HSDRGPID-29/UNUP-140

DOMINANT WAYS OF LIFE IN DENMARK /

ALTERNATIVE WAYS OF LIFE IN DENMARK

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I. FEATURES OF DOMINANT WAYS OF LIFE IN DENMARK

Kai Lemberg

1. The Concept of a "Dominant Way of Life"

For a start, the very concept of a "dominant way of life" must be taken with a grain of salt. There is no single way of "traditional" living in Denmark but rather considerable quantitative and qualitative variation — according to region, degree of urbanization, social class, sex, income, age, and so on — around some sort of an average. Nevertheless, life conditions and life-styles for most people in Denmark may be described in terms indicating certain common patterns and following certain fundamental cultural characteristics. So there is a complex interplay between several interrelated parameters of life conditions, making it possible, in spite of variations, sub-cultures, and economic inequalities in people's conditions and lives, to speak of some common features in ordinary Danish life-styles.

2. Vital Statistics

Life expectancy at birth is about 70 years for boys and 75 years for girls. As infant mortality since the 1930s has become very low — around 1 per cent — because of improved hygiene, health, and social conditions, life expectancy is about the same at the age of one. At the age of forty 34 and 38 years are still to be expected for men and women respectively and at sixty still 17 and 20 years.

Deaths from a number of infectious diseases such as tuberculosis, diphtheria, pneumonia, and childbed fever have been greatly reduced, but correspondingly more deaths are due to heart diseases and cancer.

The risk of death by violence is extremely low, but accidents in traffic, at work, and at home count for a considerable part of the deaths at ages below 45 years, especially for men between 15 and 24, even if by far most accidents are not fatal.

For a long period it has been the typical tradition of families to aim at having two or three children. Until about 1930 half the population was living in families of five or more persons — by 1965 only 26 per cent of all persons were living in those larger families, while 25 per cent were in families of four persons, 21 per cent in three-person families, 20 per cent in two-person families, and 8 per cent were single. Counted by number of households, 28 per cent of all households in 1965 consisted of two-person families; 22 per cent were single; 20 per cent were families consisting of three persons, 17 per cent of four persons, and 13 per cent of five persons or more. The average number of persons per household was 2.8; by 1970 it was 2.6.

3.   Health Conditions

Physical health conditions are good, compared to most countries, after decades of reduced risks of a number of old-time diseases such as tuberculosis, diphtheria, and hepatitis and sicknesses caused by birth or pregnancy. While ordinary somatic diseases were also greatly reduced during the first decades of the twentieth century, there has since the 1950s been no pronounced reduction in the number of reported cases of most common diseases, such as influenza, angina, tonsillitis, and pneumonia. Only tracheo-bronchitis seems to have been greatly reduced — about 70,000 reported cases in 1975 against 118,000 in 1955. Some diseases have even increased during the same period: cholerine and enteritis from 60,000 to 86,000; acute infections of the upper air passage — not reported on in 1955 but 169,000 in 1965 and 228,000 in 1975; and gonorrhoea — 8,000 in 1955 and 13,000 in 1975. And, since we have to die for some reason or other, the reduced spreading of tuberculosis, diphtheria, etc. is counter-weighed by increased spreading of heart disease and cancer.

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The number of patients treated in <u>psychiatric</u> hospitals has increased from 20,000 in 1955 to 32,000 in 1975. Also, the number of persons receiving disability pay has been gradually increasing, as shown in table 1. It can be seen that the increase is somewhat larger for men than for women and definitely larger for younger people than for older. Part of the increase is due to traffic accidents, but by far the largest increase is due to mental disability. However, one must be most careful about the interpretation of these statistics, as the figures illustrate not only the frequency of certain diseases but also the intensification of reporting, the increasing capacity of hospitals, and the extension of the whole network of social laws and practices for receipt of grants and reimbursement of health expenses. Besides, the traditional statistics under-estimate mental problems that are not registered as diseases, stemming from stress at the work place, in traffic, and in the home. In their more serious forms mental diseases are most frequent among non-skilled workers, especially women. Consequently, use of pills and medicine has increased considerably. Alcohol problems are still much more widespread than drug addiction problems, even among young people.

TABLE 1. Disability Payment Recipients

	1955	1965	1976
Men	21,182	47,934	73,164
Women	27,603	49,041	76,452
Total	48,785	96,975	149,616
Recipients younger than 35	5,373	6,545	20,926

A better gauge of health conditions than traditional statistics on diseases and disability payments would be a record of conceived states of health as indicated by permanent health problems, occasional somatic nuisances, reduced functional ability, dental conditions, and psychical resources. However, this has been comprehensively investigated only once, in 1976, by means of interviews with persons 20-70 years old. Therefore, no series of comparable data over time is available.

The main conclusion of this investigation was that the lower the social

status, the worse are practically all the conditions mentioned. A few examples of this socially based inequality of health are shown in table 2. Only the drinking habits indicate an inequality the opposite way round — maybe influenced by income differences and the high price of beer, wine, and liquors in Denmark.

TABLE 2. Health Problems, by Social Groups (Percentages)

	Social group*				Outside the groups
	1 & 2	3	4	5	
Permanent health problems	14	23	21	28	43
Periodic somatic nuisance	50	62	63	68	74
Serious disability problems	3	6	5	7	22
Dentures	11	28	24	47	48
Heavy weariness, fatigue	15	19	17	24	31
Weak nerves	3	5	7	12	19
Three or more psychic problems	1	2	4	6	12
Frequent use of sleeping pills and/or nerve pills	6	5	6	9	23
Drinking more than 20 drinks per week	6	5	4	3	3

* See page 6.

4. Population Profile

In 1970 the Danish population was geographically distributed as follows: Greater Copenhagen area, 28 per cent; other towns (more than 2,000 inhabitants), 30 per cent; villages (200-2,000 inhabitants), 13 per cent; and rural areas, 20 per cent. Between 1950 and 1970 a heavy urbanization and bureaucratization took place, with changes in the population as classified by the economic sector of the head of household as shown in table 3.

The corresponding changes in social classes are illustrated in table 4. So, in the 1970s, then, by far the largest part of the Danish population was employed in urban manufacturing, commerce, and service or — if old, sick, or unemployed — receiving some sort of public social grants. A little less than half of the population is economically active, most of them employed by employers as wage earners.

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TABLE 3. Population Distribution by Economic Sector (Percentages)

		1950	1970
Primary sector:	agriculture, fishing, etc.	24	10
Secondary sector:	manufacturing	27	25
	construction	8	9
Tertiary sector:	commerce	13	12
	transport	7	6
	services	9	19
	industry not stated	1	2
	property income, pensions, public assistance	11	17
		100	100

TABLE 4. Population Distribution by Social Class (Percentages)

	1950		1970	
Economically active population				
Self-employed	10		7	
Salaried employees	10		17	
Skilled manual workers	6		6	
Unskilled manual workers	16		14	
Housemaids	2		1	
Spouses assisting self-employed	3		2	
		47		47
Economically inactive population				
Housewives not economically active	17		14	
Pensioners, persons receiving assistance	8		11	
Children and students	28		28	
		53		53
		100		100

In recent social statistics and research the Danish population has been divided into five so-called "social groups":

Group 1: Landed proprietors, employers in larger urban business (more than 20 persons employed), smaller self-employed with academic education, superior professional staff

Group 2: Farmers, medium-scale urban self-employed, medium-positioned salaried employees

Group 3: Small farmers, small-scale self-employed, non-expert salaried employees, with a few subordinate persons

Group 4: Cottagers, white-collar employees, skilled manual workers

Group 5: Unskilled manual workers.

Outside the groups: Persons who have never been gainfully employed

The percentage division of the total population 20-60 years old
between the groups is shown in table 5. (Spouses assisting self-
employed are, in principle, registered as self-employed. Unemployed
and old age pensioners are registered according to their last employ-
ment.)

TABLE 5. Population Distribution by "Social
          Groups" (Percentages)

Groups 1 & 2	10
Group 3	20
Group 4	33
Group 5	30
Outside the groups	7
	100

5.   Income

Incomes in Denmark vary widely according to social status, age, etc.
In 1974 almost half of married couples with children had a family gross
income between DKr 60,000 and DKr 100,000,* while 42 per cent of
couples without children had DKr 20,000-60,000, and 19 per cent had
DKr 60,000-80,000. About 60 per cent of single persons with children
and 43 per cent of singles without children — mostly very young or old
age pensioners — had less than DKr 20,000.

The half of the population with lowest incomes in 1966 accounted for
24 per cent of aggregate taxable income, while the tenth having the
largest incomes accounted for 26 per cent of aggregate income.
Correspondingly, the least wealthy half of the population in 1967
accounted for 2 per cent of total taxable net assets, while the most
wealthy tenth of the population accounted for 62 per cent. The best-
off groups in both aspects are employers in urban trades and
industries and upper level salaried employees and academics.

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* The exchange rate for Danish kroner in recent years has fluctu-
  ated between 7.5 and 5.6 to the US dollar (or 1 krone = approximately
  US$0.13—0.18). Generally this exchange rate has somewhat over-
  valued the purchasing power of the dollar.

6. Life Cycle

The typical life cycle in Denmark is the following:

The child 0-7 years old lives in and is strongly dependent on its
family — parents and siblings. In 1975 some 12-18 per cent of
children 0-3 years old were registered in nurseries or approved day
nursing in private households, and some 20-35 per cent of children
3-6 years old in kindergartens; these institutions are most common in
the larger cities and especially in the Greater Copenhagen region.
The attendance is largest for the upper social groups. An increasing
number of playgrounds have been established in the cities.

Between the ages of 7 and 17 the life of the child is divided between
the home, the school, and play in the street, courtyard, park, sports-
ground, or playground. Some attend recreation centres. A certain
concentration of children in larger schools, well equipped with modern
facilities, has occurred at the expense of smaller and older schools.
This has led to increasing distances between home and school and
increased exposure to traffic accidents, but in many new housing
districts — and a few older areas — traffic and environmental
improvements have reduced some risks.

An increasing part of the youth from about 17 to 27 years of age
continue after primary school with lower or upper secondary school,
with vocational education (traditional apprenticeship or recently
introduced "basic vocational education" [EFG, erhvervsfaglig
grunduddannelse] aimed at a multitude of skilled and semi-skilled
occupations in trades and industries without early specialization as
in apprenticeship), or with academic and other higher education.

In 1941, though 53 per cent of the working population were manual
workers, only 2.8 per cent of those passing the upper secondary school
exam (studentereksamen) were manual workers' children. In 1971 these
figures had changed to 44 per cent and 13 per cent. About half of the
younger population have had a vocational education, some 10 per cent

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a higher education, and about 40 per cent have had no further education after nine or ten years of primary school. Most of these have joined the labour market; some of those in further education have occasional or part-time work.

During recent years economic conditions for young people have considerably deteriorated as a result of the economic recession in the 1970s. Youth unemployment is large and persistent; some are prolonging their studies, others living on unemployment insurance payments, public grants, and family help. These changes, combined with the lack of life qualities in many new and old residential areas, may constitute part of the social background for increased mental diseases, vandalism, and delinquency. At the same time, access to an increasing variety of studies has been regulated and curtailed, and public aid to students has been changed from grants to expensive bank loans with state guarantees.

The years between the ages 27 and 67 cover the period of economic acitivity — for some starting earlier, for some ending a little earlier or later. The majority are wage-earners selling their labour on the labour market, while a minority are self-employed, mostly as employers for others because they own and manage means of production. The active life is divided between home and family, the work place, and varying recreations, of which watching TV and visiting relatives and friends occupy the most time.

In 1976 about 60 per cent of married women were economically active, most as wage-earners. This percentage has been growing for decades but is now somewhat unstable following general economic conditions. The labour force of women, especially married women, may be described as, to a certain degree, an employment reserve to the trades and industries which is heavily drawn upon during boom periods such as the 1960s, but women workers are turned away in times of recession and budget curtailing. Gainfully employed married women as well as single mothers generally have considerable problems in combining their jobs with household work and child-raising duties, for which they usually

get little help from their husbands and elder children.

A considerable part of the adult population in the age range 27-67 are not economically active, partly because of personal deficiencies as seen from a productive view such as sickness, physical disability, or mental problems. These persons receive different sorts of public payment under the social security network. Other groups are refused by the labour market in times of economic recession or depression; in principle they still belong to the labour market but are momentarily unemployed. If insured, they receive unemployment insurance relief, which may be as much as 90 per cent of their ordinary wage level, though it is generally lower. In March 1978 there were 210,000 unemployed in Denmark, of whom 175,000 were full-time insured. In January 1973 the number of full-time insured unemployed was 31,000.

Finally, people over about 67 years old have generally finished their productive economic activity and have retired as pensioners, most of them receiving public old-age pension. Ordinarily, they do not live with their former family but by themselves, in their own homes — maybe in special small flats for older people in social building societies — or in social institutions such as homes for the aged and nursing homes. About 40,000 of the 600,000 receiving old-age pension in 1976 were living in some sort of social institution.

7. Family Structure

The great majority of Danes still live in a traditional nuclear family pattern. This is even true for most of the increasing number of people living together without marrying. During the last decades a splitting up of families has occurred, because of children leaving their parents earlier and because of more divorces and separations. In 1975 there were 31,800 marriages and 13,300 divorces. But the typical household unit is a couple, sooner or later having two or three children, even if a good number have none or only one child and a relatively few have more than three. Of course, there is also a

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large — and increasing — percentage of people living alone, especially
the old. Some 30 per cent of people between the ages of 20 and 30 are
living in consensual unions; this figure drops sharply for persons of
more than 35 years. In 1974 13.4 per cent of all births were
illegitimate, compared to about 5.5 per cent in the 1950s.

This nuclear family in earlier times was a fundamental unit of
production besides functioning as the education and socialization
centre for children and the principal source of social care for
children, the sick, and the old. In modern society the family has lost
most of these societal functions: In the industrial and post-industrial
service society the family has been separated from its former
productive function — except in agriculture, where lack of a labour
force outside the family has forced small-farming families into the
status of self-employers without a paid labour force, making a hard
and long working day necessary. To some degree the same is true for
small retailers, where a husband and wife function together as a small
production unit. At the same time an increasing number of home work
functions have been industrialized and have disappeared from the home:
food and beverages are produced in factories ready for use; automatic
washing machines are available in the street or the shopping centre;
heating is increasingly centralized; most clothes are bought ready to
wear; and so forth.

The education of small children is partly removed from the family into
daycare institutions, and from the age of 7 education is fully
institutionalized in the schools. Besides, TV and other mass media in
practice play an important role in the general socialization process
of children — watching TV being one of the major leisure "activities."
Correspondingly, necessary social care during occasional emergencies
or in case of permanent need has gradually been established through
social institutions covering a broad spectrum of economic, social, and
health needs. Consequently, the most important societal functions left
to the family are material and non-material consumption and
contributing to the child's norm-absorption process, guiding his or
her socialization. Thus, in what might be labelled the dominant life-

style in Denmark, the family plays a reduced but still important role. But how do we use the family?

Important parts of child care and common cases of sickness of family members are handled in the family, and so are help and advice in personal and economic emergency situations. Also, the family is the main social instrument for the adaptation — successful or failing — of the child with its sexual instincts and ego-centred goals to the norms and restrictions of society through learning, through experiencing family-member reactions to the breaking of norms, and so on. Moreover, the family constitutes the daily framework for relationships with other people, training the individual in the complicated balancing of conflict and reconciliation. Of a more pragmatic nature is the use of the family as the unit for feasts and recreation and as a source of practical help in finding a job or a home.

8. Family Resources

The family resources for the execution of these functions are determined, at the economic level, by the labour force of its members (depending among other things on the education and the human factors mentioned below) and by the household income, the stability of employment, and the possession of material wealth. Another important resource factor is the educational and cultural background. Generally, the higher the education level, the wider are the options open for employment, housing type and location, and so forth. Finally, family resources also depend, as far as human relations and qualities are concerned, on the number and age of family members, on their physical and mental health, and on their intelligence, sympathy, and experience. Formerly, kinship in a wider sense might supplement the direct family resources, but today this means little to most people, except for more limited and symbolic purposes.

9.   The Circumstances of Family Life

The family situation, indicating the conditions of dominant life-style,
may be described by a number of factors determining the general wealth
and welfare situation typical of the majority of Danish citizens.
Instead of summarizing a lot of living standard statistics, this
situation may be illustrated by describing an example of a rather
typical Danish family, its living conditions, habits, and attitudes.
The example, however, does not cover single persons or rural families.

The dominant way of family life in Denmark would be that of a couple
with two children (or three, if a little older). The husband is
employed in some urban industry, earning (in 1975) about DKr 60,000 a
year, while the wife either is employed in an office or factory at a
somewhat lower wage or is a housewife without a job. About half the
income is retained by the employer for income tax. Their dwelling is
a flat of three rooms and kitchen, for which they pay a net monthly
rent of about DKr 500 if it is an old, unmodernized one, or DKr
2,000-2,500 if it is new — in some suburban housing estate — or newly
modernized. Alternatively, they might own their own well-equipped
100 m^2 one-family house, which, if new, might cost DKr 4,000-6,000 a
month; but half of that price would actually be paid by other tax-
payers, thanks to the large housing deficits for owners to be
deducted on the income tax declaration. Besides, as owners they will
have a tax-free capital gain through rising real estate prices, which
under present inflationary conditions more than compensates for the
yearly housing expense (in case of sale or mortgaging). Should one
of the spouses lose his or her job — for which the risk now is rather
large — they will receive a social grant for an intermediate period,
but when left to ordinary unemployment insurance payment, they would
have real trouble in paying their mortgages, and with lower incomes
the tax advantage of interest deduction is reduced. If they live in
a central city, they probably have reasonably short distances by
bicycle or bus to work, school, shopping, and so on but are subject to
a noisy, polluted environment with few green spaces and playgrounds.
Inversely, the suburban family often has better recreational and health

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conditions, but longer daily distances — often making transport by car necessary or most convenient — and often a rather dull residential environment, characterized by a high degree of privacy and isolation, especially in one-family-house areas.

The material consumption level of the traditional family is high and has increased a great deal during the last decades. Especially the quantitative increase in consumption of car transport, drinking and smoking, holidays abroad (by charter flight to Mediterranean seashores), and the size and facilities of dwellings has been large. Measured in prices, the increases are largest for heating, car driving, travelling abroad, food and housing — prices having risen sharply in these fields. Even if pub and restaurant visits have somewhat increased, they are still much less common than in most other European countries, since they are expensive in Denmark. Quite a lot is spent on mass media, entertainment, and other leisure at home. Part of the consumption is guided by advertising; some changes are caused by new experiences from travelling (wine, spices, clothes, etc.). An increasing part of daily — or weekly — shopping is done in supermarkets and shopping centres, and durables play an increasing role: most families — especially in the suburbs — have a refrigerator, TV, car, washing machine, and deep freezer, and a good many have their own flat or condominium, telephone, tape recorder, and stereo set. Only few have a summer cottage or a boat.

Some people, mostly academics and employers, have interesting and enriching work. Most, however, have little personal satisfaction and interest in their jobs, but they need them for the income and for self-respect and economic safety. In their free time they seek compensation for the toil, stress, and boredom and the alienation they may feel at work through leisure activities that offer relaxation, entertainment, recreation, and maybe even creative opportunities. For some, the borderline between leisure and work or between leisure and studies or training may be somewhat floating, but for most the difference is marked. A lot of leisure activities are carried out in social settings: sports clubs, associations, pubs; others are oriented towards

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the home and towards visiting and receiving family and friends. The modern entertainment industry has tended to create more passive leisure time, such as watching TV or attending football games and other sports events. Many read books. Fewer go to the cinema, theatres, exhibitions, and concerts — mostly young people, the rich, academics, and the metropolitan population.

10. Patterns of Social Interaction

The modern city in capitalist societies may be considered as a concentration of means of production, labour force, capital circulation, and collective means of consumption, constituting a spatial organization of the main elements of the productive structure: production, financing, distribution, and consumption. These functions are interrelated in the societal system, characterized by the physical environment, the population, the technology, and the social organization and steering instruments.

Following the increasing demands from the production sphere for specialization and qualified skills and the improvements of material living standards resulting from trade union activity and the political labour movement, the reproduction of the labour force has developed into a comprehensive and complicated process, including better dwellings, education of children and youth, leisure activities, transport facilities, and other elements of the urban environment, constituting the social costs securing a supply of qualified labour to fulfill the demands of trades and industries requiring specialized knowledge skills.

All this means that intensive social interactions take place in city life, most (though not all) of them involving physical movement between homes, work places, shops, institutions, offices, or recreational facilities. Commuting is a time-consuming daily burden, amounting for many people to $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 hours every day. The question arises as to how to characterize the patterns of spatial social interaction as part

of the life-style. Some transportation models operate in terms of the consumers' successive choices, starting with the choice of numbers of trips and their purposes, continuing with the choice of destinations, mode of transportation, and route. Other models operate in terms of the successive or simultaneous choices of contacts, activities, modes of transportation, and route.

Some contacts are chosen individually, but most are more or less bound to the job, the family, or some other group. It is characteristic for people living a traditional life that their usual contacts are either impersonal (working, shopping) or restricted to the nearest and closest family and few other persons — maybe neighbours, fellow workers, club comrades, and the like. Also, the flexibility in human contacts is low, and therefore contacts often stick to the patterns developed at the beginning of the adult stage of the life cycle, when the personal network of contacts was first established after forming a family and settling in a home. Consequently, permanent changes in contacts mostly happen as a result of changes in family situation (deaths, divorce) or of moving to another town or district. Most neighbourhood contacts outside the family are formal, non-committing, and impersonal (with exceptions in certain old or new areas — where ethnic and social status is very homogeneous, and/or that were originally inhabited during a shorter period by families with children of about the same age). Of course, the lay-out of a neighbourhood may stimulate or hamper contacts between neighbours. It seems however, that town-planning theory generally exaggerates the importance of contacts created in and by the immediate vicinity of the dwelling. Actually family and tradition play more important contact roles; the neighbourhood is only a secondary source of contact.

A large part of people's use of the city is decided by distinct patterns in production (in a wide sense) and consumption in the city concerned and not really by individual choice, even if most people might conceive their contact behaviour as a result of own choices. "The male traverses the habitat to exchange labour for money, and the female traverses it to exchange this money for food and other subjects

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of value'' (Hägerstrand).

It is evident that social interaction in the ordinary life-style is
not just a matter of co-operation, based on full information, under-
standing, and good will, but just as much a matter of conflict
(personal and between groups and classes), alienation, and anomie —
and the background may be a lack of information and understanding, and
even eggression, prejudice, and carelessness.

These complicated patterns mean that the enormous gains in material
welfare and in aspects of personal and social security in Denmark have
increasingly been accompanied by alienation, mental stress, and loss
of identity in people's relation to their physical and social environ-
ment. The degree of personal freedom is large in many respects, but
daily life is actually very much determined by powerful outside
factors over which the individual has little or no influence. Inten-
sive bombardment with the varying stimuli and impulses of modern life
and the difficulty in conceiving some meaningful goal or purpose in
life — beyond the sphere of the routine — create a sort of mental
insecurity and life anxiety, which to many people may be quite as real
as the anxiety of death.

11. Values and Norms

Even in a small country like Denmark, people's values and norms vary
according to region, urban versus rural areas, social class,
educational level, age, and so forth. However, there are definite
common features in the habits, attitudes, and beliefs of most people
in Denmark crisscrossing their geographical, economic, and social
situations. Almost all Danes, for instance, would declare themselves
devoted to political democracy and would support individual freedom,
health and social security, and economic growth as means of giving
all people a chance of wealth and welfare.

Most Danes, except those in rural areas and some old urban people,

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don't care much about religion; even though they may remain members
of the Protestant state church, they are likely to attend church only
at Christmas and for baptism and confirmation, perhaps for a wedding
ceremony, and for burial. Relics of heathenism and superstition
survive — mostly only symbolically — in tales of hobgoblins and
fairies and in rudimentary traditions about bugbears, the solstices,
and the like.

Training in the family and the school is based on a moral and
ideological legacy mixing elements from Protestant Christianity,
bourgeois liberalism and rationalism, capitalist economic doctrine,
romantic nationalism, and loyalty to the sovereign, together with a
political faith in representative democracy of the Scandinavian type.
Influencing children to respect and adhere to these attitudes is
generally accepted, while influencing them towards left-wing or
extreme right-wing political attitudes or anti-religious views is
regarded as indoctrination.

Training and education are gradually getting less authoritarian and
more open to acceptance of children and youth as persons in their own
right. However, the youth rebellion in 1968 frightened many older
people, who are still sceptical about lowering the voting age from
the present 20 years (since 1973). And many still beat their children
occasionally as punishment. On the other hand, the former attitude
towards non-matrimonial sex as sinful is dissolving, and so is
denunciation of obscenity and pornography (legalized since the 1960s)
in literature and arts. The moral code and ethics are, however,
mainly dominated by Christian attitudes. While womens' equal rights
have been established in principle by law and political declarations,
traditional sex roles predominate in most homes, except for the
youngest couples, leaving kitchen, cleaning, and child care as
womens' job with only moderate assistance from the husband, even when
both spouses work outside the home.

Aesthetic attitudes towards home furniture and decoration, the arts,
and music lag far behind advanced artistic development in these fields,

except for intellectuals and the most wealthy people. The cultural image of the bourgeoisie often is taken over by the working classes with a certain time lag. The same holds to some degree for rules of good conduct, social manners, and decent dressing. These cultural conventions are mostly not accepted by young people, many of whom follow the "long-haired life-style," at least in appearance and entertainment. The majority of the working class, however, also have ideals of class solidarity, social policy, and full employment. These latter issues are widely accepted also in bourgeois and petit bourgeois circles.

As for the people's political affiliation, the largest block consists of Social Democrats, mostly of very moderate attitude: about 40 per cent in 1978 after a drop to 25 per cent in 1973. A number of centre and moderate right-wing bourgeois parties make up 35-40 per cent of the votes and a new right-wing protest party (Glistrup) 12-15 per cent; barely 10 per cent vote for three left-wing parties. The percentage of the electorate voting is usually high: 80-90 per cent for general elections and somewhat lower, 65-80 per cent, for local councils. Membership in political parties and youth organizations, on the other hand, is low — only a few per cent.

Most male manual workers and large minorities of women manual workers and of salaried employees are members of trade unions, as are also many in the academic field. Correspondingly, most employers join the national employers' association. During the so-called income policy against rising wages in the 1970s, only few officially recognized strikes have occurred, but several smaller but sometimes prolonged wild-cat strikes have taken place, condemned by the employers' association as well as by the national unions concerned and by the Social Democratic government.

The attitude towards international co-operation is generally positive, though one can notice some scepticism towards developing countries relief grants, some indifference towards NATO, and some actively confronting views towards the EEC. Most people are somewhat fearful

of the Soviet Union, but also were against the US war in Viet Nam. A
majority are opposed to building nuclear power plants in Denmark.

In communal matters such as slum clearance, town and transportation
plans, and social institutions the majority is silent except on a few
crucial issues; but growing numbers of young people, renters, and
local pressure groups exert an oppositional activity against
traditional plans and lack of information and communication,
demanding better information, participation, and direct democracy to
supplement representative democracy.

Both actual participation and influence on personal conditions at the
work place, in dwelling conditions, and in general political activities
is highly dependent on social status, as illustrated in table 6.

TABLE 6. Public Participation and Influence, by Social Groups

Social group	Public trust commissions	Membership in trade unions, etc.	Active in local groups	Cannot formulate letters to authority
1 & 2	6	78	14	2
3	5	59	12	11
4	2	62	10	15
5	1	57	4	33
Outside the groups	1	15	-	35

II. ALTERNATIVE WAYS OF LIFE IN DENMARK: FIVE CASE STUDIES

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AN INTRODUCTION

Per Løvetand

Along with the dominant ways of life in Denmark new trends have been
marking alternative ways of life. Since the sixties we have
experienced a change from prosperous times, through the oil embargo,
to a beginning economic breakdown and permanent unemployment.

The acknowledgement of a global context is shifting the accent from
the problems of the "underdeveloped" countries to those of the "over-
developed" countries. While the third world is striving for greater
independence, the western world seems to run amuck in competition and
increasing production at any price. Examples are the armament
industry and arms exports — in the USA nearly half of the federal
budget — and a medical industry which explodes in producing
tranquilizers.

The crisis is upon us and the result is human demolition and ruin of
the environment — like in nice little Denmark. Every fourth
hospitalization is due to psychological problems with roots in
unemployment. A growing part of the population are social workers
taking care of the rest. (Between 1965 and 1975 expenditures for
social and health services rose from $6\frac{1}{2}$ to 13 per cent of the GNP,
mostly for wages.) Industry is producing more and more unnecessary
products while poisons ravage human beings and the environment at an
alarming speed. While our national debt is reaching astronomical
heights, we are getting more and more dependent on the EEC and the
multi-national companies. The "Danish" company A.P. Møller, for
instance, for the coming years has secured an income of DKr 56,000
million from North Sea oil and gas, while the Danish State is getting
perhaps DKr 6,000 million.

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For all these reasons it is not strange if confidence in those who are
"responsible" and their "values" is shrinking. This development
started, in fact, in the sixties. The youth revolt expressed its
emotional and spontaneous side, while the demonstrations against the
US action in Viet Nam, the campaigns against the EEC and nuclear power,
and the environmental movement showed an increasing political and
environmental consciousness. The double consequence of this develop-
ment is increasing centralization of state power, economics, and robot-
like discipline on one hand, and claims for decentralization, joint
decisions, and autonomy on the other. Activists and slum-stormers are
the first to put action behind the words, and everywhere the result
is a stirring of consciousness, asserting that we have only ourselves
and a common solidarity to trust — if we don't want to be crushed by
the Huge Machinery.

Tenants' unions, communes, collectives, small schools, and all sorts
of participatory associations show a new popular consciousness.
Movements in all shades from women's and men's liberation to all
sorts of minority groups are coming into the light, while wildcat
strikes, blockades, and worker's demands get support from students and
munitions in university reports and support funds. All this in a
protest against absurdity and with a claim for human dignity and
self-respect — a protest and a claim that take on more and more the
character of a people's movement for new values and quality of life.

An indication can be seen in a recently held conference at the Danish
National Museum on the theme "Possibilities for Alternative Society —
Experiments in a Pluralistic Democracy." Twenty-six research workers
from a wide range of disciplines discussed from this point of view
questions concerning structure, history, ethnic groups, institutions,
planning, philosophy, psychiatry, criminology, unemployment,
industrialization, technology, ethics, law, social policy, research,
and alternatives. The organizers of the conference, Jacques Blum and
Inger Sjørslev, state in their report, "Sprouts for a New Way of Life,"
that the conference delineated three complexes of problems: the
alternative societies as such, the established society, and the

relationship between the two. They conclude that

— in our part of the world alternative societies must be seen in the light of the industrialized, technological society's development;

— the alternative societies are part of, but not the solution to, the crisis in society;

— alternative societies are nothing new, and not a specific Danish phenomenon;

— through research much knowledge could be drawn from the alternative societies to the benefit of both the established and the alternative societies;

— in Denmark there are not alternative societies without a certain dependence on the established society;

— the existence of alternative societies at the same time is reasonable and necessary in a pluralistic democracy.

The final question of whether Danish society can be characterized as an active pluralistic democracy, however, was not agreed upon by the participants.

We have chosen the following significant cases as examples of alternative ways of life in Denmark:

— collectives,

— the Thy Camp,

— island camps,

— Christiania,

— the Tvind Schools.

These are all existing frameworks for alternative ways of life in Denmark. We could have chosen others. We have not included "the life in the movements," even though it represents an important factor in and source of alternative activities. Many persons are deeply involved in some part-time work that has much relevance to alternative ways of life. We have limited our description to physical realities rather than mental structures, and to the presentation of results rather than attempts.

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CASE 1:   COLLECTIVES

Steen Juhler

Out of Denmark's 5 million inhabitants about 30,000 are living in
collectives.   In 1968 there were perhaps 10 collectives, in 1971
around 700, and today several thousand.   The number is not precise and
does not distinguish between integrated collectives and boarding-
house-like co-operatives — the latter being the most usual.

At the end of the sixties the collectives were a central subject in
the mass media, mostly because of indignation: The collectives were
seen as threatening the dominant way of life, the family structure.   A
few years later the attention disappeared, and the general opinion
was that people living in collectives would move back into traditional
families as soon as they finished their studies and had children;
collectives were for young people.   Little by little however, it
became clear that the collective movement was growing and that it
included quite a number of people from 25 to 40 years of age.   It also
appeared that people moving out of one collective after a while would
often move into another, being more experienced.

A typical Danish collective consists of five to eight adults and three
to six children living in an old house in the suburbs of Copenhagen or
in a smaller town.   Each adult has a private room, and the kitchen and
living-room are used in common.   The typical collectivists are middle-
class people, most of them students, teachers, social workers,
academics — people employed or supported by public institutions.   The
number of exceptions to this pattern is increasing.   The ideological
part of the collective movement belongs to the left wing.   These are
people who have found their political platform after the sixties and
are not workers or from workers' families.

Recently the collectives have had a come-back in the mass media and in cultural debate, not because of any controversial development or achievement but simply because the collectives are based on ideas and experiences that are supposed to be useful in managing some fundamental problem in today's society — problems of ways of life, of means of production, of privacy and daily life — caused by the economic and structural crisis of capitalism.

An essential thesis in the ideology of the collectives is that to change society you must be able to change yourself. If you believe in certain values, you must try to live up to them in real life. Your theories must function in practice. Perhaps one of the main reasons so many people have been frustrated after experiencing life in a collective is that it doesn't work just like that — snap! Even in a collective you are not able to change yourself completely. For example, the collectives were not able to question traditional sex roles fundamentally before the emergence of the women's movement. But the limited capabilities of the collectives should not be seen as a failure. Alternativism is often looked upon as something naive and idealistic, especially by the established left. It is opposed on the basis of the postulate that we can do nothing before the big revolution — and we therefore have to reach that point by all means. But many things indicate that we anticipate the future aims through our present means — that the way is the destination.

Very few collectives in Denmark deal with production. Some are organized around intellectual activities, music, theatre, and media work. Others function as therapeutic enclaves, giving help to drug addicts, alcoholics, and criminals. There are a number of collectives working in the field of education, for example, the Tvind Schools. And finally there are some concerned with agriculture and production of clothes and handicrafts.

In Denmark it is rather easy to get hold of the necessary physical structure for a collective because high credit can be secured by mortgage on real property. You can be the owner of a house with a

small amount of cash, but then you have to pay a good deal of interest. This might explain the relatively large number of collectives in Denmark.

Some collectivists have summarized the collective movement over the past ten years as follows:

> From a general viewpoint the collectives seem to offer two things: On the one hand a way of living together that meets the demands of society (capitalism) and of the individual: mobility, flexibility, and low-cost social care. On the other hand a tool that <u>might</u> be used to create political mobilization, to overcome privatism, isolation, and narrowness, and to build up a solidarity and responsibility that goes beyond the father-mother-child structure.

Unfortunately collectives for the most part are not analysed in socialistic terms since the established left wing does not value "the subjective factors." Psychic and physical ecology is still not of real interest to the left wing which remains outside the movements. Far more attention is being paid to the ideas of collective life from the centre-right in the political spectrum — the so-called establishment. According to American future-studies, collectives will be the fittest way of habitation in a highly industrialized society. As work becomes more and more technical and workers become more and more specialized, the collective will be the most convenient way of living together. Recently some Danish politicians suggested production collectives as a solution to unemployment among young people. Another factor that has stimulated the sympathy for collectives is the crisis of the nuclear family, mainly caused by the capitalistic process of production. When the isolated family cannot fulfil its functions of meeting the social and psychological problems that society creates, new family shapes must be found.

The distance between the established left and the collectives — and other movements — might be explained by the following quotation:

> It will always be important to give priority to the labour struggle — but no longer in isolation. Let us not forget the experience of fascism. Traditionally, fascism has always

appealed to emotions while socialism — especially in the thirties — has been concerned about cool economic analysis. Fascism is continuously ahead of socialism as long as it can strike emotional chords and appeal to the feelings of suppressed people. I think it is important to remember that material suppression includes emotional suppression as well. Capitalism has become incredibly advanced especially in the fields of culture and privacy through the development of the mass media and the organization of our inclinations. A counterweight is necessary. Therefore the policy of culture and privacy must have higher priority than heretofore. Most of us male socialists still may be "progressive in our head" and "reactionary in the rest of our body." [Erik Rudeng, Paxrevy, 1976.]

As far as the reformistic aspects are concerned, a collectivist writes:

You don't eliminate alienation by forming a collective, but you may be able to endure it for a while. In family you might have had a feeling of <u>existing</u> by identifying yourself with somebody else, that is, by owning that person. In the collective you can get the same feeling by utilizing — or consuming — other people. Community replaces love. Uncommitted togetherness and amusement replace identification. Consuming each other replaces owning each other. . . . The family needs <u>stability</u>. The collective can survive on <u>flexibility</u> and <u>continuity</u>.

CASE 2:   THE THY CAMP

Jens Falkentorp

Unlike Christiania, the start of the Thy Camp in 1970 was completely
legal and usual.   An association called Det Ny Samfund (DNS, The New
Society) representing the most un-authoritarian wing of the new left of
the late sixties, bought 17 hectares of land in the beautiful but stern
northwestern corner of Jutland, Thy, and arranged a summer camp.   "This
is the first time the people own land," they proclaimed.   The 1970 Thy
Camp became a Danish Woodstock over a couple of months.   Many thousand
people came.   A new subculture manifested itself with its Asian bric-
a-brac, its new music, its psychedelic drugs, and its will to develop
the new consciousness and direct democracy.   It was a powerful protest
against the "plastic culture" and aroused a good deal of public
interest.   The media followed the development in the camp almost from
day to day, and thousands of Sunday drivers passed by to have a look
at the hippies.   The local population generally took a composed,
"let's wait and see" attitude until a small group of young people at
the end of summer occupied the near-by church of Hjardemål.   This
aroused local indignation, and the police were called to throw out the
occupants.   DNS and the common meeting of the camp condemned the action
as meaningless, but the incident has nevertheless been a strain on the
public image of the camp ever since.

Each summer since then a camp has been held at the place with between
1,000 and 2,000 participants — mainly young people from cities in
Denmark and abroad.   These camps are quieter than the first one was.
Special meetings are held between the camp periods — for instance,
womens', gay people's, or China weeks, congresses for communes,
anarchist rallies, lectures on magic, ecology, socialism, music
festivals,and the like.   Decisions are made at common meetings.

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Since 1972, a smaller group has settled permanently on the land. They call themselves the Survival Commune Northern Lights (Nordlyset), and live a frugal close-to-nature life in self-made huts, gipsy wagons, and tepees. They cultivate part of the land and keep horses, cows, sheep, and hens.

During the years 1973-1975 a split developed between the Northern Lights and the administrative group of DNS in Copenhagen. As the economic, social, and political crisis set in, the latter tended to adopt a more classical left-wing attitude and tried to keep the Thy Camp uninhabited during winter because the people gathering there seemed too undisciplined and caused too much political opposition. The Survival Commune, on its side, accused the Copenhagen people of forgetting the vision and only practising "the new society" in their summer holidays.

This disagreement was bridged in 1976 by the rainbow approach invented in Christiania. During the great pro-Christiania campaign in the winter of 1975/76, which helped the Freetown to get past the deadline set by the parliament for 1 April, the Rainbow Army was born. Each of the six colours of the rainbow was defined as corresponding to a type of temperament and a type of work. All colours are obviously equally important. Red, which represents "taking initiatives, getting ideas, organizing, leading without manipulating," is neither more nor less essential to the whole than, for instance, blue, which represents "untying the knots of consciousness, dissolving the mind from the ties of the body, spreading the highest knowledge, increasing the highest love, researching into the unspeakable." In the summer camp of 1976 this way of looking at things made it clear to most that both the "red" Copenhagen group and the "blue" Northern Lights were part of the same rainbow and equally indispensable, and that they might even learn from each other.

This new integration was desperately needed right then, because in 1976 the local authorities escalated their attempts to get rid of the Thy Camp and internal agreement was necessary to cope with this.

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Since 1972 DNS had been fined increasing amounts for arranging summer
camps without permission — and permission, it was understood, would not
be granted. Now, in addition, came an order to demolish the self-
built huts and an old barn which had been given to the camp and moved
moved over from its original site at Thisted. The buildings were said
to be illegal according to the zoning law and the building code. DNS
got busy defending its right to experiment on its land. The case has
been through two courts. The barn has been exempted — since it
actually serves agricultural purposes and therefore doesn't need
permission from the zoning authorities — but nine huts and constructions
must be cleared. DNS hasn't done so yet but is paying a daily penalty
of DKr 150, waiting for a promised round of negotiations with the
local authorities on the future of the camp.

In a letter to the authorities, DNS argues that the people living in
the condemned huts have nowhere else to go, so the authorities must
take part of the social responsibility of this situation.

> We want to use our piece of land for experiments in new social
> and cultural ideas. Our basic attitude is awareness of the
> necessity of renewal in the society, and also renewal of
> fundamental principles, habits and ways of thinking. But
> renewal must take place through practical experiments, not
> through enforcement of untried theoretical principles, as has
> been and is the case many places in the world. That sort of
> renewal we consider one of the major sources of human
> unhappiness.

And about the laws and rules that are used against them:

> The new laws which took effect around 1970 anticipate that
> people will move into towns, and that we will subsist on
> industry and increasing import of raw materials and food from
> the developing countries. This doesn't seem to be the right
> way anymore.

> Registration numbers have been introduced for persons, and
> will soon be introduced for houses and their geographic
> location as well. It will then be possible to link the two
> registers together to know who is supposed to be where. Our
> working places, incomes, and so on are already registered.
> Soon everything will be under control. What is still left is
> to get our actions under control too (that is to say, if the
> bureaucrats and technocrats are to decide).

> They have started with plans for the country and the regions,

> stating what kind of activity can take place where. Within a
> year or so we will have plans for the municipalities too.
> Everything will have to be decided at the desks so that
> nothing is left to chance. In the future everything will be
> forbidden unless it has been anticipated by the authorities,
> or unless they choose to allow it at their own discretion.
> A citizen will be totally dependent on the person with
> authority to make a decision in his particular case. The
> situation is grotesque and not unlike old times when the
> peasant begged the lord for mercy and permission, and the lord
> was forced by economic circumstances to deviate very little
> from the course of consolidating himself. . . .

DNS appeals to the Danish public and politicians to let Denmark remain
an "open society" where experiments are welcomed and respected.

There are close links between Christiania and the Thy Camp. Many
people move from either of the places to the other. Unlike the
Christianites, the members of DNS have the property right to their land.
This has been used by the authorities in an attempt to isolate
"responsible leaders" and enforce their will through them. But DNS
refuses to use its property right internally, for instance to throw out
people who live on the property. The fact that the two cases —
Christiania and the Thy Camp — follow each other so closely in spite
of this legal difference shows that they both are expressions of a
deeper political conflict.

The decision of the Danish government not to use its legal right to
clear Christiania seems indirectly to suggest the possibility of a
"peaceful settlement" also for the Thy Camp through negotiations with
the authorities.

CASE 3:   ISLAND CAMPS

Steen Juhler

The geography of Denmark shows us a single peninsula, Jutland, and
numerous islands of various sizes.   There are about one hundred small
islands ranging in size from 1 to 50 farms.   Industrialization has
meant a stream of emigration from country to city — and hence a
depopulation of the small islands.   Many of the small islands no longer
have schools of their own and the inhabitants are very dependent on
transportation facilities.   The state has subsidized many ferry routes,
but the depopulation has not slowed down.   Many of the old farm-
houses serve as summer dwellings for the urban population.   Further-
more, many new summer houses and camping places are being established,
as the small islands have great scenic beauty.

1970 was the international year of nature conservation, and each
nation was obliged to set up activities to spread the idea of nature
conservation.   The Danish national committee had the idea of
establishing summer camps on some of the small islands to give people
an opportunity to be in close contact with nature during their
holidays, the purpose of conservation being more than just keeping
nature untouched.   Nature values should be obtainable to the public.

But establishing highways and camping places — not to mention summer-
house deserts and holiday centres — does act against conservation.
The planned summer camps therefore were to be situated in rather
untouched places — in some cases where it would not be possible to
bring cars — and appear neutral in the landscape.

The establishment of the camps was financed by the Ministry of Culture,
from the appropriation for the international year.   Only the running

and maintenance of the camps were paid for by the participants, who were in this way able to have a cheap holiday. It was the aim to reach as many people as possible — people who did not have the chance to be in contact with nature elsewhere.

During the first summer, 1970, there were island camps situated on six small islands. In order to give social content to the camps, each has a main activity as a sort of theme for that specific camp. This could be, for instance, restoring an old windmill, making an ecological mini-society, or persuing arts and crafts. The main activity is an opportunity offered to the participants. In addition, there are other opportunities such as ball games, dyeing with herbs, baking bread, maintaining and improving the camp, and of course the daily jobs — cooking, cleaning up, building fires, and so on. Finally the participants can choose to relax in traditional ways: going swimming, bicycling, making love, talking, reading. Each camp has 50 to 80 participants at a time, staying one or more weeks. The camps are open during the school holiday, seven weeks from the end of June till mid-August.

Camp life is rather primitive. Campers live in big common tents (second-hand military tents) with 20 persons in each; generally they are not allowed to bring their own tents or other shelters. The idea is that people should be together. We are used to isolating ourselves from one another, and the pattern is reflected in traditional holiday culture — hotel rooms, cars, trailers, family tents, and so on. In the island camps part of the experiment is to find out what happens when people live close together — without the possibility of hiding themselves except for special occasions.

Decisions are made by a common meeting where everybody can take part. At first each island camp had a team of volunteers — appointed before-hand — to take care of certain jobs such as accounting, purchasing food, and planning the main activity. But the camps have now succeeded in making this structure less formal by letting participants from one year's camp form groups to plan and initiate next year's

camp. Many participants see themselves as responsible for camp life,
though there are sometimes problems of adaptation.

The participants do not represent a broad section of the Danish
population. A majority are young people still undergoing education
and people from the big cities. Nevertheless, more than 25 per cent
are more than 30 years old, and almost 25 per cent are skilled workers,
clerks, or people with shorter education (according to 1973 research).
This means that participants in camps are more "average" than, for
example, those involved in collectives. In some ways the camps fill
a gap between people living in ordinary family structures and people
who live more collectively. Many prejudices about camp life (drugs,
promiscuity, dirt) have been proven false by personal experience.
Also, the primitive way of life makes people conscious of the benefits
of preferring human to material values.

Since 1970, island camps have been organized every summer, the total
number of participants being more than 10,000 — some of them
repetitions. The camps are now set up as independent institutions,
without public grants. Certain camps are organized by groups belonging
to alternative movements, and there is a general tendency to give the
camps a still more political content — predominantly on a socialistic
basis.

CASE 4:   THE FREETOWN OF CHRISTIANIA

Per Løvetand

Background

The Freetown of Christiania, an alternative society of almost 1,000
people, has been in existence for more than six years.* It is located
near the centre of Copenhagen, in Christianshavn, on a site formerly
used for military purposes. Christiania is spread over an area of 22
hectares. Besides ramparts and moats, it contains more than 170
buildings, varying from huts and barracks to large and small workshops.
Before Christianshavn itself was founded and Copenhagen was fortified
in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the area consisted simply
of water and beach.

The Origins of Christiania

Increasing interest shown by the Municipality of Copenhagen in this
central and attractive area resulted in the withdrawal of the military
from the site in the spring of 1971. Subsequently, however, the area
was left unused because of lack of money and planning. It was badly
guarded and consequently suffered much destruction. After half a year,
in the autumn of 1971, many people, the homeless among others, began
to make use of the building and the area. It was spontaneous and
unplanned. Slum stormers, students, dissidents, and minority groups
came out to Christiania in ever increasing numbers and started to
settle in. By the turn of the year 1971/72 some three to four hundred
people had arrived and started to hold joint meetings and set up work

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* At the time of the original presentation of this paper, April 1978.

groups to solve common problems. One of these problems was to reach
an agreement with the authorities about electricity, water, and other
services. The authorities, however, could not decide among themselves
who was responsible for the situation.

The sale of hard drugs was banned by the Christianites right from the
start, though hashish was accepted. It was agreed that cars would not
be allowed in the Freetown, and a peace guard was established to stop
crime before it could begin. Already in November 1971 a common
objective was formulated and adopted:

> The aim of Christiania is to build a self-ruling society,
> where each individual can develop him- or herself freely while
> remaining responsible to the community as a whole. The
> society is to be economically self-sufficient, and the common
> goal must always be to try to show that mental and physical
> pollution can be prevented.

Almost from the very beginning, joint meetings were called, in which
common problems as well as Christiania's relationship with the
authorities were discussed. An assembly house with an information
office was set up; working groups and a weekly newspaper were
established; and a shopping centre, places for eating and for making
music, a number of small workshops, a flea market, and the like
appeared after a short time.

The Authorities Accept the Situation

The Social Democratic Government tried to normalize the situation, not
least because the Opposition made it into a political issue, attacking
this "breach of law and order — and transgression of the rights of
private property."

In May 1972 a ten-point "temporary agreement" was signed concerning
payments for utilities and services. At the same time a contact group
was set up by the authorities. When the temporary agreement was
signed, Christiania was divided into nine or ten independent areas,

each with its own treasurer. At the same time the process of decision-making was decentralized and the inhabitants of each area met to discuss their own local problems. Common problems such as money, medical care, and social assistance, conditions for foreigners, and the unreasonable behaviour of the police were still dealt with jointly.

Christiania as a Social Experiment

In March 1973 the Government decided to arrange a planning competition for the area, and Christiania was given the status of a "social experiment" for a period of three years; it was projected that that would allow adequate time to see what results would be achieved. It was emphasized by the Government that the experiment was based on the reality of Christiania, and that it was to be carried out on the premises of the Freetown itself.

Reaction against the Freetown

However, the Municipality of Copenhagen saw the social experiment as an indefinite postponement of its building plans for the Christiania area. It made a number of demands for building improvements to be met immediately — otherwise the buildings would have to be pulled down.

At the same time political developments in Denmark were anything but progressive, and soon the Social Democratic Government had other things than "non-binding" promises to Christiania to worry about. An election was called in December 1973. One of the first statements of the new (liberal-conservative) Government was that it could not recognize the Freetown as a social experiment.

In February 1974 the new Defence Minister and the Mayor of Copenhagen agreed to knock down about half of the buildings in Christiania. The Defence Minister announced in Parliament that, whereas it would cost DKr 19 million to meet the Municipality's demands for improvements,

demolition would cost only DKr 1 million.

And Counter-reaction

In March 1974 the alternative "Valgborg" list created havoc in the
municipal elections and attracted enough votes to elect one candidate,
a Christianite from the feminist group. Sympathetic citizens outside
the Freetown started the "Support Christiania" movement. Independently
of this activity the Royal Academy of Fine Arts arranged a planning
competition as a forerunner for the now-forgotten government
competition and the Municipality's lack of planning. In Christiania,
"barricade celebrations" were held.

A Parliamentary debate in April/May resulted in setting up a multi-
party committee, and in October a majority in this committee threw out
the demolition order. A working group was established, with
representatives from the Defence Ministry, the Municipality, Support
Christiania, and the Freetown itself. In January 1975 it produced a
report which puts the cost of fulfilling the building demands of the
Municipality at DKr 460,000 instead of the DKr 19 million that had
been mentioned by the Minister of Defence.

The Politicians and the Authorities Attempt to Close the Freetown

In February 1975 a Social Democratic minority Government was again
formed. The new Defence Minster tried to get a grant to fulfil the
Municipality's building demands, but the Finance Committee turned
down his request by a one-vote majority. Instead, the Progress Party
proposed in Parliament that Christiania be closed. In April — after a
record seven different motions — Parliament adopted the following:
"The Government is urged to begin negotiations leading to the closing
of Christiania. Christiania is to be closed by 1 April 1976 at the
latest."

In May 1975 the Minister of Defence informed Christiania of the
Parliament's decision and asked the Christianites to come up with
proposals for the gradual closing of the Freetown. They, instead, set
to work to carry out the building demands. They did the work them-
selves, at a cost of only DKr 20,000. In November the municipal
housing inspector approved the conditions in the buildings. But the
Municipality's legal department maintained that seventeen smaller
buildings must be demolished as they were "beyond repair" — and the
Parliamentary Finance Committee made a grant of DKr 2 million for
demolition purposes.

Non-violent Mobilization by the Freetown and "Support Christiania"

Against this background, Christianites decided at a joint meeting to
sue the Government for unjustly demanding that Christiania be closed,
for breaking their promises about a social experiment and the temporary
agreement of May 1972. A case against the Minister of Defence was
opened in the High Court in December 1975.

In the meantime Christiania built up a non-violent strategy — for
instance, a "woman's army" and a "peasant's army" were mobilized. At
the same time, the Freetown together with Support Christiania initiated
a popular campaign. A TV programme about the Hansens, a working-class
family with two children who lived in the Freetown for a week, helped
to bring about a more nuanced view of Christiania. A public inquiry
organized by Support Christiania at the beginning of 1976 — with the
Ombudsman as chairman and a number of prominent people as witnesses —
together with a lot of radio and TV coverage, increased public
understanding. Opinion polls showed growing support for the continu-
ation of the Freetown; by 1 April support had reached more than 50 per
cent. Solidarity manifested itself in various ways. For example, an
enormous number of sympathizers came to the Freetown, where they were
organized in "rainbow armies." Each colour of the rainbow symbolized
a group of related functions with which the individual could identify;
everyone wore a coloured arm band and could find jobs to do and people

to do them with. All of these activities culminated in an enormous
Spring and Peace Festival attended by thousands, which took place the
week before and the week after 1 April. On 1 April there was a
demonstration with a march to the Town Hall and the Parliament. Thirty
thousand people took part, and it was one of the most peaceful
demonstrations ever held.

— And the Retreat of the Politicians

During the budget debate on 30 March, Parliament modified its former
decision that the Freetown should be closed on 1 April (only two days
later) — determining instead to close it "without unnecessary delay,"
putting no specific time limit on the process.

That evening the Action Theatre performed April Fool in the Christiania
opera house.

After 1 April the people of Christiania tried to return to everyday
life and all the practical problems which had had to wait. The fuss
and publicity had made Christiania into a local and foreign attraction
as big as the Little Mermaid, with thousands of tourists passing through
the Freetown. At the same time many "social rejects" were coming to
Christiania with new hopes, but also with new social and human problems
that kept pace with the growing unemployment. The authorities were
conspicious by their total absence and their disclaiming of all
responsibility. According to the Government, Christiania ceased to
exist on 1 April!

Christiania's Reserves of Strength

Despite the feeling of anticlimax after 1 April, the growing problems,
and the failure of the authorities to live up to their responsibilities,
Christiania still had enough energy left to celebrate Christmas for the
third year in a row by giving food, Christmas trees, and entertainment

to more than 1,000 homeless people in Grey Hall, a former riding hall which had become popular as a location for festivals and theatrical performances.

The Solvognen ("Sun Chariot") theatre group had played The Elf Hill to packed audiences in Grey Hall from the autumn of 1975 through the spring of 1976 — a production in which a huge capitalist-eating dragon with blinking eyes takes part in the negotiations between the Defence Minister and a couple of hundred Christianites in the courtyard of the Defence Ministry. Merchant Life, a few months later, proved, if possible, an even greater success for Solvognen, together with the production of Soldier Comrades in a circus tent.

In between times, the Santa Claus Army happening and thereafter the Rebild action were staged, creating havoc in the cultural duckpond.

In April 1976, at the invitation of Christiania, about 1,000 Rockers with their motorbikes gathered in "Red Sun Square" at a "Rainbow Meeting." A fight almost broke out, but the result, as intended by Christiania, was greater mutual understanding.

Another reserve of energy and initiative was expressed in the setting up of the Support Denmark fund. This came as a consequence of a number of things — mobilization in connection with Support Christiania, the Christiania gramophone record, and a decision made at a joint meeting in the Freetown that money could be better used by supporting other alternative movements in the country (up till now nearly DKr 400,000).

The Christiania Verdict

In December 1976 one of the strangest cases in the history of the High Court drew to a close, with a motley crowd of Christianites with children, dogs, horses, and music as the plaintiffs, and the Danish Government — the Defence Ministry — as the defendant. On 10 February 1977 the verdict was pronounced. Contrary to expectations, it was in

favour of the Government, although the premises laid down by the judge had indicated the opposite. These premises were, nevertheless, significant in that they recognized the valuable social and cultural function of Christiania. They also included the observation that "from a social point of view, it seems dubious to close Christiania, since the area would then not be used for a long time — but an evaluation of this state of affairs lies outside the competence of the courts." Thus the judicial power once again placed responsibility into the hands of legislature — Parliament and the Government — to choose between social and legal criteria. The legal decision was to "oblige the Freetown to vacate without notice all ground and buildings . . . while the request of the Defence Ministry that immediate eviction order be served on all inhabitants of Christiania is granted."

The Freetown Continues to Fight

It was decided to appeal the verdict to the Supreme Court. The High Court decision clearly demonstrated that "justice" was not on the side of the Freetown, and that it had only its own reality on which to build. However, the appeal provided a breathing interval.

In its seventh year Christiania is still fighting for survival against continual attacks from the outside and growing human problems inside. These problems arise because of the external insecurity, the behaviour of the police, the alienating "paragraph world" of the court case, the growing unemployment of a society in crisis — without any support from the responsible authorities.

Construction, Activities — and Problems

The summer of 1977 was one of the most industrious summers from the point of view of building in the Freetown's history. Workshops — old and new — were busier than ever before; a windmill was erected at the moat; the health centre and the children's house were extended; and a

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number of caravans popped up here and there, together with domes, pyramid houses, and new Christianites. There were also more children — their number passed a hundred — and meanwhile hundreds of tourists, schoolchildren, and clubs came every day to have a look.

In order to activate some of the visitors, a "Work Festival" was begun in the late summer in which these people could take part. A number of the buildings were renovated inside and out, the town was cleaned up, the hoardings were painted, and an amphitheatre was built on Red Sun Square from the previous winters' building materials.

However, other types of activity also flourished. As so often before, it seemed that the police stayed away during the summer and carried out raids in the autumn in order to be able to prove an "increase in crime" in Christiania. Many of the tourists were also interested in hashish, and it was sold openly in "Pusher Street." There were so many pushers coming in from the outside that it was impossible for the Christianites to control them all. There was also an increase in the quantity of beer being sold. Whereas this was good for the restaurant business, it unfortunately increased aggression originating in the hopelessness of being unemployed and uncertainty about the future.

The mental problems caused by the outside world were so enormous that the social and health groups in Christiania had to come to an arrangement with psychiatrists from Copenhagen for increased contact through the municipal hospital's psychiatric casualty ward. This is similar to the mutual co-operation between Christiania and the organizations taking care of runaway children. It has also been possible to establish a convalescent project for former drug addicts and alcoholics at Thy in northern Jutland, with the help of the Support Christiania group in Århus. Some 10 or 15 Christianites live together there and farm the land, continuing the work begun during the "Egypt Project" in 1972-1973, when a "withdrawal trip" was organized for 10-15 drug addicts.

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Follow-up

The Planning Director of Copenhagen, Kai Lemberg, has written a note for HUD International Review on the trends of affairs for Christiania from 1976 to 1978, in which he says:

The Christianites appealed to the Supreme Court of Justice, which on 2 February 1978 confirmed the verdict of the Superior Court of February 1977, saying that the Christianites had no legal right to stay in the area after 1 April 1976. So, finally, the legal dispute was settled by confirming the claims of the State and its right to terminate Christiania. Both court verdicts mentioned, however, that social and human aspects were exclusively the responsibility of the Folketing and the Government — that is, a political question, not a legal one.

In case of a political decision on an immediate clearance of Christiania by police force — which probably would provoke a violent confrontation — the Christianites and a supporting organization of people living outside developed and published a complete plan for non-violent resistance by means of telephone alarm systems, demonstrations, street happenings, paralysing of bridges, airports, and other traffic, etc., all over Copenhagen and Denmark. The idea was that this plan should make the whole prospect of clearing the area most unattractive to the authorities.

Since, during its six years of existence, Christiania had proved not to be the threat to society expected by many — because, for instance, of criminality or bad health conditions — and since, on the contrary, Christiania could demonstrate socially valuable results of non-institutional resocialization of young social losers, general public opinion gradually changed and became more favourable to Christiania. The same was true of the attitude of the Social Democratic Government, which now refused to carry through a rapid action of termination. . . .

Therefore, on 8 February 1978 the Government brought about a new debate in the Folketing, in which the former claim for termination of Christiania "without unnecessary delay" was dropped. The centre-plus-left majority of the Folketing accepted — against the votes of the right-wing parties demanding immediate or short-term clearance of the area — the statement of the Minister of Defence that a termination of Christiania would raise a lot of social and human problems, the solution of which required reasonable time. Besides, there is no acute need for immediate action. Therefore, Christiania ought to have a new respite of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 years. In the meantime, the worst buildings should be cleared, and other buildings repaired according to the sanitary and fire security building standards of Copenhagen.

To this end, state expenses of about DKr 8 million would be necessary. The right-wing parties and the Copenhagen Building Authority claim that DKr 30-40 million will be necessary.

During the intensive political discussion on Christiania in the Danish press, on radio and TV, in books and meetings — and through the debate caused by the communal elections of 7 April 1978 — Christiania gained support from many circles: from most of the metropolitan press, from university students and teachers, town planners, authors and other intellectuals, and also from the Architects National Association, the Association of Town Planners, the League of the Academy of Arts, many trade unions, and others. In the March 1978 communal elections, a Christianite — from a special Christianite list outside the political parties — became a member of the City Council.

Even during the period of political threat and uncertainty about the immediate future, cultural activities in Christiania are flowering in many forms: mural art, jazz and beat concerts, theatre performances and street happenings in Copenhagen, poems, and satirical plays.

Negotiations have been restarted between the Freetown and a contact committee under the Government's monstrous new "Organization Plan for the Future Administration of Christiania," with 20 instances, from four ministers at the top down to the Christianites in the utmost right corner. The Christiania negotiation group — ten young women, by chance, representing each area — have agreed to an increase in the payments for electricity and water. The Christiania building group, working with organizations from outside, are drawing up an alternative plan for building security and town planning while waiting for the official plans — or a new refusal of the grant to the Defense Ministry that would allow fulfilling the demands of the Municipality of Copenhagen.

An attempt to co-operate with the police against the increasing sale of hard drugs and against big dealers from outside Christiania was betrayed by the leaders of the police. Evidently they intended to provoke a sort of civil war in the Freetown by making a razzia against all the small hashish pushers. The result was just the opposite: a

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common campaign for legalizing and decriminalizing hashish, backed by
a demonstration to the Parliament and the start of a "Support Free
Hash" movement like those in the Netherlands and the USA.

As an indication of the spreading movement of both ideas and people
out from Christiania, the Freetown has recently acquired the right to
use ten hectares of private land in northern Jutland for five years.
This is just one of many efforts to create new Christianias in the
countryside.

Life in Christiania — Four Characteristics

While the political struggle is going on, the Freetown is being
consolidated. Incessant attacks serve merely to create solidarity
between people and opinions and to create a common identity. There is
an ever-increasing understanding inside and outside Christiania of the
problems and contradictions in society — and created by society —
which are the background of the Freetown. Police reports used to
attack Christiania are contradicted by the Criminological Institute of
Copenhagen University, which has demonstrated that Christiania, on the
contrary, has a decriminalizing effect. The Department of Social
Welfare in the Municipality of Copenhagen, in its magazine Kontakt,
has published articles about the resocializing function of the Freetown.
And the Department of Child Welfare has decided to support the many
runaway children who go to Christiania to join "Child Power."
According to the municipal doctor and the public health nurses, the
level of health is astonishingly good, and human and cultural life is
expressed in houses, music, song, and theatre — people care about one
another.

Life in Christiania is a complex whole, a multiplicity of people,
ideas, and possibilities. An essential background for this is the
Freetown's spontaneous and unplanned origin, without some one
theoretical or political ideal as the ideal one must live up to —
except one's own ideas and some harsh realities. Out of practice and

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a common situation grows a new life, new experiences, and new values —
a new culture?

Rather than trying to describe from inside the complexity of life in
Christiania — which has already been done in a number of books and
films and in music — I would like to quote parts of a working paper,
<u>Christiania, a Freetown</u> (National Museum of Denmark), by Jacques Blum
and Inger Sjørslev, on four characteristics of Christiania as they see
it from outside:

> In the following we shall attempt to analyze the distinctive
> characteristics of Christiania. . . . We shall base our
> analysis on four key concepts that the Christianites themselves
> often use when accounting for their own situation. Some of these
> concepts have become idiomatic in Christiania, and they are
> expressed as follows:
>
>> "<u>In Christiania we have no norms.</u>"
>>
>> "<u>Do your own thing.</u>"
>>
>> "<u>You've got to relate</u>" [Man skal komme hinanden ved].*
>>
>> "<u>Paranoia.</u>"
>
> These four concepts are all indissolubly inter-connected, but for
> the sake of clarity they will be treated separately. . . .
>
> Many of the Christianites' arguments may seem illogical, for some
> people even unethical or tautological. This is probably due to
> the fact that though these words, idioms and concepts can
> probably be understood by people outside Christiania, they are,
> in Christiania, an important part of the "culture," a culture
> which seen in relation to the rest of Danish society is a sub-
> culture.
>
> <u>In Christiania we have no norms.</u>
>
> This statement is often heard in Christiania. Instead of discuss-
> ing its sociological inconsistency we shall here attempt to analyze
> the meanings that the Christianites themselves put into it.
>
> Many people from outside Christiania who have no particular know-
> ledge of the place or who may only know of this problem from the
> occasional newspaper stories understand the statement as equivalent
> to "everything is permitted."
>
> Three important meanings can be distinguished in the statement

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* Translator's note: I can find no English translation that is also
a stylistic equivalent to the Danish expression, the precise meaning
of which is that people should have meaningful relationships with
the members of the community in which they live.

concerning the lack of norms in Christiania.

a. Norms are seen negatively and specifically as the restricting demands of the industrialized macro-society for uniform behaviour as dictated by an ideology of efficiency.

b. Norms create deviants. A large part of the inhabitants of Christiania have been classified as deviants in the macro-society. Where there are no norms there are no deviants and any form of rubber-stamp classification can be avoided.

c. The alleged absence of norms is a necessary condition for the realization of the second basic concept — "living on one's own conditions."

It should be pointed out that these three meanings are based on "Christiania logic." Measured by the traditional criteria of the social sciences they are, of course, untenable.

In the following we shall be looking more closely at each of the above-mentioned meanings. For this purpose we shall, among other things, use examples taken from interviews with Christianites.

"I matriculated and then I thought I was going to be a barrister with a big house in an expensive part of town or something like that. What I experienced during my first years at University obviously did not go along with my inner drives or whatever they're called. Anyway it didn't satisfy me, all that sitting there and writing deeds and mortgages for people. . . . In a way I've been pushed out here by society's efficiency race. I didn't get any worthwhile satisfaction from living the life they call a happy life out in society, having a flat, a wife, a car, a country cottage, television and washing-machine. It wasn't enough of an inspiration for me to get up early in the morning and work like hell. . . ."

When a Christianite of this type says that there are no norms in Christiania, it means that he has considered to what extent he should subject himself to the general law-and-order mentality of an industrialized society of the Danish pattern, where happiness is, among other things, defined as the possession of material goods.

This person does not live in Christiania of necessity; he has made a conscious decision. If Christiania is closed down, he will not have to be institutionalized but will manage because of his ability and strength of personality. For him Christiania is a place where there is not so much control as outside, at any rate not in the same areas. "Christiania is the only place where one can to to the grocer's naked without being stared at." For him Christiania represents a relaxed and tolerant form of village life, which is opposed to the norms of the surrounding society concerning efficiency and rationality. In Christiania the individual decides how efficient or inefficient he or she wishes to be. It is, among other things, this kind of freedom of behaviour that is referred to in the statement in Christiania we have no norms.

Another example is a 26-year-old man, who has had innumerable short-lived jobs of various kinds within the last 10 years. He

has been unable to settle down, which has led to a good deal of
petty crime during the last four years, including violence of a
not particularly dangerous nature.

During the last 18 months when he has been living in Christiania
he has only once been involved in criminality, and charges were
dropped because of the nature of the case. He himself says that
his almost complete avoidance of criminality is due to the fact
that life in Christiania suits him. "Out here there are no norms
and it's because of them you get mixed up in things."

His work in Christiania is very free. He has had a number of
different things to do but has ended as a member of the trash
squad, which means that he empties dustbins and removes various
forms of refuse. He receives a fixed price per dustbin, and that
gives him an income of 60 kroner a day for 4 or 5 hours' work.
He can start when he likes, and he knows all the people whose
dustbins he empties. Included in his pay are free baths and
perhaps a beer and a meal. He can manage on his pay, and he is
in daily contact with a lot of people he feels he is helping.
Nobody expects any particular regularity from him, and this easy-
going attitude to him and his work helps him to feel that in spite
of his instability he is doing a good deal for the community.

What he says reminds one very much of the explanation an American
psychologist gave of juvenile criminality, that is, a lack of
identity in young people, in the sense that they experience no
sense of belonging to a group. In Christiania the demands posed
to him by his group are so few and so easily met that he feels
in harmony with himself and with the ideals of the group (the
culture). He has never had this experience outside, where for
him norms are rigid rules and demands which he has been unable to
meet, and which, furthermore, he has never felt it reasonable that
he should be able to meet. There are no such norms in Christiania.
He has no answer to the question as to what he will do if
Christiania is closed down, but presumes that he will return to a
life of crime.

Our third and last example is one of the "activists" — a term
which has a certain derogatory connotation in Christiania.

The group of people in Christiania who have been labelled
"activists" have received the predicate because of two factors.
One refers to their attitude to ideology and organizing work within
Christiania. The other is connected with the individual's own
need to be "active." In our opinion both factors grow out of
the thesis that there are no norms in Christiania.

Briefly expressed, the activists' activity is centred around the
reforming of Christiania, both ideologically and in practice, into
a society which on the one hand gives them the opportunity to
realize their own ideas of a village-type community as opposed to
the established and industrialized society, and which on the
other hand fulfils some fundamental conceptions they have of
social justice. For many activists the norms of the macro-
society are equivalent to restrictions on their own needs to be

active. For this group "no norms" means that if one wishes to
pull down a wall in a house, and if one has a reasonable
supposition that this will not make the house collapse, then there
is nothing to stop one doing so. There is nowhere to address
applications and no one to make difficulties. Moreover, if the
activists' ideas about communality and recycling prove to be valid,
this will mean a considerable saving as regards the purchase of
new materials and the use of outside labour. Finally the
activists can give physical expression to their ideas while they
are still inspired by them and not months later when the
authorities have given their permission.

For this group, in other words, Christiania is something like the
beginning of an ideal community, and they do a good deal to keep
Christiania alive both through their organizational work and
through external politicizing. There is no doubt that it is
thanks to them that Christiania has not dissolved by itself or
been closed down. Christiania is a necessary condition for the
members of this group to be able to realize their ideas and
feelings, and at the same time an arena where they can experiment
with their individual and social ideas and needs.

For this group the idea that there are no norms in Christiania is
a necessary condition for their being able "to realize themselves"
or, the second of the key concepts, to live on their own
conditions.

These ideas and attitudes have perhaps been best expressed by an
unfortunately anonymous activist in an anthology on Christiania:

> "Christiania and the macro-society are opposites.
> Not opposing poles of the same unit, but irreconcilable
>   opposites.
>
> Where Christiania has a VILLAGE COMMUNITY
> the macro-society has NUCLEAR FAMILY CELLS
>
> Where Christiania has CRAFTSMEN
> the macro-society has FACTORY WORKERS
>
> Where Christiania has RECYCLING OF OLD MATERIALS
> the macro-society has OVER-CONSUMPTION OF NEW MATERIALS
>
> Where Christiania has NATURAL MATERIALS
> the macro-society has ARTIFICIAL MATERIALS
>
> Where Christiania has CHILDREN, ANIMALS AND PLANTS
> the macro-society has CARS
>
> Where Christiania has ECOLOGY
> the macro-society has ECONOMY
>
> Where Christiania has TOLERANCE AND TRUST
> the macro-society has PREJUDICES AND SUSPICION
>
> Where Christiania has OPEN SUFFERING
> the macro-society has HIDDEN SUFFERING
>
> Where Christiania has SPIRIT
> the macro-society has THINGS"

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The article says later:

"Theory remains empty talk or unimportant ideas if it is not an instrument for something one is working with in practice. . . .

A HEALTHY society is developed from ECOLOGY. Ecology has one common factor — LAND. Land has only USE VALUE and cannot be used for exchange. (Food, oxygen, beauty grow out of the land.)

If USE VALUE is one's first priority, RECYCLING is a natural expression of one's respect for man's work.

A SICK society is developed from ECONOMY. Economy has one common factor — MONEY. Money has only EXCHANGE VALUE and has no value in itself. (Pieces of dead mineral and scraps of paper can only be used for writing on.)

If EXCHANGE VALUE in the form of MONEY is one's first priority, a natural consequence is that man's work is measured in TIME.

Man is regarded as a MACHINE. And when everyone has all necessities of life, superfluity and MASS PRODUCTION result."

In his book on Christiania Per Løvetand describes the population as follows:

"What characterizes people in Christiania is a common wish to be able to make one's own decisions, to be able to do one's own thing. In their former lives this wish has been frustrated to a greater or smaller degree. Now they see in Christiania a possibility of realizing themselves, even though this involves an insecure and primitive way of life. This is the foundation on which a lot of widely different people have got together by chance to form a community. There are young people, there are foreigners, there are minority groups and all kinds of drifters. They are active and passive, peaceful and violent, idealists and the saved, all mixed up together. They are criminals and they are "social losers," the maladjusted and the un-adjustable. Except for their wish to do their own thing their motives for living in Christiania differ widely. For some it is an easy solution to a problematic situation; for many it is the desire for social contact, for others a wish to be able to withdraw into themselves. . . . Many find an outlet for an elementary desire to be active in the establishment of basic things like shelter and warmth, a desire for which there is no use in a highly organized welfare society."

Do your own thing.

Christianites see the discarding of norms (in the meanings we have just isolated) as a necessary condition for doing their own thing.

Our second key concept has, like the first, more than one meaning,

the meaning being dependent on the user of the concept.

The quotation taken from P. Løvetand shows that the "activist" group takes the concept as being synonymous with the idea of "being able to realize oneself," which will be the first meaning to be discussed here. . . .

The individual's opportunities for self-realization appear to receive high priority. When "activists" are asked to give an account of Christiania and how the idea of "self-realization" is carried out in practice, they present their listeners with a list of the innumerable activities taking place in Christiania:

Information, casualty ward, nursery school, school, yoga centre, cinema, theatre, churches, flea market, grocer's, greengrocer's, restaurants, cobbler's, smithy, ceramics workshop, baker's, printer's, carpenter's shop, and so on.

Furthermore, a number of experiments are in progress like the building of a ferro-cement boat, windmill experiments, experiments with light and heating and so on.

The list is impressive when one remembers how few people actually live permanently in Christiania. Of course not all these activities are in progress every day and all day, but there is no doubt that the level of activity is exceedingly high. It is important, however, to establish that these many activities are carried on by a relatively small group. On the other hand it follows that by normal standards this group is extraordinarily hard-working both inside Christiania and outside — the latter in connection with information and political work.

There is a kind of contradiction built into this statement. One might ask whether the demand that "each individual should be able freely to realize himself" does not exclude the less definable "under responsibility to the community."

This has been discussed in Christiania, sometimes formally and in public, but most frequently in informal and spontaneous groupings.

Through interviews with "activists" it is easy enough to find out what meaning they put into the concept. They have lots of activities to demonstrate. It is much more difficult to discover what it means for the "passive" inhabitants of Christiania. As has already been repeatedly pointed out in this account, the passive group consists of a number of persons who have been characterized as deviants by the established society around them. They may be criminals, addicts, dope dealers, ethnic minorities, mentally ill, people who since their earliest childhood have been institutionalized. These categories are often subordinated to criteria concerning their ability to function in normal society. As their possibilities of functioning are limited and as society (that is, the established part of it) has discovered that it has a certain responsibility for this situation, the concept of "social losers" has been invented for this variegated and numerous group of people. The "loser" is here characterized as a person who gives the established society problems of a social, economic

and moral nature. But not only does he or she give society problems — it seems that the solutions proposed by society do not work or work only to a certain degree. The long and the short of it is that the "social loser" is a person who has been given up by the established society. Many descriptions and our own observations confirm that a considerable part of the inhabitants of Christiania belong to this group of people whom society has given up.

For this group doing your own thing means something like release from social pressures concerning behaviour and life-style, from constant moralizing and the posing of demands which they can probably understand to a certain degree, but which they know themselves to be totally unable to meet. To do your own thing thus becomes synonymous with "being left in peace."

Leaving these classified deviants in peace is usually taken to be an expression of tolerance in Christiania. If one does not prevent people from living on their own conditions one is tolerant. The person who lives on his own conditions feels no restrictive demands for normative, conforming behaviour and thus does not see himself as a deviant.

Our intention in this section has been to explore the meanings contained in the concept doing your own thing, and to indicate that, as in any other society, there are limits to the freedom the community allows the individual. In Christiania, however, there is a basic and general assumption that man is "unconditionally good." He may do things that are unacceptable, but this is then due to his having been socialized into a bad and unhappy creature by the "system" or structural factors. A process of "desocializ-ation" is necessary in order to uncover the "original and good person." This is done by allowing him to realize himself to the greatest possible extent and then by "resocializing" him — (though not according to any fixed ideology) so that he can entirely do his own thing. Although it has been shown that there are norms in Christiania as in any other society, this does not mean that the nature of these norms is a matter of indifference. We have no doubt that in Christiania many of the important problems that the macro-society has created and failed to solve are exposed and, to some extent, dealt with though they may not be solved. In other words the place functions as a kind of "retreat" for many of the victims of some unfortunate social conditions to be found in the macro-society. In our opinion Christiania is not an ideal society and its romanticism is suspect. It is rather a consequence of the existence of industrial, urban Copenhagen.

We must relate to one another.

The expression to relate has gradually become common Danish usage. In the debate concerning Christiania much use has been made of it, and for the general public it has become a kind of hallmark, genuine or doubtful, of Christiania's quality.

To relate means having or achieving close relationships with other people. Many of the inhabitants of Christiania (and of the rest

of Denmark for that matter) feel alienated, uncertain of their identity both psychologically and structurally. In Christiania a way of living has been created which gives its inhabitants a sense of community because, among other things, of the shared sense of external pressures; feelings of alienation and lack of identity are thus minimized.

In Christiania a large number of the inhabitants have a shared history of problems, a kind of common destiny, which gives them good chances of understanding, tolerating and helping one another. Many of them have received treatment for drug-addiction, have been in prison, in an institution or the like.

The sense of a shared destiny and the feeling of being subjected to external pressures makes Christiania a secure breathing-place in the confusion of the city.

Christianites are fond of children and animals, and the children create contacts among the grown-ups as they run in and out of their comrades' homes. In the macro-society children behave in the same way, but contact among grown-ups is often not established. There are no cars in Christiania, and parents can safely send their children out to play for hours on end, secure in the knowledge that there are a large number of other people, neighbours, friends, and other children's parents, who have an idea as to where their child is.

In proportion to the number of inhabitants there are very many animals, mostly dogs, but also horses, a donkey, a calf, a bear, goats, pigs, rabbits, chickens and ducks. However, the children have the opportunity not only of spending their time together with a large variety of animals; they can also be together with the grown-ups who work in the area.

The Christianites' sense of togetherness is much strengthened by the fact that many of them not only live but also work in the area. The children acquire a thorough insight into the work of their parents and the grown-ups partake in a multiplicity of communal activities and problems. This close relationship between work and leisure, place of work and domicile, means that the inhabitants know a good deal about one another, which should lead to a form of communication that is more open and direct and which is based on subjects that are of importance for the situation of the individual. Through this free and direct communication it is possible for Christianites to relate to one another.

If a Christianite were to behave outside the walls as he does inside, he would immediately discover how very different his new surroundings were. They may well be hostile and he will be running the risk of negative sanctions if he fails to follow the accepted norms. This difference between "inside" and "outside" gives the Christianite a sense of identity, which is confirmed by his being able to dissociate himself ethically from certain persons and conditions "outside."

Another practical manifestation of the ideology that people must

relate is to be found in the arrangements for living and working in Christiania, where the whole spectrum from communes to people living alone is to be found, not to mention the traditional nuclear family structure. Some of the family units have had experience of other ways of living but have returned to that which they are perhaps most familiar with. Others share an apartment and this must not be confused with the form of life in communes, since neither work nor finances are on a collective basis. Some people live as established couples. The communes experiment with a shared economy, communal activities — sometimes in the form of political work. In general the communes are attempting to replace private property rights over both people and material goods with a communal or shared right of use.

Finally, quite a few Christianites live alone. Although they live alone and may have chosen to do so consciously, it is of considerable importance for them that they have good possibilities of contact with other inhabitants; the village-like atmosphere of Christiania means that feelings of loneliness and solitude can be helped in many ways.

The social and political organization of the area also helps people to relate. In theory everyone has a say in the running of Christiania and there is a close connection between the decisions that are taken and the people they apply to. Christiania goes in for grass-roots democracy, and its supreme organ is the "Communal Meeting," at which all Christianites have the right to speak and to vote. This system is a bit ponderous, and since only a minority have proved to have exercised their rights at these big meetings, Christianites have decided to decentralize.

In this context relating means something very like having influence, also structural, on the conditions under which one lives. . . . Relating to one another thus becomes a matter of being able to express oneself without difficulty to a large number of people.

Paranoia

It is not surprising that psychological and medical terms like "paranoia" have become part of the language of Christiania, since many of the inhabitants have achieved an intimate knowledge of psychopharmacological drugs either through prescribed medicine or through abuse. Like the other key concepts, however, paranoia is used with a number of different meanings.

The most concise way in which Christianites can characterize the society from which they dissociate themselves and to which they are trying to create an alternative is by use of the key concept of paranoia. All that Christianites are actively combating in themselves and in Christiania as a whole is seen by them to be normal, institutionalized behaviour in the established society.

Outside Christiania paranoia holds sway. This can be seen from, for example, the fact that people do not relate to one another. As has been frequently mentioned, many Christianites have bad

experience of society's prisons, psychiatric wards or various child
and youth institutions. They have felt that society puts a higher
priority on things than on feelings. Many Christianites come from
backgrounds in which material goods received priority, not
necessarily because they were taken to be synonymous with human
happiness, but because they represented a "state of happiness" that
was achievable, a condition that the system has rubber-stamped as
both acceptable and desirable. Many Christianites feel, therefore,
that for the citizens of the established society life has no
meaning. People are "happy" because they have children, a house
and car and are in the process of acquiring a summer cottage. It
is difficult to discover why they live as they do; most
explanations are to the effect that "that's the way it is" and
"our neighbours are no better off." At work they have seen
"alienated" colleagues continue on the same treadmill without any
sense of what they were producing, without knowing why they went
to work, and who could give only one explanation of their
behaviour — that they were earning money that could be spent on
consumer goods. The Christianite view of consumption is well-
known. Superfluous and harmful things are produced, bought and
consumed in a process of human self-destruction. In the
established society man has become so alienated that he
unconsciously seeks his own self-destruction, among other things,
ecologically.

Christianites see paranoia at work in situations in which people
do not know or are not conscious of what they are doing; and when
awareness comes they have become dependent. Those who do not feel
a conscious or unconscious desire to contribute to this process of
self-destruction feel guilt, insecurity and angst, in brief,
paranoia. A central area in which paranoia appears is, as
Christianites see it, the acceptance of the official structure of
authority. From numerous statements and interviews it emerges
that one of the main differences between Christiania and the
established society is to be found in the way in which authority is
structured. "In Christiania no one has the right to push you
around." It seems absurd for some people to have been given the
legal right to make decisions concerning another person's well-
being in spite of the latter's wishes. Acceptance of this is an
expression of paranoia.

That the structure of social authority is taken to be paranoid is
confirmed by the Christianite view of the system as so inhuman that
society needs a hard and rigid ideology in order to keep control
of its citizens. This law-and-order ideology is represented by
"the black uniforms," the police, and "the white uniforms," the
various institutions that give treatment.

Many Christianites believe that the established, industrialized
society demands uniformity under cover of an egalitarian ideology
that has gone off the rails. They maintain that man is being
adjusted to the demands of the machines for homogeneity, and his
individuality is either totally neglected or becomes a secondary
consideration. Many have personally experienced how any kind of
"skewiness" in the form of a revolt against paranoia or a breakdown

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because of it is seen by the established society as a weakness, a stigma that is to be treated at one of the established institutions. Their function is to adapt people to living under paranoia not necessarily with brutal openness but with a suppressive professional friendliness. The system of paranoia is maintained either with violence or by repressive tolerance. . . .

[Inside Christiania] it is clear that the paranoia rises and falls according to developments in attitudes to Christiania in the rest of society. When the press publishes statistics that can be interpreted to mean an increase in favourable attitudes to Christiania, an atmosphere of self-confidence develops. If on the other hand it is maintained that the Minister of Defence has made an agreement with a contractor concerning the demolition of the buildings in Christiania, paranoia becomes widespread. The Christianites were permitted to continue with their own paranoia and the conscious or unconscious woolly-mindedness of the establishment for an indefinite term.

This is of course an unhappy state of affairs, but on the other hand it is important to remember that to a considerable extent Christianites exist by virtue of external pressure. Like any minority group they react to external pressure by trying to defend themselves, and this common task creates cohesion and solidarity.

We are in no doubt that much of the opposition against Christiania is due to the interaction of two factors. The first is the Christianites' clear opposition to so much in the established society, which, they believe, exhibits paranoia, psychotic features.

The second factor is the defensive attitudes of many Danes, attitudes that have become socially acceptable because of the movement towards the right that has taken place in Danish politics in recent years, and which cuts across party lines. Christianites are undoubtedly right in their contention that a law-and-order ideology is spreading in Denmark, where many people feel the necessity of fighting to preserve the values they have laboured to achieve. At a time of high unemployment when many people are both psychologically and financially affected by the situation, many of the opponents of Christiania feel that the area presents a horrifying warning of how society can end unless a high degree of social control is exercised. Further, they feel that Christiania represents those forces in society that are trying to destroy what has been built up in the course of many years, at the same time as they point out errors and deficiencies in society. The Christianites thus become scapegoats for many of society's failings.

And outside Christiania

Christiania is opened up to the outside world through a number of large people's festivals — the goat market, and spring, St. John's Day,

anniversary, and Christmas celebrations, with all sorts of music, parades, and revues. The theatre groups Solvognen and the Action Theatre help to cement the exuberance and effectiveness of the Freetown through their activities outside Christiania. They also make the Freetown more dangerous in that they unveil the inhumanity present in a society in crisis.

A number of citizens' action groups find support both inside and outside the Freetown. Grey Hall is the scene of various functions:
— for the housing front with residents' committees from Christianshavn and Nørrebro fighting against the turning of rented apartments into owner-occupied apartments
— for those fighting against the closing of crèches and kindergartens in Copenhagen
— for the workers on strike at the Royal Porcelain Factory and Berlingske Tidende, a large conservative newspaper
— for the workers at Kastrup Glass Works who are fighting against the closing of the works
— for the environmental and cultural fight carried on by OOA, the organization for information about atomic energy, against Barsebäk, at atomic-energy station on the Swedish coast just across from Copenhagen
— for the New Society and the Thy Camp
— for the alternative cultural centre in Ballerup
— for the Swedish Tent Theatre
— for minority groups such as Greenlanders, the Gay Liberation movement, and foreign workers.

Various groups gather in the Blue House on weekends — there are, for instance, anarchists' seminars and the annual conference of the Left Socialist Party. And in the People's Cinema films are shown and lectures with slides are held about the subjects mentioned above and their connection with the outside world — for example, Jacob Holdt with "American Pictures."

A large number of active residents' associations from all Europe come together in Christiania for a week-long Community Action Seminar, where

ideas are exchanged and the common effort to shape a better world is discussed. At the same time others carry on discussions with the Tvind Schools and NOAH, an ecological association, about the foundation of an "ecological recycling school" in Christiania. This school would base itself on what is being done already in the Freetown's Green Hall, where recycling is systematically carried out as a modest contribution to combating the meaninglessness of unemployment among the young. An Anniversary Debate Festival on the occasion of Christiania's sixth birthday, 26 September 1977, was organized with support from outside. Its object was to create discussion about Christiania's social function, and the connection of the Freetown with a number of parallel movements, all of which work for a better world — in the shadow of the general political swing to the right. A number of artists, cultural personalities, and citizens' movements expressed their opinions in the course of the three-day festival. In addition there was a huge music programme, theatrical performances, exhibitions, slide shows, and Christiania films. An enormous display of fireworks provided the finale. All of this was donated in support of the Freetown. The festival became a broad display of solidarity, with thousands of visitors and the raising of a large reserve for Christiania's working fund — and deafening silence from the press. However, the festival proved to the participants that there are a large number of us who are living and working, individually and collectively, for a better world, and that we are not isolated. There were representatives from all the popular movements — tenants' front, trade unions, people on strike, the unemployed, environmental groups — and there were declarations of solidarity from abroad.

The Freetown has a function as a mediator and a place where people gather together. In the six years of its existence it has provoked a wide debate on social issues and has exposed various contradictions. At the same time it has practised an alternative to our contemporary norm of unrestrained consumption and has established the principle of the right to use instead of the right to own. But above all, the Freetown demonstrates the strength inherent in holding together in mutual trust. These experiences can certainly be made use of in our cold and crisis-stricken world.

CASE 5:   TVIND, A NECESSARY SCHOOL

Mogens Kløvedal and Dino Raymond Hansen

The Tvind Schools have set themselves the task of making better schools
than anybody else.   They work within the framework of the Danish
Education Act, but they fill in the frame to such a degree that some
people in Denmark feel they tax them to the breaking point.

Tvind started in the late sixties as "The Travelling High School" (Den
Rejsende Højskole).   The initiative was taken by a group of young
people who had themselves travelled round the world.   Some of them
were teachers.   To them, travelling — especially in the Third World —
was the best education they had ever had.   They wanted to use their
experiences in their own teaching.   So they had to make their own
school: the Travelling High School.

"High schools" (højskoler) are special Danish exam-free schools open
to anybody over 18 years old.   A course normally runs for half a year
or a year.   High schools have been established by many different groups
with just as many different aims.   Provided they conform to a number
of specified conditions they receive public subvention — on a par with
all other schools.

The purpose of the Travelling High School is to send groups of young
people on bus tours to the Third World.   The aim is for the young
people to relate their experiences with the Danish society and to pass
them on.   Within the framework set by the "Teaching Group" of the
Travelling High School the young people are to plan the course them-
selves.   They decide the route of the trip, repair an old bus and
maintain it on the way, and decide what special problems they want to
make a study of.

The Teaching Group behind the Travelling High School has subsequently started the Necessary Teachers' College (Det Nødvendige Seminarium), and Tvind Continuation School (Tvind Efterskole) for young people between 14 and 18 years old. During the last couple of years Tvind has expanded. Tvind Continuation Schools have now been established in all parts of Denmark, and others are still being established. Travelling is part of the training in all of them.

The Teaching Group consists of more than 100 people who have committed themselves for life. By law they must have the titles of principal, headmaster, teacher, porter, secretary, etc. In practice, however, everybody in the Teaching Group (except those absent on travel) is obliged to participate in all major decisions. Generally there is one meeting per week. All the schools are considered parts of a whole. Everybody is expected to be able to take part in any work anywhere. This implies that normal nuclear-family couples cannot exist, and the members' children form a special group who do not necessarily live where their parents are. At the new schools it has been necessary to take on teachers on two-year contracts, who do not have the same rights as members of the Teaching Group with regard to decisions on the whole, and who do not enter into the common economy of the Teaching Group.

Recently a strong debate took place in the press, raised by former teachers and students, who claimed it was an authoritarian and centralized structure with no real influence from others outside the Teaching Group. Besides, many students and teachers found that the pressure of work was too heavy, not leaving time for relaxing and feelings. This debate, it turned out, was parallel to a discussion inside the Teaching Group, where the teachers of individual schools wanted a more autonomous position. This will be put into practice in the coming school-year, but common ideas on education will be maintained.

The first three schools were built by the Teaching Group themselves. In spite of rising prices the third one turned out to be cheaper than

the first one — experience is exploited. Later, existing buildings
have been bought and rebuilt. Also ships are being converted into
sailing schools. In the first years the schools avoided publicity.
Students came to the schools through personal contacts. But from the
moment the Teaching Group decided to build the world's largest
windmill, Tvind has become an object of public debate in Denmark. Like
all other decisions, the decision to build the windmill was taken
because it was necessary: it could provide power and heating for the
three schools at Tvind more cheaply than electricity or oil from
outside could. This has since been used as an essential argument in
the Danish energy debate. The Tvind Schools do not pronounce them-
selves against nuclear power as such; they just prefer an energy which
nobody can monopolize. The windmill was built by the Teaching Group
with much help by people from outside who worked on it for shorter or
longer periods. All available know-how was utilized. The Danish
nuclear research plant at Risø as well as technical universities and
foreign experts all contributed with necessary expertise. All
experience gathered during the building of the windmill has been
collected by the Energy Office of West Jutland (Vestjysk Energikontor)
and is passed on to anybody interested without charge.

Some land is cultivated around the schools. An attempt is made to be
self-sufficient in crops that are worthwhile, just as the schools have
their own workshops, printing machines, computers, etc. So far no
special stress has been put on organic cultivation. The interest is
to produce as good and cheap foodstuffs as possible.

When youth unemployment set in, the Teaching Group sought to co-operate
with SiD, the biggest trade union in Denmark. The very practical
approach — combined with necessary theory — of the training has
placed Tvind in a very strong position in the Danish educational
system these last years. The teachers who have been trained at the
teachers' college have the reputation of being able to cope better than
most with the disciplinary problems which haunt large portions of the
school system. The teachers themselves think the main reason for this
is the fact that paid work at ordinary places of employment like

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those where most children's parents work forms an essential part of their training. Frequent periods of taking paid work is a duty for all members of the Teaching Group (though not out of economic necessity). It is of interest that the Tvind Schools have been asked to work out a Danish proposal for a special training programme for unemployed youth for the European Economic Community.

From the start, the Tvind Schools have wanted to influence — or even take over — the Danish educational system. So far they have succeeded beyond expectation. Thousands of pupils have been trained at the schools, no one without being marked by them. They are already influencing the whole of Danish society. It is not certain whether, in another society and at another time, the drive behind the work of the Teaching Group would have resulted in a steadily expanding school system. In the working methods and the goals of the Teaching Group lies a strong revolutionary force which under other social conditions could have taken quite a different course. But, since there is a Danish tradition of using high schools for starting a broad people's movement, the Tvind people have concentrated all their energy and inventiveness on this. Not because they see the making of schools as a goal in itself, but because schools are a — still accepted — means to change society. Outside the schools there is a Denmark characterized by enormous economic problems and social clashes. But these economic problems and social conflicts are among the things the schools teach about and relate to global problems of the same nature, and through this they train a new generation of young Danes who will be found in any broad people's movement in Denmark.

The core of the Tvind attitude is to go against the stream. When sexuality begins to occupy an important place in people's consciousness — Tvind goes ascetic. When the society practises throw-away culture on a massive scale — Tvind starts buying up second-hand equipment systematically. When the State is about to decide for nuclear power — Tvind builds the world's largest windmill. And when the Danish school system begins to isolate itself from the economic development in the society — Tvind introduces economy and production into its practice.

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III.   DOMINANT AND ALTERNATIVE WAYS OF LIFE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR A COMPARATIVE EVALUATION OF DOMINANT AND
ALTERNATIVE WAYS OF LIFE IN DENMARK

Kai Lemberg

The western market-economy societies such as Denmark are generally
characterized by high material standards of living compared to their
own standards a generation ago as well as to Third World countries
now. The fundamental societal orientation towards rationality,
efficiency, and competition is a logical consequence of the private
ownership of means of production and of private initiative as to
productive decision-making in a large number of privately organized
units of production, distribution, and finance, which in principle are
independent of each other and of the public organization of the
community — the state and the local authorities. These countries also
are characterized by the price mechanism of the marketplace as the
dominating regulator of economic interactions between people, meaning
that goods as well as labour are exchanged according to market values
and not to utility values.

This capitalist organization of society means that the controlling
economic decisions lie with private owners of means of production
(land included) and private organizers of production in trades and
industries. The majority of the population are manual or intellectual
workers receiving a wage according to the market value of their labour.
Those who are not able-bodied for productive work (children, the sick,
old people, and so on) or not able to sell their labour (the
unemployed, the mentally or socially disturbed, and the like) are
taken care of by their families or — increasingly — by different
types of social grants included in the extensive social network of the
welfare state.

The arguments about a general consensus between workers and employers

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in the promotion of economic growth, the sovereignty of the consumer, and the free mobility of the labour force as the fundamental background for increasing productivity, standards of living, and general social welfare must be considered an ideological camouflage of basic conflicts in society. It is a basic feature of the western market-economy society that private property and the market mechanism for commodities and in the labour market leads to a division of the population into classes and to a high degree of economic inequality. It also implies the separation of the worker from the means of production and from the finished product. Psychologically, this generally leads to alienation from one's position in the productive process, and towards personal interactions which function as relationships between things instead of between persons.

The economic growth stimulated by the profit motive leads to a number of economic and non-economic side-effects, of which some may increase the welfare or well-being of people while others may deteriorate conditions for some people. While these effects remain outside the economic factors included in business calculations, they may be important to the life of many people and to the way in which society in general functions. During the 1970s increased public awareness of these environmental costs has resulted in legislation against environmental deterioration, requiring some arrangements and measures to diminish pollution, noise, poisoning, and so on — so that these costs come to be included in the business calculations.

In the short run the limits to economic growth are determined by the contradictions between economic forces at work: production technology, operating costs, profit expectation, propensities to invest or consume or save, quantity of money, the purchasing power of the consumers, and so forth. In the long run, however, the limits to growth are dependent on the use of limited resources and the disturbances of ecological balances. During recent decades the unprecedented high rate of economic growth has increasingly created environmental drawbacks in the form of pollution, noise, traffic accidents, stress at the working place and in traffic, visual intrusion of landscapes and town-

scapes, and the like. While technological progress and social policy
have improved certain conditions, such as somatic health, physical
strain of productive work, and the risk of hunger, other aspects, such
as certain local environments, mental health, and joy of meaningful
work, have deteriorated.

Besides, the affluent and efficient competitive society often creates
marginalization of groups who are not able to participate in all the
benefits: foreign workers, disabled persons, alcoholics, drug addicts,
criminals, and other social losers. Another segregation process is
the establishment of ghettos, either in slums (foreign workers,
those who are unemployed for protracted periods, low-income groups) or
in well-equipped and modern but relatively isolated units for
specialized groups, such as university campuses, giant hospitals, areas
with a concentration of nursing homes and other social institutions,
and new tenement houses for low-income families with many children.

This throws into question the validity of cost/benefit analysis as a
method for evaluation of the differences and changes in qualities of
life. The principle of this method is to make an accumulation in
quantitative form of social costs and benefits implied in certain
actions or choices between alternative projects. This method may be
useful in illustrating well-defined and comparable aspects of alterna-
tive options for decision — for instance, alternative road projects or
housing projects — but is questionable when applied to total societal
scenarios and global problems, especially when the advantages will
accrue to other persons than those who will suffer from the drawbacks.
Nevertheless, a listing of advantages and drawbacks caused by certain
developments may constitute valuable information on a variety of
probable consequences, provided you refrain from the adding-up
business and leave the aggregate evaluation to a political judgement.
Used in such context, the basic-human-needs model proposed by Johan
Galtung and Monica Wemegah may throw some light on the development of
important elements of life qualities combined with dominant,
respectively alternative ways of life.

As far as Denmark is concerned, the <u>dominant life-styles</u> in recent decades have been characterized by considerably improved <u>welfare</u> conditions on the material level, through increasing incomes and consumption, improved somatic health and successful treatment of some diseases, more widespread education, better dwellings in new housing, and so on. Nevertheless, many critics have claimed that these aspects of progress have meant higher wealth rather than higher welfare, since, for instance, mental health has rather been declining and the physical environment has deteriorated in many aspects. Thus, even this need category cannot be considered unambigously positive, especially not in the non-material aspects. A special feature in welfare development is the enormous increase in property values, to the benefit of already wealthy land- and property-owners at the cost of renters and buyers of property.

Concerning the narrowly defined concept of <u>security</u> as relating only to protection against individual and collective violence, traditional life in Denmark enjoys a high degree of security indeed, since violent criminality is rare compared to most countries, and we have no political terror groups. Yet, during the recent years of increased unemployment — particularly among the young — and declining public support for youth education, we have experienced youth gangs coming into existence. At the same time, vandalism in such places as new housing areas, slum-clearance districts, deserted commercial centres, and railway stations where there is no one on duty at night and mobbing in schools have increased. Recently, violent crimes seem to be on the rise.

The general picture is somewhat more complicated when you add some wider aspects of security, such as economic and employment security as well as fire security, traffic safety, privacy, and other non-material considerations. Generally, economic security improved during the 1960s but has deteriorated during recent years. Conversely, various non-material aspects of security, which had been somewhat deteriorating during the progressive economic growth, have improved since then because of legislation (fire security), traffic reduction during the

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oil crisis, and other factors. The sort of personal security implied in privacy is highly worshipped in the traditional one-family housing pattern — at the expense of such values as non-family contacts, neighbourhood activities, and the like.

When it comes to the proposed non-material categories for dominant life-styles in Denmark, most people in principle enjoy a large degree of freedom in the form of extended areas for formally free choice within the general limits set by their social and economic status and by psychological and educational barriers created by these limits. The actual use made of this formal freedom is dependent on income and power: "Nur wer in Wohlstand lebt, lebt angenehm!" Thus, it may be said that up to the 1970s the actual practising of free choices was extended to more people, while currently it is contracting.

You might add that within recent years freedom for small, wealthy groups of property owners has been greatly increased by laissez-faire-oriented new laws on housing and rents — for instance, the freedom to parcel out tenement-flat premises into condominiums by sale of flats when vacant — but with consequent economic drawbacks and reduced choice possibilities for the inhabitants of old rented flats and for the carrying through of slum clearance and rehabilitation projects. This example is mentioned in order to underline the importance of always asking, "To the benefit of whom? At the cost of whom?" since the needs aspects differ widely for different people, and often are opposite for the different social classes.

The last needs category, identity, seems for the dominant life-style to be the one which has been most endangered by both the recent economic recession and the worsening of environmental aspects during the last decade or so — at least for the majority of the population who are wage-earners, students, or receivers of pensions or public grants. Environmental deterioration, labour-market conditions, traffic congestion, and feelings of powerlessness towards the complicated public bureaucracy or the economic power structure do not further self-actualization, creative work, or possibilities for acting

as a subject. On the contrary, for most people they promote
alienation, which very often leads them to look for short-term economic
security values instead of personal-freedom values.

Conversely, for the experiments of alternative ways of life, the aspects
of the fundamental needs categories may be described more or less in
the following way:

In our examples of alternative ways of life in Denmark, the material
level of welfare in Christiania, the Tvind Schools, and the different
camps is generally lower than for most people following traditional
life-styles. (However, this conclusion does not hold when comparison
is made with the worst-off part of the population.) This is especially
true for the physical qualities of the dwellings and their technical
facilities, and also for their supply of public utilities. Private
collectives generally have about the same material standards as the
dwellings for corresponding groups, maybe with less emphasis on
expensive furniture and other material facilities. In the Thy winter
camp, health conditions during the winter are rather rough; in 1978
the camp was quarantined for a certain time because of hepatitis.

Since security against violence generally is very high in Denmark,
statistical figures are too small to justify comparison of the relative
frequencies of fatal violence and violance resulting in serious personal
damage. During the years 1971-1978 there have been two cases of
manslaughter in Christiania and none in the other alternative
societies. For Denmark the yearly number of killings is about 250.
The philosophy of all the alternative societies is definitely non-
violence, and despite the relatively large number of former criminals,
drug addicts, alcoholics, and other social losers in Christiania,
crime there is definitely lower than in old concentrated housing areas
such as Inner Nørrebro and Inner Vesterbro in Copenhagen. A special
feature in Christiania is the frequent raids of the police "trouble
squad" which invariably result in minor fights. This raises the
question of whether the police and the military are really "relevant
societal services" against violence. It must be remembered that these

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"services," looked at from another angle, may be described as instruments of violent suppression by the bourgeois state against workers (in labour conflicts) and non-conformist groups or activists.

For some of its aspects the category of freedom may be described very positively in the Danish alternative societies. Besides enjoying — at least in principle — the same large areas of free choice as other people, their inhabitants have freed themselves from some of the regulations and rules imposed by the state, communities, and general social patterns of "decent conduct" — even though people without any contact with alternative societies generally fancy their patterns of life to differ much more from traditional norms than is actually the case. On the other hand, the independence of the participants in alternative societies from life in traditional society is limited, since they are still more or less part of the labour market, of educational institutions, of the consuming public, of tax-payers, and so on. Besides, since most inhabitants of alternative societies have low incomes, they are subject to the same limits on the actual exercise of free choice as the less wealthy part of the population in general.

The identity category probably is the one where the inhabitants of the alternative societies may be in a better position than if they had to adapt to some traditional life-style. The very existence of the alternative societies is proof of their ability to create and uphold a settlement on conditions and terms defined by themselves, independent of and in certain aspects contrary to public decisions about the areas and premises concerned. For Christiania, this was especially true in the beginning of its existence, whereas now, options are more limited, while they have been increasing in the provincial alternative societies.

To many of the inhabitants this has meant a unique chance for self-expression, self-actualization, an active life, and a feeling of acceptance and esteem from fellow inhabitants. In a traditional environment the position of some of them might be that of a slum inhabitant, a client or patient of a social institution, a prisoner, or a person without subsistence. Others, however, would have been —

and still could be — ordinary members of traditional families or
students living at a college or in a private room, but they prefer to
enjoy the fellowship existing in the alternative society.

Generally speaking, the differences in needs satisfaction as described
in the Galtung-Wemegah model seem to be particularly marked as far as
the (mostly, but not fully) material categories of security and welfare
are concerned. For the upper class, for the middle classes, and in
part for some lower-class people living according to traditional life-
styles, the situation may indeed be characterized in terms of over-
satisfaction of these needs. Alternative movements, on the other
hand, usually offer a more modest satisfaction of these needs to their
members, who are mostly young and of lower- or middle-class origin —
some still undergoing education, others being wage-earners outside the
alternative societies, some working directly for the alternative
community, and some living entirely by public social security grants.
However, even under traditional life conditions, precisely these lower
classes do not experience full satisfaction of their security needs
and, even less, of their needs for welfare.

Correspondingly, there are certain systematic differences in needs
satisfaction concerning the (seemingly) non-material needs categories
of freedom and identity. For people living in traditional life-style
settings, these needs are rather well satisfied for the upper classes
and the upper middle classes — depending not only on incomes but also
on their position in the production process as employers, self-employed,
or well-paid intellectuals, in contrast to white-collar employees or
blue-collar workers performing more or less alienating routine work.
For less well-to-do and less independent people, these needs are only
deficiently satisfied under traditional life-style patterns.

Participants in the various alternative societies, who belong pre-
dominantly to the less wealthy population groups, often consider
themselves better off than corresponding groups in traditional society.
Their subjective feelings of freedom and identity are enhanced in these
communities by their comradship, mutual help, and acceptance, and the

lack of property restrictions — provided threats and hostility from
outside power and people are not too strong. However, many options
for choice are actually rather restricted for the inhabitants of
alternative societies because of geographical limits, solidarity
obligations, and the like.

It seems more difficult to draw conclusions indicating clear
differences between dominant and alternative ways of satisfying actor-
dependent security and freedom needs versus structure-dependent welfare
and identity needs — perhaps because security and freedom may just as
well be considered structure-dependent, and welfare and identity, to
a certain degree at least, actor-dependent (for instance, as a result
of education and work efforts). Besides, the degree of needs
satisfaction in dominant and alternative life-styles does not work out
in a parallel way for either security and freedom or welfare and
identity.

On the basis of Danish experiences, the Galtung-Wemegah model of needs
seems too skeleton-like. First of all, a differentiation according to
social classes is necessary for all needs categories, especially when
describing traditional life-styles. Second, the scheme needs to be
further elaborated since many security needs are non-material whereas
some welfare needs may just as well be classified as identity needs
(need for self-expression) or as security needs (need for protection).
The borderline between identity needs and freedom needs is not clear-
cut, and some freedom needs seem very close to welfare needs.

For physical planning purposes it may be concluded from this
comparative study that in practice most official town planning confirms
and supports the traditional, dominant life-styles, even when it aims
at reforms in environmental qualities. The overall goals generally
have been economic efficiency, increasing material living standards,
and high levels of security. At the same time, town planning has also
aimed at high levels of freedom in the market-oriented sense of the
word: wide options for free choice for the individual — the personal
economic conditions for the execution of this choice being outside the

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scope of town planning. There is a general tendency for planning to
act as a lubricant and a catalyst to the functioning of the prevailing
economic system, correcting its most inconvenient side-effects, making
the competitive market system function reasonably within a set of
rules that avoid the anarchy of complete competition, anticipating
future developments, and preparing the way for new production
techniques in building, construction, and transportation.

The occurrence of alternative life-styles in individual households or
in specialized communities like Christiania and the Thy Camp cannot be
planned. The very idea and rationale of alternative societies is to
demonstrate an independent and self-responsible alternative to
traditional, regulated, and conforming life-styles. Imagining the
possibility of such societies as a result of an official plan simply
would be absurd.

However, when some sort of alternative society has come into existence,
official town planning has the possibility, if the authorities
concerned so wish, of helping the community's continued existence by
securing necessary facilities and refraining from clearing the area
for other purposes. This, of course, is a political decision.
Another political reaction might be to insist on all sorts of
legalizing regulations and investments, for which no money is available,
or directly to demand the termination of the experimental society,
clearing the area, removing the inhabitants, if necessary by force,
and maybe implementing some other use of the area.

In Denmark we have had the political discussion between the two
attitudes described towards alternative societies, and it is an
indication of our good democratic traditions for tolerance and open-
mindedness towards experiments that official Denmark up to now has
accepted, at least temporarily, the existence of these societies in
spite of their encroachment on some laws and regulations and their
provocation of authoritarian and traditional life-styles and attitudes.

Perhaps the main lesson for planning to be learnt from the experiences

of alternative ways of living is that we should always put a question mark on the unchallenged validity of the explicit and implicit presuppositions taken for granted in traditional economic and physical planning.

The actual realization by young people of alternative ways of living based on other premises than those of the traditional respectable bourgeois life-style is a demonstration (to closed-minded people a provocation) that you might have quite other goals and quite other measures of quality of life than those underlying the dominant life-style. For planners this should underline the warning formulated by one of the fathers of British town planning, Raymond Unwin, that planners cannot create life: at best they can create canals through which life may flow; at worst planners force their taste and their preferences on people through their planning.

The mixed-economy capitalist societies with their many regulations of economic conditions and of physical frameworks (buildings, streets, green areas, etc.), especially during the 1960s, have made it clear to many people that their conditions of life are not determined by laws of nature but are governed by human decisions. These decisions may be influenced by habits and prejudices or by manipulation by political and commercial power factors, and fundamentally they depend on conflicting economic interests.

The breakdown of many traditional moral values, the improvement of economic conditions during the prolonged period of prosperity, and the sharpening of certain environmental conflicts have made many people more aware of the human factors and conflicts influencing their life. Especially young people have been activated thereby to react against traditional life-styles, to protest against the dominating impacts of traditional road-building, slum-clearance, large-scale housing projects, giant supermarkets, huge and impersonal social and health institutions, etc., and to look for alternative life-styles, less oriented towards increased material consumption and more oriented towards self-realization through experiments, meaningful work, and mutual tolerance

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and acceptance.

The more or less successful alternative societies have acted as an
inspiration also for general citizen participation in town and regional
planning, for local pressure groups against technocratic plans, for
cultural grassroot activities, action research projects, and other
activities aiming at immediate results within limited fields of
traditional life-styles. Insofar as such initiatives prove able to
break through economic and political power structures, they help to
diminish the cleft between traditional and alternative life-styles.

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