years?

We need to make Copenhagen safe again. In recent years we have witnessed a drastic increase in gang-related shootings and other serious crime. It is therefore a top priority for me and the Danish People's Party that we take tough action until the problem is fixed. This will require more surveillance and for the police to be given more tools in the war against the gangs. On a brighter note, I will continue to work persistently toward ensuring that Copenhageners have more inviting cultural and recreational experiences. One concrete example is that we are investigating where we can establish new football pitches in Nørrebro, libraries in Østerbro and Valby, and much, much more. Copenhageners can trust that I will do everything in my power to improve opportunities to participate in culture and sport in Copenhagen.

lokal.danskfolkeparti.dk/København

Accelerating change for a more sustainable society

Think.dk is a co-creative community seeking to turn good intentions into actions that promote sustainability, sharing and collaboration. Co-founder Anja Müller explains what the project is all about

What was your initial motivation?

We were frustrated with the state of the world. It's like our society is a train racing towards a cliff, and everyone can see it, but no one is taking action to change direction. We are going to fall off that cliff very soon, and we need to wake people up and make them aware that each and every one of us can make a difference. Today, there are many initiatives that can help us live a more sustainable lifestyle, but they remain hidden because they lack a lobby. People are also stuck in their old habits.

Back then, I was working in a design agency as a project manager on a progressive project, but it was still a commercial environment, and I hated it. So many human and financial resources are wasted in commercial advertising! I was struggling to find a more meaningful job because most of them either required a lot of experience, or were just 'greenwashing' for big companies. I had a Master's degree in environmental management and was highly motivated to make a difference in this world, so my situation was pretty depressing.

Our co-founder Martin Kæstel Nielsen had spent a number of years in the same industry as a developer, but had decided early on to go freelance because it gave him the flexibility to work on more meaningful stuff on the side as well. With experience from several start-ups, he was looking for a new way to put his ambition to set the world in motion. But a rational mind needs someone to dance with.

So when we met, we talked a lot about how to really make a difference and we agreed that the way to go was to make people aware of their power – of the fact that their choices have an impact on our society and environment – and how they can make use of it.

How does it work in practice?

You just need to show up at the centre in Østerbro! We host around 20 events each month, from documentary screenings and talks on herbal remedies or mindfulness, to bi-



Most people also have some awareness that things are broken, but they don't know what to do about it. Think.dk is a place where they can get inspired and empowered.

Hana Hasanbegovic

cycle repair workshops and open source programming courses. We also have work groups on different topics, like education or food, that everyone who thinks that there is room for improvement can get involved with.

If you have a paid membership, everything is free. Otherwise, some events are free, but most cost a small fee. This also allows you to host your own event. So if you want to accelerate change yourself, you can just fill out a form and we'll put it in next month's schedule. The only criterion is that it should support our mission of accelerating the change of society towards a more sustainable lifestyle.

And who can get involved?

Anyone, really! Our community of members is made up of people who want to make a difference – people of all backgrounds and all ages. What unites them is that they don't just want to be bystanders while the world goes to hell. They want to do something about it, either by hosting their own events or by supporting us in some way.

We also have the support of some wonderful volunteers who help us with social media or other tasks that we otherwise would never get to work on – so if anyone is out there who is looking to put

their time to a good cause, don't hesitate to come by!

Why is think.dk relevant today?

Because everyone knows about sustainability, but many only associate that term with planting trees or driving their car less. And yes, the environment is an important part, and our natural habitats are suffering a lot because of how things work today. We urgently need to shrink our ecological footprint, use fewer resources, and start applying more environmentally-friendly alternatives. But people forget that sustainability is not only about ecological matters – social and economic sustainability is just as important. Almost everyone in our society is running every day to make ends meet, to be able to pay the rent. People are stressed, and there is hardly time to reflect on the choices we make, let alone to take time to research sustainable alternatives.

Most people also have some awareness that things are broken, but they don't know what to do about it. Think.dk is a place where they can get inspired, empowered and receive support in accelerating change themselves. We want to make it easier to translate good intentions into actions.

We are also a melting pot for

changers of all kinds. If your friends think you're weird because you try to save energy or don't like shopping, you will find new friends here that share that mindset. We think it is important for these people to connect with each other because they have a lot in common, even if they come from different places. Yoga students and open source programmers most likely share some ideals, but they would probably never meet in the world out there, because everyone is mostly moving around in their own bubbles.

We want to show people that they are not alone and that they do have the power to make a difference. We provide a platform for anyone to experiment and explore new forms of collaboration. And we want to grow the sustainable businesses of the future.

How do you fund think.dk?

Good question! So far, the project is completely self-financed. We hope that we can finance the centre through a combination of membership fees and ticket sales for special events, but for now, those remain dreams for the future.

What are your long-term goals?

First, of course, we aim to make the centre in Østerbro self-sustaining in terms of growing the community and getting more people on board. But our long-term goal has always been to support the development of a bigger network. We hope that people in more cities get inspired and want to start a think-centre themselves.

Our whole concept is open source, so anyone can use our concept, design, and infrastructure to start a centre themselves. Imagine it like a franchise, only without the royalty fees. Think.dk is a non-profit, so as soon as a centre makes more money than it needs, we will direct the surplus toward growing the project and setting up more centres in new locations.

This is a very ambitious goal, of course, but we believe that there are many more people out there that are ready to take action before it is too late. Building local communities and empowering people to act is how we can stop the train from going over that cliff. **M**



30-year-old AUGUST ROSENBAUM has been a professional pianist since he was a teenager and this month he releases his third solo album 'Vista', his most original and inventive work to date. He reflects on growing up in a family that supported him every step of the way, on harnessing his self-doubt and perfectionism, and why music is the cure to the 'emotional amputation' of modern existence

"It's crazy living this life where you need to create all the time – it's totally frightening"



August Rosenbaum is a gentle man. It's in his voice as he speaks and in the warm, sheepish smile. He seats me at the kitchen table, and starts to clear away the clutter that amasses when you have a toddler – he and his wife Ea have a two-year-old son. Their apartment, overlooking Jagtvej in Nørrebro, is sparsely decorated, with a few nice designer pieces, lots of plants, and a cheese board that seems to live permanently on the kitchen counter.

Several weeks earlier, I heard Rosenbaum in concert at DR Koncerthuset, where he performed music from his latest album *Vista*, which is being released this month. It's the 30-year-old jazz pianist's third solo release, and it's a rich reinvention – obscure, nostalgic and cinematic.

He took short breaks to chat with the audience during the show, and appeared confident and relaxed. Which you imagine he might be. A graduate of the Rhythmic Music Conservatory in Copenhagen, he's been fêted as a prodigy, having started his professional career at age 13. A year later he won the Copenhagen Steinway Competition, and at 16 received the Jacob Gade Prize, a 100,000 kroner grant given annually to three of Denmark's most promising musical talents. In 2010, at age 23, he won 'Best New Jazz Artist' at the Danish Music Awards following his debut release *Beholder*.

It's not a total surprise to learn that he comes from a family of musicians and actors. His mother, Ina-Miriam, and aunt, Pia, are well-known actors and stage directors, while his grandfather while his grandfather, Simon Rosenbaum, was a celebrated Danish pianist and entertainer. He began his career following the Second World War after returning from Sweden, where he had fled for protection due to his Jewish heritage. He died in 2015.

"My grandfather lived until he was 89 and played right up until the very end. I am 30, and want to sustain this interest in what I do for an-

other 60 years. That's a long run. It's so crazy – how do you do that? I think a lot about it. I tell myself that what I am doing is the right thing, that I should follow my curiosity. But it's crazy living this life, where you need to create all the time. I hope to have a long life in music, but I can't imagine the stamina that it will take. I zoom out and think about how far I want to go. It's totally frightening."

Rosenbaum doesn't need urging to talk about his worries, fears and anxieties – it almost spills out of him. But while he knows that he may have a long way to go, his career has also been decades in the making, urged to play music by his grandfather, and furnished with teachers from age six who nurtured his talent and kept him interested and challenged. As he puts it, "the chain didn't break." But he also had his struggles.

"I did have ups and downs, and lost interest at times. And I have had psychological issues, like a strain that I felt in my hand as a teenager that was probably psychosomatic, since it got worse when I was stressed. I've had to work with that for a long time – the pressure of managing success and not feeling like an imposter. I spent a lot of time worrying about my own talent. It's easy to be my own worst critic, and think that I haven't deserved what's happened. I have had a lot of that. But I've gotten better at managing it."

LISTENERS WANT QUALITY AND DEPTH

Rosenbaum's self-doubt has clearly not inhibited him too much. He's made three solo records, a live album with the August Rosenbaum Trio, written live arrangements for Danish popstar Mø and collaborated with the critically acclaimed duo Rhye. In between, he's written music for movies and theatre, and produced a number of smaller jazz collaborations.

He has also toured the world with singer Coco O. and producer Robin Hannibal, who together form the group Quadron. Hannibal has been nominated for three Grammy Awards – notably through collaborations with rapper Kendrick Lamar – and shares writing and producing credits on *Vista*. The pair met fifteen years ago when Hannibal sold Rosenbaum a Fender Rhodes piano.

Vista was finished last year, but that doesn't mean the work is over.

"I put in five or six years getting the music together, and then I had to build a visual identity around it. I knew that I wouldn't get signed to a good label unless I was hyped in some way. So I had to roll up my sleeves and get to work."

In truth, he seems to enjoy the process and speaks eagerly about creating the album's visu-

I think people are really good at seeing through shit and following quality and depth. I want to think that, but really I do believe it because there is space for progressive instrumental music like mine.

Words:
Peter Stanners

Photos:
Rasmus Degnbol

al universe. In June, he released the first single, 'Nebula', along with a stark music video that he created in collaboration with Swedish artist Andreas Emenius and the Mercedes-Benz 'culture laboratory' Prxjects, which sponsors a large number of up-and-coming Danish musical acts, including Soleima and Liima.

The reality is that without corporate and state sponsors, it's hard to make a living as a musician. Since 2010, Rosenbaum has received several hundred thousand kroner in grants from the Culture Ministry for both solo and group projects. These include funding for choirs and orchestras, as well as personal working grants.

"Grants have been a crucial part of being able to build a career, because you can't do it from scratch – it costs money. Sure, everyone can be a producer and make music in their bedroom. But I like to record things in a studio, and that's not free. In the US there is no support, so music is assessed much more on whether it can compete in the market, whereas that's not the main focus in Denmark. That's really valuable because we can just focus on being creative. This space for creativity is what everyone envies. Having the space to experiment and create something interesting."

Rosenbaum may have done just that. In August, esteemed British DJ Mary Ann Hobbes selected the second single from *Vista*, 'Credo', for her 6 Music Recommends Show on BBC Radio 6 – a powerful digital-only station with more than two million monthly listeners.

"For me, it's a challenge that it's hard to get on the radio with instrumental music, but it just takes one DJ that loves the music – I was lucky that there are people like her on the airwaves," he says.

"I think people are really good at seeing through shit and following quality and depth. I want to think that, but really I do believe it because there is space for progressive instrumental music like mine."

ARTISTIC NEUROSIS

Artists and writers often talk about having to capture creativity when it arrives, and I ask whether that's what the two small upright pianos in his living room are for. He says no – he blocks off time to write in his nearby studio instead.

"I think it would be super stressful to rehearse with my kid on the floor, thinking that I've got to make dinner and I want to finish an idea. That's why I love when the work becomes more project-oriented, like with film and theatre. When we had Milo, I wrote scores for three plays, each with around ten weeks ▶



of planning and execution. Theatre is cool because you go to this beautiful room that people have created to make this illusion for the audience, and you get to create it there. It's a perfect setting."

Rosenbaum seems very relaxed about maintaining and cultivating his talent. He doesn't stretch his hands or play scales, and he's confident about his ability to perform and find creative energy when he needs to. As an example he brings up a recent performance at the Copenhagen museum Glyptoteket, in which he and Coco O. were asked to put together some music that reflected one of its installations.

"I basically had to trust that something would come, and I need to give myself more credit for that because it does take some guts to just show up and play like that. I think about that a lot – what kind of energy does it take, and what would happen if that energy were no longer there? Where does creativity come from, and what would it mean to no longer be able to access it? But I also think that sometimes you need to walk ten feet away and come back and try again. I think about that – that I trust that I have this ability that I know will come when I need it, that I always carry with me," he says, adding that he's still self-conscious

about his abilities and tends to worry more than necessary.

"I laugh at it a little bit – I don't try to be this way, but I feel like I'm a stereotype out of these old Woody Allen movies – typical Jewish neurosis," he says, chuckling.

"I come with a built-in perfectionism. When you have it, it's hard to listen to other people. I can't be less of a perfectionist, and now that I have a kid, I have a hard time listening to other parents talk about how much they get done in such little time. I still put a lot of pressure on myself and am always thinking about the work at hand. I can't make easy solutions for myself. It doesn't feel right. I don't know how."

BANK MANAGERS AND DRUNKS

I interviewed Rosenbaum for the first time six years ago, a year after his win at the Danish Music Awards. That interview wasn't for an article, but for the liner notes for the *Live LP* that he released together with his two childhood friends who make up the August Rosenbaum Trio. I also wrote a short press bio, which ended with the following passage:

"August is as happy languishing in the heavy beats of the Wu-Tang Clan as he is studying the progressions of the great Bill Evans. As he nav-

TIMELINE

1987 : Born in Copenhagen into a Polish-Jewish artist family – his mother, aunt, uncle are actors. His grandfather is a pianist.

1991 : Begins playing piano as a six-year-old, encouraged by grandfather Simon Rosenbaum.

2000 : Starts to play professionally.

2003 : Wins the Copenhagen Steinway competition.

2004 : Receives the Jacob Gade's Legat worth DKK 100,000 (awarded each year to 3 of Denmark's most distinctive young musicians)

2007 : Accepted into the Rhythmic Music Conservatory in Copenhagen.

2009 : Starts to play with the Danish / American soulduo Quadron

2010 : Releases debut album 'Beholder', recorded in New York in 2009 with Jakob Bro, Dan Weiss and Thomas Morgan.

2010 : Awarded The New Jazz Name of the Year for 'Beholder'" at the Danish Music Awards. Nominated for the Scandinavian award "Nordic Music Prize"

2011 : Makes music for movies and a new trio jazz album "Live LP".

2013 : Releases solo album 'Heights' and 'All Romantic' together with Sven-Åke Johansson and Lars Greve.

2016: Releases EP 'Rhizome'.

2017 : Releases 'Vista'

igates the early stages of his career, the range of projects he is involved in can be interpreted as an attempt to make his classical training relevant in a modern world."

I think this still holds true. Rosenbaum could have easily fallen into a career as a jazz pianist and built on its musical tradition. But while anyone listening to *Beholder*, *Live LP* and *Heights* would immediately identify them as jazz, that's not the case with *Vista*. It's something else entirely, sitting in an unresolved, remote space outside genre.

"The main thing that I focus on is asking questions about what is easy to access and what isn't. How do you feel invited, and not excluded, by the music? I think that's very interesting. I want to leave a catalogue that says something about how we listen to music."

His influences remain diverse, absorbing everything from what's on his Spotify weekly playlist to obscure recordings from the Smithsonian archive. And he says he has always done this, storing the music away, linking it to the moment in time that he first heard it.

"I remember biking down Svanemøllevej to my friend's house, listening to *Talkie Walkie*-by Air for the first time. And I remember driving to Alsace in France with my school in seventh grade and listening to 'Send It On' from D'Angelo's album *Voodoo*. My Dad and I would listen to Queen in the summer, and I can still recollect smells and imagery. And then there's all the break up songs. It's crazy what music can do. I think it's impossible to put a price on that. Nowadays there are people who curate Spotify playlists with millions of subscribers because people need music to experience things. Which is important, because I think there is a danger of becoming emotionally amputated. We are so focussed on getting by, staying in shape, keeping our jobs, and living our dreams. It's cool to have music that stabs you in the gut with feeling sometimes. I think people do that, and I don't blame them. People are very good at tapping into something more emotional. It's very important."

After the interview, I kept thinking about what he said about his upbringing, that the "chain didn't break." It's an insightful observation on his part, a self-awareness of the privileges that propelled his talent – the family and network that supported him the whole way and didn't make him self-conscious about visualising a future as an artist. This instilled a confidence that begets success. Because it's less random than we often think – who succeeds in art, and who doesn't. And Rosenbaum, it seems, has always known this.

"I remember talking to my bank manager after I graduated from the conservatory, who said, 'Stick with it for two years and see where you're at, and if it's not making any money, I would consider doing something else'. It was really cool of him, I mean you learn the 'truth' from drunk people and bank managers," he says sarcastically.

"When it comes to this indefinable thing we call making art, I'm only concerned about the long run." **M**

How many foxes do you need to make a fox cake?

40
YEARS
ANNIVERSARY
★ 1977-2017 ★

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Professor of Formal Philosophy Vincent F. Hendricks (left) and PhD fellow Mads Vestergaard (right) wrote 'Fake News' together, which was published this summer.

"If everything is about 'us and them' truth goes to the grave"

Fake news risks undermining democracy and dividing society, but how do we protect ourselves? It's one of the questions that Vincent F. Hendricks and Mads Vestergaard attempt to answer in their new book, which looks at a phenomenon that has long existed, but has never been more pervasive

Words:
Peter Stanners

Photos:
Rasmus Degnbol

Not long after he was elected US President in 2016, Donald Trump pointed at CNN anchor Jim Acosta during a press conference and declared, "You are fake news!" He has since accused many other media of propagating lies about him, notably The "failing" New York Times.

It would be funny – the man is hardly a renowned truth teller – if it weren't so sinister. The newspaper is, after all, one of the most respected journalistic publications in the world. If we can't trust the New York Times, who can we trust?

This is what makes the term 'fake news' so

interesting. On the one hand, it refers to fabricated or deliberately misleading information parading as unbiased reporting, typically created with a specific political agenda.

But the epithet is also used by powerful entities to cast doubt on people, media and organisations that attempt to hold them to account.

Following Trump's election, understanding the fake news phenomenon has become more urgent than ever, argues Professor of Formal Philosophy Vincent F. Hendricks and PhD fellow Mads Vestergaard. Hendricks is the director of the Center for Information and Bubble Studies (CIBS) at The University of Copenhagen, where Vestergaard is conducting research into so-called 'political bubbles'.

Together they have written a book – aptly titled *Fake News* – that serves as a step-by-step guide to the phenomenon. It takes us through the history of fake and misleading news, drawing upon human psychology, attention economics, the impact of technology on news dissemination, the commercialisation of media, and the polarisation of society through echo chambers.

"In writing the book, we wanted to figure out what happened with Trump's election – what is this media world where it doesn't matter if you are caught lying?" asks Vestergaard.

DISRUPTIVE TECHNOLOGY

While Trump might have popularised the term 'fake news', both misinformation and propaganda existed well before the internet age.

One of the first major news hoaxes is thought to have taken place in 1835, when readers of The New York Sun were shocked to learn that a bat-like species of human lived on the moon. The story spread rapidly and shocked audiences across America, but not just because it was so captivating. The newspaper had introduced a business model that slashed the price of the newspaper, while increasing the space it gave to advertisers – the 'fake news' content was essentially a means to draw eyeballs to these adverts.

Rival newspapers with a stronger commitment to truth-telling eventually debunked The Sun's stories. But the industry was transformed as other publishers copied the low-cost high-advertising model.

Just over 150 years later, the internet and social media came along. The technology has been enormously disruptive, exponentially increasing the amount of information available to readers. But because our capacity to absorb information remains the same, competition for our attention has also increased dramatically.

The difference between the internet and cheap newspapers and cable television is that information gatekeepers now feel much less ethical responsibility about the quality of the information they pass on. In the case of print and TV news, these gatekeepers were editorial boards. Now it's Google and Facebook that are responsible for passing information along through their free platforms.

But they aren't really free. They make their money by selling information about us to ad-

vertisers so they can better target us with their products. To Google and Facebook, information is not necessarily valued for its social importance and truthfulness, but rather for its ability to attract our attention to its advertisers – who all too often are purveyors of fake news.

"What struck us was that the market for information is not regulated," says Hendricks.

He draws an analogy to the subprime mortgage crisis that precipitated the 2008 financial crash. The US Federal Reserve didn't want to regulate the housing market, because it believed that the market was efficient at weeding out bad services and products, and rewarding good ones. But bad – or subprime – mortgages were nevertheless bundled together with good ones, and sold on at far above their real value. When their worthlessness was ultimately discovered, it pulled the rug out from under the market.

IS FACEBOOK A MEDIA?

The same goes for an unregulated information market. Bad information is not necessarily being weeded out, allowing for the proliferation of fake news. Because to Google and Facebook, there is no difference between 'good' and 'bad' information – the companies make money by selling access to their users to information suppliers, regardless of any commitment to journalistic integrity.

"These are stories that are either doctored, untruthful, or both, but that can survive and can have a big impact because of the attention allocated to them. This is the type of capital we are talking about," says Hendricks, adding that it might be worth considering making attention allocators such as Google and Facebook more responsible for the information they disseminate.

"The big digital players control 95 percent of traffic and have become attention allocators like nobody else. They basically serve the same function as the BBC, but with two billion free journalists – in the case of, say, Facebook. So why not speculate – if you are extensionally equivalent to a media organisation, why not ask them to obey to the same journalistic rules and ethics as other media? Why not regulate outlets that control the bandwidth and have both rogue and good journalists? This already exists in principle with their community standards on what you can and cannot do. Google is also editing the search feed."

Vestergaard adds that there are obvious difficulties that come with regulating the information that Facebook and Google share.

"You also have to respect free speech. You can't regulate free speech away without undermining democracy and political debate. That's what makes it tricky. When it comes to fake news, it's not either-or, it's a scale. You can also misinform people by telling the truth, but taking it out of context. So it's hard."

While regulating Facebook and Google may be difficult, there is increasing awareness about fake news and the dangers it poses. Hendricks points to one Danish survey in which 50 percent of Danes responded that they were

The big digital players control 95 percent of traffic and have become attention allocators like nobody else. They basically serve the same function as the BBC, but with two billion free journalists.

VINCENT F. HENDRICKS



Vincent F. Hendricks

Professor of Formal Philosophy at The University of Copenhagen. Vincent F. Hendricks is Director of the Center for Information and Bubble Studies (CIBS) sponsored by the Carlsberg Foundation and was awarded the Elite Research Prize by the Danish Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation and the Roskilde Festival Elite Research Prize both in 2008.



Mads Vestergaard

A PhD fellow and M.A. in philosophy from University of Copenhagen. Mads Vestergaard is lecturer in philosophy and history of ideas at Krøgerup Højskole and Folkeuniversitetet in Copenhagen.

somewhat concerned by fake news, and another that showed journalism was among the least-trusted professions. Organisations such as the World Economic Forum have identified fake news as one of the grand challenges facing the world, on par with climate change and growing inequality. That the leader of the world's largest economy openly embraces 'alternative facts' only worsens this outlook.

TOTALITARIAN TENDENCIES

One thing we can't change is the way our brains work, and the social and psychological factors that make us susceptible to fake news in the first place. Motivated reasoning, for example, is a common decision-making phenomenon in which we seek evidence to support a position we already hold. It is also known as confirmation bias.

The problem is that social media and the internet now offer us even more opportunities to seek out information that supports our world view. This is exacerbated by the algorithms deployed by Facebook and Google to determine which results and information we see – the more we search for one thing, the more of it they give us. In the process, we end up in echo chambers and political bubbles that keep out contradictory information.

Hendricks adds that while the rise of fact checking is welcome, it doesn't eradicate the problem.

"In order to debunk fake news, you have to mention it. By mentioning it, you increase its circulation, so the problem is that you can end up whitewashing information by causing it to be repeated again and again. The Colombia Journalism Review found that alt-right media were able to create a closed ecosystem to talk to the Trump base that caters exactly to

their motivated reasoning, biases, and so on. At the same time, they do it so loudly that the established media is obliged to take it up. So it sets agendas across the board."

Rather than address each and every single piece of news out there, a better strategy may be to equip citizens with tools to deal with information. And Hendricks' centre CIBS has won funding to do precisely that.

"We are preparing a course for high school students on how to understand the nuts and bolts of why stories go viral, looking at social psychology, polarisation, echo chambers, motivated reasoning and so on," he says.

"The goal is to be able to navigate as an enlightened citizen, because information is still the best means we have to enable qualified deliberation, decision and action. When you have an exponential rise in information, but don't have the time, you need a tool box – so you can say, 'I want info on x to make a qualified decision on y, so what do I need to know?'"

Hendricks and Vestergaard end the book with a chapter on the dangers of a post-factual democracy, where truth becomes secondary to opinion in driving policy. But the solution is not to establish a technocracy – a government run by expert administrators.

"Experts and scientists are too specialised. You can't put political power in their hands – there is a lot that they don't know. They don't have the experiences that are needed. It's important to hold on to democracy, to know that it's a balance. We need experts and scientists and journalists to talk about the facts, but they don't get it right all the time, and they aren't infallible, so it needs to be a dialogue. There is no value-free science. The facts you choose to look at already represent a value choice. So we need a discussion about science and what

There is this idea that the more information you give people, the better they become at correctly selecting and processing it to make better decisions. But that doesn't follow by nature. That's part of the problem.

MADS VESTERGAARD

effect it has on the results without the conversation being based on mistrust. That's why we need an open discussion about economic interests in science. We need more openness to fight the mistrust," says Hendricks.

Ultimately, we have to face the structural problems created when the information age caters to and feeds into democracy.

"We are just trying to present a diagnosis of how the information age and democracy do or do not fit together, respecting the idea that our understanding of democracy is something that comes from the enlightenment. There is this idea that the more information you give people, the better they become at correctly selecting and processing it to make better decisions. But that doesn't follow by nature. That's part of the problem," says Vestergaard.

While Hendricks stresses that post-factual populism can be found on both the left and right political wings, the more immediate threat is on the right. A few weeks before they went to print, Hendricks received an email from President Trump – he subscribed to Trump's mailing list – declaring that the media are the enemy of the people.

Vestergaard argues that his strategy to divide society and develop a grand narrative about a battle between good and evil is a classic signal of totalitarianism as described by the great 20th century philosopher Hannah Arendt.

"When we recognise the prevalence of this epic 'us-and-them' narrative, as Arendt writes, that's worth looking at. Not to say we are there yet, but to say that these narratives are undermining democracy and could get worse unless we stand up to them," says Vestergaard.

"If everything is about 'us and them', truth goes to the grave and all that matters is winning." **M**



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SPECIAL ADVERTISING SUPPLEMENT: THE EMBASSY OF CHINA IN DENMARK

After the 19th CPC National Congress, how does China see its future?



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EMBRACING A NEW ERA

The 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) is opening new era in our joint efforts to advance China-Denmark relations.

T

he 19th CPC National Congress was one "Decisive Moments in History" for China. The Congress sets the way forward for China's future, unveiling the "Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era". A two-stage development plan for the period from 2020 to the middle of the 21st century to develop China into a "great modern socialist country" has been drawn up, whereby the first stage from 2020 to 2035 will see that socialist modernization is basically realized, while the second stage from 2035 to the middle of the 21st century will focus on developing China into a great modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, harmonious, and beautiful, assuming the role of global leader in terms of com-

posite national strength and international influence. The CPC sets up a central leading group for advancing law-based governance in all areas, strengthening oversight to ensure compliance with the Constitution, advancing constitutionality review, and safeguarding the authority of the Constitution. Having gained overwhelming momentum in its fight against corruption, the CPC is determined to secure a sweeping victory over the greatest threat to the Party.

As the beginning of tremendous determination and development, the Congress bears profound global significance. It sends out clear message that no matter what stage of development it reaches, China will never seek hegemony or engage in expansion. It is also underlined that as China continues its transition from a phase of rapid growth to a stage of high-quality development, it will become more and more open, implementing the system of pre-establishment national treatment plus a negative list across the board while easing market access and protecting the legitimate rights and interests of foreign investors. China, through its successful practice of building

**TOGETHER
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FOR OUR
PEOPLES AND
GENERATIONS
TO COME.**



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a community of common destiny, groundbreaking endeavors like the Belt and Road Initiative and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, strong endorsements of globalization and free trade, as well as unswerving adherence to Paris Agreement, remains active in its contribution to international governance.

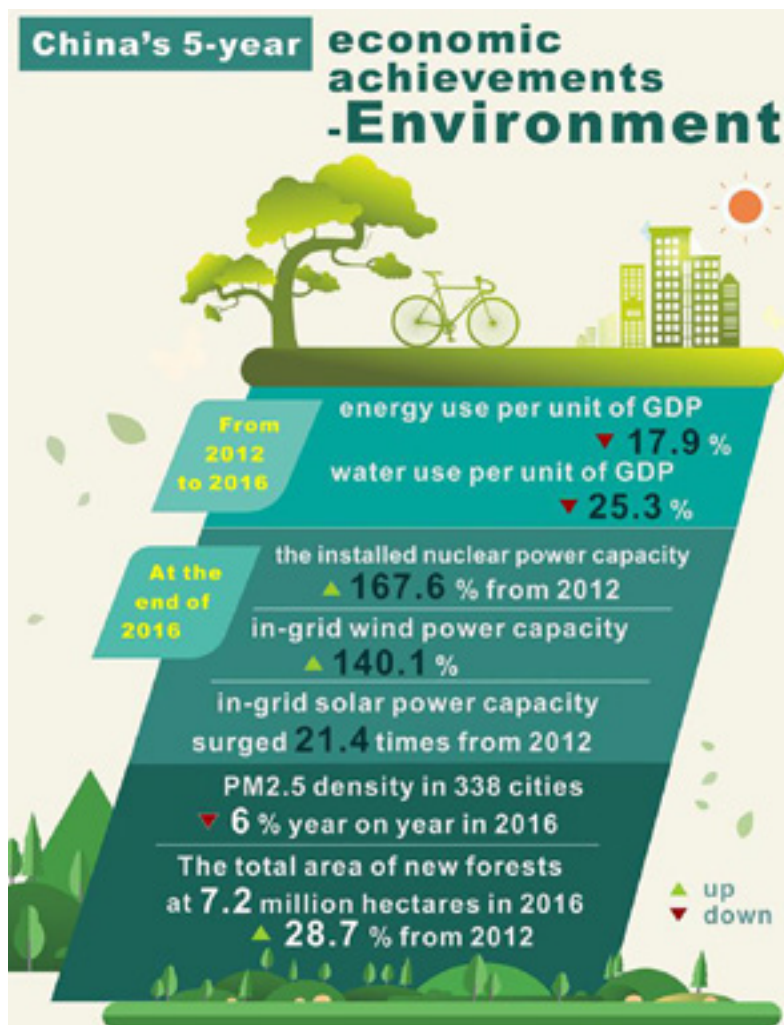
The outward-looking vision the Congress set forth underlines China's perseverance in pursuing win-win cooperation with our partners including Denmark. Already, China is Denmark's largest trading partner in Asia, and Denmark remains the European country with the largest investment in China in per capita terms. As China marches on its journey to building a "great modern socialist country", areas such as creativity and innovation, green economy, high-end manufacturing, education, elderly care and anti-corruption where Denmark excels would further highlight exchanges and cooperation between China and its partners. Meanwhile, as China furthers its composite national strength, ever more Chinese ideas like the "four great new inventions" in modern times, namely, sharing bikes, e-commerce, mobile payment and high-

speed railway, would inspire new platforms for business alliance. The common ground between China's innovative, coordinated, green, open, shared development and the green, circular, sustainable economic-social development mode of Denmark provides ample space for our mutually-beneficial cooperation, integrating our development strategies. I believe the China-Denmark relations will surely gain fresh and strong impetus.

The year of 2018, which marks the 10th anniversary of China-Denmark Comprehensive Strategic Partnership, also provides new opportunities to deepen the bilateral ties. The great times we are beholding calls for even closer joint efforts from both sides, bearing in mind that only by respecting and caring for each other's core interests and concerns, upholding the spirit of seeking common ground while putting aside differences can we further expand common interests, enhance consensus in policies and concepts, and strengthen complementary cooperation.

Together let's embrace the unfolding new era of China-Denmark relations, for our peoples and generations to come. **M**

BRIEF REVIEW OF THE 19TH CPC NATIONAL CONGRESS



The 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) was opened on the 18th

October at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing. The congress is a very important meeting at a time when China strived for its final victory to achieve a moderately prosperous society in an all-round way, and at a critical time for the development of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

The 19th CPC National Congress reviews the Party's work over the past five years and summarises precious experiences that the Party has gained from the historical process of uniting and leading people of all ethnic groups to carry on and advance socialism with Chinese characteristics under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee with Xi at the core since the 18th CPC National Congress.

A new CPC Central Committee and a new Central Commission for Discipline Inspection was elected at the congress. The congress elects members to the CPC Central Committee, and the new Cen-

tral Committee elects members to the Political Bureau, the Political Bureau Standing Committee and the General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee.

The congress shapes China's future until 2022. It thoroughly examined the current international and domestic situation, and took into account the new requirements for the development of the Party and the country as well as new expectations from the people, and draws out guidelines and policies that respond to the call of the times.

One of the key functions of the CPC National Congress is to revise the Constitution of the Party. The amended constitution should fully represent the latest sinicization of Marxism, new governance concepts, thoughts and strategies of the CPC Central Committee since the last congress.

A total of 2,287 delegates were selected from across China to attend the congress. The delegates were elected in accordance with the Party constitution and CPC Central Committee requirements. A total of 771 delegates, or 33.7 percent of the total, are from front-

line production and manufacturing, an increase of 3.2 percentage points compared with the 18th congress five years ago. Among them, 198 are workers or migrant workers, 86 are farmers and 283 are professional technical personnel. The representation of female CPC members and members from ethnic minority groups are also rising, reaching 24.1 percent and 11.5 percent of the total respectively, the statement said, noting that ethnic minority members come from 43 out of the country's 55 ethnic minority groups.

NEW ERA, NEW LOOK, NEW ACCOMPLISHMENTS

With decades of hard work, socialism with Chinese characteristics has entered a new era. In this new context, China must get a new look and, more importantly, make new accom-

plishments. Over the past five years, the CPC has set out a broad agenda: some tasks have been completed while others need more work. This Party Congress has set new goals and new tasks. The coming five years between the 19th and the 20th Party Congress is the period in which the timeframes of the Two Centenary Goals will converge. Not only must China deliver the first cente-

nary goal, China must also embark on the journey toward the second centenary goal.

As the saying goes, it is better to see once than to hear a hundred times. China welcomes our friends to visit and see more of China, and hopes that after the Party Congress, our friends will continue to follow China's development and progress, and learn about more dimensions of China. **M**



Highlights of Xi's report to 19th CPC National Congress

Xi Jinping delivered a report to the opening of the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) on the 18th October. The following are the highlights of the report:

China's 5-year economic achievements - Employment

China created more than **13 million** new urban jobs annually for four consecutive years in 2013-2016

New jobs created in the first eight months of 2017 stood at **9.74 million**

The number of rural residents working in cities rose at an annual rate of **1.8 %** in 2013-2016

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A NEW ERA WITH NEW THOUGHT

Socialism with Chinese characteristics has entered a new era. The CPC has given shape to the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era, a long-term guide to action that the Party must adhere to and develop.

The Thought builds on and further enriches Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, the Theory of Three Represents, and the Scientific Outlook on Development. It represents the latest achievement in adapting Marxism to the Chinese context.

GREAT MODERN SOCIALIST COUNTRY

The CPC has drawn up a two-stage development plan for the period from 2020 to the middle of the 21st century to develop China into a "great modern socialist country."

In the first stage from 2020 to 2035, the CPC will build on the

THE PRINCIPAL CONTRADICTION FACING CHINESE SOCIETY HAS EVOLVED TO BE THAT BETWEEN UNBALANCED AND INADEQUATE DEVELOPMENT AND THE PEOPLE'S EVER-GROWING NEEDS FOR A BETTER LIFE.



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foundation created by the moderately prosperous society with a further 15 years of hard work to see that socialist modernization is basically realized.

In the second stage from 2035 to the middle of the 21st century, the CPC will, building on having basically achieved modernization, work hard for a further 15 years and develop China into a great modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, harmonious, and beautiful.

The principal contradiction facing Chinese society has evolved to be that between unbalanced and inadequate development and the people's ever-growing needs for a better life.

Now the needs to be met for the people to live a better life are increasingly broad. Not only have their material and cultural needs grown, their demands for democracy, rule of law, fairness and justice, security, and a better environment are increasing.

ECONOMY

China's economy has been transitioning from a phase of rapid growth to a stage of high-quality development.

In developing a modernized economy, the country must focus on the real economy. China will support state capital in becoming stronger, doing better, and growing bigger, turn Chinese enterprises into world-class, globally competitive firms.

China will leverage the fundamental role of consumption in promoting economic growth and improve the framework of regulation underpinned by monetary policy and macro-prudential policy, and see that interest rates and exchange rates become more market-based.

OPENING UP

China will not close its door to the world; it will only become more and more open.

China will implement the system of pre-establishment national treatment plus a negative list across the board.

China will significantly ease market access and protect the legitimate rights and interests of foreign investors.

LAW

The CPC sets up a central leading group for advancing law-based governance in all areas.

It will strengthen oversight to ensure compliance with the Constitution, advance constitutional review, and safeguard the authority of the Constitution.

ECOLOGICAL PROGRESS

The CPC has incorporated Beautiful China into its two-stage development plan for building a great modern socialist country. The modernization is one characterized by harmonious coexistence between man and nature

China will establish regulatory agencies to manage state-owned natural resource assets and monitor natural ecosystems, and develop a nature reserves system composed mainly of national parks.

ARMED FORCES

By the year 2020, military mechanization will be basically achieved, with IT application coming a long way and strategic capabilities seeing a big improvement. The modernization of the national defense and armed forces should be basically completed by 2035.

The people's armed forces will be transformed into world-class military by the mid-21st century.

DIPLOMACY

No matter what stage of development it reaches, China will never seek hegemony or engage in expansion.

PARTY BUILDING

Having gained overwhelming momentum in its fight against corruption, the CPC is determined to secure a sweeping victory over the greatest threat to the Party. **M**



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UNDERSTANDING CHINA'S PATH IN THE NEXT 5 YEARS

The eyes of the world turned to China as the Communist Party of China (CPC) held its 19th national congress, at which the CPC unveiled new leadership and set a blueprint for national development for the next five years and beyond.

Comprehensive, strategic and foresighted guidelines were raised at the congress. China is aiming for a "moderately prosperous society" and a modern socialist country while moving toward the world's center stage.

The congress came at a critical time for the development of socialism with Chinese characteristics, under which China had witnessed an economic miracle and accomplished even impossible missions.

SOCIALISM WITH CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS

When many Western countries continue to stagnate, China has grown and remained stable. This is due to the strong leadership of the CPC and socialism with Chinese characteristics, which is markedly different from the Western system, in which multiple parties hold office in turn, often bickering on their way to power.

"Since the 12th CPC National Congress in 1982, the CPC has always held high the banner of socialism with Chinese characteristics. This is what the Party has learned over the past four decades," said Xin Ming, a professor at the Party School of the CPC Central Committee.

China has become the world's second-largest economy after decades of rapid economic growth. China's GDP expanded by an average annual rate of 7.2 percent during 2013-2016, compared with 2.6-percent average global growth and the 4-percent growth of developing economies.

Chen Shuguang, a professor with the Party School of the CPC Central Committee, said that one of the major advantages of the Chinese political system is its ability to formulate long-term development plans and implement them in an effective manner.

The CPC has maintained consistency in its commitment and policy-making while adapting to changing domestic and international conditions, Chen said.

The International Monetary Fund raised its forecast for China's economic growth to 6.8 percent this year, reflecting the country's stronger-than-expected economic performance and its efforts in deepening economic reform.

Under current circumstances, the de-

velopment of socialism with Chinese characteristics entails pushing forward the "Four Comprehensives" as socialism with Chinese characteristics has entered a new development stage, said Xin.

The "Four Comprehensives" refers to a four-pronged strategy to create a moderately prosperous society in all respects, deepen reform, advance rule of law and strengthen Party governance.

China's great achievements in socialism with Chinese characteristics do not only mean that socialism has gained strong vitality in China, but has also expanded the pathway to modernization for developing countries around the world, said President Xi Jinping, also general secretary of the CPC Central Committee and chairman of the Central Military Commission.

TWO CENTENARY GOALS

Completing the building of a moderately prosperous society by 2020 is a promise the CPC has made to the people.

Improvement of people's livelihood has always been high on the agenda of the central authorities. The per-capita disposable income of all residents rose from 7,311 yuan (about 1,111 U.S. dollars) in 2012 to 23,821 yuan in 2016, an annual increase of 7.4 percent. The figure for the first half of 2017 rose 7.3 percent year on year.

China has lifted 700 million people out of poverty in the past 30 years. In the coming three years, another 40 million will be added to the list, meaning 20 people are lifted out of poverty each minute.

The central authorities have said that not a single family living in poverty will be left behind on the path to combating poverty.

After a moderately prosperous society is achieved by 2020, the whole Party and people of various ethnic groups nationwide will be motivated to build a modernized socialist country by 2049, the centenary of the People's Republic of China.

"It is harder to achieve the second centenary goal than the first, as no country has ever realized modernization at the primary stage of socialism," Xin said, adding that China is confident and capable of achieving the goal.

STRICT PARTY GOVERNANCE

Since its 18th national congress in 2012, the CPC has shown it is serious about strict Party governance and tackling corruption. Experts said the CPC will continue its anti-corruption drive with more weight on prevention and education.

"For the next five years to come, the CPC will continue its efforts in anti-corruption while attaching equal or more importance to preventing the emergence



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of corruption," Xin said, adding that a sound political ecology will be cultivated and more attention will be given to ideological education.

In December 2012, the central authorities issued the "eight-point rules," requiring government officials to strictly practice frugality and clean up undesirable work styles such as formalism, bureaucratism, hedonism and extravagance. Practices such as the use of public funds to buy gifts, hold banquets and pay for holidays have since been strictly banned.

Now, the anti-graft drive has gained crushing momentum. Since 2012, the Party has investigated more than 280 senior officials, including Zhou Yongkang, Bo Xilai, Guo Boxiong, Xu Caihou, Sun Zhengcai and Ling Jihua.

The strict governance of the Party will always be an ongoing process, Xi said, stressing that the future of a political party or a regime is ultimately determined by whether the people are for or against it.

DIPLOMACY HIGHLIGHTING WIN-WIN COOPERATION

China will continue to actively participate in global governance reform and contribute Chinese wisdom to the world.

Xi has proposed forging a community of shared destiny for mankind, as well as establishing a new type of international relations with win-win cooperation at the core.

The vision of building a community of shared future for humanity holds that all countries, big or small, are equal in terms of their right to development and political status, making a more harmonious and equal world possible.

This proposal, together with China's Belt and Road Initiative, was incorporated into UN Security Council resolutions.

This vision, derived from traditional Chinese culture, presents Chinese wisdom for the world, Xin said.

China's average contribution to world growth in 2013-2016 was about 30 percent, the largest among all countries and higher than the total contribution from the United States, the eurozone and Japan.

Currently, as anti-globalization rears its head and some Western political systems suffer setbacks, China is sure to play its due role in promoting trade liberalization and economic globalization, as well as advancing global governance and multilateralism.

INTENSIVE EDUCATION ABOUT ETHNIC UNITY AND PROGRESS

China is a united and multi-ethnic country created through the joint efforts of the peoples of all its 56 ethnic groups. Therefore, the CPC always attaches great importance to maintaining national stability and improving the livelihood of all ethnic groups. China's ethnic policies and systems includes 5 aspects: First, abiding by the principle of ethnic equality. Second, safeguarding the unity of ethnic groups. Third, implementing the system of ethnic regional autonomy. Fourth, supporting the fast development of ethnic minorities and the specific ethnic-minority areas. Fifth, protecting and carrying forward the culture of ethnic groups.

China will conduct intensive education about ethnic unity and progress, speed up development of ethnic minority areas, and protect the legitimate rights and interests of ethnic minorities. China is aiming to consolidate and develop socialist ethnic relations of equality, unity, mutual assistance and harmony so that all ethnic groups in China will live and develop together in harmony like pomegranate seeds. China will comprehensively implement the policy on religion and fully leverage the positive role of religious figures and believers in promoting economic and social development. ■



Fredrik Scheel has suffered from depression. He is open about his experience and talks often in the hope that others, who might be suffering, might seek help like he did.

"People power through life, but as soon as this process derails, you are left with the feeling that you don't know who you are"

Rates of depression are increasing, especially for young men and women. While both experts and sufferers argue that more awareness is needed, the higher diagnosis rate could indicate that the illness is becoming less taboo

Around two years ago I was first diagnosed with depression. I stopped seeing my friends, going out and studying. As it was gradually getting worse, I realised that I had to get help."

Fredrik Scheel studies agricultural economics at Copenhagen University and currently lives in Amager. Born and raised in Rye, a small town located halfway between Roskilde and Holbæk, he was diagnosed with depression in 2015 and has just recently recovered.

Scheel is far from alone. In Denmark, depression affects one sixth of the population, a number that increased significantly in recent years.

In April, the Rigshospitalet completed a study of depression rates among Danes aged 10 to 49, measured between 2000 and 2013. The study revealed a dramatic rise in the number of depression diagnoses as well as in the number of prescriptions for antidepressant drugs. Since sales of antidepressant drugs have remained stable since 2013, it seems safe to infer that the trend has levelled off.

Youth are most at risk – the number of 15 to 19-year-olds diagnosed with depression tripled over the 13-year period of the study. And young women are more than twice as likely to be affected, with 4.6 per thousand young women receiving a diagnosis, compared to 1.7 per thousand young men.

"Depression cannot usually be simplified to one traumatic event. For me it was about going from youth to adulthood, and the fear of not being able to cope with the expectations and responsibilities that came with it," Scheel explains.

"When it comes to youth depression, I think it happens when you are confronted with things and don't feel capable of living up to society's expectations. I think that many people power through life, but as soon as this process derails, you feel like you can't live up to life

and you are left with the feeling that you don't know who you are. This is where depression kicks in."

THE STRESS OF SELF-REALISATION

Anders Petersen, associate professor of Sociology at the University of Aalborg, has been studying social pathologies in contemporary society, from anxiety to stress, for the past 15 years. He is among the researchers who attribute the high rate of depression in Denmark to generalised stress resulting from the demands and expectations of society.

In a research paper entitled "Authentic self-realisation and depression", Petersen underlines how depression often stems from chronic pressure to fulfil today's demands of self-realisation.

"I am trying to understand which factors in our society promote the development of these mental disorders, and why in this day and age we are experiencing a higher prevalence of anxiety and stress. Through my research, I'm trying to develop a different kind of explanation than the ones we normally hear," he explains.

Petersen believes that we live in a "performance society", where individuals are expected to perform at all times and to constantly be at the top of their game. He draws a comparison to the world of sport, where individuals constantly feel compelled to reinforce their chances of winning in order to achieve successful self-realisation.

"We spend our time writing these performances into our mental and online CVs, through Facebook and Instagram, glorifying what we have done in relation to others. This creates an immense pressure, which causes stress. Essentially, if we are not trying to do the best we can at all times, we have the psychological sensation of missing out – we feel like we are left behind and leaving ourselves behind," Petersen explains.

Psychologist and therapist Ja-

If you suffer from depression and want to reach out to someone who can help, the association Depressionsforening hosts a hotline that is open from Monday to Thursday between 19:00 and 21:00. Call: 3312 4774.

kob Skov Knudsen, who operates a private practice in Copenhagen, agrees with Petersen and argues that the most common causes of depression can be traced to self-doubt and lack of self-esteem.

"It is about not appreciating who you are, and evaluating yourself based on what you aren't good at. I speak to young people who have extremely high standards and don't feel like they are good enough," Knudsen explains.

TREATMENT

Depression is often treated with antidepressant drugs, which are currently prescribed to a quarter of a million Danes. According to OECD statistics, Denmark is the second-largest consumer of antidepressants in Europe, beaten only by Iceland.

Pills are not the only way to fight the illness, however, and Scheel believes medicine is not the most effective tool to overcome depression in the long run. While he agrees that the choice is very personal and that individuals fight the illness in different ways, he believes strongly that it was therapy that ultimately helped him solve his core issues.

"I took antidepressants only when I was first diagnosed with the illness, because they're a quick and effective solution. After a while, though, I felt like something was not right and said no to the pills. I knew that I had to overcome these problems on my own, so I started going to therapy," Scheel explains.

Whether it's therapy or drugs, the cost of treating depression is only increasing, and the World Health Organisation expects the illness to be the biggest health burden globally by 2030. Eva Secher Mathiasen, chairperson of the Danish Union of Psychologists (Dansk Psykolog Forening) points out that we need to take the high social and economic costs of depression seriously – a decade ago the illness had an annual cost of more than a billion kroner

in Europe in health services alone.

"The old medical paradigm, which regarded psychological illness as something physical or limited to the brain and treatable with medicine, no longer holds in the 21st century. We need to start looking at an understanding of mental illness that incorporates biological, social, and cultural factors, in order to treat and prevent mental illness more effectively and sustainably," Mathiasen wrote in the latest issue of the union's publication, Magasinet P.

THE DIMINISHING TABOO

The increase in the number of depression diagnoses and use of antidepressant pills isn't all bad news. As the taboo surrounding mental illness has faded, increasing numbers of people have sought help to confront their depression, argues professor Petersen.

"There is no doubt about the fact that over the past 10 to 15 years, there's been a softening of taboos regarding mental disorders. But this does not mean that having a mental disorder is not taboo at all. It still is, but it is also becoming easier to talk about such problems."

Scheel agrees that in recent years both he and people around him have felt more comfortable being open about depression and other mental illnesses they may face.

"Personally, I've always been very open about it, and talk about it at any opportunity. It's definitely hard to admit weakness, because if you do you feel like you are less than others. But in reality, admitting your weakness doesn't make you weaker, but more reflective about it and willing to work with it," Scheel explains.

"You can't really ignore depression, can't power through, because it will all come back to you at some point. If I had never admitted it to myself and others, things could have gotten way, way worse." **M**

Gabriele Dellisanti

"People will die because of what is happening offshore"

Sociologist Brooke Harrington spent eight years investigating the secret world of wealth managers – those employed by the super rich to hide their assets from tax authorities. They are responsible for the massive increase in inequality over the past decade, but we need more than just new laws to rein them in – we need to shame them, too

"FREED from democratic restraints." It sounds like a phrase that could be used to describe the aristocracies of France and Imperial Russia. But according to Professor Brooke Harrington at Copenhagen Business School, the super rich essentially live in a parallel world beyond the reach of law, employing asset managers to hide their wealth in unfathomably complicated constructions of accounts, bonds and stocks.

In 2010, Oxfam released figures showing that 388 people possessed the same amount of wealth as the poorest half of the world's population. Oxfam updated the figures this year and found that the number had dropped to just eight men. But Harrington argues that they couldn't have achieved this without the wealth managers that enable them to bypass laws that apply to everyone else.

"The issue is how on earth something like that happens so quickly. I think attention has in some sense been misdirected at rich people themselves, and the misconception that they are the masterminds. They are not. To concentrate wealth that effectively through loopholes in tax laws, without blatantly violating the law, takes a level of skill and full-time effort that is impressive."

While the debate has often focussed on the share of global assets owned by the richest one percent, the amount accumulated by these high earners isn't a problem as long as they are effectively taxed. Harrington argues that solidified concentrations of wealth that persist over generations, however, like the feudal system, are far more socially damaging.

"That is what wealth managers specialise in – making that pipeline from income to wealth, or of wealth reproducing itself, as untouched by laws and taxation as possible."

DEEP RESEARCH

Harrington, a sociologist, spent eight years researching wealth managers before publishing her 2016 book, *Capital Without Borders*. Her study of 65 wealth man-

The real leeches are the class of ultra rich people who come into your country, exploit its democratic systems, and use the laws to achieve what they want, which is usually not to pay their taxes.

Joshua Hollingdale



Rasmus Degenbol

Brooke Harrington, Professor with Special Responsibilities at the Department of Business and Politics at Copenhagen Business School.

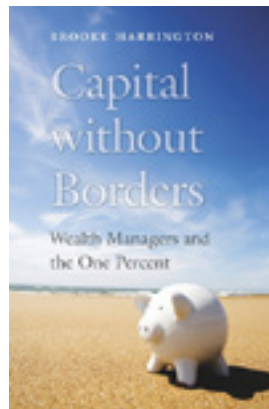
agers in 18 countries is a unique feat because wealth managers, whose products are shrouded in complete secrecy, are notoriously hard to access. So Harrington had to go to extreme lengths to learn about their business.

"People who do wealth management follow a code of discretion. Almost complete silence really, because the success of their tactics relies on secrecy. Wealth managers specialise in hiding money and assets offshore so that the assets become invisible to the law. Not just to tax authorities, but to anyone who might want a piece of those assets. That might be creditors who want to be paid back, divorcing spouses who want a share of marital assets, disgruntled heirs who think they are entitled to more, and so on. That means you can't just call them up and ask to talk to them. So one way to learn about these folks – if you have 50,000 dollars and two years of your life to spare – is to enrol in wealth manager training school and get a certificate. So that's what I did," she says.

Harrington used the experience of becoming a wealth manager to access the shadowy world of the super rich. Her focus is not on the wealthy themselves, but on the inequality created by what she calls the "selective lawlessness" of the super rich.

"Wealth managers are the experts that make this inequality happen – that is my central thesis. From history we know that as long as there have been taxes, people have tried to evade paying them. That is nothing new. Inequality is nothing new. What is new is the scale. We have never seen what economist Gabriel Zucman estimates to be the \$200bn dollars in unpaid tax worldwide. That doesn't happen without professional intervention. The wealthy people of the world cannot be doing this by themselves, because that would require them to basically sit down and master the laws and tax codes of many offshore jurisdictions and their home jurisdictions. That is a massively complex task. I got a sense of it when I was in wealth manage-

Wealth managers specialise in making the pipeline from income to wealth, or of wealth reproducing itself, as untouched by laws and taxation as possible.



ment training school, and I guarantee you that there is no way that wealthy people are doing this themselves. They have people to pick up their dry cleaning, so of course they have people to create their offshore structures," she says.

A GUERRILLA WAR

Countries are losing huge sums of tax revenue from the super wealthy thanks to wealth managers. So why haven't lawmakers made it harder to hide taxable assets in secret bank accounts in places such as Jersey, Panama and the Cayman Islands?

Well, they have tried, but their opponents always manage to find a way to bypass the legislation.

"When I speak to the European Parliament or to lawmakers in Denmark or elsewhere in the world, they always ask me: 'How do we close our legal loopholes?' Or: 'What new laws will shut down this abuse of the tax laws?' I think these are the wrong questions, because we have basically been losing this battle for decades. I don't see that changing, because the people you are up against spend their entire lives doing nothing but figuring out ways to get around the laws you put up to obstruct them. It reminds me of a guerrilla war," she says.

A better strategy might be to use social pressure to appeal to those who abuse the spirit of the law, and get them to help design better legislation.

"Wealth managers are human beings who operate through the same principals as most other human beings, so they care about their public reputation. We know

How do the one percent hold on to their wealth? And how do they keep getting richer, despite financial crises and the myriad of taxes on income, capital gains, and inheritance? 'Capital without Borders' takes a novel approach to these questions by looking at professionals who specialise in protecting the fortunes of the world's richest people: wealth managers. Written by Brooke Harrington and published in September 2016 by Harvard University Press.

from social psychology that everyone likes to think of themselves as a good guy. Therefore we need to say to the wealth managers, 'Here is your chance to redeem yourselves. Help us design smarter laws, so you can show us that you are the good guys you say you are. If you don't, we will shut you down completely'. Obviously we need to leave a few loopholes open so that wealth managers can still provide their clients with a service, but this is a way to close most of the loopholes in legislation. The Israelis did this a few years ago, and it actually worked," she says.

Harrington adds that while we have the tools to change public attitudes and crack down on tax evasion, no government has had the courage to put them to use.

"Wealth managers don't have to be licensed, per se, but most wealth managers are trained as lawyers or accountants or something that does have to be licensed by the state. Even corporations have to be licensed by the state. In theory, you could go to the wealth managers and say, 'If you want to keep engaging in this practice, then we're going to find some reason to pull your credentials to practice. You can still practice as a wealth manager, but you can't call yourself a lawyer or a chartered accountant anymore'. That is a disgrace tactic that might not actually prevent someone from being a wealth manager, but will give them some explaining to do once the government removes some of their professional legitimacy. It is sort of a back-door way of using the power of the state, but it is not so much a legal crackdown

as a social one, very much along the lines of what has happened with corporate tax avoidance," she says.

POLITICAL PRIORITIES

While the Panama Papers and Luxembourg Leaks have drawn international attention to tax avoidance and wealth management, few people truly understand the scale of the issue, argues Harrington. Instead, political and media narratives are drawn to issues such as immigration and national identity.

"Most people don't have a clear sense of who is responsible for social problems. That makes them very easily led by demagogues who say, 'Look at those brown people over there, look at those refugees. It's their fault – they're taking your country away'. Look how that's spread like wildfire – from Myanmar to the United States. And it is terrifying," she says, adding that it is almost fundamentally impossible to shine light on a system that has been designed to be invisible.

"It has been made invisible on purpose by wealth managers so that their wealthy clients can be freed from democratic restraints. And if it is hard to speak to politicians about it, then it is even harder to speak to the large majority of people who vote for those ultra-nationalist politicians and say, 'Look, there is this group of super-wealthy people to whom the law basically doesn't apply'. People will die because of what is happening offshore. From every hospital that gets shut down, every old age home that can't function anymore. People die because of those things because there isn't enough money for the government to do its job. And why is that?" she asks rhetorically.

"The real leeches are the class of ultra rich people who come into your country, exploit its democratic systems, and use the laws to achieve what they want, which is usually not to pay their taxes and debts," she says.

And for this to work, they need a professional class to help them – the wealth managers.

"They are the ones you should be angry at." **M**



A Winogradsky column, showing the diversity of even the smallest microbial ecosystem.

'Mind the Gut': blurring the lines between science and art

Medical Museion on Bredgade has long been home to one of the most diverse medical collections in the world. Now the bowels of the building have been transformed into a novel exhibition space, where the brain/gut dynamic is being explored through art, history and science

Digesting ideas', 'chewing it over', 'food for thought', 'gut instincts'. The relationship between our brain and our stomach has become a subtle part of our everyday language. But while we talk about having butterflies in our stomach or 'stress-eating', it can be all too easy to consider the brain and gut as entirely separate entities, given their apparently very different purposes.

But research is starting to show that a 'gut feeling' is more than just a metaphor. It is now apparent that the two systems are closely interlinked, with scientific journals branding our gastrointestinal systems as our second brain.

When media and wellness bloggers leapt on the findings, researchers and curators at Medical Museion on Bredgade in Copenhagen saw an opportunity to facilitate some deeper exploration of the brain/gut dynamic. In October, they opened the exhibition *Mind the Gut* that allows for a little bit more reflection on the buzz by inviting the viewer to consid-

er the connection between diet, digestion and emotions, through the unusual union of scientific data and artistic experimentation.

This exhibition is uniquely suited to Medical Museion. Established in 1907 by a group of Copenhagen doctors, the museum was absorbed by the University of Copenhagen in 1918 and holds a collection of more than 150,000 medical artefacts. The Museum exists at the intersection of art, science and history, and its researchers and curators are tasked with finding innovative ways to display and communicate the museum's collection.

At the opening of the exhibition, in the old dissection theatre of the Museion, Museum Director Ken Arnold reiterated this point.

"The museum is a place where science can be looked at through art, or art questioned with science. They are not treated as two isolated entities colliding, but rather a more symbiotic relationship," Arnold said.

THE VIEWER MUST ENGAGE

Museum curators Adam Bencard and Louise Whiteley landed on the idea of exploring the mind and gut relationship naturally, following their individual work in neuroscience and mi-

The exhibition asks you to confront the experience of having and being a body.

**LOUISE WHITELEY,
MUSEUM CURATOR**

**Words:
Emily Tait**

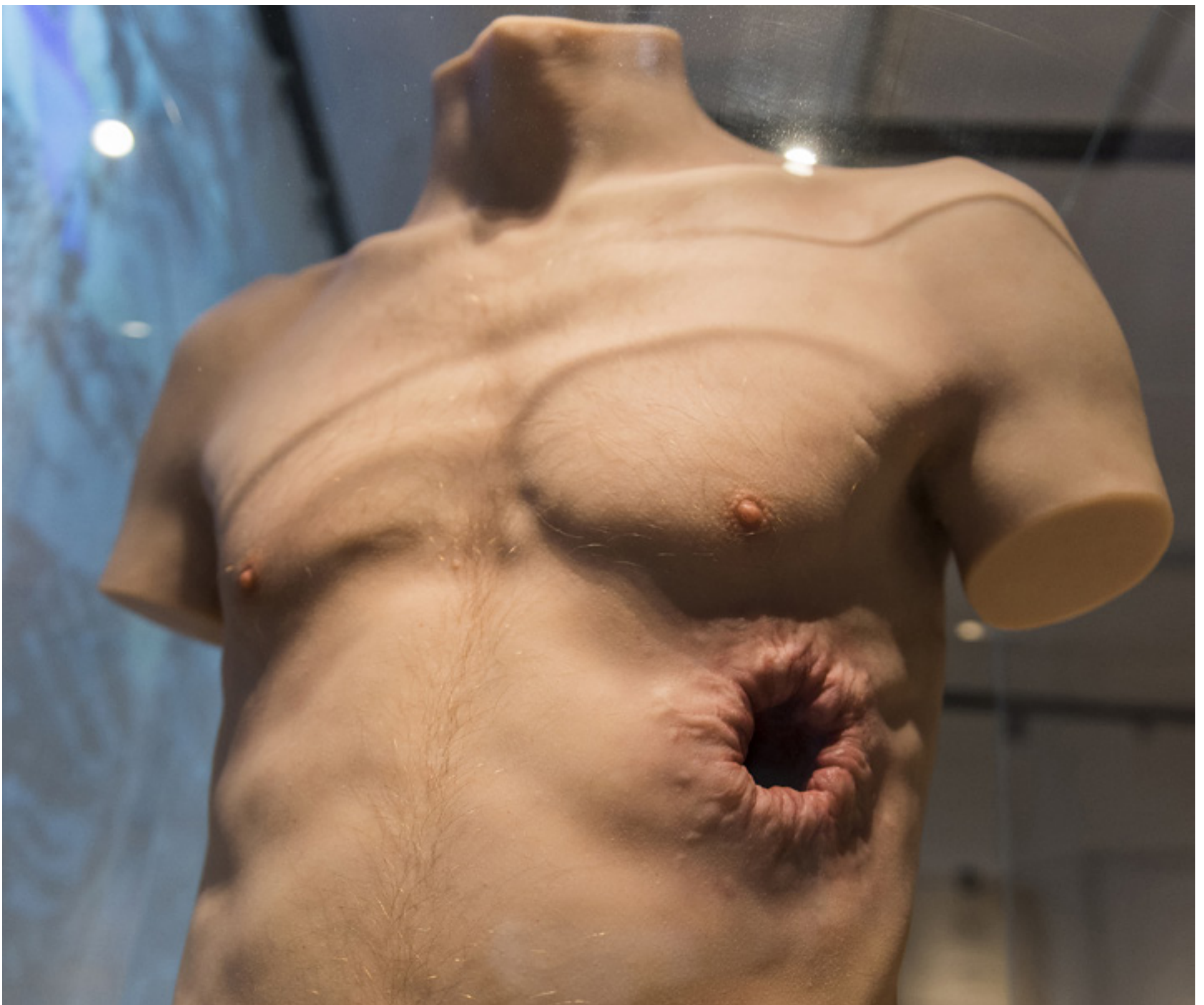
**Photos:
Morten Skovgaard /
Medical Museion**

crobiomes. But to present the latest research into the mind-gut relationship, they needed more outside help. So they drew up an application to the Bikuben Foundation, which distributes around 70 million kroner a year in philanthropic funding across Denmark.

In 2015, they beat 45 other museums to win the three million kroner Vision Prize to help them realise their ambitions. This enabled Bencard and Whiteley to hire a team of five co-curators, and together they began to experiment and think collaboratively about the best way to bring these ideas to life.

"Rather than seeing scientists as merely checking or advising the artists, or simply asking artists to illustrate science, all the curators had free rein over all the content, with conversations taking place over the six months before the final themes and specific pieces were settled on," Bencard says.

The resulting exhibition has clearly been created with great attention to detail, placing the experience of the visitor at the forefront. It also opens up a whole new perspective on both art and science, and the way we can experience both. There are voice recordings of bio-hackers and an artist who bar-



A reconstruction of the torso of Alexis St. Martin, whose fistula led to new knowledge about digestion.



The introduction to *Mind the Gut*, in the bowels of Medical Museion.

tered her photographs for a fecal sample from David Bowie; an immersive collaged art piece made from the MRI scans and microscopy images of co-curator Naja Ryde Ankarfeldt's brain and guts, merged with satellite images of the earth and hand-coloured. One of the final exhibits is an enormous 'Pill Machine' that you move through as you are diagnosed and given a pill and prescription.

Notably absent from the exhibition are whole bodies. Instead, you are presented with component parts – bodies pared back, peeled open, even a mere cluster of cells in the early stages of development.

Whiteley and Bencard say this was deliberate, as they want you to reflect on how these different components are all a part of your own functioning body – the only full form in the exhibition.

"The exhibition asks you to confront the experience of having and being a body," notes Whiteley.

Much like the science behind this exhibition, the experience takes a 'systems' approach. It does not just grapple with one set of ideas or component, but instead ties together things often kept apart: art/science, histo-

ry/present, brain/gut. In doing so, it emphasises where they overlap. Those radical, modern ideas about the brain/gut relationship? Not so modern after all, as the historical artefacts scattered around the exhibition demonstrate.

Mind the Gut – and the Medical Museion more generally – is in a unique position to facilitate reflection. While pop-science can be thrown at us through click-bait health scares and tussles in medical journals, a museum throws up more questions than answers.

"The exhibition moves more slowly than a newspaper, and gives space for further investigation and reflection," says Bencard.

It's a holistic approach, much like the science it displays. **M**

MIND THE GUT

Medical Museion
Bredgade 62, 1260 KBH K
Tue-Fri: 10-16
Sat-Sun: 12-16

Adults: DKK 75 / u16, Students, Seniors: DKK 50

museion.ku.dk

OP-ED

A modern city for everyone

Copenhagen's Lord Mayor Frank Jensen from the Social Democrats (Socialdemokratiet) makes his case for continued left wing control of City Hall

AS LORD MAYOR, a politician and a citizen, there is a lot I am proud of in Copenhagen. And over the past four years, we have made some enthusiastic strides towards making this great city even greater.

We Copenhageners are increasing by the day. Visitors from across the globe want to come and see what we've achieved. On a sunny day, nothing beats this old place. A lot has been done to make the city more appealing on the surface. But what I'm really proud of is what has been achieved down in the city's engine room.

INFRASTRUCTURE INVESTMENT

As I write this, every school is being renovated to accommodate our current and future needs. We are about to wean our city of diesel cars to improve air quality and promote a green environment. We succeeded in changing national legislation to allow for more housing to be built, and we're en route to constructing 10,000 affordable homes in Copenhagen within the decade. That is the city I'm trying to create – a city for the future, for the many, in blossoming green colours. As mayor I work for small victories, broad coalitions and results.

But Copenhagen is still facing challenges. Some have been taken care of. Some require more work. First and foremost, we must continue to work out ways to create a healthier environment in the city. Copenhagen's air quality is not good enough when ranked against other European cities. As Lord Mayor, I have started this work. Beginning in 2019, new diesel cars will not be allowed to enter the city. Diesel cars are some of the worst polluters of NOx gases, which are extremely hazard-

In my ideal society, Copenhagen is a city for everyone – rich and poor, young and old, Danes and non-Danes.

Frank Jensen



Rasmus Degnbøl

ous to humans. We will also offer a cash incentive to encourage residents to discard their wood-burning stoves. While they may have played a notable role in creating 'hygge' – Denmark's greatest export since salted butter – they are also terrible polluters. We have to give up some good things in order to make larger improvements in our lives.

We will also make sure that polluting cruise ships are switched off when docked in Copenhagen, and move more quickly to replace our old fuel-powered busses with clean electric ones.

For me, this type of work is visionary but realistic, and is a classic case of well-executed politics. Some will label me anti-motorist and the mother of all evil, while others think I burn brown coal in my garden – and also think I am the mother of all evil. As Lord Mayor, I will do more to secure a clean city, but we need to do it in a balanced manner so we don't disproportionately hurt people whose livelihoods are dependent

on being able to navigate the city streets by car.

AFFORDABLE HOUSING

The same approach can be applied to Copenhagen's housing woes. Our city is popular, so we need more affordable and flexible housing. But it needs to be supplied in a manner befitting our beautiful city. Liberalising our planning laws without concern for the soul of the city will lead us down worse paths, like those taken by other cities when acting out of desperation.

Over the past four years, we have worked on developing affordable housing across the city. First, we amended our national legislation in order to require that a quarter of units in new housing developments are designated as affordable, rent-controlled housing – almenyttigt boligbyggeri. Helle Thorning-Schmidt's Social Democrat government made this possible in 2015. By 2025, 10,000 of these homes will have been built. In the past two years alone, 2,000

student apartments have been built, and we're en route to building 4,000 more before 2020.

But this election is about more than clean air and housing, it's about what kind of society we are striving to achieve, day after day, election after election. In my ideal society, Copenhagen is a city for everyone – rich and poor, young and old, Danes and non-Danes. It's a city where creativity isn't just for the creative, but where everyone with an idea and a willingness to try can create something of lasting benefit to us all. As the Lord Mayor of Copenhagen, I'm proud of the cultural initiatives that are hosted in our city, from the Jazz Festival and Distortion to Gay Pride and the Copenhagen Marathon. Copenhagen is a city of this century, thriving on ingenuity and equality. So let's keep it that way. I will continue to perform my duty as the Lord Mayor. You go do yours as citizen: Vote! **M**

An interview with Frank Jensen can be found on page 12.

OP-ED

Putting citizens first

Cecilia Lonning-Skovgaard, mayoral candidate for the Liberal Party (Venstre), argues the time has come for Copenhagen to move toward the right wing

VENSTRE is running on a platform called "Copenhagen of the future", which presents a vision for Copenhagen based on sustaining the green agenda and the attractiveness of the city, while also emphasizing that it must be a city with everyday liveability and a city that puts citizens first. This requires that we address a number of challenges currently facing our city.

STRONGER PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Our schools are not well suited to challenging the brightest students or to educating less gifted students. Up to a quarter of students currently leave our schools unable to read and write. We find that unacceptable, so we want to send a clear signal to the Copenhagen schools with inspiration from the "Failing Schools" initiative in London. We will give these schools five years to turn around and come up to standard with other Copenhagen schools. If they do not succeed, we will close the school and reboot it with new management, a new profile and new content.

MORE COPENHAGENERS IN WORK

Copenhagen currently has 30,000 residents receiving unemployment benefits, which is far too many given that we are in the midst of a financial boom. There are many unskilled jobs in the Copenhagen service sector that could be filled by people who have been out of work for many years, but that are currently being filled by Swedes and Poles. We will increase demands on citizens who are outside the labour market by reducing benefits or increasing the use of utility jobs, for example. We should bear in mind that every time we get 10 cash benefit recipients into jobs, the munic-

**We have
the energy,
the courage
and the wit to
challenge
the long-
dominant
Social
Democratic
majority.**

Cecilia Lonning-Skovgaard



ipality saves two million kroner, which corresponds to the salaries of four schoolteachers or police officers. There is no doubt what we would prefer to spend money on.

MOBILITY – FOR CARS, BIKES AND PEDESTRIANS

Copenhagen must be a cohesive city with space for motorists, cyclists and pedestrians. Families with cars as well as commercial vehicles must be able to move around downtown. We wish to prioritize the development of the city's road network as well as the bicycle paths. Specifically, we want to improve accessibility by utilizing intelligent traffic management and by enhancing supervision of troublesome roadwork and construction issues. We support plans for a harbour tunnel and oppose any steps to close major roads and streets that are crucial to a well-functioning and coherent road network in Copenhagen.

CONFRONTATION WITH GHETTOS AND PARALLEL SOCIETIES

A recent assessment by the city administration identified 16 areas in Copenhagen as marginalised, which corresponds to around one third of the city. This is probably an exaggeration, but it is beyond question that the city has major issues with ghettos and parallel societies. Areas like Tingbjerg, Mjølnerparken and Urbanplanen continue to be characterized by high unemployment, unsafe streets and gang activities, despite hundreds of millions of kroner spent on "holistic boosts" and "area plans". This we cannot and should not tolerate. We need to tackle this issue head-on by channelling funding for ghetto areas solely into labour activities and by allowing tenants in the social ghetto housing to buy their apartments through housing cooperatives (andelsbasis). This will allow them to

benefit from the housing market's upside, and ultimately grant them a way out of the ghettos.

A GREEN CITY

We want a city with better air quality and less noise pollution. To achieve this, we support plans for a harbour tunnel, which will improve traffic and reduce emissions from idling. We also want to promote technological solutions for reducing air pollution, such as CO₂-absorbing asphalt and retrofitted NO_x filters. We wish to set up local funding to help citizens with old and highly polluting wood-burning stoves to exchange these for newer and less polluting models. And we must reduce noise pollution by making noise-reducing asphalt mandatory and by setting up noise shields where necessary. Finally, we will continue to invest in climate protection initiatives, while making sure that taxpayers are not asked to pay a disproportionately high share of the bill.

ALLEZ LES BLEUS

To address these challenges – and to speak with a sufficiently "loud" voice – we need a strong election result for the right-wing (or Blue) parties. We care about Copenhagen and its citizens. We present specific solutions to issues that concern ordinary citizens of Copenhagen. And we have the energy, the courage and the wit to challenge the long-dominant Social Democratic majority. Together, we will form a stronger and even more sustainable city. Thank you for your time and attention – we hope for your support on November 21. **M**

An interview with Cecilia Lonning-Skovgaard can be found on page 13.

WHAT'S ON • NOVEMBER



THE ONE AND THE MANY
A master of modern portraiture, Dutch artist Rineke Dijkstra's large photographs and videos explore vulnerability through identity. She captures people in the very moment.
Louisiana
Gl Strandvej 13, Humlebæk
Louisiana.dk
All month

ALL MONTH

STANLEY KUBRICK EXHIBITION
An immersive presentation of Kubrick's filmmaking bringing together film excerpts, photography and extensive archival material.
Kunstforeningen GL STRAND
Gl. Strand 48, KBH
glstrand.dk



YOUNG DANISH PHOTOGRAPHY
A recurring exhibition at the Fotografisk Center, this year, Jenny Nordquist, artistic director at Landskrona Fotofestival, has pulled together the work of various young artists.
Fotografisk Center
Staldgade 16, 1699 KBH
Fotografiskcenter.dk
Opens on November 11

ALL MONTH

GILLIAN WEARING
Turner prize winning artist Gillian Wearing brings her photographs and video pieces to SMK in which she uses image formats that are commonly seen in everyday life.
Statens Museum for Kunst
Sølvgade 48-50, KBH
Smk.dk
All month

3

J-DAG
The annual launch of Tuborg's Christmas beer in Denmark, when Carlsberg employees drive around in trucks to visit bars and cafés while singing the traditional Tuborg Christmas Brew song and handing out free beer.
Various locations
carlsberggroup.com



SPACE SERIES
This new concert series from the Black Diamond offers an immersive audio visual experience in the high-altitude atrium equipped with a 12 channel speaker system.
The Black Diamond
Søren Kierkegaards Plads 1, Kb.dk
November 4



MADNESS
The iconic British rock band come to Copenhagen, bringing their 1970s and 80s music firmly into the 21st century.
VEGA
Enghavevej 40, KBH
Vega.dk
November 5

16

FILM, TAPAS AND COCKTAILS
In collaboration with the Restaurant SULT, Cinemateket offers an immersive evening with specially selected food and a cocktail before being transported to Paris in the lover thriller 'L'appartement'
Cinemateket
Gothersgade 55, KBH

18

MILLENIUM DANCE PARTY
Remembering the music of the 'noughties' Absalon opens its doors for a night of nostalgic tunes, and even a choreographer to remind you of the steps to famous music videos.
Absalon
Sønder Boulevard 73, KBH
absaloncph.dk

18

TIVOLI CHRISTMAS
Christmas and Tivoli go hand in hand and on the 18th of November Tivoli Gardens open again for the Christmas Season with their delightful Christmas market and a new honey cake castle.
Tivoli
Vesterbrogade 3, KBH
tivoligardens.com
November 18-31



LOCAL ELECTIONS
The regional and municipal election are held today, and thousands of internationals across Denmark are eligible to participate – 359,106 to be precise. So do your civic duty, and VOTE!
Voting information can be found on your polling card. For more, see page 10.
November 21

23

LECTURE: FOOD AND THE CITY
This lecture will explore Danish and global perspectives on the interactions of urban living and food production.
KADK
Philip De Langes Alle 10, KBH
kadk.dk

WHAT'S ON • DECEMBER



CHRISTMAS QUEENS
Come to the Christmas party with the biggest stars from RuPaul's Drag Race and meet the drag stars in a spectacular Christmas show.

DR Koncerthuset
Ørestads Boulevard 13, KBH
drkoncerthuset.dk
December 2

3

KODALINE
The Irish band come to Copenhagen with new music following the crazy success of their single 'All I want'.

Amager Bio
Øresundsvej 6, 2300
Kodaline.com

5

PAUL POTTS XMAS CONCERT
Paul Potts made his name in 2007 on 'Britain's Got Talent', and he comes to Denmark this winter for a series of Christmas concerts around the country.

Sct. Bendts Kirke
Sct. Bendtsgade 3, 4100
paulpottsofficial.com

7

LECTURE IN THE ZOO
For the past 20 years the Zoo has been working with endangered species, and on this evening you can hear from the Head of the SouthEast Asia project about the progress of their work.

Zoologisk Have
Roskildevej 32, Frederiksberg
Zoo.dk

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

This letter is penned as a reply to the October 2017 editorial in The Murmur. It is published as a right to reply – the right to defend oneself against public criticism in the same venue where it was published. The views and opinions expressed are solely those of the author, and are not shared by The Murmur.

Red Charlatan Witch-Hunt in The Murmur

The Editor-in-Chief (Peter Stanners) of the Danish newspaper - The Murmur - recently characterized me as a Charlatan. A charlatan is, according to Den Danske Ordbog, synonymous with ... "Bedrager", a fraudulent person.

To prove his case, the Editor repeated numerous similar accusations routinely made by left-wing academics at The University of Aarhus, who since 1997 have characterized my research as being dishonest, and continue to do so despite being turned down by more Court Orders.

The Editor thus tells the readers, that ... "His views are not widely shared ..."

Wrong. Please consult www.helmuthnyborg.dk (in the following: HP), or the professional cross-references to my many scientific publications.

"Genes ... are primarily responsible in IQ variations ... between groups".

I never said so. I have even critically discussed this view, and suggested an alternative objective physical redefinition of race as related to IQ (see HP).

"... high profiled academics ... picked

apart Nyborg's assertions."

Yes, but the Editor should in all fairness also let his readers know that I and others have fully addressed the critique and pointed out major errors in it (see HP).

"... his widely debunked ideas on racial intelligence ...".

Wrong. Just Google the massive evidence for significant race differences in intelligence or, better, consult the solid evidence for it in the relevant professional journals.

"... the far-right groups that he is associated with."

Wrong. I have lectured for over half a century in front of a multitude of politically and professionally very different audiences - in fact, all who asked for it - without first testing their religious or political persuasions. I cannot accept guilt by association to any of them. The Editor seems not to appreciate freedom of speech.

"... his research as evidence ... of the superiority of white European culture."

Wrong. This evidence is not mine. I refer to Charles Murray's data-loaded book "Human Accomplishment". By the way, I do not use the racially loaded word "superiority", nor does Murray as far as I know, so the Editor is maliciously creating a strawman here.

"... Nyborg presents ... a highly selective use of facts ..."

This serious accusation stands entirely without documentation. The editor seems not to have consulted my many anonymously peer-reviewed papers in scientific journals.

To sum up, Peter Stanners has - like so many leftist academics - grossly misrepresented my research and person without first checking the relevant sources. By doing so he has - like Aarhus University - committed Collective Academic Fraud (Google Linda Gottfredson for definition).

How does it work? The fraud takes point of departure in the fact that most modern universities are dominated by faculty members voting to the left of the mean. Democrats outnumber for example Republicans by 30:1 or more, at many US universities. Similar increasing left-leaning tendencies have been observed in the UK and Danish universities ever since the 1960es. These left-leaning "scientists" typically subscribe to proclamations by UNESCO (1948; 1952) and other organizations to the effect of virtually banning the study of biological aspects of human development since the Second World War. They see biological aspects as reactionary and conflicting with their ideas of culture-

made Man and sexual and racial equality.

This explains, in my view, why so many modern university leaders and a majority of behavioral and social scientists feel obliged to condemn and silence differential psychologists and behavioral genetics researchers in subtle (and often not so subtle) ways, even if both these groups study the relationship between genes and environment. None of them think genes are the whole story, but they are nevertheless dishonestly accused of assuming so.

The task is now, as I see it, to mount a firm opposition against these dangerously widespread radical leftist tendencies among a majority of behavioural and social "scientists" at Aarhus and other universities, in order to restore a space for research free of pseudo-scientific, narrow, Lysenkoistic and Central Committee mediated hostility toward unbiased research on human nature, development, and behaviour.

Helmuth Nyborg

Prof. emer., dr. phil.
helmuthnyborg@hotmail.com

Adslev, 26. October 2017.

**“Everything
you wish
for has an
expression
in Danish”**



**Olga,
philologist from
Novosibirsk.**

Sign up for intensive Danish courses in Hellerup and Lyngby
sprogcenterhellerup.dk



**SPROGCENTER
HELLERUP**