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SYNOPSIS

The present report is a result of work carried out at 9th semester urban design at Aalborg University from September to December 2007.

The project takes its starting point in a theoretical approach to what urban design is, and which tools are applicable in specific cases. The report provides guidelines for designing contested areas based on a case study of Christiania. One of the central elements of the project has been interviews with the different parties of the conflict regarding Christiania.

In the end of the report a CD is to be found. The CD contains both a pdf and an InDesign document of the project, as well a collection of the entire interviews.

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PREFACE

As urban design students we have repeatedly been faced with questions like; what is urban design, and what is the role of the urban designer in the contemporary city? The lack of answers to these questions have forced us to refocus on the profession, and by that caused curiosity and eager to examine new and alternative aspects of what urban design covers today. In that view the paper is divided in two volumes. This report is seen as volume one, whereas the execution of volume two will take place in spring 2008. Volume one evolves around the concept of dialogue and how urban design knowledge can be used as a mediating tool in contested cases. Furthermore the question is tested on a specific case involving contested planning issues. Where volume one contains a more theoretical approach to the question, volume two seeks a more practical approach in the future development of the case - with basis in volume one. In spite of their relation the two volumes can be read independent of each other or in random order.

Volume one:

With basis in the history of planning the first chapter moves towards the aspect of urban design as mediator among different actors in the city. The method of bringing different users of the city together is not at all a new approach. On the contrary it has been used among professionals for several years in order to provide bottom-up visions on specific issues. This chapter does not deal with the participation in its common sense. The aim is to answer the question whether the urban designer can obtain the role as mediator in the planning of the city. By investigating different approaches to the profession, a reinterpretation of the participatory approach has been shaped according to the given case and thereby creates the basis for the following chapters.

In order to challenge the outcome of the participatory approach, the second chapter presents the case as the current conflict at Christiania. Christiania holds some of the most contested issues in newer times, which bring out the importance of obtaining a total overview of the case before taking it to the next level – the physical development of the area.

The reasons for choosing Christiania as case are many, but it is all based on the fact, that Christiania current finds itself in a changing period, -concerning what will happen in the future? Christiania is the largest and most contested alternative settlement in Denmark, and it is a place that almost all Danes have an opinion on, which also causes many different agendas to be found in the public debate. The issue of continued existence is crucial, because Christiania is founded with basis in illegal actions, conflicting with the Danish Constitution on matters like property right, drug use and building on presevered land. This has caused reactions in many people, -either sympathetic or repellent. However, Christiania is far more than an illegal settlement, it also seeks to challenge the way of thinking in political, economical, and societal matters. For many it is a political responsibility to deal with the illegal Christiania as for others it is just as important to preserve the spirit and atmosphere, because it is an alternative to common Danish society, where not all people feel they belong. Christiania is a city within a city; -an alternative part of Copenhagen, which contains unique and interesting parts of urban life. But the aspects that make the area unique are the same aspects that feed the ongoing discussion, which mainly concerns the future development and existence of Christiania.

Since 1971 a variety of different professionals have tried to solve the conflict about Christiania. -Lawyers, sociologist, planners and many others have contributed to the problematic case with the purpose of finding a solution, -however without any mayor usable results. In that view it is our intention to test the idea of the urban designer as mediator in the current Christiania conflict, as this kind of knowledge never has been applied the conflict before. Therefore it is possible that this approach could create a different outcome, which could contribute to solve some aspects of the case. We see the conflict as being more or less based on the dialogue among the different parties, as this obviously has not been successful from an outside perspective. The purpose of testing the mediating approach is therefore to investigate whether this also in the case forms an inside perspective. This is also pursued in hopes of creating a more positive dialogue, which furthermore can contribute to a long termed solution of the conflict.

The obvious goal is to stay impartial, however the question is thus, if there is much more to be said without immediately raising the question of which side of the fence one is on in terms of attitude. The fence has in this case an ambiguous meaning, as it both refers to the physical fence surrounding Christiania and a more figurative fence dividing supporters and opponents of Christiania. One of the future scenarios is suggested by Professor Jens Kvorning as a removal of the psychical fence around Christiania. Thereby one could imply that the area would become a more or less normal part of the Copenhagen real-estate marked, with prices that would reflect the location and its amenity values. According to this line of thought, he states that a removal of the fence could be both a necessary and unavoidable part of the renewal process. [Kvorning et al 2004] But this does not necessarily have to be a destructive process as it could also be seen in a more creative view. The question is thus, if Christiania must be sacrificed in order for Copenhagen to move on, or if there could be room for the uniqueness and distortion caused by Christiania in contemporary Copenhagen. As such Jens Kvorning believes we must ask the question in relation to the entire city: What kind of renewal is necessary in the future, and what kind of renewal is already taking place? [Kvorning et al 2004] These questions among many have been the points of departure for this paper, and they will be further investigated in volume two.

Throughout the second chapter of this volume the history of Christiania will be presented with basis in the dialogue with the government. The Danish government and Christiania are of course the two obvious opponents in this conflict, but at the same time a large number of other actors play a part in the future decisions of Christiania. This leads to the third chapter, where a line of the most important actors will be drawn in, in order to account for their role in the game, and thereby to create an overview of their experiences with the concept of dialogue in this specific case. The chapter will take point of departure in interviews with six different actors, in order to account for their specific view at the dialogue and their agendas concerning past and future arrangements of Christiania.

The fourth chapter returns to the question of the urban designer as mediator in contested urban development issues. Thereby a number of specific guidelines on how to proceed in planning Christiania, - as well as other contested areas, will be presented with basis in the participatory approach. By the outcome of this first volume we wish to develop a method for dealing with the design of contested areas in the city and thereby a positive basis for design solutions for Christiania.

In that view the fifth and final chapter tri

PROBLEM

Can we as urban designers act as mediators and thereby develop tools which can contribute to solve planning and designing of contested areas in the urban environment based on the case of Christiania?

DELIMITATION

This project evolves around theory of the urban designer as mediator with basis in Christiania. The goal is to establish a number of guidelines on how to deal with contested areas through dialogue, and tools developed in accordance to the urban design profession. Besides Christiania, other cases could have been chosen, but this specific case offers the optimal conditions for precedence of other contested issues.

A huge amount of opinions and materials could have framed this project, but we have chosen only to focus on a few central issues in line with the main problem. The first chapter presents approaches to the field of urban design based on two different theorists. Extensional theory could have been used, as the urban design field is both complex and stretches into many other professions such as politics and sociology; however we have chosen only to deal with urban design in terms of reaching our goal; -to find new ways of dealing with design of contested areas through mediating.

This report is the first in a series of two, - meaning that this paper focuses on the theoretical aspects regarding urban design and dialogue among different actors in the urban environment. The result is a focus on politics and opinions towards Christiania instead of a detailed analysis of the place and built environment. Even though the architecture and spatial orchestration of Christiania is unlike any other place, it has not been the focus of this part of the project. On the contrary volume one seeks to shape the theoretical groundwork for the future development of Christiania. It is of course difficult to focus on the conflict and the actors' opinions without considering any future aspects of Christiania. Therefore this volume ends up with visual suggestions to specific locations at Christiania, with that in mind that it should remain on a conceptual level whereas volume two seeks further detailing with the physical development of entire Christiania.

CHAPTER 1

HISTORY OF PLANNING

In order to create a foundation for urban design, we need to know more about the origin of the planned city.

Urban design, although contemporary professional use of the term only dates from the mid-20th century, has been practiced throughout the history of cities. Ancient examples of carefully planned and designed cities exist in Asia, India, Africa, Europe and the Americas, and are particularly well-known within Classical Chinese, Roman and Greek cultures. [Kjærdsdam 2006]

This chapter covers, in short the development of the city throughout history, from the first known planned cities to the complexity of the contemporary city. The chapter has emphasis on the urban development in the western world, knowing that this development, has been influenced by other parts of the world.

In that view it is interesting to look deeper into the foundations of cities - what were the main functions of the cities and how did the built environment develop over time according to society.

The following shows a chronological timeline of some of the most important changes in the history of planning. The extracts are chosen and described under consideration of the physical and visual appearance of the built environment.

~3000 BC

Early clustered settlements

The city has been a part of human culture almost from its beginning, and the earliest cities that have been discovered were planned. This is obvious when you look at the overall shape and the regular grid layout of Harappa, Kabangann and Mohenjo-Daro, which are the oldest cities known today. These cities existed between 2150 and 1750 BC. Additional proof that these were planned settlements comes from the fact that all tree cities, although they are hundreds of miles apart, follow the same overall standard. [Alexander 1992] In those very early planned cities, the city has been divided into quarters or neighbourhoods. This indicates a division in societal layers, where people locate themselves in neighbourhoods of the same societal layer; -either forced or voluntarily.

1900



illu. Kahun City plan, showing clear division in "neighbourhoods"

In the Antique the main role of the city was to form a defence from the outer vision, and at the same time to symbolise religious and temporal power from an inside view. The building of the city wall was one of the most important structures of this time. [Kjærdsdam 2006]

~800 BC

Antique

Due to the wealth of the aristocracy in Greece 800-700 years BC, the role of the city changed to a political and religious center. This situation gave Aristotle the idea of the ideal city, where aspects like defence, trade, climate and aesthetics all should be taken into consideration. The physical result was an introduction of the grid system, and a trisection of the city into a holy, a public and a private part. [Kjærdsdam 2006]

470

illu. Miletus A strict division of functions into holy, public and private parts

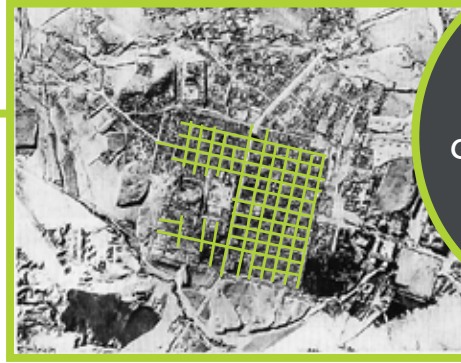




Roman Empire

100

In the era of the Roman Empire Cesar build and conquered a large number of cities, and (re)established them by using concepts from the Greek city states. In the larger cities this first of all meant to show of his power. The smaller cities at this time functioned as administrative cities, with the purpose to secure roman transportation roads. [Alexander 1992]



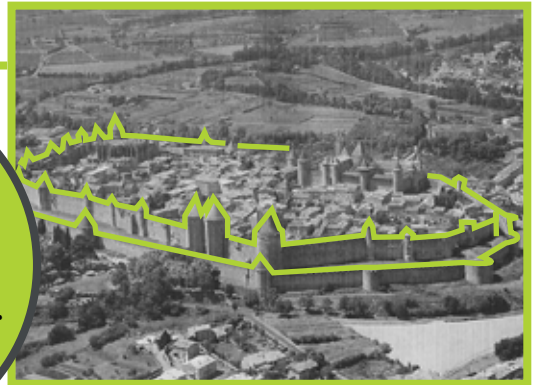
illu. Timgad
Distinctive grid
city of the roman
empire

~500

Middle ages

1240

In the Middle Ages the purpose of the city was to ensure trade and supply, which was necessary for the wealth of the city. Therefore many new cities would develop around the crossing of different trade routes. As the wealth of the cities grew around this time, so did the requirement for an extension of military and defence arrangements in shape of higher walls, towers, and narrow twisted streets. In other words; a more technical reasonable city. [Kjærdsdam 2006]



illu. Carcassonne
Medieval town,
surrounded by
protecting walls.

~1400

Renascence

1563

Through the Renascence the before so useful city walls was replaced with moats, due to the invention of the canon. An impressive geometric moat system surrounded the Renascence cities and reached both military and aesthetic perfection under the influence of Louis XIV. This caused a massive density in population, which again caused a focus on the life inside the moats. The outer shape of the cities were often octagonal, which corresponded with Vitruvius' beliefs that the city had to protect itself from eight main winds. [Kjærdsdam 2006]



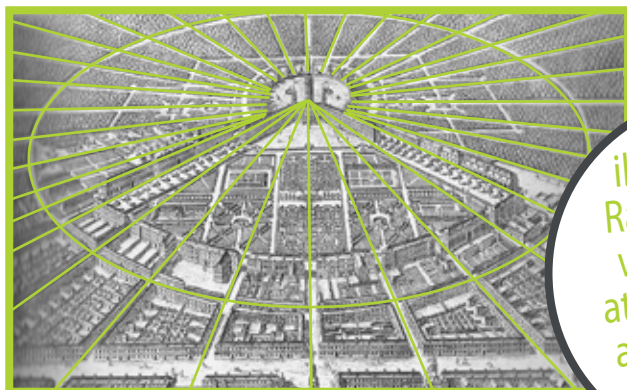
illu. Palmanova
With moats sur-
rounding the
city, and empha-
sis on the tower
of the ruler

~1580

Baroque

1715

In the times of Baroque the power was centralized, which caused a focus on the city as a whole. All military fortresses were removed from the cities except the capital city, in order to prevent anyone to revolt against the reigning power. The city planning of the Baroque era resulted in a symbolic show of power, with the castle in centre and all major streets radiating from this point. [Kjærdsdam 2006]



illu. Karlsruhe
Radial cityplan,
with center of
attention on the
autocratic ruler

~1600

In the 15-16 centuries economic power and world trade was of great importance for cities. City plans was developed according to the grid system, still with the reign of power in the centre. Function and social class was divided into smaller areas within the city – often across a canal. This created the term “bridge district”, which is still used today. [Kjærdsdam 2006]



illu. Amsterdam
Center for trade,
with emphasis on
transport opportu-
nities

Mercantilism

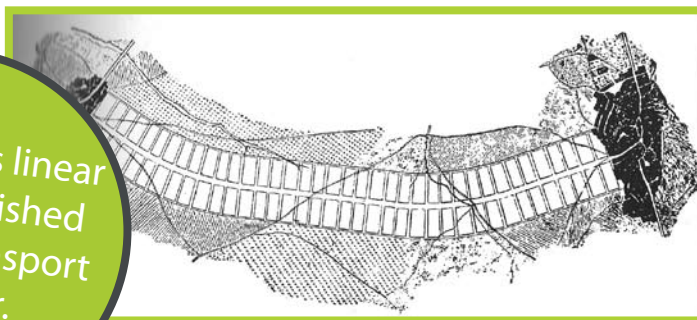
~1750

From the mid1800 the role of the city planning was to secure the infrastructure. Due to the growth of the industry new installments was required. This covered electrical supply, rail roads, telephone lines and sewers. This resulted in the term; the ribbon-city, where the city was build along a linear infrastructure corridor. [Kjærdsdam 2006]

~1800

Industrialisation

~1850



illu. Arturos linear
city. Established
along a transport
corridor.

1900

Satellite city & Garden city

Around 1900 many cities had grown so large, that they were threatened by an enormous density of people and thereby a degrading in living conditions. This triggered the development of satellite cities, where smaller cities were developed in close range of a "mother-city". City centres were now filled with office buildings and green open spaces. The transportation net was expanded accordingly, mainly by the development on the ring road system and a re-thinking of the ribbon-city system as for exampel the Fingerplan of Copenhagen. [Kjærdsdam 2006]

In the beginning of the 20th century the Garden City movement emerged. The idea was to create the idyll of the countryside in large industrial cities. This movement did never entirely strike through, but it resulted in a focus on living standards in the city in shape of better light, air and open spaces. [Alexander 1992]

1923



illu. Welwyn Garden City, emphasis on infrastructure and green dwellings

1945

After World War 2 a plan for the rebuilding of the destroyed cities were needed. This plan rose in England and was called the New Town Movement, which had a focus on green areas and an extension of service- and residential areas. The cities were divided into neighbourhoods, each with a small centre and one large centre for the entire city. The purpose of the smaller neighbourhood was to make the citizens relate to it and to feel safe. [Alexander 1992] A lot of rational planning was practiced, and many cities were changed after new principals of light and air. The welfare state was created.

Post war & welfare state

1947

illu. Harlow New Town with division in 5000 people units, with one joint city centre



As a result to the mayor changes in the historic centres of the cities, a discontent with the planning system has risen, which local citizens protested against. This caused a general lack of faith with the planning system, and an awareness of the 'losers' by the city planning. Planners and designers' ideology has therefore changed toward a social planning, with the purpose to protect social life in the city. All in all planners therefore have started to redefine their role in society, and have introduced many different approaches to this. [Steinø, 2003] This resulted in the birth of democratic planning and citizen's participation. [Kjærdsdam, 2006; Steinø, 2003] The participatory approach was introduced, but it was not until the 1990s it really caught on amongst planners and eventually also among the planning authorities

The disadvantage of planners and designers trying to find new approaches is that it has left the field of planning and urban design very wide, and laymen and professionals have a hard time figuring out this very complex field of work.



illu. Participatory workshop, involving local citizens in the design process

2007

After looking deeper into the history of the city, it becomes clear that planning with a certain purpose always has played a central role. Whether planning was a matter of survival or served strictly aesthetic purposes, it has shown to be an important issue in the development of the urban environment.

The evolution of planning has a clear coherence with central events and changes in society, which means that planning could have played a role in generating these changes – or the other way around. If planning methods was developed for the purpose of creating a specific change in society, then planning has not only been used for necessary purposes, but also as a tool of power. This could indicate that planning also has been used for political or economical purposes.

On the other hand, history shows that the planning also has fought to improve living conditions in the city. This aspect indicates that aside with political and economical purposes, planning has played a large role in social purposes. Even though society has changed massively since the beginning of planning, there are still many uncertainties about the many roles of the urban designer. In contemporary urban developments the planner therefore still finds himself as a middleman. In this game the planner stands somewhere between politicians, who have the legitimate right to pursue the plans; investors, who have the economical power to pursue the plans; and citizens, who have to live within the result of the plans. There is no correct solution to this dilemma, on the contrary – with the growing streamlining and globalisation of the market, and the increasing demand for responsibility to the social and environmental area, it still becomes more and more difficult for the urban designer to find a solution to fit everyone. But accordingly it is still more and more necessary. Therefore it is important for the planner to understand the extend of his own role; -as a huge assignment lies on his shoulders in order to develop contemporary urban settings.

URBAN DESIGN

As the designing of the urban environment has evolved throughout history of its practice, so has the definition describing it, and most of all so has the role of the designer. In order to develop contemporary urban settings the designer must therefore rethink his profession in means of determining his own definition of the profession, and thereby his own role in the process.

This section deals with the definition of urban design seen from two different angles. Both views are described according to their most orthodox opinions, in order to underline the different ways of seeing urban design. The discussion of these views will form the basis definition of urban design used throughout this paper.

Furthermore the role of the urban designer will be discussed in shape of three fundamentally different approaches to the profession where the designer plays different parts. This discussion will result in a selection of one approaches for further processing.

The term *urban design* was developed in North America in the late 1950s, and replaced the narrow and somewhat outmoded term *civil design*. As it was typical for the City Beautiful Movement civil design was mainly focused on the design of major civil buildings and their relationship to open spaces. Urban design differs by obtaining a more expansive approach. Evolving from entirely aesthetic concerns, it became primarily concerned with the quality of the public realm – both physical and socio-cultural. [Carmona 2003] As the history section has shown the needs and requests for the people within the public realm changes in accordance with society. Therefore it must be assumed that the role of the urban designer changes accordingly. In that light it is necessary for the urban designer to rethink his role according to the specific task in hand.

In order to determine a sustainable and contemporary definition of what the term urban design covers, it is necessary to look closer into the specific word. Taken separately urban and design have clear meanings: *Urban* refers to the setting where in the tasks takes place; while *design* refers to such activities as sketching, arranging or planning. [Carmona 2003]

This is witness of a profession containing many scales, methods and approaches. As the task of urban design may be broad and its boundaries 'fuzzy', the normative contention about urban design is often concerned with making places for people – or more realistic; making better places than would otherwise be produced. This defines how we believe urban design *should be*, while it does not answer the question concerning what urban design *is* about. [Carmona 2003]

This causes an even more ambiguous relation to the profession and an understanding of why many – both professional and laypeople, find it difficult to relate to urban design as being equal to other design disciplines.

Another – more widely known definition of urban design is to address the built environment at the interface between urban planning and architecture. [Alexander 1992] This definition is mostly used among laypeople, and is not at all adequate to describe the task from a professional point of view.

According to Ernest R. Alexander urban design is a kind of problem-solving planning where a direct implementation is expected to follow. These implementations concern the arrangement, the appearance and the functionality of the urban environment, and in particular the shaping and uses of urban public space. Alexander thereby sees urban design as being prosecuted for the reason only to reach a solution to a given problem. He agrees in the statement saying that urban design could be conceptualized as a design practice that operates at the intersection of urban planning and architecture, but again he argues that it requires knowledge of others aspects, such as urban economics, political economy and social theory. Alexander believes that design is what designers *do*, meaning that the solution to the problem is the most important issue of urban design. He says that, whether the problem concern aesthetic, spatial, functional or environmental qualities of the urban environment, the product of urban design is the obvious object of judgment. [Alexander 1992] According to Alexander the definition of urban design could therefore be:

The art of solving, aesthetic, spatial, functional and environmental problems in the urban environment in order to create successful, villages, towns and cities.

Nicolai Steinø, on the other hand does not believe that it is enough to consider the product in order to understand the task of urban design. He argues that the process is of equal importance. He states that there are many different approaches in solving urban design problems, and what binds these conceptions together, is the

City Beautiful

The City Beautiful movement was a progressive reform movement in North American architecture and urban planning that flourished in the 1890s and 1900s with the intent of using beautification and monumental grandeur in cities to counteract the perceived moral decay of poverty-stricken urban environments [Velibeyoglu 1999]

general understanding that urban design is future oriented and seeks to connect knowledge with action. Therefore, in order to create sustainable urban development and make people relate to it, Steinø argues that the design must contain a vision – or perhaps an ideology – about the future, and how to implement it, and not just try to reach a specific product. Instead he sees urban design as a never ending process, where the nature of the problem changes over time. Therefore, Steinø argues that a specific product never can be reached as a solution of one problem only will raise another; meaning that there is no right or wrong – only better or worse. [Steinø 2003] A definition of urban design according to Steinø's opinions could be:

The process of refining the urban environment in means of aesthetic, spatial, functional and environmental issues according to the changes in society

Both definitions contain problems as well as potentials. In the widest sense Alexander believes that when aesthetic, spatial, functional and environmental aspects all are under consideration, the job is done and the development is bound to be a success. Steinø is more realistic in his opinion when saying that a successful city is not the aim, and that the perfect solution therefore never will be reached. But as realistic as this is, the statement could also be interpreted as the safe way to go as it disclaims any responsibility towards 'bad design' by claiming that it is still under development.

On the other hand, it is a fact that society changes over time and causing needs for the city to develop accordingly. Thereby Steinø has a point when he says that urban design is a process, as the solution to one problem creates another problem - and so on. In this matter Alexander is also partly right when he argues that the role of the urban designer is to solve problems in the urban environment. The issue is just, that instead of expecting the perfect solution, the role of urban design in contemporary settings must be an aim to solve problems with that in mind, that society changes over time and thereby always causes new problems to occur. This means that the more pragmatic answer is a combination of the two before mentioned definitions; where the focus is equally parted between process and product.

Another issue within the definitions is the fact that Alexander wrote his book more than a decade prior to Steinø's article. If society changes as fast as we have claimed, then this should be taken under consideration when comparing the two definitions. As Steinø's definition is the most recent one, it could easily be considered more adaptable to contemporary urban settings. But this is not entirely the truth. As none of the definitions are related to neither time nor place, but instead seek to address the existing environment – what ever that involves, none of them is completely right or wrong. They both claim that there always will be problems in the city that needs solving. Their differences though, indicate that Alexander sees the problems as what they *are*, while Steinø sees them as what they *are going to be*.

In the beginning of this section we claimed that the designer have to rethink his own role, in order to understand the task of urban design. Therefore both definitions could be used in describing contemporary urban design, as they both highly depend on specific problems in specific settings. It therefore becomes clear that fast-growing urban development in society should focus on both process and product, in order to secure sustainable urban environments. Within this paradox lies the challenge for the urban designer and the definition of the task. By that, the definition used throughout this paper address urban design as:

An aim for creating sustainable future oriented solutions to aesthetic, spatial, functional and environmental issues in contemporary urban settings

As such, urban design differs from other design disciplines like architecture, landscape architecture or industrial design, as it is one step away from the object. Meaning that the object always changes and thereby causes more attention to the process than e.g. architecture where the focus most often is tangible objects.

The definition of urban design indicates that the task covers a wide spectrum of action forms, which contains different scales, methods and approaches. And as the urban environment and the space where the urban designer acts are expanding, it becomes necessary to determine which role the urban designer plays in the game. Three fundamentally different approaches can be framed in order to understand the broadness of the field where urban design lies within. The approaches are applicable to different aspects of the urban design process, as it involves dealing with both the objective world, the institutions and individuals involved in the process, as well as the subjective world of ideas. [Steinø 2003] The approaches should only be seen as examples on where the urban designer could place himself in the process of designing and thereby said that there exist a number of roles in between. They are chosen on behalf of their orthodox results, and to underline the range of tasks within the profession of urban design.

DESIGNING ABSOLUTE ENVIRONMENTS

The aesthetic approach to urban design is concentrated with the built form for its own sake. From this approach the urban designer does not require any outside activity to define himself; he only deals with design for the sake of design itself. Thereby the designer becomes the absolute decision maker in the process.

To view the built environment as a work of art, and to view urban design as an aesthetic endeavor underlines the importance of the considerations to the outcome of this approach. Therefore one type of inquiry is as good as any – if analysis is not intended to inform about a problem which must be solved, but only serve to inspire the form, the analysis chosen does not have to be justified. [Steinø 2003] An example of this casual investigation could be the phenomenological method Drift; where you choose a specific route through the city controlled by physical elements of your own choice, like red cars or broken windows. [Corner 1999] Although this approach opens up for different systems of interpretation, which are used to generate the design, the way these systems are used is entirely decided by the designer. This again brings out consequences. When a design relies on subjective choices alone, it is difficult to make an objective judgment. Whether a design is good or bad therefore becomes a matter of belief rather than of argument. In a contemporary setting with highly unstable processes of urban development, this represents a major weakness for any designer. [Carmona 2003] In order for the urban designer to use the aesthetic approach in an applicable way, it is therefore important to be aware of which role he plays in the process. This approach suggests a view at the urban environment as a shape of objects and not of actions, which indicates that the urban designer should not see himself as a creator of concrete solutions, but instead as a generator of ideas.

DESIGNING FRAMEWORK ENVIRONMENTS

As mentioned urban design takes place within the framework of planning, and most of it within public planning. As public planning is based on notions of public good, the role of the designer from a public planning point of view generally has a broader range than just designing for the sake of design itself. Rather, by this approach the designer's role is to change the built environment, for the purpose of implementing economic, social and cultural aspects. [Steinø 2003] In other words, the urban designer should not deal with the actual design of the built environment, but instead with defining a framework where urban development can take place.

The public planning approach suggests a division of the urban setting into three major levels, which all have to be considered, in order to get an adequate foundation of the contemporary urban environment.

- On macro-level the built environment is seen as an outline for most activities in society. As society changes over time, it requires the urban environment to change accordingly. An important task for the urban designer is therefore to make the urban environment adaptable to the needs which are required for society to function.

- On middle-level, the built environment addresses the space at the interface between private and public activities. Different activities require different arrangements of private and public, and concrete spaces is therefore judged according to their ability to meet these specific needs.

- On micro-level the built environment acts as the living environment of people. The role of the designer according to this level is therefore to shape the built environment under considerations to environmental, social and cultural aspects. [Steinø 2003]

This implies that the urban designer from a public planning point of view has to be orientated as much towards the process as toward the product, and also on *how* to implement, as on *what* to implement.

According to this approach, the role of the urban designer is to design a decision environment, rather than the built environment itself. The object is therefore designing cities without designing buildings. Urban designers are not authors of the built environment; rather they create a decision environment that enables others to author it. [Steinø 2003] The outcome of the decision environment approach is therefore a strategy or a masterplan – a set of more or less concrete guidelines and rules saying how the built environment should be shaped.

DESIGNING PARTICIPATORY ENVIRONMENTS

The urban designer may also be seen as a creator of the built environment as a living environment. This approach focuses on the needs of users and inhabitants of the urban space. One central element is therefore the citizens participation. Within this line the urban designer must rely on the inhabitants to give off their opinions on the quality of life within the urban space. Primary attentions is therefore environmental issues like green spaces and traffic, as well as social issues like public spaces and social interaction.

The citizen participation part could involve local politicians, the business community, citizens organizations, as well as individual citizens. It is important for the professional designer to be aware of which groups of actors who are active in the process, in order to be able to transform their requirements into applicable knowledge. An important issue is, that urban design schemes never are imposed on the participators, but instead their suggestions must emerge out of their own initiative.

But regardless of participation group, this approach could raise a number of critical issues. While citizens may be able to formulate their requirements to the built environment, they lack the professional skills to generate solutions which can reflect these requirements. The process of participation in itself is both complex and difficult, and therefore it is necessary for both citizens and professionals to use skills and methods, which can accommodate this process. [Forester 2006] As there often are, technical, economic and legal limitations to the possibility for design, it is also the role of the professional designer to convey these limitations to the citizens, in order to reach realistic solutions.

A central issue of this approach is to bring local actors, who do not normally communicate with one another, together. The point is, through exchange of potentially conflicting views and knowledge, to develop a strategy for action. [Sandercock 2003] It is therefore important for the success of this approach, that there is both

a conscious will for change, as well as a basis for reconciliation of conflicting views. Otherwise it will not be possible to achieve a common understanding, as a basis for action. [Steinø 2003]

Actors are generally more likely to get involved in contested issues. However, the higher the conflict potential is, the harder it is to reach an agreement. This raises the issue of power. If some actors hold dis-proportionally power – economical or political – they will be less likely to enter constructive dialogue. The participatory approach therefore also relies on a relatively even distribution of power among the actors. [Forrester, 2006]

In that view the approach could result in different levels of applicable data according to the scenario of the dialogue. [Forester 2006] In one end of the spectrum, the outcome could be a more or less agreeable compromise, which in its broadest sense could be implemented directly to the designer's ideas for the built environment. In the opposite end the outcome could be a number of different suggestions, corresponding to the number of actors participating in the process. Either way, the most important role for the designer begins at this stage. After bringing the different participators together in dialogue, it is the designer's job to control all the data and use it in the most suitable way in order to develop the urban environment. Thereby the role of the urban designer is not absolute, instead the decisions caused by this approach is made on the basis of the citizens needs and requirements.

In light of the three approaches it is clear that the range of urban design is huge. But at the same time it is the urban designer himself that must determine which role he wishes to take, as he is the only one who knows how urban design should be defined in the specific task. However the role is not only a decision made by the urban designer. It is often determined by the case or context which approach is applicable. With that in mind the choosing of one position – whether it is the absolute designer, the framework designer or the participatory designer – does not leave out the others. The urban designer must participate in the whole process – fulfilling all the parts in the game – in order to reach the best result possible. This leaves large responsibility on the shoulder of the designer which can be lightened in terms of an increased focus on a specific position.

While this paper deals with the conflict concerning the contested area of Christiania the focus is chosen to be on the participatory environment approach. The Christiania conflict involves a large number of actors, which all have an opinion upon the future of the area. If the focus had been on the absolute design approach it could very well have resulted in a useless solution, as the conflict contains much more than just aesthetic concerns. The use of the framework approach on the other hand deals also with social and environmental issues and could therefore be better suited to handle this specific conflict. This approach seeks to draw out general guidelines and not concrete solutions. The problem is that it still leaves many decisions for the designer to make. When that is said there is no doubt that the participatory design approach is the best choice for the Christiania conflict, as it seeks to make the actors contribute to the process and thereby provide an external knowledge to the designer. The only concern is the distribution of power among the many actors participating, as the two major parts in the game is the residents at Christiania and the Danish government. In bringing two parties as contradicting as these two together, it is important that the mediator seeks to create a suitable forum where the actors feel at the same level, in order to generate an equal dialogue among them.

DIALOGUE

"...one can think of public planning as a technique and communication aiming at organizing knowledge to provide a basis for decision-making on future collective action." [Sager, 1994, side?]

In order to follow up on the chosen approach, the participatory environment approach, the goal is to investigate this term more thoroughly, in order to create a platform for dealing with it. One of the aspects we have chosen to look deeper into is communication and dialogue, as it is of great importance when dealing with different and disagreeing participators.

Dialogue is about communication between two or more parties, where the goal is knowledge based on sharing and understanding of the opponent's arguments. [Sager, 1994] To achieve a positive dialogue, some basic rules of communication have to be followed. These rules are first mentioned by Jürgen Habermas (1929-) His writings was a reaction to the silence and lack of criticism in Germany after World War 2. His ideas about communication are based on an ideology that dialogue only is valid if the parties involved are equal in the dialogue and have the same approach to the dialogue. To Habermas language and communication are decisive tools to defeat irrationalism and power, even though the language is a medium for these things. [Thyssen, 1994] The following rules must be obtained according to Habermas.

1. Both speaker and listener must know and use the language with the same understanding.
2. Both speaker and listener must assume the argument is true.
3. Both speaker and listener must agree on validity of moral standards and they must respect one another as worthy to participate in the conversation.
4. Both speaker and listener must assume that the speaker is sincere and believe in the spoken arguments. The language may not be used to mislead the listener.

If these rules are honoured, the conversation is what Habermas calls performative, and if the rules are deliberately dishonoured the conversation becomes strategic. Habermas here acknowledge that it is possible to manipulate and misuse the language. [Thyssen, 1994]

In the ideal dialogue there are no issues of power or pressure, it is an equal and fair dialogue, where time is not an issue either. Agreement cannot be forced upon the parties - it has to be based on understanding of the better argument. "...dialogue takes place only in ideal speech situations where all interlocutors have the same possibility of forming and setting forth arguments and equal possibility for having them accepted, as domination is not present in any form." [Sager, 1994, 5]

Furthermore there are three levels of communication. The first level is the dialogue between two parties, A and B. The goal of this dialogue is to understand the different arguments in the dialogue. This is a face to face dialogue. The second level is someone representing A or B, a so called advocate for opponent opinions. The third level is a dialogue conducted by an external party; it is neither bound to A nor B. Its main goal is to achieve something through the dialogue. [Thyssen, 1994]

Habermas' rationals about equal dialogue are very admirable, but in reality hard to practice. We all wish to honour these rationales, as they are part of what we define as civilised behaviour. But the ideal dialogue situations as mentioned before is very likely never to occur. There will always be a difference in people. Two interlocutors can have the same education, same age, sex and religion, but one can have some kind of awkwardness, and therefore not be taken as serious as the other, and therefore create an unequal dialogue, even with the best intentions. In most dialogues one will possess more influence than the other, and therefore the interlocutors will have to assign this issue. Furthermore Habermas' theories were developed in a repressed society, and the Danish society is based on democratic values such as freedom of speech and principals of equality. Therefore the rationales of Habermas are incorporated in a mutual respect for fellow citizens. The problems of dialogue then occur, not only due to inequality in power, but also by differences in political and social ideology.

Jürgen Habermas

Jürgen Habermas was born June 18, 1929. He is a German philosopher and sociologist in the tradition of critical theory. He is best known for his work on the concept of public sphere, which he has based his theory of communicative action on. Habermas was Professor Emeritus at Frankfurt University between 1964 and 1971. Later he was director of The Max Planck-Institute in Starnberg. [www.leksikon.org]

DIALOGUE PLANNING

At the moment there is a transition of the planning system, going from the last 50 years' approach of top-down planning structure in the political decision system, toward a new bottom-up approach. This transition has not yet been fully recognized nor understood, but a lot of designers and planners are trying to oblige and develop this tendency. They are experimenting with concepts like dialogue planning, and how it is implemented in the design processes. This section will try to reveal some of the central elements of dialogue planning.

Dialogue planning is of course about adding the dialogue to the otherwise very closed top-down process of planning. Often urban design and planning projects are being refused by local citizens, and often it is because the citizens are feeling left without an influential voice in the process and alienated from the visions. The citizens of today do not recognize the government as an sovereign authority, which knows what is good for the public, and therefore the citizens do not automatically accept the authority's decisions, -they want to be a part of the process. [Roo & Porter, 2007, 106] This fact has through out Western Europe been the reason for decentralized planning systems; the local citizens are demanding a more case-based decision process, which adapt local conditions. [Roo & Porter, 2007, 109]

In order to solve this demand; the planners and urban designers have sought a solution in correspondence with local governments. One of the solutions are dialogue planning, being planning based on a close cooperation with local citizens, listening to their present needs and wishes for the contemporary urban environment and make it identical with the societal development.

The planners and designers therefore have to develop new tools in dealing with dialogue planning. They have to accept, that presenting a complete and finished design is no longer adequate. They have to become coordinators of processes and realise that the process never is concluded; -it will have to change according to the assignment. Therefore the focus often shift from the design it self to the design process. One of the advantages of dialogue planning is that it motivates the local citizens to take part in the development of the local environment, as they get a larger feeling of commitment and ownership to the project. They are therefore also interested in making their environment interesting and innovative; it creates an open-mindedness towards creative and distinguished design. The local citizens feel committed to the project and want to struggle to see it realized.

In the process the rules formulated by Habermas could be applied, making the urban designer and the local citizens participate in equal and fair dialogues where the understanding of the opponents motives and believes are central.

Dialogue planning and the participatory approach are two sides of the same concept, where the goal is to involve the local citizens in the development of their area, because they are considered to posses an important knowledge, you only can retrieve from involving them in the process.

Juul & Frost architects are one of the leading companies dealing with dialogue planning in the Danish context. [www.byggesocietetet.dk] They have been working with the concept in cooperation with municipalities in Denmark and Scandinavia, and they have developed tools in dialogue planning according to the trial- and error method. Every time they are involved in a dialogue planning process, they define a suitable method for the given case.

In cooperation with Næstved Kommune, Juul & Frost architects were involved in re-thinking an old barracks area for the mounted forces. They invited different affected actors to participate in seminars, whereafter they formulated a single document, which described the different phases, visions and outcomes of the dialogue. The actors where also invited on a study trip, to gather inspiration and ideas. All this was

Dialogue vs.

Dialogue Planingg

The first is based on negotiation with the purpose of achieving something; -citizens are involved when a suggestion is ready for discussion. This often creates an unequal dialogue and a defensive atmosphere.

Whereas if the design process starts with dialogue later on, the citizens are the ones setting the agenda and the planner are more likely to listen to the citizens. The citizens feel respected and are likely to get 'ownership' of the project. It can create an inspiring and creative atmosphere, due to the fact that when citizens are involved, they are more innovative, then if they are not involved in the decision making processes.

the foundation for a local plan proposal (lokalplanforslag). [www.byggesocietetet.dk] The difference from a normal planning process is that the local citizen's ideas and visions for the area were incorporated from the beginning. The approach is to let them speak their mind, because they often are more familiar with the problems and potentials of a local area, than the planner or designer. The citizens have opportunities through-out the process to influence it and put emphasis on other aspects than the original chosen focus by the municipality. In other cases Juul & Frost have worked with inviting a smaller group of representatives from the local community, and in cooperation creating discussion papers, which then were exhibited. An exhibition was later on the point of departure for the following debate and decision making process. [www.byggesocietetet.dk]

Dialogue is one of the methods going to be used in the case; Christiania. The question to be tested is whether the dialogue has followed the basic guidelines set up by Jürgen Habermas or not. A question could be if the dialogue has been misused to escalate the conflict, or if power has been used to intimidate the opponent. Either way it is a fact that the current situation has caused the two main parties to not have a direct dialogue, but to use advocates and the public media to propose new solutions instead. The aim for this paper is to investigate this dialogue and create a forum for re-establishing the conditions for a better dialogue. This will provide the actors with a chance to speak their mind, and to argue for their beliefs. We are aware that in the end, not all can be satisfied by a given solution, but as a starting point, all should have a fair chance of an equal dialogue.

Dialogue planning has sought to find solutions to bring together sceptical citizens, investors and local municipalities, and set a forum where the goal is not to blame another, but to participate in creating an innovative atmosphere, that can provide inspiration to the design. The participants have to feel they are part of the design process and being a valuable asset of knowledge. If this is the case, then it becomes more likely that the design solution will have a sustainable outcome, which obliges the participants wishes and hopes for their local setting.



URBAN DESIGN AS MEDIATOR

"Citizen participation often produces more heat than light, since conflict often yields little new understanding or dialogue, and even less negotiated agreement on public action" [Forester 2006, 447]

The statement above indicates that the participation approach needs a great deal of organisation in order to foster useable knowledge. It requires techniques that can redirect conflict into joint understanding, explore options rather than escalate demands, and achieve practical ends that will serve diverse interests. [Forester 2006]

When dealing with citizen participation from an urban design point of view, the designer is the obvious choice as mediator. It is therefore important that the designer not only consist good planning skills, he must also be able to overview the large number of 'balls in the air' and listen objectively to all parties. It is also necessary that the designer is able to make citizens and other actors be aware of their participatory opportunities, as local actors often doubt the designer's good intention. Therefore the designer must obtain a trustworthy role as advocate, encouraging citizens as well as politicians and organizations to participate. [Forester 2006]

As many designers tend to work with a large number of parties, it often causes him to feel caught in the middle. This role brings out the necessity in combining learning, deliberation, negotiation and politics, as the designer must move beyond the dialogue itself and seek mutual beneficial public agreements. [Forester 2006]

It is a fact that designers face a complex challenge when taking on the role as mediator. Public participation in urban design processes can be messy, unpredictable, and uncertain.

Aspects like power, income and politics threaten the participatory process, as it brings out the possibility for the actors to hide information, manipulate and stereo-type one another. [Flyvbjerg 2003] Another issue is history. The citizens might have a history of distrust with public authorities, and if these two groups represent disagreeing parties in the conflict, the designer's good intension is no longer enough. Nevertheless, there is cause for hope. Skilful and well-organized practitioners and carefully designed processes can respond to these problems in surprisingly successful ways. [Sandercock 2003] Whereas the role as mediator causes need for strategies, responses and insights in order to improve participatory processes in contemporary urban design disputes, one must not forget the uncertain aspects of working with people. The human mind does not always react as intended, and therefore it is a fact that the outcome of the participatory approach always holds some level of spontaneity which can neither be stated for nor expected. This brings out an importance for the mediator to hold an extensional expertise besides his own profession – an expertise that contains both open-mindedness as well as a realistic approach to the specific case.

In an article by Forester he describes strategies suggested by experienced mediators. By explaining their methods and experiences, Forester sums up the essences into six conclusive strategies the designer must consider in order to handle the role as mediator in participatory conflicts: [Forester 2003]

1. Mediators should recognize, and work proactively to move beyond whatever history and dissatisfactions the citizens have with past government efforts. [Forester 2003]

These histories can involve legacies of power, politics or unfulfilled promises, and it is important that the designer does not expect the citizens to forget about these issues, but instead seek deeper into them. [Sandercock 2003]

2. When actors turn to mutual blaming and recrimination, mediators can use indirect strategies to explore issues, enable learning, and simultaneously build relationships. [Forester 2006]

This suggests a shift in attention from positions in a debate toward working together to define the elements necessary for an optimal process. This could include aspects like field trips, role-playing exercises, or plenary sessions which could provide spaces where actors can argue less and listen more. [Forester 2003]

3. Because actors often bring suspicions and vulnerabilities to encounters, such meetings may often benefit from using trained mediators. [Forester 2006]

Given that attempts to manage disputes can easily fall back to moderating debates. Public participation is not self-organizing. It requires skillful imaginative mediating and guidance, and therefore one specific mediator might not always be enough.

4. Mediator educators and practitioners should cultivate a broad repertoire of skills and strategies in face of conflict. [Forester 2006]

Mediating and facilitating practices and collaborative problem-solving processes are closely related to one another, and therefore the given profession of mediator must aim more towards these than it does today.

5. Mediated participation requires deliberately recognizing the past and addressing future possibilities. [Forester 2006]

Recognizing the past involve acknowledging past suffering and generating concrete proposals for negotiated agreements. When actors in public disputes are interdependent, they can use mediated-negotiation processes to create workable agreements which will benefit all.

6. Because mediating participation means building mutual beneficial agreements, mediators must distinguish between (a) fostering dialogues, (b) moderating debates, and (c) mediating negotiations. [Forester 2006]

Fostering dialogues can promote understanding and mutual trust and respect between parties. Moderating debates can sharpen arguments, identify crucial or missing information, and clarify critical differences between parties, but risks escalating antagonism and thereby weakening the relationship between parties. Mediating negotiation enables parties to create agreements and to act together to satisfy the interests of all actors. [Forester 2006]

It is clear that some of the most important issues involve the relationship and possible history between the different actors. The statements suggest how urban designs might effectively identify issues and interests without making participants vulnerable. They focus on how the mediator, which in this case is the designer, deals with histories of suspicion and mistrust, and thereby how to require representative actors.

Another important issue is the purpose of the whole participatory process. The mediating designer must be aware of the function of the participants; are they involved in order to foster a dialogue, to moderate a debate between perspectives, or to reframe proposals and agree upon a plan of action.

According to Forester, the consideration and acknowledgment of these strategies brings out the possibility for the designer to learn about issues and the actors differing interests, and thereby to propose mutually beneficial agreeable options for joint action.

Whether this is true or not is one of the central issues of this project. In the following the role of the urban designer as mediator in contested conflicts is tested. By considering Foresters statements the aim is to test the possibility that we as designers can help solve some of the main conflict issues concerning the future development of Christiania.

THE CITY WITHIN THE CITY

In order to examine the urban designer as mediator it is necessary to choose a case that in fact is in need of mediating from an outside perspective. For the urban designer to obtain some kind of role, the chosen case has to involve planning issues; it has to involve a large amount of people, and finally it has to be a case where the dialogue has failed. The current case of Christiania fulfills all these criteria and at the same time it contains a series of controversial aspects. The fact that Christiania covers both social, political and economical aspects besides the planning aspect, makes it one of the most contested cases in Denmark in newer times, wherefore it is an obvious choice for further handling.



The basis for Christiania was founded in 1971 by local citizens from Christianshavn. During its existence Christiania has grown in both size and population. It now covers about 32 hectares not including the water areas. [Christianiaudvalget 2004] It consists of both 'Bådmandsstrædes Kaserne', the earlier Ammunition arsenal, as well as a large part of the Christianshavn embankment. And currently Christiania houses approximately 900 residents. [Christianiaudvalget 2004] Since the foundation residents and supporters have pronounced Christiania as a free town in the heart of Copenhagen, even though the area officially is owned by the Danish government, who does not recognize this term at all. On the other hand the government has not succeeded in accomplishing any of their politics regarding Christiania. Their initiatives have involved threats of tearing down illegally built houses, and closing off the entire area, which all have remained threats. This has resulted in Christiania celebrating its 36th birthday this year (2007), without any major interventions from the government during the time of its existence.

The stated objective for Christiania is a self-ruling society where every individuals can explore themselves under considerations for the community. Since the unstructured beginning, simple rules have been written down in order to obtain their ideology: no drugs, no insignia on the back, no weapons and no trading of buildings. [www.christiania.org] Besides from idealists and founders of Christiania, who originally were hippies and squatters from all over the country, the area acts as home of many less-fortuned in society – people who do not fit into Danish society or are simply not wanted there. This has resulted in Christiania making it one of their key issues, - to take care of these people. During the years Christiania has succeeded in creating alternative workplaces. This establishment has raised the idea of Christiania as an experiment in society. It is crucial to the people living here, that Christiania can be acknowledged, as they are fighting not only for principals but for their home. Some might have had their home at Christiania for more than 30 years, which makes it obvious that they fight for their right for a continued living at Christiania.

The concept of a city within a city has repeatedly caused disagreement among the general public, and has also been an issue which both the right wing and most of the well-organized left wing have loved to hate since its origin.

Whereas the Christianites have agreed on a legalization of the area, the agenda from the government has on the contrast been to normalize Christiania. This is due to the fact that the Christianites distance themselves from many of the common laws in Danish society like: licenses, hash trade, and the most contested issue: the ownership of the area.

Whereas the history of Christiania is as motley as it is wide, and contains both victories as well as defeats, it appeals to a broad variety of people who are drawn to the mix of freedom and anarchism Christiania offers. The publicity and contesting around this alternative society in the middle of Copenhagen, have besides much discussion in Denmark, caused a large amount of curiosity from people from the rest of the world, which has contributed to Christiania being the second largest tourist attraction in Denmark. [www.visitcopenhagen.dk] This, obviously, is a positive effect for both Christiania as well as Denmark in general, as the branding effect is massive. But at the same time it feeds the on-going discussion whether the branded Christiania is the actually reality or just an illusion of how people believe Christiania is – or how it used to be. Many of the idealists who contributed to the rise of the experiment are not around anymore, and therefore it becomes an issue how the division is between the users and the abusers. This is a difficult question, mostly due to Christianias alternative form of government which causes the loudest to be heard.

CA in numbers

Population:

1993:925

2003:878

Growth: -5 %

The urban part:

Ground area: 108.000 m²

Built-up area:

1989: 25.000 m²

2002: 28.200 m²

Growth: 13 %

The rural part:

Ground area: 212.000 m²

Built-up area:

1989: 9.100 m²

2002: 11.200 m²

Growth: 23 %

Association to the work-force

marked 2002:

CA: 33 %

Kbh: 56 %

[christianiaudvalget 2004]

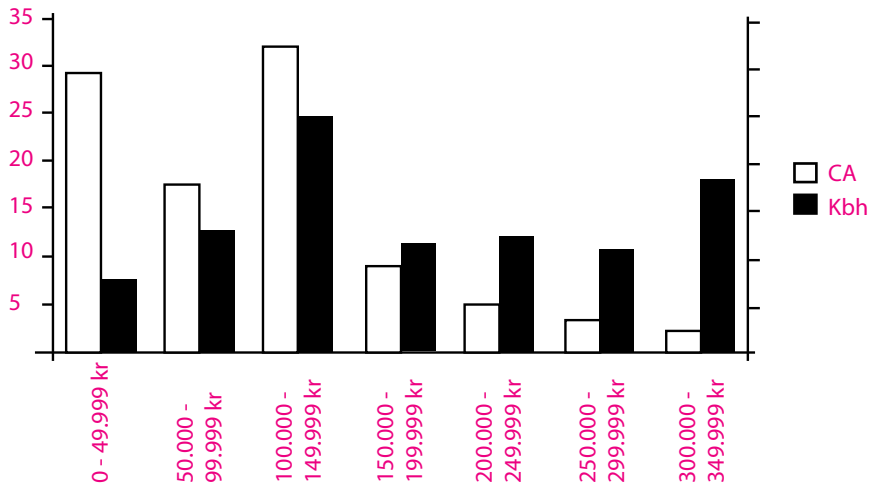
In spite of the many opinions of the existence of the area, it is a fact that Christiania is a piece of contemporary history, which has left deep footprints in the identity of Denmark. In that view one of Christianias problems is that it has entered a world of symbolism – and it has become locked between the symbolic notion of the supporters and that of the opponents. [Kvorning et al 2006]

To the opponents Christiania is a symbol of living outside the rules of society on idleness and criminality – or at best, government-funded arts and crafts. To the supporters, Christiania is a symbol of all that is good; creativity, social latitude, responsibility of others, alternative ways of living, openness and friendliness. [Kvorning 2006] The question is thus, if the plus-symbol is just as destructive for a meaningful discussion of Christiania's future as the negative which underlines the importance of taking this symbolic notion serious. Both politics in general and especially municipal politics have become to consist of communication via symbols. Christiania is an essential part of this communication and therefore becomes an important statement about the understanding of, and reaction to the current conditions and the will to see beyond what sells tickets on the political scene tomorrow.

As the development of the discussion evolves, it becomes clear that Christiania soon is faced with a major change. This is both unavoidable and necessary from both sides of the fence, as Christiania is in terrible need of new blood and new ways of thinking the ideologies in order to become as large a part of the future as it has been of the past. At the same time the other side of the fence demands innovative developments which can bring the alternative lifestyle up to date with the fast growing Copenhagen.

Whether the answer to Christiania's future is to legalize or normalize – or a third option, is the major dilemma of the discussion. Therefore the purpose for this chapter is to get an overview of Christiania, and document the general history of Christiania and the chosen initiatives from both sides of the fence, which will end up with a status of the discussion at the time of writing.

Furthermore the chapter will account for communities from other parts of the world with references to Christiania. Thereby the chapter will try to discuss why these alternative communities are showing up in well-functioning societies and to what extend they are important in the future, with basis in Richard Florida's concept of the 'creative class'.



The diagram to the left shows the percentage division of income among adult taxable residents in 2001



Crime in Christiania

In 2002 the following was confiscated in 15 razzias at Christiania.

- Narcotics:
- Hash: 426 kg.
 - Skunk: 89 kg.
 - Joints: 256 kg.
 - Other: 100 gram ice (strong hash), 4,2 kg mushrooms, mushroomseeds, mushroom cakes and 2 industrial food-processors for joints production.

- Weapons:
- Guns and similar: 2 loaded pistols, 1 revolver, 1 machine gun, 1 shotgun, large amount of ammunition and various knives, cudgels and tear gas sprays.

- Cash (drug money):
- 1.587.427 Dkr.
- [www.ft.dk]

Christiana

Christiana is a large area on and around the embankments of Christianshavn. The map is incomplete, because there is a constant change in the built environment at Christiania and because far from all buildings are registered in the official documents from the municipality

Significants in urban Christiania:

- 1: Main entrance
- 2: Loppen
3. Røde Sols Plads (Red Sun's Square)
- 4: Den Grå Hal (The Gray Hall)
- 5: Maskinhallen (The Engine Hall)
- 6: Fredens Ark (The Ark of Peace)
- 7: Pusher Street
- 8: Den Grønne Genbrugshal (The Green Recycling Hall)
- 9: Fabrikken (The Fabric)
- 10: Indkøbscentralen (The Shop)





The Urban part of Christiania
Sydområdet
Psyak
Mælkevejen
Arken
Løvehuset
Fabrikken

The Rural part of Christiania
Mælkebøtten
Nordområdet
Skoven
Dyssen

The black letters refer to the position where the following pictures are taken.

A: The wall

This is Christiania's outer appearance. The wall surrounds the area, and closes it off towards the city.



THE URBAN PART OF CA



C: Barrack building

One of the first buildings you see when entering Christiania through the main entrance.



B: The Shop

The Shop is the local place to buy everyday products, produced ecologically.



THE URBAN PART OF CA



D: The recycle system

All around the urban part of Christiania you see trash cans, they are a part of a self-run recycling system.

E: The embankment
All around rural part of the embankment people have settled in more or less contemporary shelters and sheds.



THE RURAL PART OF CA



G: Lake side house
One of the alternative settlements, in close relation to the lake.





F: Colorfull house
One of the houses on the embankment, which is threatened by the government's demands.



THE RURAL PART OF CA



H: Lake side house
One of the alternative settlements, in close relation to the lake.

THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIANIA

The 1960s-70s were ground-breaking years for many, and especially in Denmark this period meant a lot of changes to society. While the elder generation was enjoying the growing material welfare, rebellions began to smoulder among the young during the 60s. This meant among other things, numerous demonstrations against nuclear weapons, NATO and the Vietnam War. In 1968 students demonstrated against the professor-might at the universities, while other groups – the squatters – occupied buildings due for demolition. They demanded influence on redevelopment, housing-politics, working conditions – and better playgrounds. In 1971 it culminated with the occupation of the former military area – Bådmandsstræde Barracks at Christianshavn which was the beginning of Christiania – a free town established in protest against the at the time norms of society.

At the same time this was the beginning of a heavily contested discussion between the supporters and founders of this free town, and the Danish government. A discussion which was going to last for a surprisingly long period of time. In that light, the following section provides a chronological line through the history of Christiania, where initiatives on dialogue from both sides of the fence are stated for.

Christiania

The State

1967-71

The Armed Forces leaves the barracks and the Ammunition Arsenal.

1971

Local citizens from Christianshavn tears down the fence around the barracks to create a playground for the neighborhood's children. On 26th of September the Freetown of Christiania is founded

The police several times tries to remove the illegal settlements, but the area is to large and there are to many squatters.

1972

On 31st of May the State and Christiania agrees upon a temporary deal about right to use the area and its buildings.

1973

Christiania is organised in small areas with a "local government". The Common Meeting is established as the highest authority.

On 14th of June the agreement is prolonged until 31st of March 1976. With the addition, that there should be an idea-competition for the development of the area.

1974

12 lists from Christiania are organised in an election union and running for the municipality election. They get one mandate, which goes to the Women's list. The first christmas arrangements for the poor and lonely is established.

1975

Christiania becomes a political pawn between the State and the municipality of Copenhagen

1976

Christiania raises a lawsuit against the State for a breach of promise, as the idea competition promised in 1973 was not yet realised. Back then they had been promised they could stay until the idea competition had taken place.

1st of April, The Minister of Defence raises an eviction case in the court against CA.

1977

Christiania loses the case, but appeals to Supreme Court.

1978

The case is finally lost.

The government decides not to clear Christiania, but instead to make a local plan for the area. Meanwhile Christiania is allowed to exist on special terms.

1979

Junkies and pushers is driven out of Christiania by local residents after massive drug problems.

1981

The Minister of Environment hires Møller & Grønborg to make a local plan for Christiania.

1986

Christiania publishes "Voila" a report stating that they are able to maintain the buildings and the common institutions.

1987

31st March the Minister of Defence establishes The Special Committee (Den Særlig Styringsgruppe) as a linkage between Christiania and the public authorities.

1988

The government introduces a law proposal for phasing out Christiania. But later that year the new government rejects the proposal. Instead a 4-step plan for legalisation of Christiania is introduced.

1989

More than 90 inhabitants at Christiania makes objections to the plan. Mostly the objections were against the division and clearing of the rural part.

A broad majority of the government votes for The Christiania-law, a law that through a country-plan directive (landsplansdirektiv) and a local plan (lokalplan) should allow the Christianites to use the land. The local plan divides Christiania into two parts, one part rural-like and the second a condensed urban-like part. The rural part should be cleared of housing and settlements.

1990

As an illustration of their unhappiness, the Christianites made a "declaration of love" (Kærlighedserklæringen) by inviting all citizens of Copenhagen to see the way of life inside Christiania.

1991

Christiania establishes a Technical Maintenance office, to speed up the process of maintaining the buildings.

1992

The rent for the right to use the area are increased. This starts a debate between the municipality and Christiania, but they get an agreement in the end.

1994

The problems with illegal drugs have increased, and culminates, when the government decides on a new law on illegal drugs.

Christiania

The State

1996

The government makes a plan for the longterm development (udviklingsplan), -a combination of the earlier local plan and Christianias suggestions.

1997

Christiania introduces its own currency, which can be used in all shops and institutions at Christiania. It has a value of 50 Danish Kroner and is called 'LØN'.

2001

The new liberal government introduces a more strict attitude towards Christiania.

2004

Christiania removes the visible drug dealing in Pusherstreet to enlarge their position in the negotiations with the state.

On the 1st of June all parties in the parliament except one, who refrain from the decision, agrees on a law on legalisation of Christiania. The responsibility for Christiania was moved from the minister of Defence to the Minister of Finance and Slots- og Ejendomsstyrelsen (SES). A new design competition is released, but the amount of answers are less impressive.

2005

Christiania gets professional guidance from a lawyer, Knud Foldschak, in the negotiations with the State.

SES publishes "Future organisation- and owner types in Christiania" (Fremtidige organisations- og ejerformer på Christiania) as the first work dealing with Christiania.

2006

Christiania declines the offer. On the 15th of December they apply for a trial against the State because they believe to have gained the prescriptive right. (vundet hævd)

The 26th of September the State has an offer for legalisation of Christiania. The 22nd of December the State has a new offer for Christiania.

2007

Christiania thinks about the offer of the 22nd of December 2006. At the 24th of August, Christiania says yes to an implementation period, as they want to see how the offer works for real, before they redraw their lawsuit.

2008

On the 1st of July Christiania will have to choose finally if they accept the offer or if they want to go to court. If Christiania chooses to go to court it will take place in the fall of 2008.

THE AGREEMENT

»De sidste knaster er væk. Der er nu skabt en ramme, der giver et samlet, spændende og eksperimenterende Christiania med billige og eksperimenterede boliger. Christiania har fået alle de nødvendige ting til at komme til at fungere: penge, dispensationer, og der er gode kræfter og gode folk bag det hele. Det er en sejr for alle.«

»Der er indgået en aftale om, at vi kigger på udviklingen af Christiania sammen med staten. Men hvis samarbejdet halter, ja, så stævner vi staten.«

The last step on the way is at the time of writing an offer made by SES in cooperation with Christiania-lawyer Knud Foldschak and the Christiania-contact group.

“The last hurdles are gone – Now a framework for a joined, exiting and experimenting Christiania with cheap and experimenting housing, is created. Christiania has gained all things necessary in order to function: economy, dispensations, and there are good intentions and good people behind it all. This is a victory for all” [Knud Foldschak, Christiania-lawyer, Jyllands Posten 25.08.07 Authors translation]

So stated Christiania-lawyer Knud Foldschak after the final offer in August 2007 was declared. After four years with on and off dialogue between SES, on behalf of the Danish government, and Christiania, they have finally reached some level of agreement. The ‘agreement’, as SES calls it, means among other things that Realdania is going to build new housings in the area, which should harmonize with the current architecture of Christiania, and that a fond becomes the new owner of the area. These are the items Knud Foldschak refers to as ‘a victory for all’. But as the state, as well as Christiania’s lawyer sees this agreement as final and believes that this is the best offer Christiania will ever get; the Christianites does not pronounce the agreement as an ‘agreement’. Instead they claim only to have agreed upon a trial-period running untill spring 2008, in which they want to see how the plan functions in real life, with that in mind that they still can withdraw.

“There is formed an agreement, that we together with the state will look at the development of Christiania. But if the collaboration fails; well, then we will sue the State” [member of CA-contact group, Jyllands Posten 25.08.07 Authors translation]

In December 2006 SES declared an offer to Christiania on which they rejected and demanded a re-negotiation of several items. The negotiation then continued and resulted in the 'agreement' from 24th of August 2007. The main changes from the December-offer were:

Røde Sol Plads (Red Sun Square) is being bought by Realdania, a ten-month work schedule saying how the area can develop is to be made, and a temporary preservation of the embankment and the appurtenant buildings is being pursued. Furthermore there has been agreed upon that Christiania does not give up the lawsuits unless the development runs satisfying; which according to Knud Foldschak means that the economy must function – that it is possible to live at Christiania with a low income, that new housings should be build in the original Christiania style, and that it still is possible to run Den Grå Hal (The Grey Hall), Genbrugshallen (The Recycling Hall), and the restaurants as now.

In addition the 'agreement' contains a number of factually items:

- *There should be build somewhere between 17.000 and 24.000 m2 new housings at Christiania.*
- *The Realdania Fond should build up to 12.000 m2 new housing.s*
- *Realdania should pay 60 mil for the right to build new and 5 mil for rent for resettlement buildings.*
- Thereto comes the payment for rights to build at Røde Sol Plads (Red Sun Square)
- *The new social building-organisation, which shall administrate the dwellings at Christiania, should pay 80 mil for the purchase of the old barracks.*
- *The Christianites should pay rent – the state will make sure that current residents pay low rent the first years.*
- *There should be new and lucid waiting lists, so everyone can live at Christiania on equal terms.*
- *The lawsuits, which 752 individuals and Christiania as a whole, hold against the state, are put to a rest until the Christianites can see how the plan works.*
- *July 1st 2008 the Christianites must cancel the lawsuits if the conditions of the agreement should be fulfilled.* [SES 2007]

The attitude towards the 'agreement' from the government's side is very confident that Christiania will accept the offer. This attitude is also carried by Minister of Finance Thor Pedersen who believes that the only option Christiania holds is to agree upon the offer.

"Now the Christiania Law can be put into practice, based on an agreement with the residents in the area, which has been the wish from the government's side from the beginning." [Thor Pedersen, Jyllands Posten 25.08.07 Authors translation]

Inside the fence they are more sceptical, as they believe the pronouncing of the offer as the 'agreement' is a political stunt from the government's side in order to achieve votes.

'It is the state who promises pie-in-the-sky when informing the public that we [Christiania] are getting normalized. But the only thing we have done is to clear up the details for a normalizing-plan. Technically normalization is not on the table until we have skipped the lawsuits.'" [member of Christiania-contact group, Jyllands Posten 25.08.07 Authors translation]

Regardless of ones opinion towards the 'agreement' it is a fact that it is the last offer



»Der kan nu ske en udmøntning af Christianialoven, som er baseret på en samlet aftale med områdets beboere, sådan som det fra starten har været regeringens ønske,«

»Det er staten, der forsøger at slå valgflæsk på det ved at melde ud, at vi er ved at blive normaliseret. Men det eneste, vi har gjort, er at udrede detaljerne for en normaliseringsplan. Teknisk set er der ikke tale om en normalisering, før vi har droppet retssagerne,«

Christiania will get from the government, as there according to SES is no room for any further dialogue. If Christiania accepts the offer the pursuing will start as soon as the lawsuits are dropped, which would run over a period of eight to ten years. If Christiania on the other hand rejects the offer their only option is to win the lawsuits containing prescriptive rights of the existing buildings at Christiania. Should they lose the lawsuit the government will have free hands to continue executing the plans on their terms.

If the agreement is carried through, the consequences for Christiania means a great deal of changes. The most significant change is attached to the rent. It is an unavoidable fact that the result of new housings and the establishment of the fund will be a raise in the low rent they now pay at Christiania. SES states that the existing residents are secured a lower rent than new residents the first years, but still, just a small raise could cause a lot of people having to leave their homes, as they live by the support they get from the municipality. This could be a large problem for Christiania, as the people living of the support from the municipality constitute the majority at Christiania, and with them gone a lot of the fighting spirit at Christiania could very likely be gone as well. But a positive element with the economy is Realdania's role in this. From the state's view Realdania solves the last uncertain economical challenges, but at the same time this secures the Christianites, as Realdania's involvement results in exclusively rental-housings - and thereby no owner-occupied housings. This is a good thing when focusing on the Christiania spirit, as it excludes market-prices like remaining Copenhagen.

Another consequence of the agreement is concerning the illegally built houses at the embankment. According to SES a large number of the characteristic houses should be removed. This will cause the same result as the raise of the rent - that many people are left without homes. It is the intention that these people are promised a new home in the future build housings, but this is not a reasonable solution according to the Christianites. They state that they hold a strong emotional relation to their own specific houses, as they have built it with their own hands.

In spite of how the last step on the way turns out it is a fact that Christiania houses and takes care of a large amount of people from the lower social class. And if these people cannot afford to live at Christiania they must find alternatives, which either will be the streets of Copenhagen or under the wings of the municipality. Either way they will cost society a great deal more than if they continued to live at Christiania.

According to the history of Christiania from the foundation in 1971 up till the final step in 2007 it becomes clear that the relationship between the State and Christiania has not improved at all. On the contrary the dialogue has become worse and worse during the years, which among other things is indicated by the way both parts relate to the last step in the line. The fact that SES has pronounced the offer 'The agreement' while the Christianites refer to it as only being an implementation period underlines that the dialogue more or less has failed. Many initiatives have been tried from both sides of the fence but obviously none of them have been successful, and the current issue concerning the so-called agreement indicates that neither of the parts have learned anything from past failures.

The consequences by the agreement indicates that a lot of issues are not fully considered. This underlines the huge amount of layers the Christiania conflict covers, which makes it impossible to solve them all when only looking at the economical or the political issues. It is therefore important to realize, that the solving of one issue does not necessarily solve them all. [SES 2007]

The physical changes



The red marking shows where SES suggests the building of new housings - in the urban part of Christiania. The blue marking shows the rural part of Christiania, where SES suggests a pulling down of the illegally build houses at the embankment.

THE ALTERNATIVE LIFESTYLE

Christiania is not an unique example when referring to the alternative lifestyle. Many smaller communities have appeared around Europe from the 1960s and up till today. This alone raises the questions whether there is a explainable reason for the foundation of these places; who the founders are and to what extend they contribute to the general society. This section will try to account for several examples of the alternative lifestyle different places in Europe, and their references to Christiania. Futhermore the following discussion will try to answer the before mentioned questions concerning the need for the alternative lifestyle.

The idea of trying to live life different than the norm and try to influence the society is not an unique example. On the contrary there exists several places all over the world. It can be in the small scale, where people unite to fight for a local school, or it can be bigger in form of a community trying to live by certain values they believe are central in the life they want to live. These communities often rise from a discontentment with the prevailing way of doing things. Christiania is probably one of the best known examples of such an experimenting new found community. But however it is not the only one, around Europe. Some share most of the beliefs, others only partly supports the same values.

SVARTLAMON, NORWAY

Svartlamon is a small cluster of houses near the city centre of Trondheim. It was established in 2001, after several years of fight against the plans to tear it down. It is labelled to be a 'city ecological experimental area.' The structure of the community was founded already in 1991 as an organisation fighting for the preservation of the area. It is driven by people who now live and work in the area, and it has a flat democratic structure, using common meetings as the forum for decision making. The goal is to create a neighbourhood with room for experimental ways of living and social interaction, with focus on culture, art, ecology and energy.

Svartlamon is in many ways based on the same ideas and values as CA. The structure of the governing system is the same, based on a direct democracy, where all are invited to speak their opinion. It is a very new community, so the spatial and cultural environment are not so well developed as at CA. [www.svartlamon.org]



FINDHORN, SCOTLAND

Findhorn is a community founded in 1962, in a trailer park near Forres in Scotland. It started as a family project, growing vegetables and living sustainable with guidance from a religious spirit within. Since then it has grown into a small scale town, with shops and education facilities. Within the Findhorn Ecovillage sustainable values are expressed in the built environment with ecological houses, innovative use of building materials such as local stone and straw bales, beauty in the architecture and gardens, and applied technology in the Living Machine sewage treatment facility and electricity-generating wind turbines. Sustainable values are also expressed in the community's social, economic and educational initiatives.

In many ways this community is built on values similar to the ones in CA, however the community also differs in several matters. The community is founded by two people, who have become some sort of leading figures in the community. So in that perspective it differs a lot, because the CA is not built around any individuals, but on the unity of people. Furthermore Findhorn has added another aspect to living sustainable, being a spiritual dimension. It also differs in the way it is run, it is more like a "normal" town, because it is based on capitalistic funding. The ecovillage offers all kinds of education to finance the initiative along with production of ecological produced food and vegetables sold in local shops in the area.

In many ways you could say that the values are the same, but CA is a community whereas Findhorn is more like a business organisation based on a set of values. [www.findhorn.com]



RUIGOORD, THE NETHERLANDS

The artist colony of Ruigoord was founded in 1973 near Amsterdam, but in rural settings where art and life are integrated into a social experiment. Ruigoord is an idealistic place where artists can pursue their own visions. But it is really the emphasis on joint projects which lends it the character of a present-day artists colony. In a unique fashion mutual involvement is given form and the need for exchange and social experience is met to the full. Ruigoord is a refuge for artists, who need to focus and concentrate without too many impulses. This organisation however is not based on the direct democracy as CA, but it is based on some of the same artistic values, and the experimental way of living in a small community. It is a very expressive and artistic provocation of the state of the nation. Ruigoord is focused on global issues like egocentrism and materialism, things which they wish to change. In that way they differ from CA, because they are outgoing in their work, whereas CA is focused on the way life is lived inside CA. [www.ruigoord.nl]



THY-LEJREN, DENMARK

Det Ny Samfund (The New Society) was established on 20th of September 1968 and was closely linked to the Student-Society (Studentersamfundet) In the summer of 1970, a festival arranged by The New Society took place in a field in Thy near Frøstrup. People came from all over Denmark to this place, which were intended to be the Danish version of Woodstock. The festival camp and the police several times got into fights and it culminated at 31st of August in an occupation of the local church, however it ended with the arrest of several of the festival participants, and a lot of public attention. Since then the camp has grown and become a peaceful place, with focus on alternative ways of living. The goal for the camp is to have a society with global awareness, common property and production of ecological goods. Thy-lejren and Christiania was established by people with the same values. So the governing of the area is of course direct democracy, and the highest decision organ is the Common Meeting. However Thy-Lejren has had an easier life in the public, because it was founded on private property, so the authorities has no saying in that matter, and in 1995 the Minister of Environment made an agreement with Thy-Lejren, that they could use the land for the purpose, if they respected the law regarding the buildings. [www.thylejren.com]



In their values and appearances the alternative communities are very different; some are based on a religious foundation, some on joint artistic values and then again others on a protest against city-development. However the basis solidarity comes from their separation from the society in which they are founded. They all offer an alternative to the acknowledged society. Some just keep to themselves while others try to influence the surrounding society through provocation and demonstrations. However none of the alternative communities presented here creates so much attention as Christiania, mainly because the other communities are based on more or less legal grounds and do not, as Christiania, conflict with the laws. The alternative communities do all carry a torch for the decision process performed in Christiania. Decisions regarding the community are in all cases decided upon as a unity, where all have the same right to speak. One of the differences from Christiania lies within the alternative communities ability to act as a unit. Christiania is a unit, but with lots of factions inside it, therefore it becomes hard to stand as one united community when dealing or negotiating with the acknowledged society.

DIRECT DEMOCRACY

The previous presented communities, as well as Christiania are all build on aspects of direct democracy, and to clarify this subject it will be addressed in the following part.

Direct democracy or pure democracy is built on other values then representative democracy. There are no elected representatives, all represent themselves, and each person has a vote when something should be decided on. This is a way of governing, which often has been used in small communities. The direct democracy is closely linked to the socialistic tradition. [Siune et al 1994, www.leksikon.org]

Christiania is governed by a direct people's democracy, with the approach that it will give the individual person the highest amount of liberty. Christiania has divided the governing into different groups, where the ultimate ruling body is the Common Meeting, which deals with issues that influence all Christianites. Furthermore they have area meetings, economy meetings, house meetings, - meetings for almost every activity inside Christiania. The decisions however are not based on the majority vote, it is based on a consensus approach, which means that all Christianites need to agree on a decision before it can be executed. [Christianitter, 1996] This is often a very long process and the decisions cannot always be made during one meeting only. As the representative democracy, the direct democracy has different amount of participants according to the importance of the issues on the Common Meetings. If the issue is important, a large number of Christianites will of course join, but if it is less important only a couple will show up for the meeting.

Christiania is an experiment in many ways; artistic, social and the way they self-govern the area through councils and meetings. However the direct democracy is often considered a hurdle when it meets other forms of governing, such as representative democracy, because the values and pace are different. Some would say this is a huge issue, because it causes problems in saying yes or no to bigger questions before they have been agreed upon at the Common meeting. Others would argue that it is the most pure democracy found in Denmark, as it provides power to all, instead of a few representatives. But still, the direct democracy does in fact contribute to a troubling dialogue between Christiania and the outside.

Of course Christiania is not the only one to blame for the lacking dialogue. The government also tends to use the 'fuzzy' organization in Christiania to their advantage. When a decision takes as long as it does to be made at Christiania, it provides the government the opportunity to 'play the power card'. In the history of the conflict the government has often been known to give Christiania relative short deadlines, which makes it almost impossible for Christiania to reach a common decision. At the same time these deadlines have also been misused from Christiania's point of view. According to both sides of the fence, Christiania has often tried to push deadlines, by using their government situation as an excuse. This could very well be due to the fact that the government at several occasions has threatened Christiania, but never made action of these threats. An example of this is when the government agreed to normalize Christiania in 1988, whereafter nothing was done in that sense for eight years. [Miljøministeriet 1991]

All these before mentioned scenarios paint the picture of a conflict which is almost impossible to solve, as the language between the parties are not the same at all according to Habermas' line of thought. It is clear that the contrasting actors can not reach a reasonable compromise on their own, as neither of the participants is at the same level of communicating. Of course there is a lot of other aspects which have an impact of the failed dialogue, but it is still a fact that the way Christiania choose their decisions comes in the way of dialogue.

In spite of that, the before mentioned agreement has been made. According to outside the fence, the agreement is as good as final, as it is the last solution for Christiania as well as the best offer they will ever get. Inside the fence it is an entirely other story. According to their homepage, Christiania explains that the agreement is far from final, as they have not yet answered. The acceptance of the agreement only derives from the media's interpretation of the situation. But as the agreement in fact is one of the last opportunities Christiania has, the question is thus, by what tools this agreement has been shaped. In that view it is interesting to address all participants in order to shape an actual picture of the current situation, which also will contribute to solving the dialogue issues. This underlines the importance of using an outside mediator, as he/she does not hold any history or mistrust among the actors, in order to enter the game. The mediator could therefore seek to obtain a common level of understanding among the participant and thereby try to set up a number of guidelines for the future dialogue.

DISCUSSING CHRISTIANIA

Christiania is a unique area in Denmark, which all Danes more or less have an opinion on, and the arguments are both pro and con. A lot of Danes are pro as Christiania offers homes for people seeking alternative ways of living, being both intellectuals and lower social classes in a beautiful mix. However the opponents argue that the Christians do not contribute to the society, and base their life on illegal actions, and therefore the area should be either be closed off or legalized. The debate thus is not as black and white as this. There are a lot of issues that needs to be decided upon, before making a proper judgement of Christiania. But still the main issue is to what extent Christiania and the Christians contribute to Danish society.

At the moment there is a movement towards living alternative, it is prevalent not only in architecture and design, but also in the economic research. Richard Florida has for several years argued that the creative class is the most profitable "industry" of the western world. [Florida 2005] This "creative class" is found in a variety of fields, from engineering to theatre, biotech to education, architecture to small business. Their choices have already had a huge economic impact. According to Florida the Creative Class will determine how the workplaces are organized in the future, what companies will prosper or go bankrupt, and even which cities will thrive or wither. [www.creativeclass.com]

By their creativity and innovation, they add value to the local environment. Florida argues that the creative class settles in alternative environments with low rents and tolerant society. They make an atmosphere which a lot of 'normals' or not-creative would like to obtain and be a part of. "Millions of us are beginning to work and live much as creative types like artists and scientists always have. Our values and tastes, our personal relationships, our choices of where to live, and even our sense

and use of time are changing.” [creativeclass.com] The creative class is leading a transformation of an area, both physical environment as well as mental branding of an area. The areas becomes new attractive business or leisure and housing areas for the not-creative, because it is considered attractive to be as the creative class. The not-creative brings money to the areas, which gives the local economy a boost. But however, then the creative moves on to a new unexplored alternative setting, because they no longer can afford the rents or are not inspired by the surroundings and atmosphere anymore. They are like nomads seeking alternative ways of living and opportunities for developing their ideas and professions. [Florida 2005] Members of the creative class do not consciously think of themselves as a class. Yet they share a common ethos that values creativity, individuality, difference, and merit. [washingtonmonthly.com]

Danish society has also realised that Denmark no longer can live from production alone; it is a country aiming at new developments of experience economy, where the profit is gained through innovative ideas and new experiences. Denmark is in a phase with lack of talented and educated workers, and wants to attract this type of people. However Denmark is part of the globalized world, which means that the workforce is a fluid mass, and travels where it is most attractive to be. Therefore Denmark has to emphasize the values and environments which can attract the creative class. One can then argue -why not make room for more alternative ways of living and a manifold society, as it could attract not only national creative but also creative people on a global scale. [Florida 2005] There are three main attractors when dealing with the creative class, the first is the educational facilities. If there are a lot of education facilities, innovative businesses are more likely to locate there, because they have good opportunity to get the talented workforce they need. Another attractor is a thriving cultural life and a metropol-atmosphere, meaning that there should be a variety of offers in the city. The third is creative business environment, due to the fact that the creative class attracts even more creative to an area. Meaning that, if there are lots business focusing on creative innovation, then it will attract more. [www.kreativeklasse.dk]

In light of that, it is obvious that there is a need for more alternative ways of living. Copenhagen is in many aspects one of the new upcoming cities with an attraction effect to the creative class. But to oblige the environments requested from the creative class, Copenhagen will have to change towards a more manifold and containing spacious cultural and societal life. Christiania is one of the alternative environments that attract the creative class. Some creative find the alternative way of living at Christiania interesting, and the flourishing alternative business life and cultural life at CA is an obvious evidence of this attraction. The question is thus, if Christiania is the solution. - Do we need more communities like Christiania to oblige the growing need for the creative class and should we make room for other communities like Christiania instead of fighting against it? The answer however is not obvious, because the creative as mentioned also are individuals, with interests in developing own ideas and visions. In that view Christiania might be too restrictive in the sense of a common community, as not all creative for instance, will find the prevalent governing form of Christiania inspiring, but find it a waste of time - taken from the time they should spend being creative and innovative.

So maybe the answer to the current need for the creative class is bound to a development of communities like Christiania - or maybe it is not. However the development is going towards a more flat structure in the planning system, so maybe the result is a combination of the legal environment mixed with some of the ideas from Christiania. At least it is important to consider the opportunities in Christiania before arguing that it is only a parasite to the well-established Danish society. Maybe Christiania contributes to realise some visions, which could not be realised in the common Danish society.

A contested issue about Christiania is that the area provides room for people somehow alienated from the Danish society. The argument is that Christiania in a way is the cheapest and most well functioning social institution. The alternative for many alienated is an apartment in a social housing estate in the suburbs of Copenhagen, isolated from all social interaction. Christiania becomes a very idyllic picture of a well functioning social institution based on real human values. But the fact is, in contrast to the above, that a lot of these people do not contribute to Christiania. They do not only use Christiania –they abuse it. They are a consequence of the illegal drug sales and the low rent, and they are not part of the idealistic free town Christiania. Of course Christiania is based on a spacious social acceptance, but these people do not contribute to this ideal, they obstruct it with illegal actions. But somehow the social integration has become an argument in the debate, Christiania is a place that creates space for the alienated, and therefore it should be preserved, otherwise it would be expensive for the government in more than one way. The politicians have a fear of this, because no one wishes to be the one forcing homeless and mental unstable people from a somewhat independent life at Christiania into social institutions.

The issue is thus, how the dividing actually is between the social out-casts and those of the Creative Class - the users and the abusers. This question can not easily be answered as Christiania does not hold any registration of their population in any way. At the same time this issue is enlarged by a somewhat unfair focus on the abusers executed by the media and other opponents to the area. It is a fact that the media can convince much of the general public that Christiania mainly is a bad place, and this makes it difficult for the ones actually trying to make it a better place.

Christiania is a place based on initiatives from the 1970s and a lot of these people have chosen to leave the community for different reasons. But the situation is that Christiania is in need of new people and energy to keep the ideals alive. So Christiania is minded for changes, but it is important to keep the atmosphere, because it creates an area that does not exist in many places. If you are looking at communities established on the same values and ideas, the amount is increasing. Mostly due to the transformation of old neighbourhoods, where local citizens feel they could use it in more valuable ways than the municipalities; or because people want to retire from the hectic life and live a life based on simple values instead of materialism. So in many ways there is a tendency towards a broader variety in the way people want to live and work. This is of course something the urban designer should keep in mind when designing.

All together Christiania is a diverse and diffuse place, on which a lot of people have an opinion. Some appeal to it because of the spacious and manifold social life, others for the cultural life in experimental music and art, others for the ecological products in the shops and then again others for the attitude towards hash. Whether you like Christiania or not the reasons are just as various as the people, and it is closely connected to your political beliefs. But the aim of this discussion is to say, that elements from Christiania can create precedence for other planning initiatives and set focus on other aspects of planning than are already well-known.



CHAPTER 3

CHRISTIANIA AND DIALOGUE

The discussion of Christiania is no longer based on legalization or normalization, it has grown in to a discussion between different actors of how to develop Christiania in a sustainable and legal matter. As one can imagine this is not a focused and direct discussion, it is a discussion filled with intended noise and ambiguous statements. Through the 36 years of Christiania's existence, there have been different approaches to how to cooperate and find ways to develop Christiania for the future. It has had so many different actors, political as well as private. The previous chapter focuses especially on the two main actors in the dispute, the state and Christiania. The approach has until now been hostile and incompatible, and different actors have tried to mediate between the parties, without any remarkable success. However the approach has changed from non-negotiable to a dialogue based on the fact that both parties acknowledge that Christiania is in need of development and renewal in order to continue. Even though the debate sets out with the same goal, the parties are far from agreeing on how to find a solution.

Still if the direct involved parties do find a way to negotiate and develop Christiania in a legal matter, there continuously exist the public opinion. It is not enough that the parties agree, they have to have their constituency with them and convince the entire public that this is a way to deal with Christiania in the future. As mentioned before the interests and people having an opinion towards Christiania are many and very different. In order to get a broader perspective on Christiania and to find the core of the dispute, and thereby get a little closer to what means could be applicable to solve parts of the dispute, the people with opinions are very important. It would be naïve to think that all problems and conflicts involving Christiania can be solved with means of the urban designer as a mediator. But it is a fact that to begin solving the conflict of Christiania a positive open dialogue is necessary, because otherwise the parties will misinterpret actions and suggestions due to the fact that

they do not have the same view of life and society.

The contents until now have focused on two different issues, the first chapter; the role of the urban designer and the second chapter; what kind of place Christiania is and why it was established. This chapter however seeks to tie the two previous chapters by applying the tools and approaches developed in chapter 1 with the case of Christiania in a test based on interviews with different actors involved in Christiania.

The research carried out in the first chapter is on a theoretical level, and the goal with the present chapter is to test some of these approaches on real life situations. By doing so, we will find out if the approaches are applicable and manageable. To do this some of the most influential actors have been interviewed. The actors are chosen with basis in their role in the conflict and their ability to illustrate different aspects of the dispute. By choosing some it is likely that you leave some out, therefore the illustration of the conflict is coloured by those involved actors interviewed.

There are many approaches of interviews, and they have different value according to the case-study. The present chapter evolves around the qualitative interview, an interview theory developed by among others Steinar Kvale.

The goal is of course to evaluate the dialogue between the actors, based on the theoretical approach to dialogue by Habermas and mediation as urban designer, both presented in the first chapter. Evaluation is one thing, but the next step is according to the research to develop guidelines for designing of contested areas in general. What can be extracted from the interviews, on how to create another atmosphere in the dialogue is what this chapter ends up with.

PUBLIC OPINIONS

Throughout this report it has been obvious that Christiania is a very contested issue and area. To illustrate this some of the opinions have been turned into short statements. The statements come from both professionally involved persons and individuals with a clear opinion about Christiania. The case holds very complex issues, wherefore a lot of people either agree or disagree with the continued existence of the area in spite of not really knowing all facts. Almost everyone has an opinion towards it anyhow. Christiania is a place you either love or love to hate, and then there are some in between, whom kind of like some aspects but not all. If you do not follow the actions very close it is very difficult to obtain all relevant information about Christiania, as the case contains a large number of layers, but also due to the fact, that the area often becomes a hostage in medias or political games.





"Christiania is no longer only a place for those who are a bit different and cannot adjust anywhere else. No it has become an exclusive club for ordinary people who sponge on society. They live in nice wooden houses right a the lake side. What would such a site cost if it where for sale?" Johanne Lodahl, Copenhagen

"A phasing out of the freetown in its present form has for long been needed" Dansk Folkeparti

"If the officers could choose, they did not patrol on Christiania at all. Many officers feel the effort is wasted" Chairman for the police union, Peter Ibsen.

"There are plenty of development potentials in CA, which attracts large attention and has become popular on a worldwide basis." Foreningen til forberedelse af Christiania Fonden

"I do believe, that you ought to establish democracy at Christiania, such as you as minimum have a set of rules similar to any other organisation. That common meeting is a plague. It is degenerated palaver democracy which sets aside a long list of rules existing outside Christiania." Jacob Ludvigsen, co-founder of Christiania

"Christiania is a valuable social and democratic experiment." Line Barfod, Enhedslisten



INTERVIEW METHODOLOGY

To test the research from the first chapter, interviews have been conducted with the goal to find the core of the dispute of CA and to discover new approaches applicable to contested areas like CA. The approach to the interviews has been to get an image of different actors' reasons and goals for their involvement and to identify the problems in the dialogue between the parties.

The approach to the interviews has been to get an insight of the opinions and reasons; therefore we have chosen to conduct the interviews as qualitative interviews. This means that there is focus on opinions in contrast to quantitative interviews based measurable answers. [Trost 1996] According to Steinar Kvale the qualitative interview must be seen as a professional conversation with a goal to achieve a description and interpretation of the interviewee's perception of life. [Olsen 2002] Furthermore the interview can be based on a non-structural style, meaning that the interviewer starts the question line, but the interviewee can affect the direction of the question and add supplementary knowledge and opinions. The interviewer becomes a guide in the topics, but the interviewee can answer the questions in which order he or she wants to. It is an open dialogue, based on the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee. Of course it is important to guide the interviewee into the same topics, so the interviewer has a basis for comparison after the series of interviews. [Trost 1996]

However qualitative interviews are by some seen as in opposition to a scientific approach, because it is varied answers and not directly comparable. There is a change from the positivistic approach towards an acceptance of the interview or conversation as a way to gain new knowledge. [Olsen 2002] Kvale argues that the interview is moving towards qualitative approach, because the society in general is moving in a more philosophical direction, this means that the interview are a way

of art, that need interpretation to gain value. [Olsen 2002] The post-modern society acknowledge the interview as a scientific way to understand aspects of an issue, through discourse and negotiation the interviewer obtain knowledge incomprehensible up till this moment. [Olsen 2002]

The interviewed actors have been chosen with basis in their connection to different organisations, they do not represent their own opinions; they illustrate the organisations opinion towards Christiania. The reason for this is to establish a positive dialogue between the professionally involved parties. Our goal is not to change the public debate about Christiania, and therefore personal and individual opinions are not of greater value to us. By saying so we do not delimit us from these opinions; they are characterized as illustrations of how huge and deep the debate runs in the public forum. The organisations chosen for the interviews have all been involved in the negotiations between the state and Christiania; therefore they contain valuable knowledge on how the process has evolved from their organisation's point of view. To identify the problems of Christiania this knowledge is indispensable to the project, because it is knowledge you cannot obtain through hermeneutics.

Dealing with interviews of professional involved actors, as in this case, it is important to analysis the answers with an amount of realism. They have some business agendas, which they do not say out loud or want to emphasise. They are responsible for their statements, and they cannot say or act wrong in a case so delicate like Christiania, because a small flaw can affect their role in the whole process. In that view we are aware that some might hold back critique, because they have to work with the other parties at a later point in time.

The practical method carried out in the interviews, was based on a list of topics, however it was not presented to the interviewee, but the interview was guided according to it so the interview covered all the interesting aspects set up beforehand. The atmosphere during the interviews was calm and relaxed, because the interviewers followed the statements of the interviewee without them being contested. This was done because according to Jan Trost, the interviewee would feel more open and free if not having to argue for his statements. [Trost 1996] This however can be a problem because the interviewee might feel that the interview is a monologue instead of a dialogue. The interview was conducted with a mutual respect and equal atmosphere, due to the setting. The interviewers where the ones knowing roughly which direction the interview would take, but the interview was set in a comfortable environment chosen by the interviewee.

INTERVIEWS

The goal of the interviews is to get a broad perspective on the conflict of Christiania and especially to observe, which kind of dialogue has been lead by the involved actors. The interviewed actors have been chosen with basis in as many different motives for involvement in order to find the different types of agendas and dialogues. They are all pieces on a chessboard with the state and Christiania on each side of the board. The other actors navigate in the space between, -trying to mediate in order to find a solution. There are of course other actors in this game than the ones interviewed, -some directly involved and others influencing the process either positive or negative from the outside. An example of an actor with an indirect role is the medias; they set the agendas in the public debate and sometimes twist the suggestions in a matter negative to the process. The reason for not interviewing these actors is that they have an individual goal with their agenda, the media live of conflicts and drama, so why should they contribute to a solution of a problem they have sold newspapers about for 36 years?

The focus when choosing the actors for the interviews has been that they are contributing to a future development and that they do not have any obvious reasons for obstructing the process.

The Parliament (Folketinget) is illustrated by Christine Antorini (A), who is in opposition to the ruling government. Whether it is the opposition or the ruling government is not that important in this issue, because all members of the Parliament, except Enhedslisten, have voted for the present politic towards Christiania. Of course there are some minor differences between the parties, but then again, it is not individuals that are important in the analysis of the dialogue, it is the organisation as a broader unit.

Slots- og Ejendomsstyrelsen (SES) is appointed by the government to execute the laws decided upon in the matter of Christiania. They have a practical approach to Christiania, because they are the ones, who run the everyday administration of the law. Kristian Lyk-Jensen is chosen to represent this organisation as he is especially hired to manage the assignment and therefore knows all details concerning SES's initiatives and opinions.

Den særlige styregruppe was an impartial organisation with people from different professions and with different relations to Christiania some without ever having



FOLKETINGET

SLOTS- OG EJENDOMSSTYRELSEN

DEN SÆRLIGE STYREGRUPPE

visited Christiania. The goal was to be mediator between the State and Christiania. They were originally appointed by the Minister of Environment, and their job was to make a report on how to develop Christiania. In this analysis the impartial organisation with a planning purpose is illustrated by Ib Møller, an architect who for a long time was involved in trying to legalise Christiania through planning. It is important that this group of organisations is represented, because they act without any strains attached to any other organisation.

Realdania is a foundation with interest in the built environment in Denmark. They were established on funds from the sale of a large mortgage credit institute. Realdania have an interest in preserving and emphasising the manifold living environments, and therefore also Christiania. They are the newest actors in the conflict and are involved in the future planning of Christiania with the purpose of building new houses inside Christiania. From this organisation Flemming Borreskov was chosen as he both acts as the administrating director of Realdania, and at the same time is the member of the Musketeer Group, which agenda simply is to enlarge the conditions for dialogue.

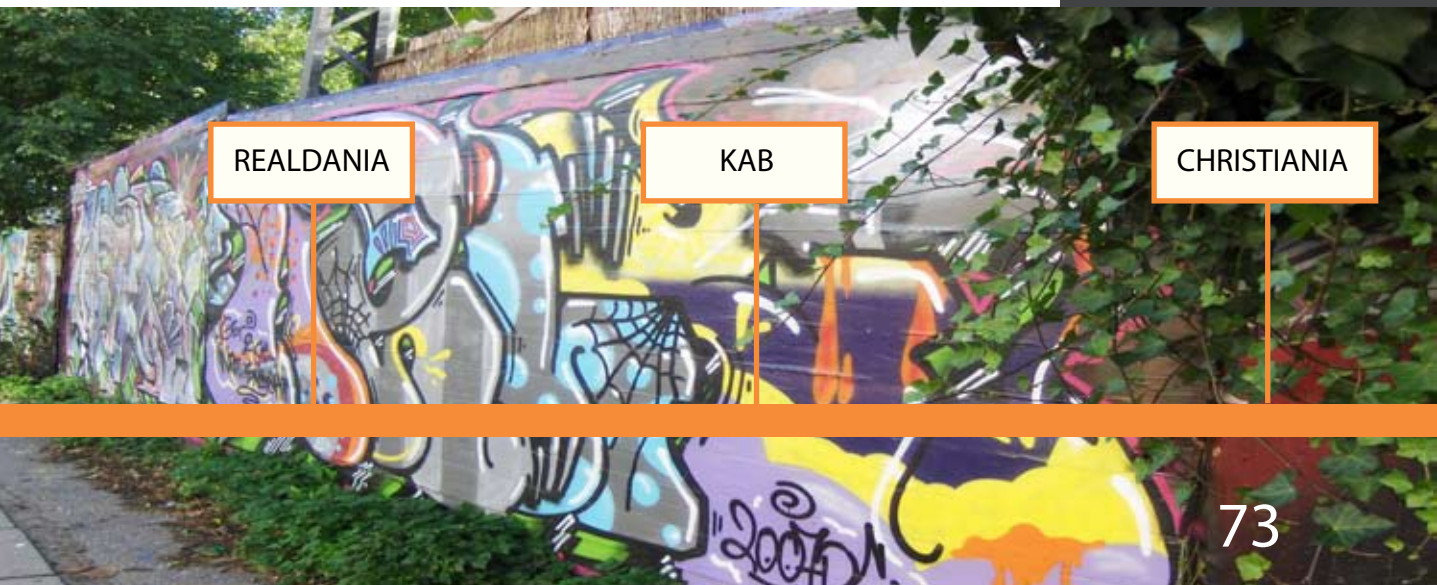
KAB is a large residence administration; their interests in Christiania are based on a wish to preserve a variety of different living environments in Copenhagen and with the prospect of being the organisation hired by Christiania to administrate the new buildings inside Christiania and guide them in the dialogue with the State. From KAB Jesper Nygård is chosen because he – for the same reasons as Flemming Borreskov; covers to different organisations, - both director of KAB and member of the Musketeer Group.

An obvious choice for interviewing would have been Christiania's lawyer Knud Foldschak. But he is not chosen due to the fact that he, in his function as lawyer, does not represent any organisation in this matter, but instead act by his own individually opinions and believes. He is on the other hand a member of the Musketeer Group, but the opinions from this organisation are already highly represented.

Christiania is of course of interest when dealing with their future life and surroundings. But in opposition to all the other organisations interviewed, Christiania is based on individuals however living in a common setting and therefore the opin-

The musketeer group

The musketeer group is a group founded by Knud Foldschak (Christiania-Lawyer), Jesper Nygård (KAB) and Flemming Borreskov (Realdania) with the purpose of creating a solution for Christiania, which both the state and Christiania can live with. They do not get payed for their work in the musketeer group, but they see it as a necessary action if the conflict should be solved.



ions are diverse. Ole Kristensen, who are interviewed in his function as a christianite, illustrates the idealistic and future orientated grouping in Christiania. This group is positive towards changes because they can see it is the only realistic way to keep Christiania alive; however they are highly focused on the development being on their terms and not the governments. The other grouping inside Christiania is regressive, they do not want any changes at all and people from the outside should not interfere with the life they live. This is also the reason for them not being interviewed, as they would not contribute to the goal of this project; a future development at Christiania based on planning and dialogue.

The Copenhagen Municipality is not chosen for an interview either. Even though they might hold alternative attitudes towards the conflict, they are as an elected institution expected to support the government. At the same time their official role does not begin until the agreement is final, as they are the ones executing the future local plan for the area.





“Legalization, but preserve the characteristics of Christiania.”

Who are you:

Christine Antorini

Organisation:

CA- spokesman for the Social Democratic party.

Length of involvement:

Christine Antorini was elected to parliament for the Social Democrats in 2005 and thereafter pronounced as CA-spokesman.

Reason for involvement:

For several years Christiania has belonged to the Ministry of Defense where the case more or less laid still until Søren Gade was elected Minister of Defense. Shortly after the assignment was given to the Ministry of Finance. Christine Antorini accepted the assignment as spokesman as the case interests her as a political phenomenon. She explains that she feels it is her duty to contribute to a solution, as she is elected in the Copenhagen constituency. She says that she knows how important CA is to the Copenhageners - both those who are pro and those who are against.

Most important actors concerning CA's future:

Christine Antorini believes that the most important actors are the CA-contact group, Knud Foldschak and Jesper Nygård. Thereto she states that the Minister of Finance and SES also plays large roles, but still Knud Fold-

schak and Jesper Nygård have played the central as well as the necessary role for how the case has turned out.

The main problem:

Christine Antorini believes that the main core of the case is whether Christiania should continue to exist or not. She thinks that the main problem lays in the many different opinions on the case.

What are the solution:

According to Christine Antorini the solution is not just on the political level, it also requires a model where Christiania can see themselves in the future. She states that the Social Democrats position is that Christiania should continue to exist, but that it should be legalized. It is important for her to separate legalization and normalization, as she wants Christiania to maintain the special characteristics Christiania is known for. "There should be room for a neighbourhood, where people live their own life - but of course within the boundaries of the law."

Contribution to solution:

Christine Antorini has participated in a common meeting at Christiania and has thereby seen how their decision making process works. She believes that it has helped her in understanding more issues about Christiania, which she has used in meeting with other Christiania-spokesmen.

How did the dialogue actually happen:

There have been a lot of meetings across the different parties. Christine Antorini has spoken with Knud Foldschak and Jesper Nygård regarding the legal aspects of the case and the government regarding the political aspects. Furthermore the Christiania-contact group has several times met at her office in order to discuss the social aspects.

She states that the other CA-spokesmen have not played a decisive part, as they have more or less relied on SES, to administrate the executive power on behalf of the Minister of Finance.

Did the dialogue function as intended:

According to Christine Antorini the dialogue and the entire case has been very exiting, as it is so different then anything else. She believes that it is a very fair agreement Christiania has been offered, and she does not think there could have been a better solution if there had been a social democratic government.





“In theory it’s all about speaking the same language”

- Who are you:** Kristian Lyk-Jensen
- Organisation:** Slots og Ejendomsstyrelsen (SES)
Ministry of Finance (Finansministeriet)
- Length of involvement:** Kristian Lyk-Jensen was hired by SES to handle the work with Christiania 1½ years ago.
- Reason for involvement:** SES was given the assignment by the Minister of Finance at the time where the responsibility of Christiania was changed from the Ministry of Defense to the Ministry of Finance.
SES was hired to keep track of the time-schedule.
- Most important actors concerning CA’s future:** Kristian Lyk-Jensen believes that the most important actors are SES, the Christiania-Contact group and a cooperation of Knud Foldschak [Christiania-lawyer] and Jesper Nygård [KAB]
- The main problem:** According to SES Christiania’s main problem is the way they make decisions, which is nearly impossible for them. This has resulted in a lack of smaller groups to negotiate with at CA. He continues: “you can not sit in a room and negotiate with 20 people, who also disagree internally.”

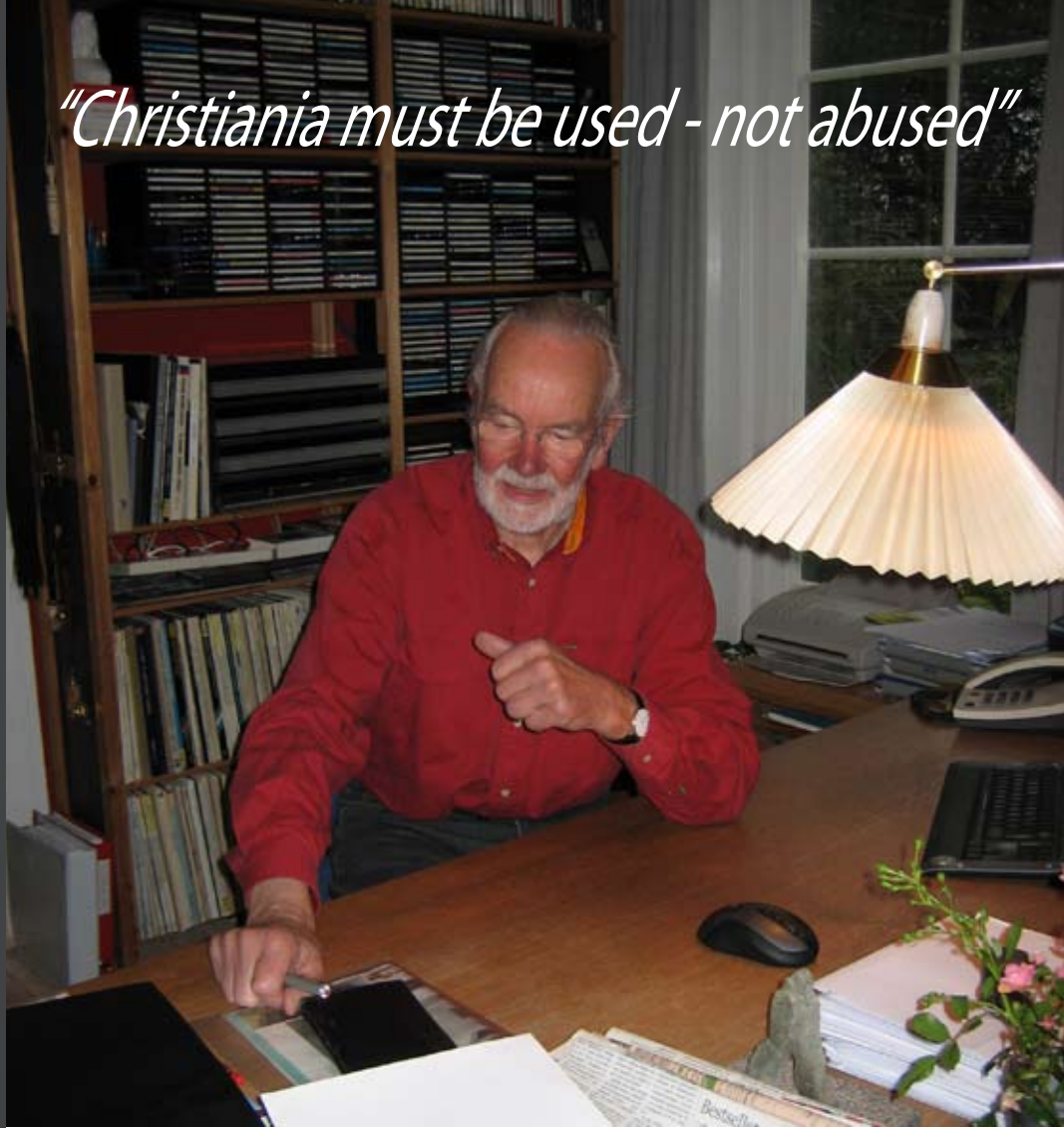
What are the solution: He sees the best solution to a reasonable dialogue to be a change in the way they make decisions at Christiania. He believes that they should choose a small number of people to have mandate for making decisions, and he states that it is difficult to any progress until there are initiatives in that direction. Furthermore he explains that he had been at meetings where the christianites have stated that the Danish Constitution does not apply to them. To that he underlines the importance in speaking the same language.

Contribution to solution: One of SES's mottos in this case has been that they will go into dialogue with everyone who wants to enter dialogue with them, which they have pursued. According to Kristian Lyk-Jensen SES has provided optimal conditions for dialogue with the christianites by turning to Christiania's advisers when necessary.

How did the dialogue actually happen: "It is difficult, nearly impossible for the christianites to negotiate a solution in any details with SES due to the fact that they do not have any representatives with a mandate we can negotiate with"
In Kristian Lyk-Jensen's opinion the amount of dialogue that they have succeeded in gaining would not have been there if it has not been for Knud Foldschak and Jesper Nygård. Most of the dialogue with Christiania has gone through these two people, who Kristian Lyk-Jensen tells that he has been in regular contact with. SES also refers back to the Minister of Finance and the rest of the government in form of smaller reports telling about status quo.

Did the dialogue function as intended: Kristian Lyk-Jensen would have wanted the dialogue different. He says that he had hoped Christiania would be more serious in this case, and thereby he means that they would have entered a dialogue on the same conditions that SES did.
He thereby states that SES has done everything possible, while the christianites and the way they make decisions have contributed to a prolonged conflict.

"Christiania must be used - not abused"



Who are you:

Ib Møller

Organisation:

Ib Møller was the director of Møller&Grønberg, Planners and Architects.

He was a participant of 'den særlige styregruppe', picked by the minister of Environment in 1980. The group worked as an independent group, as it was very important that they did not represent any outside organization. In 1996 the function of the team shifted to a council 'Styringsrådet', which worked closely with The Christiania Secretariat.

Length of involvement:

Ib Møller was involved for the first time in 1980 for one year, where Møller&Grønberg was pointed out. He was involved again in 1996 for a period of eight years until 'styringsrådet' was disbanded.

Reason for involvement:

Møller&Grønberg was asked by the Ministry of Environment to participate in making the first plan for Christiania. Møller&Grønberg was chosen due to the fact that they did not have anything to do with neither Christiania nor the Copenhagen Municipality. Møller&Grønberg presented in 1980 a report on positive and negative sides of Christiania. The report showed four models for Christiania's future - leaving it as it was, closing, normalization, and experiment; -They suggested the experimental city,

while the government chose normalization but did not practice anything.

In 1988 Ib Møller was asked to participate in a special team consisting of four members with different relation to Christiania. The purpose was to create a dialogue between Christiania and the government based on future plans for the area. Ib Møller was chosen due to his earlier involvement in the case. Ib Møller accepted and was part of the group for eight years.

In 1996 the function of the team changed to a council, working closely together with the Christiania-Secretariat. The same year Ib Møller and the three other members of the council decided to disband, as they did not feel they could get any further.

Most important actors concerning CA's future:

Ib Møller feels that Christiania and the government are the only players in that game - the rest are just tools. "I don't believe, that any outsiders should come and tell them what there is going to happen"

The main problem:

Ib Møller states, that the most important problem besides the obvious hash-trade, is that Christiania has become too civil. He believes that the numbers of idealists, who want to use Christiania and not abuse it are decreasing.

What are the solution:

According to their conclusion in 1996, the problem with Christiania can not be solved unless the hash is legalized in Denmark. Ib Møller sees no direct solution to the acceptance of CA getting to civil, he only states that this problem is now more relevant then ever.

Contribution to solution:

Ib Møller finds the process of their involvement one of the best methods. Due to the fact that they did not represent any formal organization, they could set their own agenda. This means that they at any time could pull out or say to both Christiania as well as the government that they would not participate anymore. And as both parts were interested in their help, they could use this to push them or force the dialogue.

How did the dialogue actually happen:

From the beginning Ib Møller and his colleagues tried to gain the respect from Christiania by laying the cards on the table and stating that they did not have any hidden agenda. This succeeded as they once invited both residents from Christiania and people with certain knowledge of Christiania and social conditions in general to participate in a dialogue around the table, which resulted in a reconciling atmosphere.

Did the dialogue function as intended:

The before mentioned dialogue-meeting was a success as a lot of people showed up and participated in a reasonable way, which let to a paper concerning issues in debate. This let directly to the finishing paper from Møller&Grønberg. In the later team they had gained enough respect that CA saw them as friends, but at the same time the form of government at CA made it difficult, which was one of the reason for the disbandment of the team in 1996.

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*"Sometimes we feel like
peace-mediators in the middel east"*

Who are you:

Flemming Borreskov

Organisation:

Flemming Borreskov is one of the directors of Realdania (RD) and a member of the Musketeer Group together with Jesper Nygård (KAB) og Knud Foldschak (Christiania-lawyer)

Length of involvement:

RD has been involved in the case in three rounds. First time was three years ago, when they financially helped KAB developing a report. Second time was from 2006 where RD was written into the September-Agreement. And third time was in spring 2007 when the Musketeer Group is founded.

Reason for involvement:

RD was asked to join from both sides of the fence - by Knud Foldschak and SES. They stepped in at the September-agreement for strictly economical reasons, but as a result of Christiania's rejection on the offer of December 2006, the Musketeer Group was created in order to enter the case by enlarging the foundation for dialogue. RD had large consideration before entering the Christiania-case, as this is an entire new area for them. At the same time it gave massive media publicity, which they had not expected. RD entered as Flemming Borreskov

thought this also was an interesting case which the urban environment of Copenhagen could benefit from.

Most important actors concerning CA's future:

Flemming Borreskov means that Christiania above all is the most important actor. He believes that both residents, companies, and social and cultural institutions should work together in shaping Christiania's future. In addition he mentions the State and Knud Foldschak as important players.

The main problem:

According to Flemming Borreskov there is no main problem, but a series of smaller issues. The most significant ones are that the average age at Christiania has increased with one year each year, which have resulted in less young to carry the ideology on. Another issue is the criminal environments, which even though it has highly decreased, is still a large problem for the law-abiding residents. The last thing he mentions in this case is the missing maintenance of the buildings in the area.

What are the solution:

The only solution is by his opinion a close cooperation for different institutions. According to this there has been suggested a foundation of three organizations (the three sisters) - the Christiania-fund, the general housing-organization and the housing-laboratory which should secure the experimental status of the area. These three should be registered as owners of Christiania in stead of the state, which according to Flemming Borreskov should be a large contribution to solving some of the problems.

Contribution to solution:

Besides the foundation of before mentioned 'three sisters', which Realdania plays a large part in; Flemming Borreskov is one of the three members in the Musketeer Group, which purpose is to ease the dialogue between CA and the state.

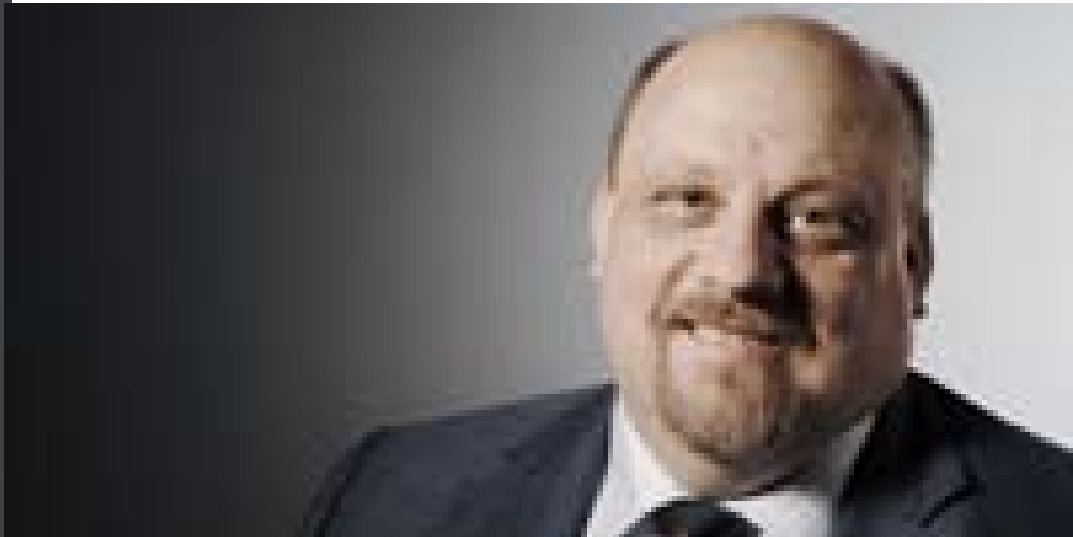
How did the dialogue actually happen:

Flemming Borreskov tells that most of the dialogue in and out of Christiania goes through Knud Foldschak, who plays a central role in the case, as he act as both lawyer and adviser, and at the same time he is a part of the Musketeer Group. Furthermore Flemming Borreskov has been invited to speak at a common meeting at Christiania. Even though it was just an informative meeting and not a deceive one, he says that this is a large gesture.

Did the dialogue function as intended:

Flemming Borreskov says that he has experienced the dialogue very good at all levels - also internally. But as he explains whenever you have to deal with people you can not expect everything to run smoothly. The only thing he would change is the starting point. He would have wished the whole case to have started earlier, as the late start provides a very tight time schedule.





"It is complicated, unpredictable, exciting, educational - but not at all simple"

- Who are you:** Jesper Nygård
- Organisation:** Jesper Nygård is the administrative director of KAB, a consulting housing-organization, and member of the Musketeer Group.
- Length of involvement:** In 2003 Jesper Nygård was asked to enter the assignment by the at the time being lord mayor.
- Reason for involvement:** In 2003 KAB's role is to enter a Christiania task force consisting of different members with very different reasons for participating. KAB's reason is because of the suggestion to establish a fund at Christiania. Due to the fact that KAB has established a close relationship with Knud Foldschak and a trust among the christians, the Musketeer Group is founded in 2006. Thereby it becomes Jesper Nygård, Knud Foldschak and Flemming Borreskov's role to act as bridge-builders between the state and Christiania. Jesper Nygård chooses to take on the assignment in the first place as he has a close relation to the area and feels it is a large contribution to the society. He underlines that KAB did not enter for neither economical nor branding reasons, but because he thinks they can learn from Chris-

tiania - and the other way around. This, he continues, supports KAB's motto: 'Great housings for all.'

Most important actors concerning CA's future:

Besides the two obvious actors - the state and Christiania, Jesper Nygård sees the Musketeer Group as the most important player in the game. He sees them as necessary bridge-builders between the two complicated parties.

The main problem:

Jesper Nygård underlines that he does not see Christiania as a problem but as a benefit to society. But furthermore he believes that the main problem in the current case is the lack of decent dialogue. He says that when two parties does not speak the same language and large part of the understanding and influence is lost.

What are the solution:

According to Jesper Nygård the solution must be made by Christiania on their own. He states that the Musketeer Group only is a tool in finding the solution. Their job is to mediate and not to decide anything. They should contribute to the formal aspects, but it is Christianias own job to make it work as soon as the agreement is implemented.

Contribution to solution:

The major contribution to the solution is according to Jesper Nygård the Musketeer Group. At the same time he sees Realdania's involvement as a large contribution as they solve the economical issues. Furthermore he states the importance in gaining the confidence from both sides of the fence, as it has been the Musketeer Groups' agenda.

How did the dialogue actually happen:

Jesper Nygård has participated in a large series of common meetings as well as he has met with SES and the Minister of Finance several times. He explains that they were very careful what appearance they gave off when meeting the different parties.

Did the dialogue function as intended:

According to Jesper Nygård the large proportion of the case has demanded dialogue with both the Ministry of Social affairs, the Ministry of Finance, SES, the municipality, different authorities and all kind of christianites. The large span has made the dialogue both difficult and time-consuming. But at the same time he feels that the procedure has progressed as good as possible. He though mentions the form of government at Christiania as an issues but he says at the same time that this also is one of Christiania's qualities.



"You should build something amusing and then look at the problems after you have had some fun"

Who are you:

Ole 'Fabrik' Kristensen

Organisation:

Ole Kristensen lives at Christiania in the collective called 'The Factory' (Fabrikken) in one of the old barrack buildings. In this interview he represent all Christianites who are active in the case involving Christiania's future. Furthermore Ole Kristensen has provided graphics for posters and reports for Christiania.

Length of involvement:

Ole Kristensen have been living at Christiania for eight years.

Reason for involvement:

Many christianites are both physical as well as emotional involved in Christiania and Ole Kristensen is one of them. He states that the future existence of Christiania is a value for everyone in Denmark as it contributes to society in general. He among many other christianites does not believe in the Danish system to know what is best for Christiania, which are the reason for his involvement as for many of Christiania's residents.

Most important actors concerning CA's future:

According to Ole Kristensen the most important actors are the State, themselves and the Copenhagen Municipality; -the State and Christiania for obvious reasons and

The main problem:

the municipality as they are the planning authority, and one of the actors that are best at seeing Christiania as what it is.

Ole Kristensen does not hesitate when asked about the main problem. He says that the overall problem is that the government has not succeeded in building confidence towards the christianites. Christiania simply do not believe that the government want Christiania anything good. At the same time Ole Kristensen says that Christiania sees the state as an unit and the police is the face of the unit. As the police have acted foolish and stated foolish to the press, the thought among the christianites is that the government uses the media and the police as tool for threatening Christiania, and it has only increased the conflict.

What are the solution:

If the dialogue should be a success - and the agreement thereby a reality - the huge trust issue should be solved according to Ole Kristensen. He believes that the government could solve it by making clear what reason Christiania has to trust them. To that Ole Kristensen reveals that this is the reason why they have stretched it to the lawsuit as a plan B if the implementation period does not provide any results.

Contribution to solution:

According to Ole Kristensen Christiania have not done anything to obtain the wanted trust from the governments side, as he believes that 'the ball is on their court'. To that he says that they on the other hand have made it worse by increasing the police raids. Finally, he says that there will not be any solution as long as the government try to trick them into an agreement.

How did the dialogue actually happen:

Ole Kristensen tells that the dialogue from their side mainly go through Knud Foldschak or the Contact Group. The Contact Group consists of people from all the districts at CA and are only made as it was a demand from the government. Ole Kristensen believes that the result had looked much worse if it had not been for the Contact group and Knud Foldschak, who through conversations with SES and the government have accomplished many of Christiania's wishes in 'the agreement'. He says that some of the actors have tried to speak at the common meetings, but this has not resulted in anything good, as they only trust Knud Foldschak to tell them the truth.

Did the dialogue function as intended:

Ole Kristensen states that they are quite happy with how the result has turned out, as they know it is necessary for Christiania to develop. But still he believes that the implementation period will make the government re-think some of the items in the offer for Christiania's advantage



	Opinion towards the dialogue - Outspoken
	<p>There are so many levels in this dialogue, that it is hard to follow them all.</p> <p>"A case like this can only be solved through intense diplomatic processes between the actors involved." Christine Antorini</p>
	<p>It has been a messy dialogue, because there are no one in particular to lead the dialogue and so many things have been said.</p> <p>"If you want to go further with CA you have to put pressure on them." Kristian Lyk-Jensen</p>
	<p>Dialogue is the only way to solve this dispute, but it is necessary that all participate on equal terms. And it is necessary to communicate with all actors.</p> <p>"The more liberal meetings, the more I support CA and vice versa." Ib Møller</p>
	<p>The dialogue has functioned as expected, it is hard when you have to do with people.</p> <p>"Sometimes it goes forwards, other times backwards within the dialogue" Flemming Borreskov</p>
	<p>The dialogue is the single most important tool to solve this conflict.</p> <p>"We see us as bridge builders between two relatively complicated actors - SES and CA." Jesper Nygård</p>
	<p>Dialogue is fine, but it should be on the other actors initiative, because we have given up on creating a dialogue with some of them.</p> <p>"Trust is thin on the ground." Ole Kristensen</p>

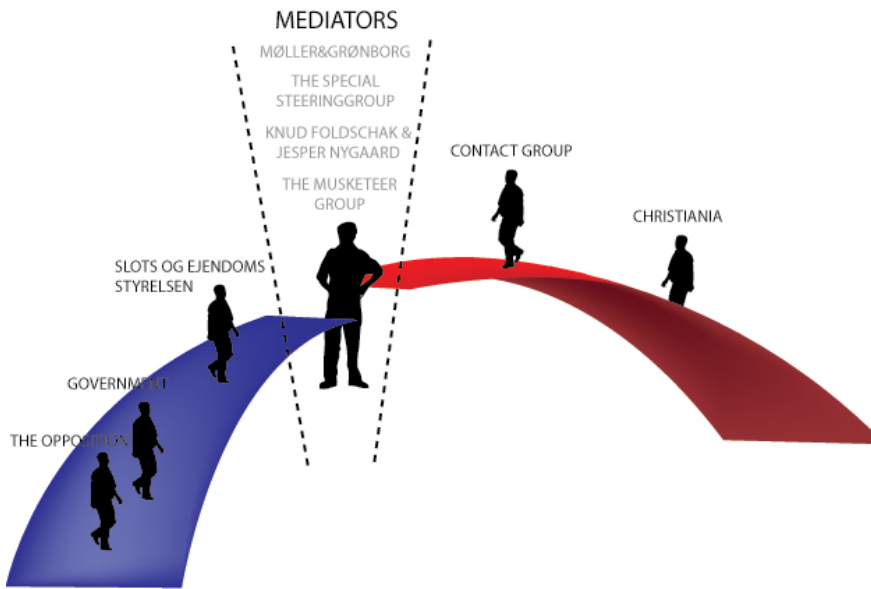
Opinion towards the dialogue - Unspoken	Attitude towards the other actors
The many actors have made the dialogue difficult to obtain.	The role of Christine Antorini has been to observe that the agreements made on the political level were executed. She is a passive observer of the actors in the conflict.
The dialogue is led with all who wishes to lead a dialogue, however some times it is nearly a waste of time.	Respect towards the well organised actors and a bit of superiority towards Christiania, because they cannot follow the rules SES normally works by.
It is hard to step into the dialogue, because there are so much mistrust and politics in it. People from CA is afraid to cooperate with anyone, because they will be marked as trators from the rest of CA.	They were respectful to all actors, because they were mediating between them.
It will be difficult to solve everything through dialogue.	They are awaiting the actions, because they have only recently been involved in the mediation between the State and CA. However they are talking to almost all, exopt Christiania who mistrust Realdania, because it is a capital based fund.
It is so time consuming, there are far to many meetings, but it is necessary to find a solution.	Very cooperative, because they are eager to find a solution to the conflict.
Mistrust and imbalance in the power-situation obstuctes a fair dialogue, no one will listen to us.	Mistrust in all the actors exopt Knud Foldschak, because they believe they are deliberately misinforming CA. Especially towards SES and the government, but partly also some of the other actors.

The matrix shows the actors attitude towards the dialogue. Quotations are marked as such, otherwise the statements are based on an interpretation of the interviews.

INTERVIEWS INTERPRETATION

Through the interviews it becomes clear, that there is large difference in the approach the actors apply to this conflict. This is of course connected with their reason for involvement; the mediators are involved through interest whereas the government, SES and Christiania are involved because they have to. The mediators therefore have the opportunity to leave or be replaced in the conflict, without to much commotion, if the conflict gets too extensive. So basically the actors can be reduced to Christiania and SES, because SES is executing the political actions set by the government. Christiania are at the moment willing to negotiate because they can see that otherwise there will be no Christiania in ten years, either due to the fact that the elder people have grown old and left the area, and thereby much of the atmosphere will have disappeared; or the area has become a part of general Copenhagen. SES normally takes care of gardens and castles around Denmark, and they are very focused on doing a good job. In this case they often enter a dialogue with their users, as they want to improve the maintenance according to their users. Therefore they are not used to much conflict about their job and they really do not wish to have so. When dealing with Christiania, SES cannot avoid conflict and discontentment. But however SES wants to solve this conflict as quick and smooth as possible, because it is not a job they like to upset their reputation.

However when looking at the statements from the different actors, the most intransigent actors are in fact SES and Christiania, they do not believe they can influence each other and feel great mistrust in each others approaches to negotiation. Therefore the mediators in this conflict become crucial to development of a durable solution.



The figure above shows which organisation has tried to obtain the role as mediator in the case. There has been a lot of different mediators, but they need to get the two main actors CA and the Government (SES) to cooperate, otherwise there will be no solution.

RETHINK THE DIALOGUE

After interviewing the actors it becomes clear that the dialogue has not yet been brought to a success. Many ideas have been mentioned and many initiatives have been taken but none of them has evidently been suitable for both sides of the table, as they all refer very differently to the goals for Christiania's future. Instead of dividing the actors in two parts as we earlier believed – pro and con Christiania, it now looks to be a lot more complicated. It appears that all actors are working on a plan of legalization in one way or another. The new division on the other hand concerns how the different actors interpret the word *legalization*.



One of the central questions in the interviews was the actor's opinions on the problems at Christiania. The answers to these form a clear pattern. Although it is not in all cases the main problem, all actors bring up the issue of Christiania's decision-making process. The fact that Christiania does not have any representative party to negotiate on their behalf and instead rely on common meetings, where everyone has to agree, provides a great deal of troubles for the dialogue. When stretching a process as long as this case has been, it often results in a lack of overview, which again results in a lack of understanding and possibility for influence. Christiania's ambiguous attitude to the dialogue has created a lack of confidence among the other actors, as they are not sure of the value of the agreements, because the agreement easily can be dismissed at the common meeting, even though the majority accepts it.

When faced with the question whether the dialogue has functioned as intended all actors explain that they believe to have carried out a good dialogue under the given conditions, but afterwards they all recall smaller issues which have troubled the process. This underlines that the dialogue has been well-functioning on the surface, while the different ways to look at the result, indicate something else. This misunderstanding around the 'December-agreement' has also been discovered by the Musketeer Group, which as mentioned was established last year as a result of the indistinct answer from Christiania to the prior offer. The agenda from the Musketeer Group is to act as mediators and build bridges between Christiania and the state by gaining the trust from both sides. Although their intentions are good, they have not been able to get the clear answer from Christiania - which is needed.

Apparently all parts are happy with how the dialogue has been and about the 'agreement', but the fact that Ole Kristensen, on behalf of the Christianites indicates that the implementation-period and the lawsuits are a way for Christiania to push the state one step further, points to a lack in the process. They both believe to have reached a breakthrough, but reality shows that they have different interpretations of the recent result and are unsure of each other.

According to the many misunderstandings in the dialogue, Habermas' earlier mentioned ideas on communication and dialogue could be brought to mind. Habermas believes that dialogue only is valid if the parties involved are equal and hold the same approach to the dialogue. In order to see the current dialogue at Christiania in this theoretical view, it can be compared to Habermas' four fundamental guidelines for the optimal dialogue. [Thyssen, 1994] First of all, Habermas states, that both speaker and listener must know and use a language with the same understanding. According to that it is obvious that the Christiania-dialogue has failed. When two parties have such different opinions on an issue as they do in the Christiania case it becomes clear that the level of understanding do not consist, and thereby that they do not speak the same language. The most obvious reason for the different use of language is that Christiania is involved in a private and emotional level whereas the other side is involved on a professional level, which causes them to communicate in a more academic language.

The next two statements by Habermas are that both speaker and listener must assume the arguments are true, and that the parties must respect each other as worthy to participants in the conversation. Also this has failed in the current dialogue, which is underlined in Ole Kristensen's claim according to the main problem. Ole Kristensen believes that the Christianites have no reason to trust the state, as they several times have proven so. This also concerns the last statement saying that the language may not be used to mislead the listener. When there is no trust among the parties the chances for carrying out the optimal dialogue becomes limited. There are even actors in this case, whose primary goal is to carry misleading information into the debate. With that in mind it is at the same time important to remember

that Habermas' advice can be seen as a little naive when applied in the 'real world'. Therefore, the fact that the dialogue has failed according to Habermas, should not necessarily be seen as a defeat. In stead it indicates that the perfect dialogue is not as immediate as Habermas suggested, but in stead contains a number of layers of a much more complex character.

In that view the parties must seek other opportunities in order to reach a suitable solution, which brings out the possibility of a third part to take on the role as mediator between the inconsistent parties. But this is not an easy job to pursue at all. On the contrary a lot of aspects must be considered when dealing with contested cases like Christiania. This is indicated by the work and result provided by the Musketeer Group. According to this it is apparently not enough to contain the right professional skills in order to create the optimal conditions for dialogue. The Musketeer Group holds a great deal of skills as they cover both economic, legal, social and emotional aspects of the case. But this has thus shown not to be enough. In stead it might work in the opposite direction; meaning that the members in the Musketeer Group are too involved in the case to discover all lacks and flaws. A possible answer could be found in the first model tried in 1980, where Møller & Grønberg was given the assignment due to their lack of relation to neither Christiania nor Copenhagen municipality. An external mediator has the advantage that he has the same relation to each of the contested parties. Therefore he can easier gain their trust and make them see what his agenda is. For an external actor to take the role as mediator it is therefore important that he "plays with open cards" as he otherwise will develop mistrust among the parties.

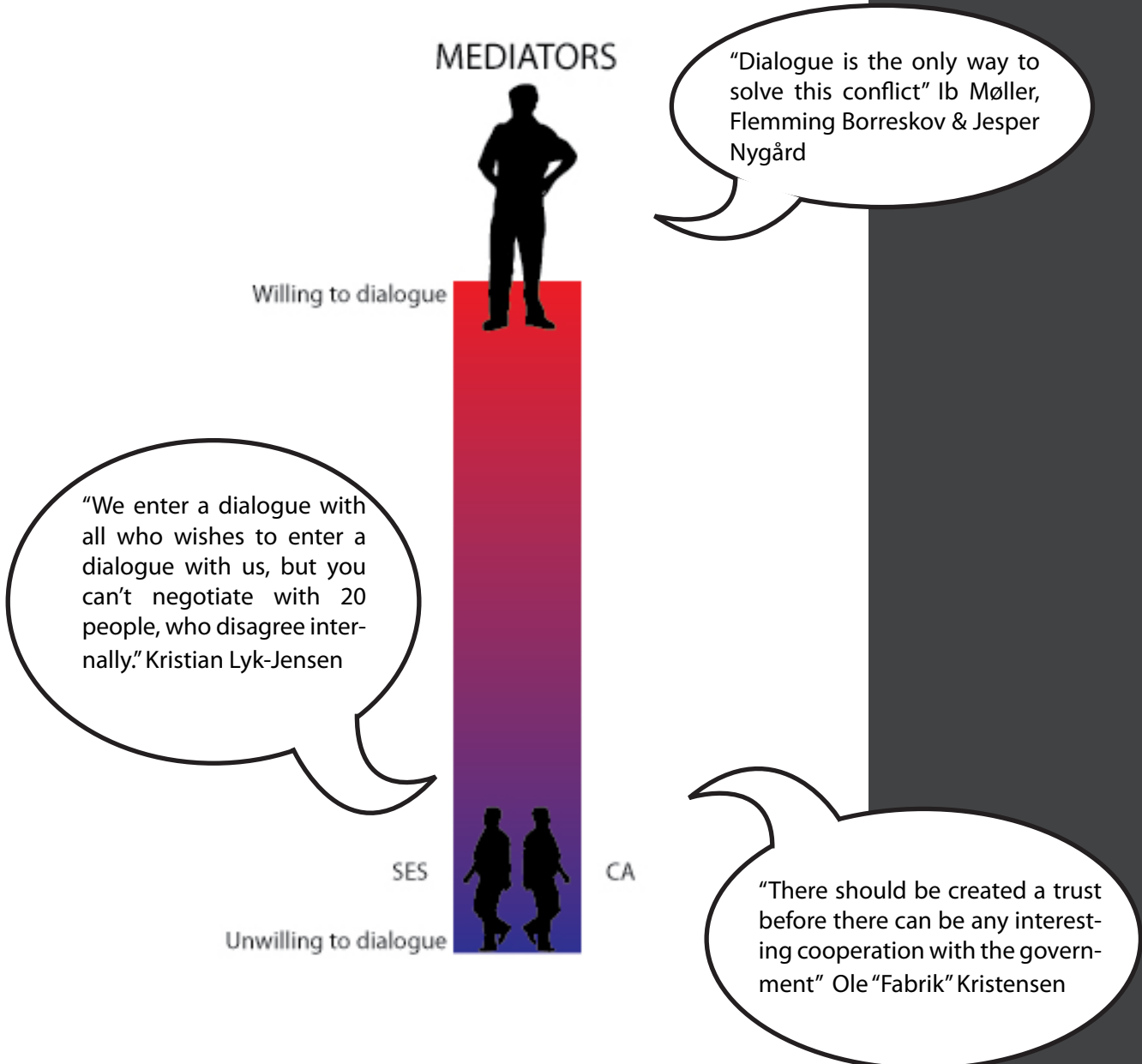
Even though Møller & Grønberg had the optimal conditions for mediating, that did not succeed in solving the conflict. The reason for that can be found in the fact that neither of the parts held enough will to find a solution, which in the end caused Møller & Grønberg's work to be forgotten.

It has now been established that there has been a lack of communication, and that it has not decreased the conflict, - it has possibly only made the conflict escalate. It is unlikely that the actors in this situation will meet each other face to face and deal with the issues. This conclusion is based on the fact, that none of the actors answered the question regarding plans for Christiania in the future and what their role in it was. The actors have a reluctance to take responsibility in bringing more issues into the debate. However it is the only way to go, as all actors are awaiting the other ones initiative. It is interesting to see how the actors behave according to one another. All show the deepest respect and understanding when mentioning the other actors and their opinions. It is impressive to observe people with so different opinions only having praise for the other actors. This is yet again a proof of the lack of honesty and clear talk in the conflict. This is obstructing a progression in the debate, because the actors disguise their real opinions in order to 'stay out of trouble'.

As urban designers we cannot get any further with the dialogue, without having to stir things up. It is naive to think that this conflict can be solved, when no one wishes to take action on the opinions they present. Our goal as urban designers would not be to hold their hands and get them to agree; because they simply do not agree on the basic elements like how society works. However it is not our intention as urban designers to walk away and say; we have established that the dialogue is not working, so we cannot do anything about it. Our goal is to transform the statements and opinions presented by the actors into something spatial. The "Agreement" is a result of the dialogue lead between the actors; for some it is valuable evidence that they have accomplished something and to others it is just a lot of words, and no action. If the actors are too afraid to come up with suggestions for Christiania's future development, then it is the urban designers job to dare it and to

do it. The urban designer can do this, because he does not have any constituency to serve. The goal is to give suggestions and ideas for the development, which can transform opinions and words into physical development. As established in the first chapter, the process can be as important as the product. Therefore the urban design-process should be open and with integration of the many different actors in the case. By transforming the opinions into physically design, the urban designer could perform as mediator between the parties. Not by techniques developed by negotiators or mediators, but by methods and techniques developed through the urban design profession. Thereto it is important to realize that it is not the urban designers job to solve all problems, but instead it is the aim to solve the planning-concerned issues, which hopefully can contribute to the solving of other issues.

MEDIATORS



The illustration shows the approach to the dialogue, SES and Christiania being the two most important actors and however also the ones less willing to enter a dialogue with one another.

CHAPTER 4

GUIDELINES TO MEDIATE

After listening to and considering the statements from the organisations involved, it becomes clear that there still needs a great deal of work in order to transform this into useable knowledge. According to the first chapter it is explained that while the actors may be able to formulate their requirements, they lack the skill to translate it into physical solutions, and therefore it must be up to the urban designer to bring the outcome of the participatory approach to the next level. But this is easier said than done, as the interviews did not show any sign of the actors wanting to compromise, but instead resulted in six more or less different agendas for the future of Christiania. As stated in the section on the participatory approach, the designer must at this point try to overview all suggestions and use his professional expertise to transform these into useable knowledge. At this point it is important to remember the definition of urban design as being as much a focus on the process as on the actually product. And along with that it is important to see the role of the urban designer as only one step in the process of solving the Christiania case, as this is a case covering a large number of aspects. This means that before trying to transform the outcome of the interviews into physical solutions, one must acknowledge that the aim in this case is not to solve all issues concerning Christiania, but only the planning issues.

With that in mind, a suitable method must be found in order to shape the physical development of Christiania with basis in the outcome of the last chapter. In the section of the urban designer as mediator, a number of guidelines are presented as a strategy by which the designer can pursue the role as mediator. These guidelines are formulated by Forester, and are a way for the mediator to propose mutually beneficial agreeable options for joint action. Forester's guidelines are concerned around the issues of dialogue and should provide a method for the mediator to overview the situation and thereby pursue a well-functioning dialogue. Chapter three has been made with basis in these six guidelines, where we as urban designers have pursued the role as mediator. The guidelines have helped us in communicating with the different parties, wherefore we have been able to make them trust that we did not have any alternative intentions, and in gaining enough trust in order to make them release details of their role in the game. Whether they all have told the truth or not is not the issue in this chapter, the important thing is thus, that the guidelines from Forester have helped us bring the process to the next level. In that view, the aim for this chapter is to find a method in transforming the outcome of chapter three to the next level – the physical development of Christiania's future.

Whereas the six guidelines from Forester were concerned how to mediate and not who the mediator should be, it leaves this method with a large flexibility of professional expertise. This means that the urban designer is not necessarily the most suitable mediator at this level, as the guidelines are not directly linked to any specific profession. Anyone can pursue the role, as long as he can overview all the guidelines and knows how to use them. This fact did not have any mayor consequences in the current case as the guidelines as mentioned was brought into play at an early stage. The next step, on the other hand, should seek to transform the outcome of the interview into usable knowledge, and therefore the method in doing so must be of a much more concrete character. As this paper deals with the development of Christiania from an urban design point of view, the next step must contain urban design aspects.

Due to the fact that the six written guidelines from Forester contributed as intended, the answer on how to bring the gained knowledge further in the process could be found in a similar method. The differences, as mentioned, lies in the fact, that the new guidelines should be much more concrete and contain physical planning aspects. These guidelines should indicate that we as urban designers are the obvious choice as mediators at this level, with that in mind that our main focus of course is on the planning-concerned issues of Christiania. If our contribution should cause changes in – or even solutions to other issues at Christiania, it will therefore only be a positive effect of the entire process, and thereby another indication that the urban designer are the obvious choice for this job.

Forester's Guidelines (pp.29)

1. Mediators should recognize, and work proactively to move beyond whatever history and dissatisfactions the citizens have with past government efforts. [Forester 2006]
2. When actors turn to mutual blaming and recrimination, mediators can use indirect strategies to explore issues, enable learning, and simultaneously build relationships. [Forester 2006]
3. Because actors often bring suspicions and vulnerabilities to encounters, such meetings may often benefit from using trained mediators. [Forester 2006]
4. Mediator educators and practitioners should cultivate a broad repertoire of skills and strategies in face of conflict. [Forester 2006]
5. Mediated participation requires deliberately recognizing the past and addressing future possibilities. [Forester 2006]
6. Because mediating participation means building mutual beneficial agreements, mediators must distinguish between (a) fostering dialogues, (b) moderating debates, and (c) mediating negotiations. [Forester 2006]

GUIDELINES TO DESIGN

Through the research it has become obvious that in order to design for contested areas, the urban designer needs a series of guidelines on how to implement all knowledge. The six guidelines from Forester indicate what one could call 'good manners' in a design process; however when an area is as contested as Christiania, the dialogue quickly moves beyond 'good manners.'

When dealing with a case like Christiania, the conflict obviously consists of many layers and therefore it is important to choose a starting point for the solution-process, as this will help create the needed overview of the entire situation. This paper has chosen a basis in the profession of urban design, and to the urban designer the physical environment is of great importance. Therefore it seems obvious to use the physical environment as a starting point for solving the conflict. In that view the following guidelines derived from the research of the urban design profession seeks to combine this with more physical initiatives. At the same time they are made upon the results and interpretations of the interviews, with that in mind that they should be applicable to the development of any given contested case.

1. Use statements and opinions from the involved actors in the design process.

This refers to the fact that when the actors feel they are taken seriously, they are more likely to contribute to a constructive solution. Furthermore they will acknowledge that they can get some suggestions realized and some they have to forget about. This guideline is applicable in almost all cases involving participants, however when the case is highly contested it becomes more important that the actors trust the mediator to listen to them, even though their demands might be too extreme.

2. Concretize words into something spatial.

Dealing with heavily contested areas, a lot of words have been said, and some might only be to confuse the opponents. Therefore it is important to interpret the actor's words into comprehensible material; this could be spatial images, as images sometimes can make people look at certain aspects in another way. However when doing so, one should be aware that there is a risk in people not being able to detach themselves from the precise image, and therefore become more hostile to a further development of the concrete spatial image. All in all this guideline stresses the importance of communication without words, because words are used in such massive amount that they lose their importance.

3. Divide the contested area into smaller areas or themes.

As referred to in the previous guideline, people sometimes have an easier chance of comprehending smaller issues. When an urban design case becomes highly contested it is most often due to the fact that it holds a large number of different layers. By focusing on a single object or element one can easier obtain a common agreement, and when doing so it becomes obvious that the process is more likely to succeed, as it creates a positive atmosphere for the more difficult parts of the debate afterwards.

4. Keep the masterplan simple.

When dealing with an overall masterplan of a highly contested area, it is important to keep it in general themes. Unless the conflict is over precise proportions, no one will benefit from too much information or decisions in the masterplan. The development of contested areas could also benefit from an open masterplan, as it makes the actors feel they have some unlimited areas they can influence with their agenda. But with that in mind, that the purpose of the masterplan is to control the uncontrolled.

The solution you get from using the above mentioned guidelines is very similar to one you get from the framework-environment approach, which is mentioned in chapter one. To refresh the memory, the framework-environment is defined by designing cities without designing buildings – a masterplan saying how the built environment should be, made on behalf of three different levels. The differences to this chapter lies in the focus on the participatory approach. When not involving the actors the result becomes a matter of the designer's professional skills, and are more likely not to gain approval from the general public as they have no relation to the result. If the result on the contrary is made in cooperation with a series of actors, they suddenly feel a connection to the environment as their opinions and suggestions might have played a part in the result. Also when consulting actors during the process it could result in, that much of the negativity has past on, when the solution finally is publicized. Therefore the actors are less likely to protest, as their objections to the case already have been discussed.

If the guidelines are applied on a specific case, like Christiania, the solution you will obtain will be a compromise, where one actor gives a little and takes a little. It is most unlikely that you can find a mediating solution, as a compromise is not the opportune solution to any actor. Therefore it brings out the importance of considering whom the design made upon the guidelines benefits and who it does not benefit. In the case of Christiania, no given actors will benefit directly. In stead they will all benefit indirectly as they all have had their say in the process. It is very likely that they at first glaze will reject the solution, but when looking deeper into it, they should be able to recognize their own requirements. It is obvious that not all agree in the entire result, as it of cause is a compromise, which in the end is made by the urban designer. But by following the six guidelines from Forester according to the dialogue, and the four guidelines according to the development of a contested area, the compromise made by the designer should be a well-functioning solution. The guidelines thus, are very general, they set the boundaries for a developing design process, where the actors are involved, not in order to obtain total agreement, but in order to make them respect the other actors' opinion as well as their own. This means that we as urban designers are well aware that we neither can nor should please all actors involved, our role is on the contrary to listen and consider their different opinions, make use of all gathered material, and create a suitable solution based on our professional knowledge and expertise.



CHAPTER 5

SCENARIOS

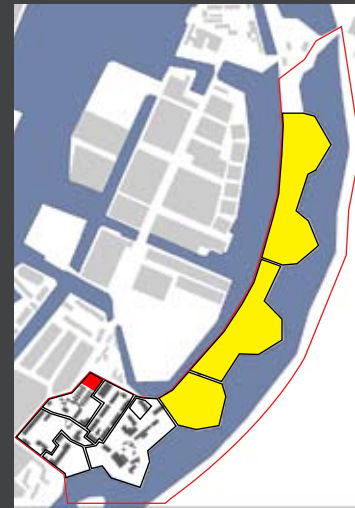
The guidelines set up some rules for developing design proposals for a contested area. These guidelines are derived from interviews and research of materials regarding the urban design profession. We have established that Christiania is one of the most contested cases in newer Danish urban design practice, and in order to move the development forth, it is necessary to take action upon other things than dialogue.

The following scenarios are an application of the developed guidelines on the case of Christiania. The actors have been reduced into two main oppositions, SES and Christiania, as they are the only ones who are not able to resign from the project, and the ones with most contradicting opinions. As showed in the interviews, these two actors are not very keen on the idea of a further dialogue, because there is a lack of faith between them. The concept of making these two actors compromise through mediation has shown to be very unlikely. However by following the guidelines with basis in the interviews, it might be possible to get SES and Christiania to agree separately on parts of the future development.

The actor's opinions have been turned into physical images with basis in an interpretation of the interviews and other material published by both actors. This is due to the fact that images are able to create ideas in situations where the dispute has become filled with meaningless words and broken promises.

To overcome the massive amount of problems concerning entire Christiania, the area has been divided into smaller parts. This is not done to overlook the many layers of problems regarding Christiania; on the contrary it limits the amount of problems, as it only concerns a limited area. As we have chosen to work with the two main contested areas in CA, it is based on the thought that if some of the problems with these two areas were solved, then it would create basis for solving other problems as well.

The reason for involving the actors in spatial and physical development is based on the approach to urban design, as this has shown to be focussed on the process. And as mentioned the actors are more likely to be positive towards a solution if they see themselves as part of the process. Our goal as urban designers is to create a compromise based on both the actor's opinions and our own expertise, but with that in mind that it is not possible to satisfy everyone 100 percent. It is therefore important, that both SES and Christiania can relate to the design proposal and recognizes elements of their own suggestions to the area. Regarding the two actors however, it is necessary to mention that they possess two different approaches to the design as well. SES are not as much focused on the physical appearance, as on the organisationally system of Christiania; whereas Christiania are highly focused on the local environment and the living conditions of the affected people. The following design proposals are created according to these two approaches in order to create a well-functioning compromise tolerable for the actors.



RØDE SOLS PLADS

THE EMBANKMENT

THE EMBANKMENT

The embankment area is chosen for visualization for obvious reasons, as the future of this area is one of the main issues of the conflict. The embankment covers the entire rural part of Christiania as is currently built with a few more or less randomly placed housings. The embankment has officially been scheduled as a monument as it is a historical remnant, which makes the houses illegal and therefore reason for heavily contesting. The agenda from Christiania is to preserve the existing buildings and make room for more, while SES wants to tear them all down and turn the embankment into a recreational area.



RØDE SOLS PLADS

Røde Sols Plads is chosen for one of the scenarios because this area has caused a great deal of discussion in the conflict. The area is located in the outer corner of Christiania's urban part – along Prinsessegade on the outside and right next to Den Grå Hal on the inside. Currently the area is divided into two. The part next to Den Grå Hal contains small housings, while the part along the road consists of a small open space surrounded by planting. The discussion of the area is centred on the future use. While Christiania wants to continue using the area for spontaneous purposes and still leave a part of it undeveloped, SES wants Realdania to buy the area in order to build a large number of new housings, originally as owner-occupied flats, but the compromise in the agreement only opens up for public housings.

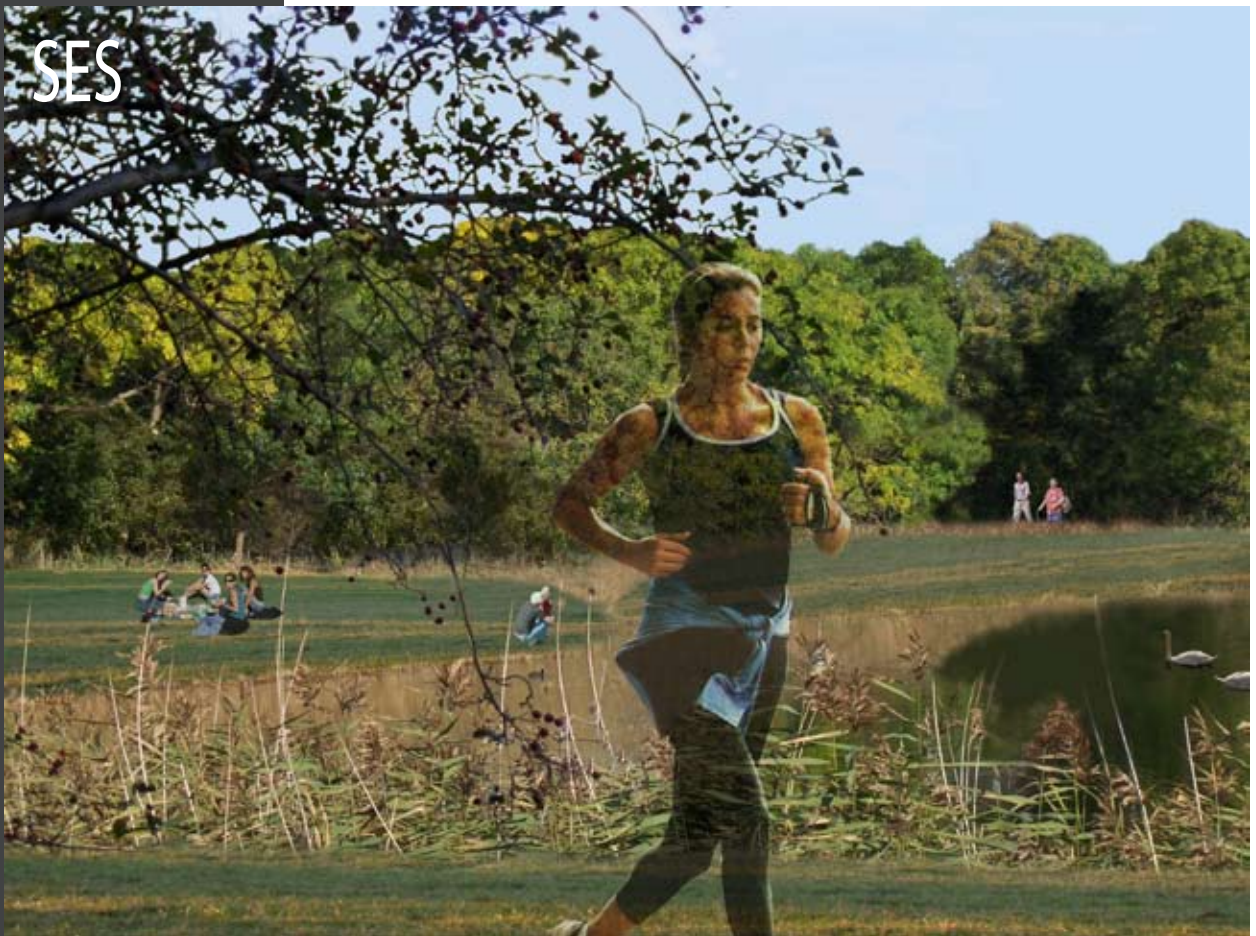


THE EMBANKMENT

To the future development of the embankment SES suggests in the 'agreement' following arrangements:

"...reduction of plantings, re-planting of embankment-trees, establishment of grass-covered embankment-terrain, and continued cleaning of Magasindammene." According to the illegally built houses, they state: "As a part of the re-establishment of the embankment 58 buildings must be torn down, whereas 32 of them are housings." [SES 2007, pp36]

In that view the illustration shows the embankment as a recreational area, where all buildings that are visible from the main path is removed. A large part of the earlier overgrown water edge is changed into meadow-like grass areas, where all kind of people can enjoy the idyllic piece of nature in the middle of Copenhagen. [SES 2007, pp36]



Christiania's wishes for the future of the embankment are described in their development-plan from 2006. To the State's argument of tearing down houses as the embankment is a preserved element, Christiania states: "There are no sign that the housings along the embankment are conflicting with its historical value...on the contrary, audiences increasing use of the area indicates that they find the arrangement attractive." [Christiania,2006, pp 44]

According to their future plans for this area they continue; "There is today a great need for new residents and new housings at Christiania. We [The Christianites] believe that it is interesting to look at the building-potential of entire Christiania, and in that view the potentials in new buildings at the embankment." [Christiania 2006, pp 44]

The illustration shows the scenario according to Christiania's suggestions for the embankment. In this case the area has kept it's character with trees, bushes and reeds growing wild and uncontrolled. New housings have been build in between the existing, which makes the area seem a bit more private wherefore visitors from the outside have decreased.



RØDE SOLS PLADS

To the future use of Røde Sols Plads SES states in their Agreement from 2006: "It is the intention to implement new development consisting of business- and residential-buildings...a total development on no more than 7400 m2 floor space" [SES 2007, pp70]

And according to the physical appearance they further describe: "...the new development must as far as possible be experimenting and be in interaction with Christiania's existing architecture." [SES 2007, pp70]

The illustration of SES's wishes shows off Røde Sols Plads as a highly built area where colourful and experimenting housings dominate. Much of the existing planting is replaced by park-like elements. The location along Prinsessegade makes the area more attractive for people from the outside, wherefore the character of Røde Sols Plads is likely to become more a part of general Copenhagen than of Christiania.



In Christiania's development plan they suggest according to the future of Røde Sols Plads: "The current cabin-village is expanded. The housings are slowly developed according to needs, and there are built new housings." [Christiania 2006, pp 74]
To the character of the area they continue: "The scale is small and intimate, and the atmosphere between the housings in the area is similar to a small Garden City..." [Christiania 2006, pp 74]
In that view the illustration shows an almost untouched Røde Sols Plads, where a few cabins create a small space for the children to play. In that way the area remains in it's existing character of being temporary and with possibility for further development.



OUR SUGGESTION

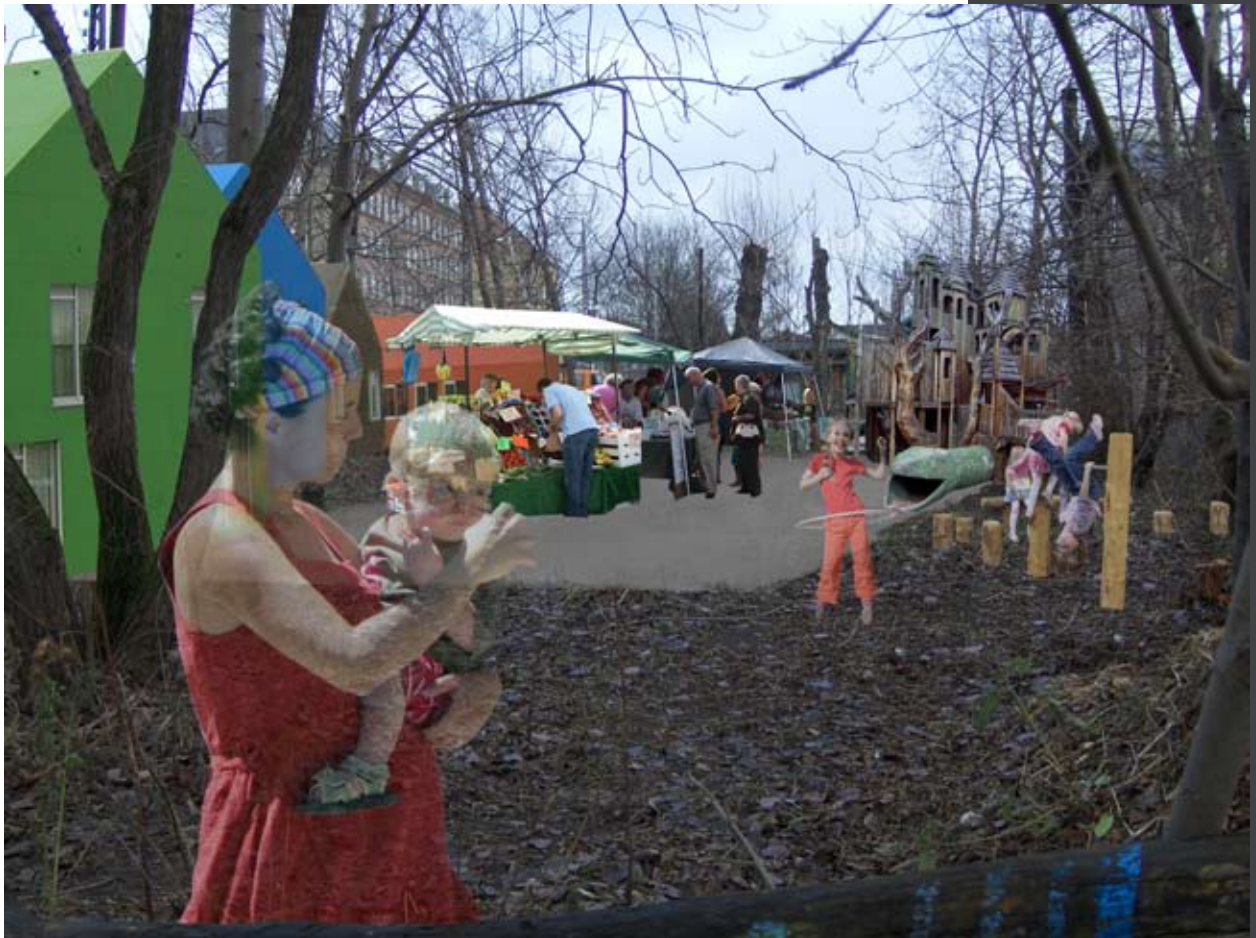
THE EMBANKMENT

In general we as urban designers agree with SES, that the embankment should be preserved, because it is an element of the city's character and Christiania should respect that, because if it had not been for the embankment the area would have been built as dense as the surrounding areas of inner Copenhagen. However we do not see the embankment as an obstacle in having buildings along the lake side, as it does not interfere with the profile of the embankment. So our suggestion for the embankment area is that houses with a remaining and special architectural character should be allowed to be located at the area. The occasional housings in an otherwise recreational area give a varied experience when walking along the lake side. If the housing was totally removed as SES suggests, the area would not differ from so many other recreational areas. The mix of experimenting housings and the recreational environment is not alike any other place and should therefore be preserved, with respect for the historic remnant in shape of the embankment.



RØDE SOLS PLADS

Røde Sols Plads is a relatively small area in the corner of Christiania, and therefore we have found it important to keep the design in relation to the atmosphere at Christiania, because it otherwise could end up as an excluded part of Christiania. However, to make space for new residents at Christiania, the building of experimenting housings as suggested by SES has been adapted to the area. This is not in contradiction to Christiania's wishes either. The local atmosphere has been obtained through a small gravel square for temporary use for outdoor concerts and small markets. This makes room for Den Grå Hal to have outdoor arrangements as well. Further more the area has been enlarged with a playground area, so that Christiania's original purpose is underlined, and the people living in the dense neighbourhoods around Christiania can benefit from its continued existence.



SCENARIOS

The scenarios are an illustration on how to interpret words into images, to clarify and illuminate other hidden potentials in the debate. The scenarios should not be seen as a specific solution to the future development at Christiania, they are a representation of how the process could function in order to find an acceptable solution for both actors in the conflict. As described earlier it is important that all parties in a contested design process are heard and understood, furthermore they should be able to recognise their own ideas in the design proposal. The process could be a parallel course of illustrating the words in form of a scenario. In this case, the two actors' ideas would be brought into the debate in a participatory dialogue. Afterwards the method for the urban designer would be to use his expertise in combining the two separate scenarios into one. This one will have to represent parts of both actors' ideas in order to provide an approval of the urban designer's product. In this sense the process is as important as the product, because if the actors did not have influence on the final design product they will not approve it at all.

URBAN DESIGN AS MEDIATOR?

After dealing with the case of Christiania and their dialogue with the involved actors all through this paper, we should be able to shortly answer the question; what are the problems regarding Christiania? This is thus easier said than done, as our investigation of Christiania and the heavily contested conflict concerning their relation to surrounding society has shown to reveal a large number of problems. However, the overall problem could easily be addressed, as it basically regards that Christiania since its beginning has been based of rules alternative to Danish society, which obviously cannot be accepted by the government. This has not after 36 years of contesting been brought to a solution, which again has resulted in a bottleneck situation. Meaning that finally the conflict has reached a point where everyone sees new developments and new ways of thinking as a necessity of the future existence of Christiania; but in spite of that no acceptable solution has been made. This paper is concerned around the dialogue –or the lack of so, and how it has been lead throughout the conflict; and in that view the missing solution has become obvious. In our interpretation the dialogue has failed due to the fact that the opponent actors speak different languages. In other word, they are not at the same level of wanting a solution. The government's agenda is on a legal and more academic level, where the reason for involving is bound to the legalization – to make Christiania legal. Christiania has on the contrary a more personal agenda with accepting dialogue, as the solving of the conflict will mean a future existence of Christiania and thereby a future existing of their homes. For that reason they have led the dialogue by using a more emotional language, which has caused a contradiction in their ability to actually find a solution and their willingness to compromise. This means that even though they have acknowledged that dialogue is necessary, they still believe they can lead the dialogue on their terms.

The problem with the missing dialogue between Christiania and the government is as mentioned only the tip of the iceberg, as this issue covers a series of extensional problems. These sub-problems can be divided more or less into two categories, as they refer to two different aspects of the area – the physical and the organizational. The physical aspects contain issues like; location, appearance and amount of buildings –this involves both the tearing down of existing and the construction of new. According to the organizational aspects, the issues concern who the new residents at Christiania should be, how they are chosen, and who should decide these aspects.

Whereas the problems around the case of Christiania have shown to cover not only urban design issues, but a wide field of different aspects, it brings out the question whether urban designer knowledge is enough in order to solve the conflict. The answer to this is obvious. We as urban designers can, when using the right tools, mediate with the purpose of solving contested areas. This however, raises the question of that the right tool then covers? Throughout this paper the aspect of mediation has been tested as a tool for solving contested urban environments, and the outcome of this has shown that mediating as a tool is not enough, as it only covers a small part of the conflict. In this view we have two options; - to apply a series of alternative tools concerning social, economical and political issues of the case or to acknowledge that we only are capable of solving the urban design issues. Our choice must be the last option. Not because we are unconfident of our own expertise, but on the contrary because we are aware of our limits –as well as our strengths. We have in that way chosen to see the process in a more realistic way, as we have acknowledged that there are others better suited for these purposes – in the same way that we are the best suited for mediating with the purpose of solving urban design issues.

REFLECTION

The point of departure for this project has been to find a mediating solution to the troubling dialogue between the actors involved in the case of Christiania and make them cooperate on a future solution. The secondary goal was to develop guidelines for contested areas in general, with basis in research of Christiania.

The reason for choosing Christiania as main focus is bound to the idea that the urban designer as mediator could contribute to solve the contesting of the case, as we possess competences which have not prior been applied the conflict. We have at the same time found a challenge in this conflict, because we it made us able to test different tools on an extreme case. As the project has unfolded it has become more and more clear that the large amount of layers in the case have made it unlikely to find a mediating solution. The actors involved are far from agreeing, -not even on the most basic aspects like the Danish Constitution. In that view it has been naive to believe that all actors should be able to agree as a result of our mediation. Even though we have come to realize that we alone cannot solve the conflict, we are confident that we are able to solve specific elements of the conflict. Some aspects we believe can be solved in use of urban design approaches and others we are aware needs different tools and methods. However knowing that, it has not scared us from getting involved and using tools and expertise of the urban design profession. As urban designers and as mediators, the main goal should be to create a forum with an innovative atmosphere and opportunity for mutual understanding among the actors. But when that is impossible, one should dare to enter the conflict with the tools one possesses even though the atmosphere is likely to get hostile.

As urban designers you should be aware that you cannot satisfy every one, but when mediating it is still crucial that you provide all actors the same chance of influence, even though it might not be possible in reality. Thereafter it is the designer's responsibility to choose the best solution and put forward the better argument. When mediating in contested cases there is always a small risk of failure, but when dealing with a heavily contested area as Christiania the risk is considerable higher, due to their decision making process, where a few Christianites can obstruct the mediating proposal on behalf of the entire community.

Throughout this paper different approaches to urban design and mediating have been explored. These approaches have been the outset for dealing with Christiania. However as the project have developed it has become obvious that these approaches are too narrow minded and detached from reality when concerning a heavily contested area as Christiania. All together the used theories cover many aspects of mediating in a contested area, but the problem is that they tend to focus on a single matter, and therefore become more detached from how things work in reality. Habermas is very focused on a fair dialogue and equality in power, and has thereby detached himself from the reality of life, where we cannot all be equal and fair. On the contrary we all have different talents and abilities which make Habermas' thoughts difficult to pursue in reality. Steinø reduces in the same way urban design to cover three main approaches, where you chose the best one in a certain case, and then all issues should be covered. As theorists used in this paper only focuses on certain aspects of urban design; -they tend to forget the importance of human nature, which we have experienced to be the core in the conflict. Human nature is filled with irregularities and emotions, and in the case of Christiania emotions are very important, because the conflict concerns people's personal convictions on how society should be and more important it concerns people's homes. As we have based our approach towards Christiania on these theories, we have realised along the way that the used theories and approaches were not enough to cover all aspect of this contested conflict, but however they have contributed to a larger understanding of the abilities within the field of urban design and mediation.

A central goal of this project has as mentioned, been to test and develop tools of mediation in contested cases. But one important aspect not accounted for in the theories are the commitment and will to fight among the personal involved people. As described the conflict is not solvable in all layers from an urban design point of view, but on the contrary this approach can contribute to solve parts of the conflict where other expertises can contribute to solve other aspects. However the Christianites have taken the first important step towards an acceptance for further development. They have done so as they fear that Christiania otherwise will cease to exist. This could either be due to the fact that the inhabitants will literally become extinct, or because the government will loose patience in waiting for break-through in the negotiations. However, the Christianites have accepted that they will have to adjust aspects of their free town according to Danish constitution, and the government has accepted Christiania as a permanent aspect of Copenhagen. This means that they do not wish to tear it down, but only adjust it according to the Danish constitution. So in theory the approach to negotiations has been the same from both sides of the fence, but still the real conflict is based on the fact that the actors involved are participating on two different levels. The government is involved due to their profession whereas Christiania is involved due to their emotions towards the place they call home.

As a result of the process of this paper one of the central acknowledgements is that, when entering a case like Christiania, which is so fundamentally different than everything else, we must enter with open eyes and therefore not be naive in the way we see our own role. On the contrary we must focus on the issues that our expertise covers and be able to overview the process in term of knowing when our

job begins. In that view this paper shapes the general lines for the role of urban design in the case of Christiania. This means that our job has already begun, as we have entered with knowledge of mediating, which us the needed overview. This has made us be aware of our next step which involves the further detailing concerning Christiania's future. In that way this paper should be seen as the first part in a series of two where both the answer regarding our role in the game and the future role of Christiania is stated for.



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