

CHRISTIANIA AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY

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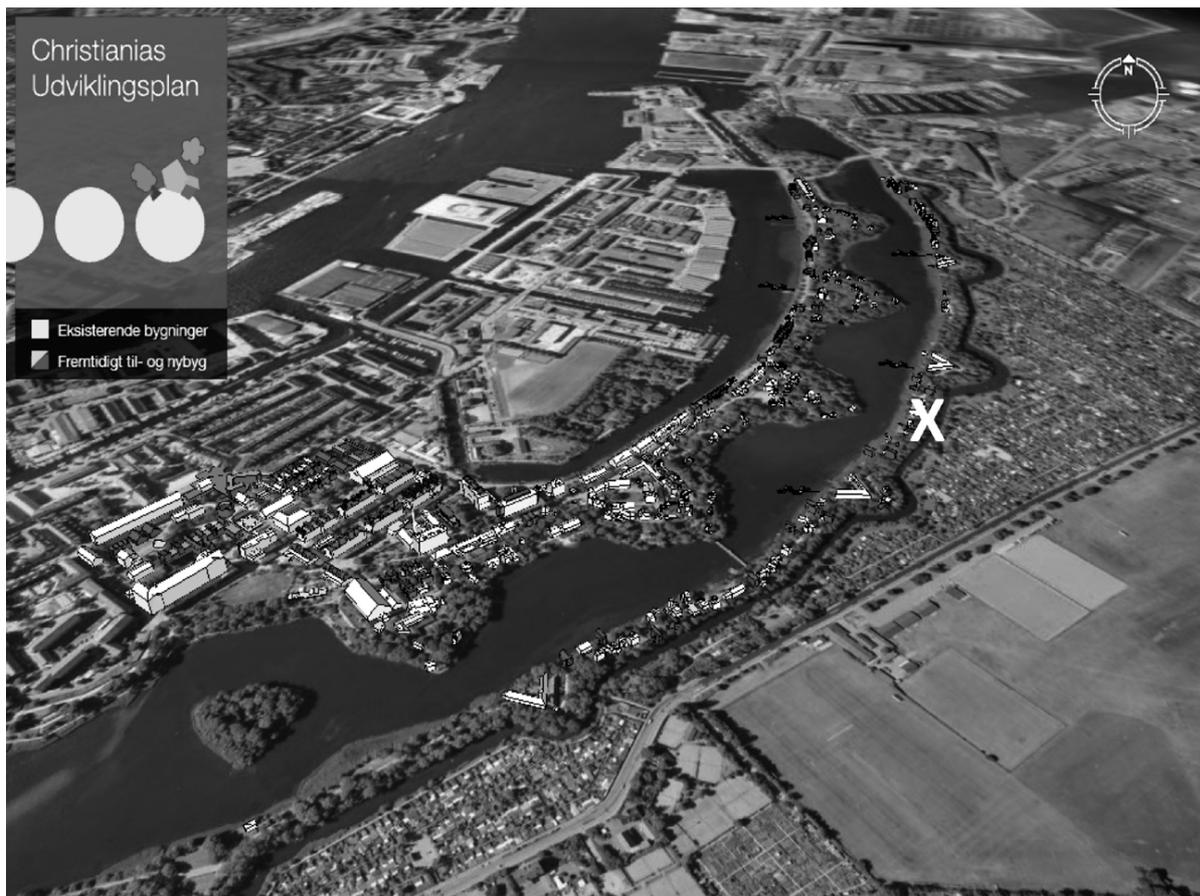
[...] the right to the city [...] is not merely a right of access to what the property speculators and state planners define, but an active right to make the city different, to shape it more in accord with our heart's desire, and to re-make ourselves thereby in a different image.¹

David Harvey

Christiania is notorious for its everyday struggles and activism. In the following section, I will share *one* moment in Christiania's long history of struggles that I experienced as a Researcher in Residence in Christiania. Early Monday morning on 14 March 2007, the police arrived and demolished the Cigar Box (Cigarkassen), a small one-family house located on the ramparts in an area named Midtdyssen in Christiania, only to see it rebuilt the next morning. It was the first time in Christiania's history that the authorities annihilated a building in Christiania. According to the Danish state's Normalisation Plan, the building was an 'illegal structure' with 'illegal inhabitants' (homeless people). The demolition was followed by street battles between activists and the police. The Danish state took action despite the fact that a court decision on these issues would be announced a few days later. Five days after the events a decision was announced — in favour of Christiania.²

Wanted: Political Goodwill and Commitment!

On Tuesday morning, 15 March 2007, the Cigar Box reappeared as a phoenix from the ashes, less than a day after the police had demolished the building. 'Come again!' read a three-metre long red banner that was



Map adapted from Christiania's own alternative community plan. The X shows the location of the Cigar Box.³

lashed to a tree. The house was approximately four by two metres in plan and three metres high. It was constructed of wood pallets, laths and veneer sheets. It was a solid construction that even had a small annex by the water with the inscription: 'The reconstruction team strikes again.' The idea of the annex was to signal, 'when they tear down a house — we will build two houses', explained a young woman. The main house had an awning that said, 'Welcome'. The sign was made 'in honour of the helicopters' explained the activist who painted the message. Inside the house all was neat and well lit. There was a fixed bench and a picture hung on a nail on the wall. Most striking was the 'fireplace' with painted flames creating warmth in the otherwise chilly time we live in.⁴



The Cigar Box's new 'fire place', with its painted flames — creating warmth in the otherwise chilly times we live in. Photo: Anders Lund Hansen.

The evening before, 25 to 30 activists — most of them in their twenties — completed the action. They worked throughout the night with great enthusiasm. Meanwhile, street battles took place in the neighbouring area of Christianshavn (where I live) between the police and supporting activist groups. Many activists were arrested, among them my neighbour's son. I was drawn towards the place that started the day's events. I offer the following account of the events of the night to give an impression of the people, their efforts, and their convictions as they rebuilt the Cigar Box:

The reconstruction is well in progress when I arrive. Tools are changing hands and building materials are being brought into use. The warm May evening is full of a positive energy that stands in stark contrasts to the street battles fought half a mile away. As darkness falls, power cables and halogen lamps are retrieved and work continues. 'It was damn good, we were here early,' says a man around thirty years of age to his friend while opening a Tuborg beer. Both are dressed in white carpenter's pants and they confirm that they are professional craftsmen. They report: 'We said very quickly that such and such a small solid house could be constructed. Everybody accepted the plan and now you can see that it works.' Both men are satisfied with their efforts. People at the building site talk about the government, police violence and the normalisation of Christiania.



Activists are working eagerly on the rebuilding of the Cigar Box. Photo: Anders Lund Hansen.

'Does anyone here live in Christiania?' asks a young girl who is helping out by coordinating the construction work. 'Yes, here,' says a man in his 40s. 'We need some building materials. Do you know where we can find something we can use?' The request is coordinated and dealt with. Later, I am told by a Christianite who participates in the work that several activists are previous Children's House (Børnehuset) children. Water, cola, beer, coffee, tea and sweets are being fetched. Later, there is someone who tries to get some food for the whole group: 'Is there anyone who'd give their number out, so I can call and see if you are still here?'⁵ It may take some time to get the food.' Two or three activists volunteer their number. One suggests getting hold of a joint. But this proposal is refused, the group feeling that 'a high activist is a slow activist.'

The atmosphere is good, though people are aware of the situation's seriousness. 'Just imagine, maybe we will get arrested? Do you think this is illegal?' a young woman wonders. People talk about Christiania's building stop and the implications of the action. An activist approaches the site: 'Does someone want to replace one of the guards who has been sitting down the road and kept an eye on the police for some hours now? One of them would like to be replaced.' The group has a clear awareness of the event's historical potential, and it is clear that taking part in the evening/night's events is a considerable action to add to any activist's CV. References are made to Byggeren, a similar action in Nørrebro (the northern part of the city) in the 1970s and 1980s, and people take pictures and films.'⁶

The next morning, the building was finished. The morning highlighted the imaginative, colourful decorations and unambiguous words, which effectively expressed what the night's action had been all about: 'Wanted: political goodwill and support!'

During the day, Christiania's press office made sure that the nationwide media got wind of the story. A significant number of reports covered the rebuilding effort, but the vast majority of the headlines focused on the street battles, barricades and burning cars in the surrounding



The Cigar Box — rebuilt, 15 May 2007. Photo: Anders Lund Hansen.

neighbourhood, Christianshavn. In isolation, the rebuilding of a small wooden house may not seem significant. But the action could be regarded as an active politics of scale—an important *symbol* of Christiania's proactive fight for its 'right to the city'.

In this chapter I will shed a critical light on two very different appropriations of the concept the 'right to the city' in Copenhagen.⁷ First of all, property rights have been the most dominating right to the city throughout the history of capitalism and were at the core of the 'neoliberal revolution' launched by people like Margret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan three decades ago. Cities throughout the globe have become important spaces for neoliberalism and entrepreneurial urban politics, more accommodating towards investors and developers. Proactive city governance uses Thatcher's TINA acronym to suggest that There Is No Alternative to the global neoliberal uneven growth agenda — and thus

also the norm in today's post-political Copenhagen; where Christiania is fighting *against* normalisation and *for* their version of the right to the city. This brings me to the second appropriation of the concept of the right to the city. Christiania has since its genesis four decades ago been executing a very different right to the city. From the initial squatting of the area to today's collective rights to the land and housing. Through the example of the rebuilding of the Cigar Box, I have presented one moment in the long history of struggles. I argue that collective activism, dedication, improvisation, art, humour and politics of scale are important elements in Christiania's 40-year fight for the right to the city. I use this example as leverage for a general discussion of the multi-scalar battles over space that go on in cities throughout the globe. The broader intent of this chapter is to discuss Christiania's fight for survival as part of general urban space wars; i.e. as a larger scalar reconfiguration of the geographical and social embodiment of political and economic powers.

Urban Space Wars, Gentrification and the Right to the City

Urban territory becomes the battlefield of continuous space war, sometimes erupting into the public spectacle of inner-city riots [...] but waged daily just beneath the surface of the public (publicised), official version of the routine urban order (Zygmunt Bauman).⁸

From the cellular to the planetary scale, the battlefronts are many and varied. The urban scale is no exception. Urban transformation processes, from the normalisation of Christiania and urban renewal of Vesterbro in Copenhagen to the construction of the Expo in Shanghai and the gentrification of Lower East Side and Harlem in New York, take the form of space wars: a deliberate and systematic creative destruction of the very fabric of urban space. Demolition of spaces for 'the other' and construction of borders to control who is inside and who is outside have been common practice among city builders for millennia. Walls and weap-

ons of force, furthermore, remain essential aspects of space wars — causing ‘wounded cities’ and ‘urbicide.’⁹ Space wars, however, are more than physical destruction, fortifications and military hardware.¹⁰

Zygmunt Bauman describes how processes of globalisation entail increased struggles over space.¹¹ Bauman uses the term ‘space wars’ in his analysis of how the modern state increases its demand for control over space. New tools are constantly forged to establish ‘objective’ units of measure and maps are used to avoid local subjective interpretations of space. The processes of modernisation of our societies have according to David Harvey inherent elements of ‘creative destruction,’ ‘be it gentle and democratic, or the revolutionary, traumatic, and authoritarian kind.’¹² This tendency can be recognised in the creation and destruction associated with urban change — and is a very real part of the obstacles that Christiania is facing. But why use such a heavy metaphor as space wars? The Greek meaning of a metaphor is to ‘transfer’ or ‘carry something across,’ and the metaphor of ‘space wars’ brings a critical perspective to the study of urban transformation processes and uneven development. Urban space wars are not abstract distant phenomena. They are a very real part of the everyday life of many people — in Denmark too. Space wars are, however, more than police barricades and NIMBY (Not In My Back Yard) resistance.

The term ‘space wars’ is related to the processes of ‘gentrification,’ which cover the upward socio-economic shift that some areas go through.¹³ Should the Danish government choose to realise its plans to sell the properties in Christiania, and thus commodify space, the gentrification debate can enlighten us about some of the challenges that Christiania is facing. Traditionally the gentrification debate has focused on decaying working class areas near city centres, such as for example Vesterbro in Copenhagen, where middle and upper middle class people moved to the neighbourhood, leading to the displacement and eviction of existing residents.¹⁴ Processes of gentrification have deep historical roots and are geographically widespread.¹⁵ Discussions have often re-

volved around cultural¹⁶ and economic¹⁷ arguments, and the majority of case studies up until the beginning of the 1990s were conducted in cities ‘occupying strategic positions in the international urban hierarchy’.¹⁸ One vein in the debates has paid tribute to the complexity of the process, a debate that sometimes fails to remember the root causes of gentrification.¹⁹ As Eric Clark reminds us, these root causes are: commodification of space, polarised power relations, and a set of fictions that strategically naturalise the drive to conquer space.²⁰

Another tension in the debate is the ‘emancipatory city’ versus the ‘revanchist city’ thesis.²¹ The prior perspective argues that ‘social mixing’ is a positive outcome. Peter Byrne for instance concludes that gentrification can improve the economic opportunities for the urban poor.²² Furthermore, this positive vision can be recognised in recent hype around the ‘creative city’. The popular argument, articulated by Richard Florida, is that businesses and people move to the places where the creative urban environments are.²³ Accordingly, ‘people climate’ is important for the branding of cities, and gentrified neighbourhoods are seen as magnets attracting the ‘creative class’. From this perspective, it makes economic sense for the city to facilitate gentrification. ‘Good’ governance targets deprived neighbourhoods for (state-led) gentrification in order to emancipate the creative potential of the city.²⁴ The gentrifiers are seen as the embodiment of global cultural and economic flows — an emerging global elite community equivalent to the creative class.²⁵ Forces of global capital accumulation, shifts towards neo-liberal urban governance and increased interurban competition during past decades have led to a ‘nouveau-bourgeois war for talent’, causing increased struggles over urban space and sweeping displacement of people.²⁶ In his book *The Revanchist City*, Neil Smith identifies how the logic of the market, the state and police force produce unjust conditions for the urban poor and other socio-economically weak groups while serving the upper classes to ‘reclaim’ the city.²⁷ Smith analyses the flip-side of gentrification:

As new frontier, the gentrifying city since the 1980s has been oozing with optimism. Hostile landscapes are regenerated, cleansed, reinfused with middle-class sensibility; real estate values soar; yuppies consume; elite gentility is democratised in mass-produced styles of distinction. So what's not to like? The contradictions of the actual frontier are not entirely eradicated in this imagery but they are smoothed into an acceptable groove.²⁸

According to Neil Smith, uneven development is today increasingly organised around the nexus of global and local.²⁹ The 'glocal' rhythms of capitalism and urban governance formed by competition between cities translate into uneven development — segregation, exclusion and 'space wars'.³⁰ A focus on space wars sheds critical light on urban renewal — especially in a Scandinavian context where gentrification is given little public or political attention and researchers on urban issues often gloss over the connection between urban renewal and gentrification. As Eric Clark suggests, this may in part be due to the successes of the Scandinavian welfare state, which is often seen as a guarantor of socially just planning.³¹

Urban transformations in Copenhagen have, however, involved many legal battles that are being fought over urban space. The Danish slum clearance policies of the 1980s created very real battlefields between the state and its residents. In particular, Byggeren (a playground with self-built constructions, referred to earlier in this chapter) in inner Nørrebro became the epicentre of battles between the police and people fighting for their right to the city (see René Karpantschov's chapter in this book). The protests were primarily directed towards the municipality's large-scale demolition scheme for the area; but the battles could also be interpreted as a reflection of a broader class struggle for social justice.³²

There are tendencies in European, and especially Scandinavian, literature on 'urban renewal' to claim that the North American urban conflict rhetoric is highly exaggerated and theories developed in a North American context cannot be transferred to Scandinavia. In this view, Scandinavia supposedly has superior planning legislation and rent reg-

ulation that prevents the kind of urbanism practiced in North American cities. Our study of the consequences of recent urban renewal of the urban neighbourhood of Vesterbro in Copenhagen, however, suggest that the urban renewal policies can be seen as smooth — even stealthy — tactics to kick-start gentrification. And I will argue that the normalisation plans of Christiania should be seen in this context.³³ Henri Lefebvre saw the emancipatory potentials associated with the creative destruction of the three-dimensional (material, ideological-institutional, symbolic-affective) multi-scalar processes behind *the production of space*.³⁴ His book *The Urban Revolution* is both a diagnostic of how urbanisation has become a worldwide process, but also an analysis of how the processes of urban transformation offer opportunities for marginalised social groups to claim ‘the right to the city’, through space wars.³⁵ Lefebvre does not use the term ‘space wars’, but he talks about how revolutionary claims can be turned into social surplus and political decision-making articulated through struggles over space. Christiania is an excellent example of such a struggle. The Danish government’s plans to ‘normalise’ Christiania threaten the existence of the community. One of the objectives is a revanchist strategy to gain control over the area through privatisation of the common land of Christiania. The potential enclosing of Christiania is not happening without a struggle. These struggles not only take the form of violent street battles, but are also fought at a more subtle policy level. As one Christianite states: ‘It [the government] is grinding us down slowly. They realise that using bulldozers is not a good idea. Bureaucrats are good though: they work! And suddenly it [Christiania] becomes a ‘nice’ area — and damn boring. I can’t stand niceness!’³⁶

New Urban Imperialism: Accumulation by Dispossession

These social processes, however, are not new. ‘Primitive accumulation’, the process of separating people from their land and thereby their

means of providing for themselves was essential in kick-starting the capitalist system.³⁷ It undermined the ability of people to provide for themselves and prevented them from finding alternative survival strategies outside the wage-labour system. In this light, space wars constitute a fundamental element in the invention of capitalism itself. Karl Marx emphasises that the process is anything but idyllic and illustrates how force was an integral practice of primitive accumulation.³⁸ The term primitive accumulation embraces a wide range of processes. According to David Harvey, these involve:

[...] the commodification and privatization of land and the forceful expulsion of peasant populations; conversion of various forms of property rights (common, collective, state, etc.) into exclusive private property rights; suppression of rights to the commons; commodification of labor power and the suppression of alternative (indigenous) forms of production and consumption; colonial, neo-colonial and imperial processes of appropriation of assets (including natural resources); monetization of exchange and taxation (particularly of land); slave trade; and usury, the national debt and ultimately the credit system as radical means of primitive accumulation.³⁹

David Harvey argues that the theory of over-accumulation and of capital's tendency to exploit 'spatio-temporal fixes' to overcome crises is central to the understanding of the new (urban) imperialism. Furthermore, he introduces the term 'accumulation by dispossession' and suggests that the practices of 'primitive' accumulation constitute an ongoing process. He argues that 'all the features of primitive accumulation that Marx mentions have remained powerfully present within capitalism's historical geography up until now'.⁴⁰ In countries like Mexico and India, for instance, displacement of peasant populations and the creation of landless populations have increased during the past three decades. Moreover, privatisation of global environmental commons (land, air and water), public assets and intellectual property rights constitute new waves of 'enclosing commons'. Resistance to this process forms the

core of the agenda for many of the participants in alter/anti-globalisation movements.

On the urban scale, privatisation and liberalisation of markets have been part of neoliberal politics for decades, generating new rounds of dispossession.⁴¹ I find the term ‘accumulation by dispossession’ very useful in grasping how space wars constitute an integral part of the capitalist space economy and new urban imperialism. The term is highly relevant for the understanding of the structural pressures that Christiania is facing in recent years, because it illuminates elementary mechanisms behind contemporary urban change. According to geographer Richard Walker:

Real estate is a critical dimension of internal imperialism... When San Francisco and other Bay Area cities wanted to expand their business, industry, transportation or housing, they eagerly conquered new space by such devices as filling in the bay, bulldozing hillsides, and even removing the dead outside the city limits to claim the cemeteries. After World War II, the downtown real estate operators looked to the surrounding neighbourhoods, potential office and commercial space — that is, if the people and old buildings could just be removed. This development marked the era of ‘urban renewal’ projects that devastated historically working class, poor neighbourhoods around downtown San Francisco [...] driving out many of the poor and people of colour. That process of internal conquest continues to this day [...] leaving many more homeless.⁴²

Walker uses the term ‘internal imperialism’ to characterise ‘the internal conquest’ in cities. But are the real estate investments really that local today? In prior research I have looked more closely at the ‘globalisation’ of fixed capital investment.⁴³ I would argue that greater sensitivity towards contemporary scalar dynamics of urban change reveal the new urban imperialism as simultaneously ‘internal’ and ‘external’.

Investors, financiers, real estate agents, developers, local politicians, the state and local social groups are all powerful combatants in the struggles over urban space. Processes of specific battles among specific

actors over concrete places and times lead to specific urban outcomes. However particular and unique, these socio-material topographies are heavily influenced by the structural characteristics of the capitalist space economy. Neil Smith identifies a series of shifts that crystallise a new stage in uneven development. In this new stage, the geographic dynamic of uneven development has shifted from national and regional economies to the nexus between global and local.⁴⁴ The geographical scales of human activity are the product of changing economic, political and social activities and relationships, and are to be understood as something different than the traditional distinction between urban, regional, national and global. Smith shows us how the transformation of the global political economy since the 1970s has involved a restructuring of the scales on which different kinds of political, economic, and cultural activities are organised. This has, according to Smith, led to ‘a profound transformation in the entire geographical framework of capitalist accumulation.’⁴⁵ Following some of the same ideas, Saskia Sassen suggests that a new, as yet informal empire is emerging ‘that might eventually evolve into a grid of imperial and sub-imperial cities.’⁴⁶ The OPCE (Businessmen’s Organisations of Capital Cities) resolution, *Make the growth engines work!*, regarding the capital cities and regions of Europe, confirms the tendency towards stronger urban regions:

[M]ost of the metropolitan areas in the EU are the growth engines of their surrounding regions and of their countries. They help to lift other regions to a higher economic level and help through this the EU to reach the goals of the Lisbon process — making Europe the most competitive region of the world.⁴⁷

Christiania — a Contested Space

Not surprisingly, Christiania is a prime target for the current ‘cultural battle’ launched by a Danish right-wing government that came into power in 2001. The government’s plan is to ‘normalise’ Christiania;

the central objectives are to close down the cannabis market,⁴⁸ register and legitimise the building stock, and to abandon the principle of joint ownership of the land in favour of individual rental contracts and private property rights. A neoliberal revanchist strategy stamped by the logic of a new urban imperialism, the design is to make way for gentrification, to harvest huge land rents (development gains) and attach the ‘economically sustainable’⁴⁹ population and displace the socio-economic weak population — or the ‘trash’ as the former Head of Planning in Copenhagen calls this group of people.⁵⁰

Since the establishment of Christiania, Copenhagen has generally experienced a huge transformation. The Danish government has not only strived to ‘normalise’ the Freetown, but also to build a cross-border growth region together with southern Sweden to meet the global and local challenges of 21st century urban transformations. This is also emphasised by Copenhagen Capacity, the capital’s booster organisation:

Copenhagen has one of the world’s best business environments. [...] The investment and business climate is world-class, combining low corporate taxation and a highly educated workforce with an international outlook and an outstanding quality of life. This is why Copenhagen is open for business. But Copenhagen is ‘Open’ in many other ways too. Whether you are seeking cultural experiences, shopping, enjoying the city’s quality of life or a great place to live, Copenhagen is open for you, which is reflected in the city’s new brand: ‘cOPENhagen — open for you.’⁵¹

The central actors on the urban political scene perceive Copenhagen as a node in the European urban system, and as a growth engine for all of Denmark. In this process the most powerful actors in the region have invested heavily in creating an identity for one whole region — the Øresund region — by linking Greater Copenhagen and the region of Scania (Skåne) in southern Sweden. Major investments include a motorway and railway bridge over The Sound, expansion of the international airport, a new subway line connecting the downtown with the airport, a new ‘city tunnel’ in Malmö facilitating train services between Scania

and Copenhagen, and new major urban development projects such as Ørestaden, Holmen (next to Christiania) and Havnestaden. Other material manifestations include symbolic works of architecture, such as the Turning Torso in Malmö, the Ark (Arken), the new Museum of Modern Art, and the Black Diamond (Den Sorte Diamant), the new waterfront annex to the Royal Library, a new concert hall in Ørestaden, and a new opera house on the harbourfront in Copenhagen. The opera house is a 'gift' to the city from Mærsk Mc-Kinney Møller, the owner of a major multinational (shipping, oil, airline etc.) corporation, and the most powerful capitalist in Denmark. As a powerful actor in what Cindi Katz calls the age of vagabond capitalism, Mærsk Mc-Kinney Møller offers gifts rather than pays taxes.⁵² The gift offers convenience because the donor decides what to give — and it is not polite to complain about a gift.

Other material manifestations of the 'new economy' include the newly built environments for the main actors (the information technology, finance, insurance and real estate sectors), including luxury hotels, restaurants, conference centres and shopping malls, such as Fiske torvet on the harbourfront, and luxury housing and publicly financed renewal of inner city housing to attract the 'new middle class', the employees of the 'new economy'. These processes of gentrification, generated by public policy, entail the displacement of inner city residents who do not fit in the 'new creative economy' and Copenhagen's 'world-class business climate' aspirations.⁵³ The city is thus open to some people while closed to others. In light of this changing urban scene, Christiania is under considerable pressure.

Christiania: a Space for Urban Politics

As in many other western cities, landscapes of urban slums produced by economic restructuring and disinvestment characterised the inner city areas of Copenhagen in the beginning of the 1970s. It was in this

context that the Slumstormers (Slumstormerne) squatted the area on 26 September 1971, and since then they have used it as a platform for the development of an alternative urbanism. What started out as a squatter occupation of an abandoned military compound in central Copenhagen, covering more than eighty-five acres, has developed into a home for almost nine hundred inhabitants.⁵⁴ Through continuous struggles, Christiania remains a laboratory for new modes of urban design, democracy and social and environmental justice.

It is now a socialist/anarchist/liberalist urban social experiment (a success has many parents) that attracts tourists, students, artists, architects and social scientists who come to experience and study this extraordinary urban setting.⁵⁵ What are the ingredients that have made Christiania into such a unique place? And how can other places be inspired by Christiania as an antipode to contemporary post-political urbanism? Environmental — physical as well as social and physiological — awareness and responsibility have been an integral part of Christiania's value basis and urban praxis from the outset. Through continuously experimenting with ecological buildings, biological wastewater treatment systems, alternative energy, a 'car-free city' politics, recycling stations, compost systems, using rainwater for flushing, composting toilets, Christiania seeks to reduce the ecological footprint of the neighbourhood. With this comes a social responsibility implemented in the form of the Upwards and Onwards (Herfra og videre) programme, which is a social support service provided in collaboration with Copenhagen municipality's social services, employment services and health system, Christiania's own Health House (Sundhedshus) and other parties that are relevant in solving often complex social problems (see also Helen Jarvis' chapter in this book). Furthermore, 'culture' is seen as the cohesive force in Christiania, where different ages, genders, ethnic and socio-economic groups are working and living side by side. The ideal is to develop a 'feeling of belonging' for all groups, through for example jointly developed rituals and cultures around Christmas, fu-

nerals, baptising, meetings, democracy and much more.⁵⁶ Far from being perfect, the experiments to improve the environments in the Free-town have, over the years, served as inspiration for its surroundings.

The neoliberal urban strategies behind the production of 'New Copenhagen' are applied to Christiania through the discourse of 'normalisation', that is, the 'legitimisation' of its building stock and the 'privatisation' of its common lands.⁵⁷ Christiania's struggles for the right to the city are multi-scalar and multi-faceted. The recent main strategy, a court case against the Danish state, in which Christiania claimed squatter's rights, was lost in the High Court in the spring of 2011. There is, nevertheless, a long tradition of alternative local politics and art practices. Best known are the actions created by the theatre group the Sun Chariot (Solvoggen) from 1969 to 1982, and from 2006 (when the group resurrected as the theatre group Thrundholm Bog). Some famous events include the invasion of the Native Americans at *Rebild-festen* (the celebration of Danish-US relations) in July 1976 and the Guantanamo happening in July 2006.⁵⁸ As a possible counter strategy to the government's gentrification strategy, the idea is to transform Christiania into an independent non-profit rental housing association and a foundation for small businesses. The future will show if a marriage of the special forms of anarchism we find in Christiania and the reformed socialist practice of Danish non-profit housing organisations is a viable solution for Christiania. Co-option and misrepresentation constitute key challenges in this context. Internal turf wars, reflecting the wide spectrum of income, age, gender and ethnic diversity that is a main ingredient of Christiania, and other communities who are fighting for their right to the city, could potentially divide and destroy the community.⁵⁹ On the other hand, the roots of Christiania's struggles can be compared to tenant struggles against urban renewal and gentrification, the environmental justice movements and struggles against suppression of rights to the commons. Seen through the lens of David Harvey's concept of accumulation by dispossession, these struggles

resonate very well with many of the struggles that form the agenda of participants in alternative globalisation movements.⁶⁰

It would be nice if one could identify a 'Christiania doctrine' — a magical formula that could be used in the strife for a more democratic and just city. However, it is impossible to present a comprehensive account of Christiania's forty years of insights into activism, alternative living and fighting for their right to the city. I have instead shared *one* moment in Christiania's history that I experienced when I lived in the community as a Christiania Researcher in Residence (CRIR) in May 2007. Since 2004, the locally supported and driven CRIR programme has offered residency for artists and academic researchers who are interested in generating important knowledge about Christiania (www.crir.net). The programme has sponsored more than forty projects on a variety of themes (see the introductory chapter in this book). Visiting scholars and artists share their work and experiences through different modes of representation, including books, articles, photo, film, performance, and seminars; contributions that highlight Christiania's uniqueness and some of the general obstacles that the community is facing. Hopefully, the collective efforts of these people can contribute to a better understanding of this unique alternative urban community.

Conclusions: Christiania and the Right to the City

The Freetown Christiania has from the outset been organised around collective ideals. The social climate in Copenhagen in the fall of 1971 was full of criticism for the 'established' society's mode of organisation and behaviour, and Christiania was founded in the pursuit of a self-governed society where people can unfold freely while remaining responsible to the community'.⁶¹ In contemporary neoliberal times, however, the concept of freedom is connected to free market logic; private property rights and growth are superior to all other versions of the 'right' concept imaginable. The protection of 'human rights' is today's polit-

ical and ethical response to the question of how we achieve a better world. Often these rights, however, are linked to individual and property-based rights. They do not challenge the hegemonic liberal and neoliberal market logic, and related legal and government structures. Market utopianism, furthermore, persists despite the recent economic crises. In *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, David Harvey suggests that in the event of a conflict between the health and well-being of financial institutions and people, financial institutions will win every time.⁶² He also proposes that under neoliberalism government resources are primarily used to create a good 'business climate'. Throughout the world, shrinking governmental resources are increasingly redirected towards the support of business' needs at the expense of social budgets — often imposed through a 'shock doctrine'.⁶³ Neil Smith recently stated that neoliberalism is dead, dominant and defeatable, but reminds us that a dead rattlesnake 'can still strike, and neoliberalism, however dead, remains dominant'.⁶⁴ But is it defeatable? And can we learn from alternative urban communities like Christiania?

Historically, there are examples of alternative concepts of freedom and human rights based on collective ideals. The Scandinavian labour movement or the 1960s civil rights movement in North America have had global influence on the development of a rights discourse and practice, based on collective rather than individual ideals: freedom was thus sought through collective principles and practices. The discussion of 'the right to the city' inscribes itself in this tradition. Christiania is an excellent example of a struggle by marginalised social groups to claim the right to the city.

In this chapter I have shed a critical light on two very different visions of the right to the city. First of all, private property has been the dominant right to the city throughout the history of capitalism and it has been at the core of the 'neoliberal revolution'. Cities throughout the globe have become important spaces for neoliberalism and an entrepreneurial urban politics that accommodates investors, developers and the

so-called creative class.⁶⁵ Those in charge of city governance use Margaret Thatcher's TINA acronym (There Is No Alternative) to support neoliberal policies and make them the norm in a post-political city.⁶⁶ And this is also the case in 'cOPENhagen' where Christiania is fighting *against* 'normalisation' and *for* a very different right to the city, that is, a collective right to land and housing. Through the example of the rebuilding of the Cigar Box, I have presented *one* moment in a long history of struggles. I suggest that collective activism, dedication, improvisation, art, humour and practicing a politics of scale are important elements in Christiania's forty-year struggle for the right to the city — and may still be important elements in a future 'system change'.⁶⁷ The Danish government's plan to 'normalise' Christiania, however, threatens the existence of the community. One of the central objectives is to abandon the principle of joined ownership of the land in favour of private property rights and free market forces. A neoliberal strategy designed to harvest a profit and make way for a (generalised) gentrification of the area. I suggest that the politics of 'normalisation' has to be understood as part of a larger scalar reconfiguration of the geographical and social embodiment of political and economic powers — where ordinary people are being dispossessed of their collective right to the city.

Notes

INTRODUCTION

- ¹ See Social Democrat Kjeld Olesen's opening statement in the debate (Folke-tingstidene 1974:6236–7).
- ² Arbejds- og Socialministeriet (1973).
- ³ A slightly different experience was however encountered by Jacques Blum in the 1970s, see further below.
- ⁴ (www.crir.net). Here is a selection of CRIR project themes and titles as recounted by Anders Lund Hansen, member of CRIR: self-government and self-policing; a comic strip, 'What is the Mystery', published in *Ugespejlet* (the *Weekly Mirror*, the local newspaper); the repair of a mural painting; social perspectives on new housing areas; video art; a search for *The Perfect Location*; a documentary film entitled *Our heart is in your hands*; a dance performance named *Half Machine*; gaps in the political economy of Christiania's land — Christiania as a space of hope; the practice of 'ownership' in Christiania; the relations Christianites have to the pictures often shown of Christiania in the media; gentrification; the dogs of Christiania; space wars; lessons from Berlin; how to rebel in a society that is already in a state of rebellion?; democracy; social justice; surveillance of government buildings, symbolically redressing the balance; *You Film Us, We Film You*; a quest for Utopia; Christiania's symbolism; paths through utopias; paradise; a location-sensitive model for a future history museum on Christiania; GNH — Gross National Happiness; sleeping in spandrels; high on life; movie on the residents' relation to the rest of Copenhagen; 'Bevar Christiania'; conceptualising the 'ecosocial'; creative Copenhagen; community experiments in collaborative homes and lifestyles; public space.
- ⁵ For a full bibliography of books, articles and reports on Christiania (both academic and non-academic), see Christiania's homepage (www.christiania.org).
- ⁶ C.f. Smith (1996) and Lees (2002).
- ⁷ Løvetand Iversen (1972:5). All quotes in the introduction translated by the editors.

- ⁸ The competition, named 'Christianshavn og det fremtidige Christiania', had been commissioned in April 1974 and two of the proposed plans came in at first spot.
- ⁹ Accordingly, Rasmussen gave his royalty to *Støt Christiania*.
- ¹⁰ Tingbjerg had been planned and built by him according to modernist principles of space and freedom, but after some time Rasmussen changed his opinion. He then came to view Tingbjerg as an antithesis of good living: its inhabitants were 'governed by time plans, adjusted to fit institutions, whose purpose was to control them from the cradle to the grave', Rasmussen (1976: 34).
- ¹¹ Rasmussen (1976:87) and Rasmussen (1976:83).
- ¹² Rasmussen's lecture was first printed in *Politiken* (11/2 and 12/2 1977).
- ¹³ Rasmussen (1977:4).
- ¹⁴ Blum (1977:9).
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*:9.
- ¹⁶ Blum and Sjörslev (1977:151–2).
- ¹⁷ Balvig (1979:103).
- ¹⁸ These three groups are according to Madsen further differentiated. For example, Madsen argues that there was a group consisting of young workers that unconsciously were part of the social dissociation process, as they started to build autonomous working places in Christiania. Yet another group was according to Madsen hit by social deroute. They had serious social and drug-related problems and were often part of the squatter groups since they needed places to live.
- ¹⁹ From the beginning state-led camps on different Danish islands, for families and young people, later on organised autonomously by grass-root movements.
- ²⁰ Juhler et. al. (1982:258).
- ²¹ *Ibid.*:262.
- ²² Conroy (1996:18).
- ²³ *Ibid.*
- ²⁴ Karpantschov and Mikkelsen (2002:122).
- ²⁵ Dirckink-Holmfeld and Keiding (2004).
- ²⁶ Ahnfeldt-Møllerup (2004:56).
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*:61.
- ²⁸ In 2003, 60 % of the 900 inhabitants had elementary school as their highest degree (Christianiaudvalget 2004).

- ²⁹ Kvorning (2002:132).
- ³⁰ Ibid.:132.
- ³¹ Maria Hellström Reimer has also published two articles, in which she further develops key themes in her dissertation; Hellström Reimer (2009); Hellström Reimer (2011).
- ³² Hellström (2006:5).
- ³³ Ibid.:308.
- ³⁴ Doron (2006:212).
- ³⁵ Miles (2008:1). The other examples are: Economy, Pennsylvania, Arcosanti, Arizona, Cambridge Cohousing, Massachusetts and ZEGG, Belzig.
- ³⁶ Nielsen, Dehs and Skov (2005:6).
- ³⁷ Bøggild (2005:68).
- ³⁸ The title of the project is ‘Veje til bevaringsstrategier for et anderledes byrum’ (Ways to preservation strategies for a different urban space), which was also the title of the first book from the project (Riesto and Tietjen 2003).
- ³⁹ Tietjen, Riesto and Skov (2007:26).
- ⁴⁰ Arnfred (2007:253).
- ⁴¹ Ibid.:253.
- ⁴² Karpantschof and Lindblom (2009); Karpantschof and Mikkelsen (2009) and Karpantschof (2009).
- ⁴³ The article has also been published in the Danish political science journal *Politica* (Midtgaard 2007b).
- ⁴⁴ Midtgaard (2007a:312).
- ⁴⁵ Ibid.:312.
- ⁴⁶ Haga was a space for alternative culture between 1970 and 1990, but is today largely gentrified. In the project we are interested in finding out about the similarities and differences between Christiania and Haga as spaces for alternative culture; as well as regarding the way they have interacted with urban restructuring processes in the two cities — and with each other. In the 1970s, there were interaction and co-operation between groups in Christiania and Haga, and an informal association called ‘Fristeder i forening’ (Freetowns in union) was formed. On Haga, see Thörn (2010).

- ¹ This chapter is written in continuation of my previous studies of Christiania and other Danish squatter communities, which again involve other academic works, which are referred to in these studies (Karpantschof 2009a, 2009b; Karpantschof and Mikkelsen 2002, 2008, 2009; Mikkelsen and Karpantschof 2001). One work, though, must be highlighted here: Jæger, Olsen and Rieper (1993), as it presents a very thorough analysis of the relations between Christiania and the state 1971–1993. Further the chapter builds on various official files, Christiania’s own story-telling and statements, opinion polls, a newspaper database made for the occasion and more, cf. notes and list of references. I thank the former Christianite Preben Smed and Christianite Ole Lykke for reading and commenting on the chapter.
- ² Christiania (1971). Translation by Conroy (1995).
- ³ Quoted from Jæger, Olsen and Rieper (1993:43).
- ⁴ In December 1975 Christiania had responded to the threat of eviction with a summons against the state for breach of agreement with the argument that by recognising Christiania as a social experiment in the first place the state had already ‘given the green light for an experiment with an alternative way of life.’ The case ended in the Supreme Court 2 February 1978 with the decision that the Christianites had no strictly legal right to use state territory.
- ⁵ The margin of uncertainty in the polls is illustrated by the fact that when the Gallup institute, used in Figure 2, in January 1978 measured a small majority of 40–35 per cent *against* Christiania, another institute, the AIM, in that very same month came up with a small majority of 41–39 per cent *in favour* of Christiania, cf. Jæger, Olsen and Rieper (1993:50).
- ⁶ Gallup 1976, cf. Figure 2.
- ⁷ Gallup 1975, 1976, cf. Figure 2.
- ⁸ Balvig (1979), quoted from Jæger, Olsen and Rieper (1993:50).
- ⁹ ”Fed eller færdig”, *Information* 29/9 2001.
- ¹⁰ BZ: a phonetic abridgement of the Danish word for squatting
- ¹¹ Folketinget (7/6 1989); Forsvarsministeriet (1991).
- ¹² Jæger, Olsen and Rieper (1993:165).
- ¹³ *Berlingske Tidende* editorial 27/9 1991.
- ¹⁴ *BT* editorial 20/4 1991.
- ¹⁵ Gallup 1996, cf. Figure 2.
- ¹⁶ Christiania (2004).

- ¹⁷ Christiania 13/11 1971.
- ¹⁸ *Politiken* editorial 28/9 1996.
- ¹⁹ *Berlingske Tidende* editorial 26/9 1996.
- ²⁰ *Jyllandsposten* editorial 28/9 2001.
- ²¹ Pia's Ugebrev, www.danskFolkeparti.dk/Ryd_Christiania_.asp
- ²² Like many other countries Denmark experienced a *cycle of protest* from around 1968 until a general demobilisation in the late 1980s followed by a period with comparable few protests in the 1990s. Since 2002, though, it seems that the Danes have returned to the streets with new and increasing numbers of demonstrations. See also figure 1 in Karpantschov and Mikkelsen (2008).
- ²³ Forsvars- og justitsministeriet (2003); Forsvarsministeriet (2004); Folketinget (2004).
- ²⁴ Forsvars- og justitsministeriet (2003).
- ²⁵ *Jyllandsposten* editorial 2/2 2004.
- ²⁶ Christiania (2004).
- ²⁷ *Berlingske Tidende* editorials 4/8 and 8/5 2003.
- ²⁸ *Jyllandsposten* editorials 2/8 2003 and 2/2 2004.
- ²⁹ *Information* editorial 10/1 2007 and *Ekstrabladet*, editorial 14/3 2004.
- ³⁰ *BT* editorials 15/4 2003 and 6/1 2004.
- ³¹ Forsvarsministeriet 31/3 2004.
- ³² Gallup 1996, 2003, cf. Figure 2.
- ³³ Gallup 1996, 2003 (cf. Figure 2) and an opinion poll by Analyseinstituttet Rambøll published in 'Voldene skal blive', *Jyllandsposten* 7.11.2006.
- ³⁴ *Ekstrabladet* editorial 15/1 2004.
- ³⁵ Opinion poll by ACNielsen AIM published in Ugebrevet Mandag Morgen 34, 6/10 2003.
- ³⁶ 'Film: Betjente som bøller', *Berlingske Tidende* 3/3 2008.
- ³⁷ Slots- og Ejendomsstyrelsen (Sept 2006).
- ³⁸ Christiania (2006).
- ³⁹ Slots- og Ejendomsstyrelsen (Dec 2006).
- ⁴⁰ Christiania (2007); Finansministeriet (2007).
- ⁴¹ Christiania (2007); Finansministeriet primo april (2007).
- ⁴² *Politiken* editorial 10/1 2007.
- ⁴³ A sympathy proved by a series of opinion polls on the Youth House issue 2006–08 that — somewhat surprisingly, considered the many violent protests — virtually all turned out in favour of the youngsters (Karpantschov 2009a).

- ⁴⁴ 'Christiania advarer regeringen mod konfrontation', *Nyhedsavisen* 27/6 2008.
- ⁴⁵ Editorial in *Jyllandsposten Vest* 4/4 2007.
- ⁴⁶ Slots- og Ejendomsstyrelsen (2009).
- ⁴⁷ Overall, the most peaceful period in 1971–88 was also the period with, in general, the most Christiania-hostile popular attitudes and the most insecure relationship with the state compared to the following period 1989–2011, which had significantly heavier riots (that escalated in earnest and became a returning phenomenon from 1989) but nonetheless clearly more popular support and better agreement with the state. So the riots themselves didn't seem to damage Christiania decisively and on the contrary may in fact have obliged the public and the politicians to take a stand in a way that often turned out advantageous to Christiania — which a close study of the relations between spectacular clashes, public opinion and political acts during the Youth House struggle suggests could very well be the case, cf. also note 43.

GOVERNING FREEDOM

- ¹ Quoted from Hellström (2006:32), who quotes from Traimond (1994:40). Translation by Hellström.
- ² Ludvigsen (2003).
- ³ Arbejds- og Socialministeriet (1973:2). All translations from Danish are made by the author.
- ⁴ Ibid.:3.
- ⁵ Fox (2010:4).
- ⁶ The title of the book (Rasmussen 1993) is *From social state to minimal state* (*Fra socialstat til minimalstat*).
- ⁷ Folketinget (2003:1–2).
- ⁸ I would like to thank Henrik Gutzon Larsen and Cathrin Wasshede for valuable comments on the draft version of this chapter.
- ⁹ For a complete list of all of the 22 debates on Christiania in the Danish parliament between 1974 and 2004, see the reference section in this book.
- ¹⁰ Foucault (2007: 240). In the 2003 Christiania debate, the Conservative Party actually cites a sentence from the law of Jutland (Jyske Lov), which is also quoted above the entrance to the Danish parliament: 'The land shall be built by the law' (Folketinget 2003:27).
- ¹¹ Foucault (2004:240).

- ¹² Ibid. The two quotes in this paragraph are from p. 240.
- ¹³ Foucault (2007:18)
- ¹⁴ Foucault (2008:64).
- ¹⁵ Folketinget (2003:1).
- ¹⁶ Gramsci (1971:263).
- ¹⁷ Karpantschov and Mikkelsen (2008).
- ¹⁸ Thörn (2006); Rothstein (1992); Jæger, Olsen and Rieper (1993).
- ¹⁹ Arbejds- og Socialministeriet (1973:1–2).
- ²⁰ Wacquant (1999); Franzén (2005); Keith and Pile (1993); Smith and Katz (1993); Thörn (1997).
- ²¹ 'A rats' nest' (Folketinget 1981/2:3716); 'a lawless district' (Folketinget 1981/2:3744), both the Progress Party in a 1982 debate. 'A place where people get inspiration', the Social Democrats in the 1974 debate (Folketinget 1973/4:6235); 'an experiment', the Socialist Party in the 2003 debate (Folketinget 2003:1).
- ²² In his book *Urban Utopias*, Malcolm Miles (2008) maps alternative settlements around the world (including Christiania), but none of them can compare to Christiania in the sense I am discussing here.
- ²³ Hellström (2006:309).
- ²⁴ Folketinget (1973/74:6259).
- ²⁵ Ibid.:6241 and 6366–7.
- ²⁶ Ibid.:6257 and 6374.
- ²⁷ Ibid.:6266.
- ²⁸ Ibid.:6357.
- ²⁹ Ibid.:6257.
- ³⁰ Ibid.:6356.
- ³¹ Ibid.:6262–3.
- ³² Ibid.:6368.
- ³³ Ibid.:6273. In an open letter to Inge Krogh, Christianite Peter Thiel gave his version of what happened, stating that he was lying in his bed with his girlfriend and her daughter, reading a fairy tale, when the door suddenly opened and 'a little old lady stood on the doorstep'. According to Thiel, they asked Krogh to sit down on the bedside. And it was only in the evening of the day of the parliamentary debate, that he realised that 'it was you Inge Krogh, who sat on the bedside listening to fairy tales'. Quoted from Rasmussen (1976:95).
- ³⁴ Folketinget (1973/4: 6254).

- ³⁵ Ibid.:6351.
- ³⁶ Ibid.:6364.
- ³⁷ Most frequently mentioned are Professor of Architecture Stein Eiler Rasmussen, criminologist Burt Kuchinsky, and Tine Bryld, advisor for the Social Board.
- ³⁸ Ibid.:6367.
- ³⁹ Ibid.:6277.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid.:6359.
- ⁴¹ Ibid.:6267.
- ⁴² Ibid.:6254.
- ⁴³ Ibid.:6235.
- ⁴⁴ Elklit and Pedersen (2003).
- ⁴⁵ According to Elklit and Pederson (2003), the 2001 election manifested a deepening of the same structural tendencies that were expressed in the 1973 election.
- ⁴⁶ Borre (2003).
- ⁴⁷ The term 'new politics' is in political science associated with Roland Inglehart (1971). I am using it in a broader sense, referring not just to changing values and voting patterns, but also to the new social movements (Thörn 2006). For a discussion on these changes in a Danish context see the special issue '30 år efter Jordskredsvalget' (30 years after the Earthquake Election) of the Danish journal *Politica* (no. 4, 2003).
- ⁴⁸ The Socialist Party got more votes than in any election since First World War, while the Conservatives had their best election in 25 years, Elklit and Pedersen (2003).
- ⁴⁹ Borre (2003:439) and (2003:433).
- ⁵⁰ In the 1974 debate, the Danish Communist Party argued that those who claimed that Christiania's alternative lifestyles were part of the class struggle were wrong, because in order to struggle you need 'organisation, knowledge and discipline', and that 'those who fear Christiania on these grounds, can probably relax', Folketinget (1973/4:6277). The Communist Party was however one of the founders (together with the Socialist Worker's Party/Socialistisk Arbejderparti, and the Left Socialists) of Enhedslisten in 1989.
- ⁵¹ Folketinget (1987/88:2313).
- ⁵² Thörn (1997); Hellström (2006).
- ⁵³ Folketinget (2003: 6361)
- ⁵⁴ Folketinget (1973/4/5:3241).

- ⁵⁵ Ibid.:3188 and 3141.
- ⁵⁶ Borre (2003:439).
- ⁵⁷ Borre (2003).
- ⁵⁸ Ibid.
- ⁵⁹ Folketinget (1991/92:352).
- ⁶⁰ Borre (2003).
- ⁶¹ Fogh Rasmussen (2002).
- ⁶² Folketinget (2002:23).
- ⁶³ Both these demands were made by Ulrik Kragh; on collective use of property, Folketinget (2004a:1); on consensus democracy, Folketinget (2004b:4).
- ⁶⁴ Folketinget (2003:31).
- ⁶⁵ Ibid.:1.
- ⁶⁶ Ibid.:26.
- ⁶⁷ In the 1991 debate, after Brusgaard of the Progress Party argued that he had felt threatened when visiting Christiania (Folketinget 1991/92:1372), a discussion broke out regarding if, and to what extent, the chairmen of the parties in parliament had actually been to Christiania, who had been there most frequently, and whether they had felt secure or not.
- ⁶⁸ Folketinget (2003:3).
- ⁶⁹ Ibid.:3–4.
- ⁷⁰ Ibid.:20.
- ⁷¹ Ibid.:11.
- ⁷² Ibid.:3–4.
- ⁷³ Ibid.:31.
- ⁷⁴ Ibid.:13.
- ⁷⁵ Gutzon Larsen and Lund Hansen (2008:2433). See also Lund Hansen, Andersen and Clark (2001).
- ⁷⁶ Following a small riot in Prinsessegade on 6 December (during the Climate Meeting), the police chained approximately 100 people to each other (and subsequently detained them) in a long row on Pusher Street in the middle of the night, while a helicopter lit up the street. Interview with anonymous Christianites, 7 December 2009.
- ⁷⁷ Regarding zero tolerance in Christiania see Bryld (1986) and Karpantschov and Mikkelsen (2009).
- ⁷⁸ Folketinget (2002:7). That such an order has been made is also verified in a report by Hanne Bech Hansen, General Commissioner of the Copenhagen Police, Østre Landsret (2008).

- ⁷⁹ Quoted from Ludvigsen (2003:75). Translation to English by Conroy (1995). On 15 May 2003, the advertising agency Propaganda McCann published an ad in the financial paper *Børsen* in support of Christiania, stating: ‘Liberalism’s fundamental idea actually prospers better in Christiania than in any other place’, *ibid.* (2003:25).
- ⁸⁰ Rasmussen (1993:143).
- ⁸¹ In the 2004 Christiania Committee’s official Action Plan, the three different scenarios presented all involve some kind of privatisation of the property.

HAPPY EVER AFTER?

- ¹ Rasmussen (1976:35), author’s translation. All translations from Danish to English in this chapter are made by the author.
- ² Christianite Allan An Archos at a seminar in Christiania, 22 January 2011.
- ³ Inaba (2009:2–3).
- ⁴ Provoost (2006:<http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2006-06-28-provoost-en.html>).
- ⁵ Wagenaar (2004:9).
- ⁶ Nielsen (2008:56).
- ⁷ Socialdemokratisk Forbund (1945).
- ⁸ Nielsen (2008:58–59).
- ⁹ Steen Eiler Rasmussen in *Egnsplankontoret* (1947/1993:0).
- ¹⁰ Bæk Pedersen (2005) and Diken and Albertsen (2004).
- ¹¹ Besides participating in everything related to Danish urban planning, and mentoring architects such as Jørn Utzon, Eiler Rasmussen joined international debates as an honorary corresponding member of the Royal Institute of British Architects (1947), visiting professor at MIT (1953) and Yale (1954), honorary member of universities and architectural institutes in Europe and USA, and author of books on English, Dutch, etc. architecture. Simultaneously, the autodidact general’s son, high school and architecture school dropout, was a polymath commentating on culture and everyday life, happy to receive the newspaper *Politiken*’s Peanut of the Year, while refusing to become Knight of Dannebrog, Lind (2008).
- ¹² Steen Eiler Rasmussen’s Office (1963:21).
- ¹³ *Ibid.*:4.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*:5.

- ¹⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁶ Ibid.
- ¹⁷ Rasmussen (1976:8).
- ¹⁸ Ibid.:51–53.
- ¹⁹ Ibid.
- ²⁰ Like most New Town architects Eiler Rasmussen never lived in Tingbjerg. He built his own house in the prosperous Rungsted in Whiskybæltet north of Copenhagen.
- ²¹ Rasmussen (1976:10).
- ²² Ibid.:13.
- ²³ Ibid.:34.
- ²⁴ Ibid.:17.
- ²⁵ These strategies were first presented by the Lettrists in *Potlach* magazine, 1954–56, Sadler (1998).
- ²⁶ Jorn (1947:61–68).
- ²⁷ Ibid.:62.
- ²⁸ Nielsen (2008:24).
- ²⁹ Jorn (1947:63).
- ³⁰ Nielsen (2008:26).
- ³¹ Lefebvre (1991:26).
- ³² de Waal (20 October 2010: <http://www.information.dk/248301>)
- ³³ Scott (1998:111).
- ³⁴ Sadler (1998:6).
- ³⁵ With this attitude Jorn co-authored *Fin de Copenhague* with situationist anchorman Guy Debord (1957). This ‘psychogeographical’ publication addressed the industrialised welfare society’s confused consumers: ‘What do you want? Better and cheaper food? Lots of new clothes? A dream home with all the latest comforts and labour-saving devices? A new car [...] a motor launch [...] a light aircraft of your own? Whatever you want, it’s coming your way — plus greater leisure for enjoying it all. With electronics, automation and nuclear energy, we are entering the new Industrial Revolution which will supply our every need, easily [...] quickly [...] cheaply [...] abundantly.’ Jorn and Debord (2001).
- ³⁶ Sadler (1998:7).
- ³⁷ Rasmussen (1956/57:197).
- ³⁸ Nielsen (2008:58).
- ³⁹ Steen Eiler Rasmussen’s Office (1963:5).

- ⁴⁰ Wallenstein and Mattsson (2010:8).
- ⁴¹ Söderqvist (2008:15).
- ⁴² Tingbjerg's website (2011: <http://www.tingbjerg.com/om-tingbjerg/tingbjerg-paa-film.aspx>).
- ⁴³ David Pinder in Furness (2007: <http://bad.eserver.org/issues/2007/78/pinder.html>).
- ⁴⁴ As a counter-site or inverted mirror, challenging, representing and subverting all other sites in Copenhagen/Denmark, Christiania seems close to what Michel Foucault designates as a heterotopia — a space of distribution where more principles of organisation and mutual untranslatable spaces coexist contrary to the utopia guided by 'one principle of organisation', Foucault (2002).
- ⁴⁵ Bøggild and Bruun Yde (2010).
- ⁴⁶ Danish Radio (2 August 2010: <http://www.dr.dk/P1/Reportagen/Udsendelser/2010/07/07125744.htm>).
- ⁴⁷ Christiania (1971: <http://www.christiania.org/modules.php?name=Side&navn=Maalsaetning>). Translation to English by Adam Conroy.
- ⁴⁸ Fogh Rasmussen (1993).
- ⁴⁹ Fogh Rasmussen (2002: http://da.wikisource.org/wiki/Statsministerens_nyt%C3%A5rstale_2002).
- ⁵⁰ The diplomatic controversy between Denmark and Muslim countries caused by the newspaper *Jyllandsposten* printing a series of caricatures of the prophet Mohammed in 2005.
- ⁵¹ See the report *Fremtidige organisations- og ejerformer på Christianiaområdet*. The Palaces and Properties Agency (2005: www.ses.dk/da/Christiania/~/..../fremtidige_organisations_og_ejerfor.ashx).
- ⁵² Steen Hvass on The Heritage Agency of Denmark's website (12 October 2007: <http://www.kulturarv.dk/presse-nyt/nyhed/artikel/fredning-af-11-bygninger-paa-christiania/>).
- ⁵³ *Politiken* (10 November 2010: <http://politiken.dk/indland/ECE1105353/de-fleste-af-christianas-ulovlige-byggerier-er-lovlige/>).
- ⁵⁴ Trier Mogensen (21 February, 2011: <http://politiken.dk/debat/signatur/ECE1201242/hippierne-hopper-ind-fra-hoejre/>).
- ⁵⁵ Ibid.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid.
- ⁵⁷ Jens Arnfred in Løvenbalk Hansen (25 July 2007: <http://www.information.dk/127485>).

- ⁵⁸ Albæk (11 August 2010:<http://politiken.dk/politik/1033992/loekke-tager-hul-paa-ghettoturn/>).
- ⁵⁹ Ritzau (16 December 2010:<http://www.information.dk/telegram/254068>).
- ⁶⁰ Stig T. Kaspersen in Ritzau (19 November 2010: <http://politiken.dk/indland/ECE1113534/andre-ghettoer-siger-nej-til-nedrivning/>).
- ⁶¹ Ritzau (22 February 2010: <http://www.information.dk/telegram/225164>).
- ⁶² Strårup (24 June 2009: <http://www.berlingske.dk/koebenhavn/tingbjerg-bliver-familievenlig>).
- ⁶³ Gravlund in *ibid.*
- ⁶⁴ KAB's director remarks: 'Don't call the buildings black spots and ghettos. They are vulnerable housing areas with giant challenges.' Ritzau (22 February 2010: <http://www.information.dk/telegram/225164>).
- ⁶⁵ I am indirectly referring to architectural historian Wouter Vanstiphout's critical interpretation of the Amsterdam New Town Bijlmermeer's total transformation, a model for 'anti-ghettoisation' efforts like Gellerup's, Vanstiphout (2008).
- ⁶⁶ Bøggild and Bruun Yde (2010).
- ⁶⁷ About Casablanca see Avermaete et. al. (2010). For Caracas see Brillembourg et. al. (2005).
- ⁶⁸ Bøggild et. al. (2010:27).
- ⁶⁹ Popper (1988).

THE HANSEN FAMILY

- ¹ Translations from Danish to English of titles and soundtrack by the author of this article.
- ² See Edwards (1979:241) and Hellström (2006:54).
- ³ The 'intellectual' is in this case the architect Per Løvetand Iversen, during the first years of Christiania's existence one of the key activists and the author of many important articles and manifestos.
- ⁴ The threats against the Freetown generated a significant amount of cultural activity in 1975–76; an LP-record was released with recordings by some of the most popular bands in Denmark; big support concerts were organized; the successful theatre performance *Elverhøj* attracted great crowds, and the writings in support of Christiania by architect Steen Eiler Rasmussen received a lot of attention.

- ⁵ See Balvig (1979).
- ⁶ The slogan 'I kan ikke slå os ihjel, vi er en del av jer selv', also the title of a song on the best-selling LP record *Christiania*, released in 1975, has been one of the most frequently used catchphrases in the debate.
- ⁷ See Krarup (1976); Jæger, Olsen and Rieper (1993); Hellström (2006).
- ⁸ Quoted in Krarup (1976:6)
- ⁹ Krarup (1976:6); Hellström (2006:52).
- ¹⁰ The case was brought all the way to the Supreme Court, which in february 1978 ruled against Christiania, however, with the extraordinary comment that this judgment was strictly juridical, and that a final decision would have to take political, social and human aspects into consideration, Falkentorp, Hansen, Juhler, Kløvedal and Løvetand (1982); Hellström (2006:54).
- ¹¹ The most significant of these performances in relation to Martinsen's project was without doubt the remake by the performance group Solvognen (the Sun Chariot) in the autumn 1975 of the national theatre piece *Elverhøj* (*the Elves' Mountain*) by Johan Ludvig Heiberg, which had been written for the National Theatre in 1828. *Elverhøj* had a strong popular appeal, and through the play, Christiania managed to become Elverhøj, a mythical Danish landscape between utopianism, expressive popular culture and experimental avant-garde (Hellström (2006).
- ¹² Ward (2008).
- ¹³ Foucault (1977:189); see also Gutting (2010).
- ¹⁴ Holmes and Jermyn (2008:235).
- ¹⁵ Kracauer (1960:ix), evidently commenting on the first documentary sequences by the Brothers Lumière.
- ¹⁶ The major reference is of course Henri Lefebvre and his *Critique de la vie quotidienne*, the first volume of which appears in 1947.
- ¹⁷ See Lefebvre (1947). This aspect of the moving, mass-mediated image as a 'shifter' is obviously highly present already before the war, sociologically as well as cinematographically articulated by Benjamin, Vertov and Ruttman, just to mention a few.
- ¹⁸ Nichols (1991:127).
- ¹⁹ Ibid.:76–103.
- ²⁰ Ibid.
- ²¹ Ibid.
- ²² Ward (2008:192).
- ²³ Ibid.:193.

- ²⁴ One of the most important precursors is in this sense without doubt Jean Rouch's and Edgar Morin's *Chronique d'un été* (France, 1961), which was an attempt to turn the 'ethnographic gaze' towards the ordinary French people, and which set the standards for cinéma vérité. See Jean Rouch (1962/2003).
- ²⁵ Holmes and Jermyn (2008). Another important precursor was the American PBS series *An American Family*, broadcast in 1973.
- ²⁶ Nichols (2001:193).

ALTERNATIVE VISIONS OF HOME AND FAMILY LIFE

- ¹ GA, female resident of CA for 28 years, reflecting on life as a single parent in the 1990s.
- ² CT, resident of CA for 30 years, reflecting on life as a single parent in the 1990s.
- ³ See for instance Jørgensen (1982).
- ⁴ Jarvis et al. (2001).
- ⁵ Gullestad (1984); Booth and Gilroy (1999); Jarvis (2005).
- ⁶ Gilman (2002); Parker et al. (1994).
- ⁷ OECD (2008); see also Jarvis (2006). Single-person households make up 39 % of Denmark but this figure rises to 65 % for the municipality of Copenhagen. For Denmark as a whole 16 % of households with children are single-parent households (compared with 13 % for EU25 and 24 % in the UK) (Eurostat, <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/> data retrieved 29.10.2010).
- ⁸ Griffin (2010).
- ⁹ VisitDenmark.Com (2009).
- ¹⁰ Vestergaard (2006). The research project on which this paper is based received economic support from REALDANIA.
- ¹¹ Miller (1999).
- ¹² Bekin et al. (2005); Jones (2007); Shaw and Newholm (2002).
- ¹³ There is a large and influential literature engaging with the pros and cons of what is widely referred to as the 'new urbanism'. The way that village-like housing schemes are realised in practice is heavily determined by planning regime (Denmark differs from the US for instance) and local housing market (notably the role of tenure, gentrification and the relative power of grassroots social movements). The new urbanism is heavily criticised in academic

debate as a cosmetic and regressive solution to a lack of social and environmental sustainability. Interestingly, the debate in Denmark is re-engaging with classic literature on urban public space; Gehl (2010). See also Lofland (1973). A seminal text on the subject of spatial arrangement for social interaction is Alexander et al. (1977).

¹⁴ Forster (1998). It is a matter of opinion whether Christiania can be defined as an intentional community or as an autonomous community but the fact remains that CA is listed on the public on-line directory Fellowship for Intentional Communities, www.ic.org.

¹⁵ www.ses.dk; Garbarczyk (2008).

¹⁶ The author wishes to acknowledge the Christiania Research in Residence (CRIR) initiative for providing both accommodation and assistance with setting up the research. Particular thanks are due to Emmerik Warburg, Lise Autogena and Anders Lund Hansen. The opinions expressed in this chapter are those of the author and not attributed to CRIR or any other individual interviewed.

¹⁷ The homes visited spanned a number of dwelling types and locations; including a large room on a shared floor in Fredens Ark; studio apartments fashioned out of the distinctive acute angle buildings on the rampart promontory; self-built chalets, adapted site-huts and original stone buildings variously situated along the ramparts, in the wooded areas and on the edge of 'Christiania City'. Observations were made by attending public festivals, such as Christiania's 'alternative' Grundlovsdag (Constitution Day), as well as a more intimate community fund-raising event at the Operaen. Much was gained from everyday routines: cycling with my young daughter many, many times the length and breadth of the site; shopping for groceries at the Indkøbscentralen (Shopping Central) and Grøntsagen (the Vegetable); frequenting the community cafés and eating-places; and continually making notes in a research diary. Data collection and analysis derives from the highest standards of ethical conduct for open ethnographic practice. Interviews and photographs were always taken with informed consent. A two-letter pseudonym is used to protect the individual identity of individual subjects. Interviews were transcribed for thematic coding and narrative analysis.

¹⁸ Gibson-Graham (1996); Bakker and Silvey (2008).

¹⁹ Interview with ER, resident since 1974, lives with partner and child on the edge of Christiania City.

²⁰ Interview with EN, resident and entrepreneur of CA for 28 years; Christi-

anites effectively pay for social public goods normally provided by the municipality, Bates (2009).

²¹ Rakodi (1999); Beall (2002).

²² Information on Christiania's self-governance is extracted from the *Christiania Guide*.

²³ The rural dwelling HA and friends were allowed to move into was made vacant because of a double eviction; the man who lived in the house sold it on to another man and when this came to light both were thrown out of the area — because it is a strict rule that no-one owns or seeks to gain financially from their house. HA and friends secured the house in competition with many others who also wished to have it by hanging around for several years 'building a good reputation'.

²⁴ Interview with EN, male resident living with partner and adult children, resident since 1982.

²⁵ Meltzer (2005).

²⁶ Communal dining was made fashionable in London in the 1930s in the Pritchards' Isobar restaurant which served residents and guests of the Isokon building on Lawn Road, London. The Isokon building was a Le Corbusier inspired experiment in modern living: there was a communal kitchen and restaurant and a range of domestic services made it possible to strip down individual apartments to minimal living space. See also Vestbro (1992; 1997).

²⁷ Social movements reflecting a youthful zeitgeist typically call for more free space by variously 'reclaiming' public space for anti-capital, anti-consumer expressions (including the free distribution of unwanted goods and holding free public events) and through the temporary or more permanent installation of do-it-yourself architecture, autonomous events and 'happenings'. See for instance Gehl (2010) and Anders Lund Hansen's chapter in this anthology.

²⁸ Sørensen (1935).

²⁹ Midtgaard (2007).

³⁰ Interview with female MK, resident since 1974, living with partner (adult offspring also in CA).

³¹ Turner (1974).

³² Ibid.

³³ Hellström (2006).

³⁴ HA resident since 2003, living in a rural shared house with partner, baby and house-mates.

³⁵ Reinder and van der Land (2008).

- ³⁶ Mitchell (2003).
- ³⁷ Interview with female HA, resident living with her partner and baby in a shared house.
- ³⁸ Interview with TT, female resident since 1978, living alone across Dyssen, with an ex-partner and adult offspring living independently elsewhere in CA.
- ³⁹ Amouroux (2006).
- ⁴⁰ Interview with CT, resident of CA for 30 years.
- ⁴¹ Endre et al. (2010).
- ⁴² Jacob Ludvigsen, disaffected co-founder of Christiania, no longer believes that governance by direct common consensus is democratic because of the breakdown of rules of fair discourse and agreement; quoted in Øberg (2007).
- ⁴³ Bellah et al. (1985).
- ⁴⁴ Jarvis (2007).

BØSSEHUSET

- ¹ Bøssehuset means The Gay Male House. Bøsse is a Danish word for 'gay man', a word that from the beginning referred to a kind of breech-loaded rifle, and was used as an insulting term for homosexual men. I have conducted four interviews with gay people in Christiania: Gay man I in Bøssehuset, 12-08-2010. Not living in CA. Gay man II in Bøssehuset, 12-08-2010. Has been living in CA. Lesbian, 10-01-2011 to 13-01-2011. Living in CA. Gay man III, 21-01-2011. Living in CA. In this text I have chosen not to use personal names as synonyms for the interviewees (which has as an effect that I do not refer to an individual interviewee when quoting). The reason for this is that it would be too easy to disclose the identity of the activists if you were able to follow them through the quotations; and because it is not important to follow one person through the text. They all speak as gay activists in Bøssehuset — or as a lesbian in Christiania — and their personal life stories are not in focus (apart from the HIV-positive man's experiences of the disease and its effect on Bøssehuset). Those interviewees are regarded as 'key informants', which means that they, through their positions and experiences, are 'nodes' in activist networks; and are thus supposed to have an overview of the context I am interested in. Further, I have used Bøssehuset's own website as empirical material, as well as three issues of the Christiania magazine *Ordkløveren*; and a video of performances from Bøssehuset in the 1980s. Translations from Danish are made by the author.

- ² They do have a second logo, which consists of the two classical double gender signs for homosexual men and women, but as it seems, it is not used as frequently as the logo with the phallus. See <http://www.flickr.com/photos/15643599@No8/sets/72157602611076477/> and <http://www.flickr.com/photos/15643599@No8/sets/72157623008420896/>
- ³ For an overview see for example Jagose (1996).
- ⁴ After 1982 one can find pieces of ‘historical documentation’ on the website, but it is not put together on a special site. Most of the information in this section is based on Bøssehuset’s website: <http://www.boessehuset.dk/>. See also the book about BBF and Bøssehuset: *Virkelige Hændelser fra et Liv ved Fronten: erindringer om Bøssernes Befrielses Front* (2011).
- ⁵ See Jagose (1996).
- ⁶ Nowadays named LGBT Danmark — The National Organisation for Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals and Transsexuals.
- ⁷ Apart from the Thy Camp, BBF was also a part of the whole ø-lejr bevægelsen (the ‘island camps movement’ in Denmark), mostly in those camps that were arranged by the Men’s Movement. See Pérez Skardhamar (2010, part II).
- ⁸ Clausen and Thygesen (1974).
- ⁹ Nissen and Paulsen (13-01-2011).
- ¹⁰ Parts of this record are available on YouTube, for example: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ui9HKf7W7ts> and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PdwQ2VP6ewA&feature=related>
- ¹¹ <http://www.boessehuset.dk/historiesider/historieside23.htm>
- ¹² *Ordkløveren*, (1977:1, pp. 6–7).
- ¹³ *Ordkløveren*, (1977:2, pp. 6–7).
- ¹⁴ *Ordkløveren* (1976:8, p. 8).
- ¹⁵ *Ordkløveren*, (1976:8, p. 9).
- ¹⁶ See Wasshede (2010a) and Hallgren (2008).
- ¹⁷ *Ordkløveren* (1976:8). On the Red Stockings Movement in Denmark, see Dahlerup (1998).
- ¹⁸ *Ordkløveren* (1976:8, p. 14).
- ¹⁹ Butler (1990).
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*:136.
- ²¹ See Butler (1990:138) and Westerling (2007).
- ²² <http://www.boessehuset.dk/historiesider/historieside8.htm>
- ²³ In Gothenburg Röda Bögar (Red Gays) did the same in the 1970s, and activists in the extra parliamentary left used the same strategy in the 2000s, see Eman (2000) and Wasshede (2010a) and (2010b).

- ²⁴ <http://www.boessehuset.dk/FrkVerden.html>
- ²⁵ Ibid.
- ²⁶ *Christianias Pige garde, Altid Fremad 1991–2001* (2001:15).
- ²⁷ See <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E61IiSj4Ru8>
- ²⁸ Handed over to the Christiania Archive from Grethe Thy.
- ²⁹ *Press* (1993, no. 88).
- ³⁰ See for example Svensson (2007) and Henriksson (1995).
- ³¹ See photos from this event at: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/15643599@No8/sets/72157624656879883/>
- ³² See for example Butler (1990) and (1997), Wettergren (2005) and Hallgren, (2008).
- ³³ See for example Jagose (1996).
- ³⁴ See for example Hallgren (1998).
- ³⁵ See *Christianias Pige garde, Altid Fremad 1991–2001* (2001).

WEEDS AND DEEDS

- ¹ Riksdagen 1981/82. Minutes 43:63. If no other information is given, translations from Swedish and Danish are made by the author.
- ² *Ordkløveren* 29/4 1973. Quoted from Mollerup and Løvetand II (1976:5).
- ³ *Christianias Kulturforening* (1997:118).
- ⁴ On critical discourse moments, see Gamson and Modigliani (1989).
- ⁵ Boulding (1956).
- ⁶ Other examples in the US are the struggle of the temperance movement against alcohol during the 18th century; the opium smoking of the Chinese in the 1870s and the Marijuana Act in 1937, see Reinerman and Levine (1997).
- ⁷ Reinerman and Levine (1997).
- ⁸ This is part of the Common Law of Christiania since 1971, ‘where each individual can unfold freely while remaining responsible to the community as a whole’, Conroy (1995:8).
- ⁹ Hakkarainen, Jetsu and Laursen (1996).
- ¹⁰ For different views on the gateway hypothesis, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gateway_drugs
- ¹¹ Common Meeting 23/11 1971 §6, in Mollerup and Løvetand II (1976).
- ¹² *Ordkløveren* 13/8 1972. Quoted from Mollerup and Løvetand II (1976).
- ¹³ *Ordkløveren* 11/2 1972. Quoted from Mollerup and Løvetand II (1976).

- ¹⁴ *Ordkløveren* 27/8 1972. Quoted from Mollerup and Løvetand II (1976:3).
- ¹⁵ *Ordkløveren* 5/7 1972. Quoted from Mollerup and Løvetand II (1976:3).
- ¹⁶ *Ordkløveren* 17/8 1973. Quoted from Mollerup and Løvetand II (1976).
- ¹⁷ Madsen (1979).
- ¹⁸ Ludvigsen (2003:178–79).
- ¹⁹ *Hampebladet* (1980:1, p. 5).
- ²⁰ One result was even more strained relations between activists and pushers, as Amy Starecheski shows in her chapter.
- ²¹ Flyer announcing the meeting (kept at the Christiania archive). RFMA was a Swedish umbrella for various political, religious, union and women's organisations.
- ²² This rally was organised by the national branches of *the People's Action Against Hash*. See *Dagens Nyheter*. 16/2 1982.
- ²³ *Dagens Nyheter*, 16/2 1982.
- ²⁴ *Slå Tillbaka!*, no. 9 (1981:2). In February a united effort by the Lion's clubs of the Scandinavian district to collect money to support anti-drug organisations was launched, *Kvällsposten*, 15/2 1982.
- ²⁵ *Politiken*, 16/2 1982.
- ²⁶ Nordic Council (1982 II:2396). This is from the debate following on the question posed in October 1981 by the Swedish Minister of Justice, Gabriel Romanus (Liberal Party), to the Nordic Council.
- ²⁷ *Dagens Nyheter*, 16/2 1982.
- ²⁸ His name was Bengt Hellén and his view was given in an article on drugs in *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, 16/2 1982.
- ²⁹ For a critical review of the LaRouche Movement, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/LaRouche_Movement
- ³⁰ This is from a letter to the editor from Ulf Sandmark, representative of EAP, under the heading 'Christiania a threat against democracy', *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* 22/2 1982.
- ³¹ Interview with Ole Lykke 14/2 2010 (by Håkan Thörn).
- ³² Riksdagen 1981/82. Interpellation no. 9:125 (15/10 1981).
- ³³ The subsequent parliamentary debate on the topic of Christiania and drugs was held in December 1981.
- ³⁴ Or as Petersson put it: the Danish showed a 'low interest in intervening against drug dealing'. Riksdagen 1981/82. Interpellation no. 9:125 (15/10 1981).
- ³⁵ At an anti-drug rally a few months later, MP Rune Gustavsson also admitted to always have been puzzled by Denmark's 'incomprehensible' liberal views on drugs, *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, 16/2 1982.

- ³⁶ See also statements by local politicians (Hellén), officials (Larenius/*Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, 18/2 1982) and social workers (Gardestig/*Svenska Dagbladet*, 20/2 1982) from Malmö on the problems caused by drugs in the southern parts of Sweden.
- ³⁷ The origins of the discussion on Christiania at the Nordic Council was the question the Swedish government had posed in October 1981 to its Danish counterpart, asking what it intended to do about the (assumed) drug problems in Christiania, and was itself a reaction to an earlier interpellation by Esse Petersson in the Swedish parliament. Members question E1, Nordic Council (1982: 2396).
- ³⁸ At the Nordic Council of Ministers, only the Ministers participated: in Stockholm it was the Ministers of Justice and Social Affairs that debated drugs.
- ³⁹ As a comment on this, one heading in *Svenska Dagbladet*, 20/2 1982, simply stated 'Denmark won'.
- ⁴⁰ Accounts of politicians, see *Kvällsposten*, 19/2 1982.
- ⁴¹ At the height of the debate in early 1982, the Swedish parliamentarian Esse Petersson participated in a Danish TV show debating drugs with other Nordic politicians. He demanded the closure of Christiania and said that a kind of 'low culture' had developed, one that caused people to live at the bottom of society. *Tranås Tidning*, 3/3 1982; *Ekstra Bladet*, 5/3 1982. He shared this opinion with Sten Andersson of the Swedish Conservative party (Moderaterna), who at the debate in parliament spoke in similar words.
- ⁴² The other signatories were the two Norwegians, Christian Christiansen and Asbjörn Haugstvedt, both from the Christian Democrats (Kristeligt Folkeparti), and Bror Lillqvist (Social Democrats) from Finland.
- ⁴³ Members' suggestions A 616/s, Nordic Council (1982: 659). As early as 1971 the Nordic governments had issued a recommendation for tighter cooperation in the field of drug prevention. But only a few years later, it was rebuked on the grounds that surveys showed that drug use among young people had decreased and that international cooperation was preferred.
- ⁴⁴ Members' suggestions A 616/s, Nordic Council (1982:312). It is worth noting that no delegate from Finland took part in the debate, even though Lillqvist was one of the signers of the member proposal.
- ⁴⁵ Members' suggestions A 616/s, Nordic Council (1982:302). The case of Swedish double standards had been addressed earlier. According to *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, 18/2 1982, Jimmy Starth, member of the Danish parliament (no information was provided regarding what political party he represented),

said that the Swedes ought to sweep up in front of their own front door before criticising others. He claimed that at Sergels Torg and in the subway, even a Danish parliamentarian in suit and tie had been offered hash.

⁴⁶ Members' suggestions A 616/s, Nordic Council (1982:302, 305).

⁴⁷ *Stockholms Tidningen*, 3/3 1982.

⁴⁸ All the commotion caused by Henriksen can be followed in various Nordic newspapers. See for example *Stockholms Tidningen*, 3/3 1982; *Dagbladet i Sundsvall*, 3/3 1982 (Sweden); *Ny Tid*, 10/2 1982 (Norway); *Ekstra Bladet*, 3/3 1982; *Berlingske Tidende*, 5/3 1982 (Denmark).

⁴⁹ *Sotra-Nytt*, 12/3 1982. To leading Danish politicians, like the Prime Minister Anker Jørgensen of the Social Democrats, the whole thing was clear: hash is not comparable to hard drugs. Jørgensen's party comrade, Inge Fischer Möller, also supported such a view when he said that he believed hash to be less harmful than alcohol. Jørgensen made his comment at the Nordic Council, and was immediately criticised by the media and other politicians, both domestic and foreign.

⁵⁰ Members' suggestions A 616/s, Nordic Council (1982:313–316).

⁵¹ *Berlingske Tidende*, 14/3 1982.

⁵² *Ekstra Bladet*, 2/3 1982.

⁵³ *Ekstra Bladet*, 2/3 1982.

⁵⁴ *Dagens Nyheter*, 20/3 1982.

⁵⁵ Both Preben Dich and Jørgen E. Pedersen tried to 'explain' the Swedish reactions to Berendt's accusations (*Berlingske Tidende* 21/3 1982), while Berendt himself wrote an additional article where he discussed the Swedish replies to his original article (*Berlingske Tidende*, 28/3 1982).

⁵⁶ The first debate was concluded when a coalition of parties (the Progress Party, the Liberals, the Centre Democrats, the Christian Democrats and the Conservatives) wanted to close Christiania but were defeated in a vote favoring Christiania.

⁵⁷ Folketingstidende (1981/82:2402).

⁵⁸ Folketingstidende (1981/82:3739).

⁵⁹ Folketingstidende (1981/82:3718, 3727).

⁶⁰ Folketingstidende (1981/82:3743).

⁶¹ Folketingstidende (1981/82:3745).

⁶² Folketingstidende (1981/82:2399, 2400, 2401–03).

⁶³ Folketingstidende (1981/82:2402).

⁶⁴ *Ugespejlet*, 6/2 1982.

- ⁶⁵ *Kvällsposten*, February 1982 Press clipping kept at the Christiania archive in Christiania, without date.
- ⁶⁶ *Arbetet*, February 1982. Press clipping kept at the Christiania archive in Christiania, without date.
- ⁶⁷ Interview with Ole Lykke, 14/2 2010.
- ⁶⁸ *Kvällsposten*, February 1982. Press clipping kept at the Christiania archive in Christiania, without date.
- ⁶⁹ Interview with Ole Lykke 14/2 2010.
- ⁷⁰ Interview with Ole Lykke 14/2 2010. A figure of 200–300 people in the audience was given by the daily morning paper *Dagens Nyheter*, 20/2 1982.
- ⁷¹ *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* for instance, ran a series of articles on drugs in February/March 1982 titled ‘Drugs are spreading’ (Knarket sprider sig).
- ⁷² *Kvällsposten*, 20/2 1982.
- ⁷³ *Svenska Dagbladet*, 20/2 1982.
- ⁷⁴ *Dagens Nyheter*, 20/2 1982.
- ⁷⁵ Interview with Ole Lykke 14/2 2010 (by Håkan Thörn). Haga had for a long time been contested and was at the time of the Love Sweden Tour partly demolished.
- ⁷⁶ *TT*, 3/3 1982.
- ⁷⁷ *TT*, 3/3 1982.
- ⁷⁸ *Svenska Dagbladet*, 20/2 1982.
- ⁷⁹ *Ugespejlet* (2009:7) (translation by Håkan Thörn).
- ⁸⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁸¹ *Ugespejlet* (2009:6) (translation by Håkan Thörn).

NORMALISATION WITHIN CHRISTIANIA

- ¹ I use the terms ‘Christianite’ and ‘citizen-activist’ to describe the residents of Christiania. Within Christiania, they refer to themselves using a range of terms that include: ‘Christianite’, ‘Christianitter’, ‘nitter’, ‘citizen’, ‘activist’ and ‘pusher’. The terms ‘pusher’ and ‘activist’ are used throughout the chapter depending on the groups’ self-identification, whereas the term ‘Christianites’ refers to the general population of Christiania.
- ² The aim of the Normalisation Plan was to privatise this publically owned space and capitalise on Christiania’s unique character and countercultural cachet. The plan also initiated a complex strategy of control that sought to

manage this unruly space and discipline its residents by incarcerating the pushers and slowly displacing Christianites. The first short-term objective was achieved when Pusher Street was later raided and 56 pushers arrested. The second long-term strategy of displacement began with the introduction of a new law. 'The Christiania Act' had afforded residents minimal land use rights, and this provided the legal basis that legitimised communal ownership. When 'The Law to End the Law on the Christiania Area' was introduced, it terminated the squatters' rights to live and build in Christiania; a space they had been improving, developing and inhabiting for decades.

In the long-term, the Normalisation Plan could displace many of Christiania's low-income residents by transforming the area from a self-governing and semi-autonomous squat into a privatised, 'normal' part of Copenhagen. By controlling this unruly space the state intends to re-integrate Christiania back into the formal economy, cripple its underground economy and undermine an autonomous self-government which represents Christiania's 'citizens', who are often poor, marginalised or social drop-outs. In response to critiques that normalisation is a thinly veiled attempt to squash an oppositional political voice, the state boldly explains that normalisation will simply transform Christiania into 'a normal' part of Denmark. The broader implication is that the state's tolerance for Christiania has come to an end. Christiania's normalisation is situated within a shifting political landscape — one that replaces the 'nanny' or welfare state with a minimal state which endorses entrepreneurialism, freedom, choice, and individual responsibility.

³ I divided my interviews into three groups with ties to Christiania that included: 1) current members (short >1 year, medium 2–10 years, and long term <10 years); 2) former members (departed for over one year); and 3) seasonal (students on break) and temporary visitors (musicians, activists and other visitors who visited Christiania for specific events). I conducted approximately 25 taped interviews with a roughly equal number of male and female participants. These semi-structured interviews solicited opinions and thoughts on normalisation and interactions with the Danish state, personal histories, and involvement in Christiania.

⁴ My dissertation (Amouroux 2007) focused on the spatial strategy of control and reorganisation of space that the Normalisation Plan entails; the reformation of the urban (the organisation of the built environment) through expert, technical, and highly bureaucratic sets of procedures.

⁵ Foucault (1977) and (1995).

- ⁶ Foucault (1977:197).
- ⁷ Ibid: 202.
- ⁸ Practices and discourses that are used to control space also shape identities: elder, child, citizen, or squatter. Ray Hutchison discusses the productivity of the built environment in this context to argue: ‘Urban spaces are created and controlled by dominant groups and institutions; but they are changed and refashioned by the intentional as well as the unintentional actions of everyday life’ (Hutchison 2000: xii). Susan Ruddick (1996) argues that in Los Angeles certain groups, such as homeless drug-addicted youths, are racialised subalterns who create spatialised identities in opposition to the normalising gaze of the state. For Ruddick, these new identities emerge within an urban social imaginary where: ‘New social subjects are created and create themselves in and through the social space of the city’. Setha Low makes a similar argument: ‘Space takes on the ability to confirm identity’, (1999:397).
- ⁹ Amouroux (2009).
- ¹⁰ This name is a pseudonym.
- ¹¹ Black money is how Christianites refer to illegal and untaxed income predominately from the hash market.
- ¹² Bourdieu (1986).

CONSENSUS AND STRATEGY

- ¹ Graeber (2009); Polletta (2002).
- ² I spent time at Christiania as part of the Researcher in Residence Programme (CRIR), and would like to thank that programme, especially Emmerik Warburg and Rasmus Blædel Larsen, for making this work possible. I would also like to thank all of the Christianites who so generously shared their stories with me. This work was developed in part through public presentations at ABC No Rio and Columbia University’s Oral History Workshop series. My travel was generously financed by the City University of New York Graduate Center’s Summer Pre-Dissertation Travel Award.
- ³ Some interviewees chose to use a pseudonym, and some chose not to make their full interviews available through the archive. Unarchived interviews are called ‘ethnographic interviews’ to distinguish them from archived oral histories. All quotes are lightly edited for flow and clarity, with any substantial deletions marked by ellipses, and pauses indicated by a double dash. All interviews were conducted in English.

- ⁴ Frisch (1990); Kerr (2006).
- ⁵ Kennedy (2006); Portelli (1991).
- ⁶ Bevington (2005); Juris (2007); Hale (2006); Hale (2008); Sanjek (1987); Mullings (2000).
- ⁷ 'Activists' is a category used by Christianites to indicate those who are politically involved within the normative framework of Christiania's self-government, usually opposed to 'pushers', drug dealers whose political tactics challenge Christiania's ideals of consensus, either through disengagement or the use of violence.
- ⁸ Ethnographic interview with Daniel Jensen (pseudonym), 12 August 2010.
- ⁹ Polletta (2002).
- ¹⁰ Reddersen (2004:27).
- ¹¹ Interview with Madsen (2010).
- ¹² Ethnographic interview with Rasmus Blædel Larsen, 2 August 2010.
- ¹³ Slots- og Ejendomsstyrelsen (no date).
- ¹⁴ Chadwick et al. (2007:70).
- ¹⁵ Interview with Lykke (2010).
- ¹⁶ Pruijt (2003); Owens (2009).
- ¹⁷ Scott (2009).
- ¹⁸ Reddersen (2004:23).
- ¹⁹ Chadwick et al. (2007).
- ²⁰ Ibid.:66.
- ²¹ Slots- og Ejendomsstyrelsen (2004:5), translation by Håkan Thörn.
- ²² Ethnographic interview with Rasmus Blædel Larsen, 2 August 2010.
- ²³ Chadwick et al. (2007).
- ²⁴ Slots- og Ejendomsstyrelsen (no date).
- ²⁵ Ibid.
- ²⁶ Fox (2010:8).
- ²⁷ Rasmus Blædel Larsen, personal communication, Feb. 2011.
- ²⁸ Interview with Mader (2010).
- ²⁹ Interview with Lykke (2010).
- ³⁰ Interview with Iversen (2010).
- ³¹ Blædel Larsen, personal communication, Feb. 2011.
- ³² Interview with Mader (2010).
- ³³ Interview with Larsen (2010); Chadwick et al. (2007:89).
- ³⁴ Interview with Iversen (2010).
- ³⁵ Interview with Mader (2010).

- ³⁶ Interview with Iversen (2010).
³⁷ Interview with Lausten (2010).
³⁸ Interview with Blanco (2010).
³⁹ Arendt (1998).
⁴⁰ Freeman (1972).
⁴¹ Blædel Larsen, personal communication, Feb. 2011.
⁴² Interview with Winther (2010).

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- ¹ Harvey (2003a:941).
² Another version of this 'report' was published in Danish in *Ugespejlet* (Christiania's newspaper) and the neighbourhood newspaper *Christianshavneren*, June issue, 5, p.4. (<http://www.christianshavneren.dk/upl/8962/2007juninside113.pdf>); and in English (Lund Hansen 2010).
³ Christianias Udviklingsplan (2006).
⁴ 'The chilly times we live in' is also a reference to the popular tune 'Det er en kold tid' [These are chilly times] (my translation) by Kim Larsen, who is a very popular folk singer in Denmark. The tune was played loudly throughout the centre of Christiania during this period in May 2007. The Danish Social Democrat Prime Minister, Anker Jørgensen, also used the reference in one of his speeches at the end of the 1970s to characterise the global and national economic crises.
⁵ The Children's House is one of Christiania's own 'institutions'.
⁶ Some of the events of the day can be seen at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D1qxIEYwMOU>
⁷ anders.lund_hansen@keg.lu.se. I would like to thank the editors and the participants in the book seminar at Christiania in January 2011 for constructive criticism and suggestions on earlier drafts of this chapter. The financial support of the Jan Wallander and Tom Hedelius Foundation (research grant number W2007-0055:1) is gratefully acknowledged.
⁸ Bauman (1998:22).
⁹ Schneider and Susser (2003); Graham (2004).
¹⁰ Lund Hansen (2006).
¹¹ Bauman (1998).
¹² Harvey (2003c:1).

- ¹³ Lees et al. (2007).
- ¹⁴ Larsen and Lund Hansen (2008).
- ¹⁵ Clark (2005).
- ¹⁶ E.g. Ley (1996).
- ¹⁷ E.g. Smith (1996).
- ¹⁸ Dutton (2003:2558).
- ¹⁹ Beauregard (1986).
- ²⁰ Clark (2005).
- ²¹ Lees (2000).
- ²² Byrne (2003).
- ²³ Florida (2002); (2005).
- ²⁴ Cameron (2003); Slater (2004).
- ²⁵ Rofe (2003).
- ²⁶ Peck (2005:766).
- ²⁷ Smith (1996).
- ²⁸ Ibid.:13.
- ²⁹ Smith (2005b).
- ³⁰ Swyngedouw (1997); Lund Hansen (2003); (2006).
- ³¹ Clark (2005).
- ³² Andersen (2001); Harvey (1973).
- ³³ Larsen and Lund Hansen (2008).
- ³⁴ Lefebvre (1991).
- ³⁵ Lefebvre (1970/2003); Lefebvre (1996).
- ³⁶ Guldbrandsen (2005).
- ³⁷ Perelman (2000).
- ³⁸ Marx (1990).
- ³⁹ Harvey (2003b:145).
- ⁴⁰ Ibid.:145.
- ⁴¹ Harvey (2005); (2006).
- ⁴² Walker (2005:1).
- ⁴³ Lund Hansen (2006).
- ⁴⁴ Smith (2005b); (2008).
- ⁴⁵ Smith (2005b:97). The nation state, geopolitically, with its patent on the means of violence, has traditionally played an important role in the praxis of space wars and imperialism. A classic historical example of the justification of warfare can be found in the German geopolitical idea of 'Lebensraum' in the 1920s and 1930s. In *American empire: Roosevelt's geographer and the prelude to glo-*

balisation, Neil Smith (2003) demonstrates how the concept inspired US global ambitions in the 1940s, seeking American global economic Lebensraum. The shift from the idea of a geopolitical to a geoeconomical Lebensraum is central to understanding Smith's argument — and to understanding space wars and the new urban imperialism. According to Smith, the US-led wars are to be viewed not only as wars on terrorism. Nor did they just want to control the important oil resources. Rather the wars were designed to complete a US-centred globalisation that has characterised the third moment of US ambition since the 1980s (Smith 2003). *The endgame of globalisation*, as Smith calls it, is about gaining global control through *geoeconomic* means — via the long-term installation of neoliberal institutional frameworks (Smith 2005a).

⁴⁶ Sassen (2004:22).

⁴⁷ OPCE (2003).

⁴⁸ In the spring of 2004, without any major violent coordinated resistance from the inhabitants of Christiania, the police closed down Europe's largest open-air cannabis market on 'Pusher Street' where 'pushers' sold their products from 30 booths in the centre of the community.

⁴⁹ Copenhagen Municipality (2005).

⁵⁰ Bisgaard (2000).

⁵¹ Copenhagen Capacity (2010).

⁵² Katz (2001).

⁵³ Lund Hansen et al. (2001); Larsen and Lund Hansen (2008).

⁵⁴ According to Copenhagen Municipality's Statistical Office, 878 people (167 of them children) were registered inhabitants of Christiania on 1 January 2003. Demographically, middle-aged couples dominate Christiania. The average income is DDK 106,000, which is almost half the average income in Copenhagen in general. 33 % are connected to the job market (56 % in Copenhagen in general).

⁵⁵ Together with the Tivoli and the Little Mermaid (Den Lille Havfrue), Christiania is one of Copenhagen's main tourist attractions.

⁵⁶ Christiania (2007).

⁵⁷ Bisgaard (2000).

⁵⁸ See: <http://www.vestfilm.dk/christiania/solvognen/chariotofthesun.html>

⁵⁹ Angotti (2008).

⁶⁰ Bisgaard (2000).

⁶¹ Quote from Christiania's aspirations, formulated in 1971. Quoted in *Christianias Udviklingsplan* (2006). Translation to English by Adam Conroy.

- ⁶² Harvey (2005).
- ⁶³ Klein (2007).
- ⁶⁴ Smith (2008:1–3).
- ⁶⁵ Harvey (1989); Peck (2005).
- ⁶⁶ Swyngedouw (2007).
- ⁶⁷ Harvey (2010).

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Ny Tid
Ordkløveren
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