Society and Culture Preliminary and HSC 2e has been completely revised to align with the New South Wales Society and Culture Stage 6 Syllabus. The text introduces students to the fundamental concepts of persons, culture, time, society and environment, and builds on this knowledge to consider the additional course and related depth study concepts. Examples from contemporary society and the impact of technologies on individuals, groups and institutions are integrated throughout each chapter. Other features of the text include:

- Coverage of all depth studies that incorporates current research, theorists and contemporary examples
- Focus studies that explore the impact of technology, globalisation, change and trends, and future directions
- Detailed framework for completing the Personal Interest Project (PIP)
- Activities that consolidate student learning and preparation for the HSC examination
- Images and diagrams that incorporate current data and research, illustrate complex ideas and provide real-world examples
- Relevant websites, information boxes, film studies, interviews and media extracts to support class discussion, individual research, homework and exam preparation

Register online at: www.nelsonnet.com.au
to access digital resources to support improved learning & teaching*
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The focus of this chapter is to examine group dynamics and their effect on the attitudes and behaviours of group members. It addresses factors influencing conformity and nonconformity and, using examples, looks at responses to nonconformity.

**Outcomes**

A student:

H1 evaluates and effectively applies social and cultural concepts
H2 explains the development of personal, social and cultural identity
H3 analyses relationships and interactions within and between social and cultural groups
H5 analyses continuity and change and their influence on personal and social futures
H7 selects, organises, synthesises and analyses information from a variety of sources for usefulness, validity and bias
H9 applies complex course language and concepts appropriate for a range of audiences and contexts
H10 communicates complex information, ideas and issues using appropriate written, oral and graphic forms.

**The key concepts are:**

**DEINDIVIDUATION** ➤ When individuals lose self-awareness and self-restraint when acting within a group that allows more anonymity. When deindividuation occurs, individuals feel less responsible for their actions and will do things in groups that they otherwise would not do.

**DEVIANC** ➤ When an individual or group chooses to reject the prevailing social norms. When values, beliefs and attitudes are different from the majority and can result in behaviours that differ from the social.

**SELF-CONCEPT** ➤ Composed of the various identities, attitudes, beliefs and values that an individual holds about himself or herself and by which the individual defines himself or herself as a specific objective identity: the ‘self’.

**SOCIAL COGNITION** ➤ The encoding, storage, retrieval and processing of information in an individual’s mind.

**SOCIAL COHESION** ➤ When society works together to achieve high levels of wellbeing for all members and when individuals and groups cooperate because they hold the same values, beliefs and attitudes.

**STEREOTYPE** ➤ The preconceived view of the characteristics of a group held by individuals who are not members of that group. These views are usually negative, generalised and inflexible, and ignore differences that exist between the members of the stereotyped group.

**VALUES** ➤ Deeply held ideas and beliefs that guide our thinking, language and behaviour. Differences in values exist among groups of people in society and are a part of one’s culture. Values can be challenged.

**WORLDVIEW** ➤ A particular philosophy of life or conception of the world that is characterised by an organised and accepted set of ideas that attempts to explain the social, cultural, physical and psychological world.

**WEBLINKS**

THE NATURE OF SOCIAL CONFORMITY AND NONCONFORMITY

Conformity happens when an individual changes their attitudes, beliefs or actions to align more closely with those of a surrounding group or social norm. Many of us like to think we are nonconformists, but what exactly is conformity?

Factors that influence conformity and obedience in individuals

WHAT IS CONFORMITY?
The change happens as a result of real or perceived group pressure and usually involves changing your behaviour to match that of the majority. Two different types of conformity are informational conformity and normative conformity.

Table 9.01 Two types of conformity: informational and normative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INFORMATIONAL CONFORMITY</th>
<th>NORMATIVE CONFORMITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conformity because you believe other people are correct</td>
<td>Conformity because of the need to be accepted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A person conforms because he/she:</td>
<td>A person conforms because he/she:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▲ needs to be right</td>
<td>▲ fears the possible negative consequences of not going along with the group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▲ lacks information or does not know the answer</td>
<td>▲ wants to gain social acceptance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▲ assumes that others probably know more than he/she does</td>
<td>▲ wants to avoid conflict and rejection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▲ looks to others for help when he/she is unsure, assuming that a majority will be more reliable</td>
<td>▲ wants to be accepted as part of the group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▲ assumes that the group has expertise</td>
<td>▲ does not want to be different (e.g. clapping because other people are applauding too)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Procedure:
Step 1 The teacher fills a glass jar with jelly beans (or M&Ms).
Step 2 Each student estimates the number of jelly beans in the jar (students are not allowed to tell each other their estimates).
Step 3 The teacher asks the students as a class to agree on a group estimate.
Step 4 The teacher interviews the students individually and asks if they would like to change their original estimates or stay with the group’s estimate.

1 What are your results? Compare them to the rest of the class.
2 What is the purpose of step 4?
3 What were Jenness’ findings?
4 Explain the roles of informational and normative conformity in this experiment.

ACTIVITY

EXPERIMENT: BEANS IN A BOTTLE
Conduct this experiment as a class. It is a replication of the Jenness (1932) ‘Beans in a bottle’ experiment. You can access this website to read about the experiment.
FACTORS AFFECTING CONFORMITY

A range of factors influence conformity in individuals. These factors may or may not operate concurrently, but each plays a role in influencing the extent to which people conform to others. The factors include:

- **Age** – during adolescence there is a greater tendency to conform to peers than at any other age.
- **Attractiveness of the group** – the more attractive you perceive a group to be, the more likely you are to conform to group norms because of the desire to be part of the group that you think highly of.
- **Consensus** – people conform to reach a group consensus, particularly if they think the consensus will lead to progress.
- **Culture** – collectivist cultures tend to conform more than individualist cultures. This could be because cultures value conformity differently. For example, nonconformity in East Asian nations is often viewed as deviance, whereas nonconformity in Western cultures is seen as uniqueness.
- **Difficulty of the task** – if a task is quite difficult and perhaps beyond a person's ability, they are more likely to conform so the task can be accomplished by the group.
- **Ethical and moral standards** – people are more likely to conform if their standards are aligned with a group's behaviour because there is agreement in their core beliefs.
- **Self-esteem/self-concept** – the greater the degree of self-awareness, the less likely a person is to conform.
- **Size of the group** – conformity tends to increase with larger groups. In small groups it is easier to break away.

So, nonconformity is when someone chooses not to follow the demands or commands of authority and/or behaves in a manner that may challenge social norms and expectations.

1. Define the term ‘conformity’.
2. Distinguish between informational and normative conformity.
3. Describe a situation/s where you think the different types of conformity may apply. Justify your response.
4. Rank the top five factors you believe influence conformity.
5. Think of a situation where you have conformed to others. Identify the factors that may have influenced you.
6. Why do you think adolescents are more likely to conform to their peers than older age groups?
7. ‘In the majority of social situations, conformity is seen as good.’ To what extent is this statement true?
8. Explain the relationship between self-concept and conformity.
9. What groups do you perceive to be attractive? When would you conform to a group’s norms even if it compromised your personal identity, beliefs and values?
Figure 9.01 Nonconformity is a deviation from an expected standard of behaviour, code of conduct or social expectation.

SIGNIFICANT STUDIES ON CONFORMITY

Asch’s line perception experiment
Solomon Asch was a pioneer in social conformity experiments.

1. Find a suitable video clip showing Asch’s line perception experiment. Research the aim, process and outcomes of the line-perception experiment, then copy and complete Table 9.02.

2. Identify the factors that you believe affected the individual’s level of conformity and nonconformity during these experiments.

3. What do you think the outcome of these experiments would be today? Give reasons for your response.

Table 9.02

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ASPECT</th>
<th>DETAILS</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Source</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Process</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethical issues</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outcomes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusions/implications</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

WHAT IS OBEEDIENCE?

Obedience is when an individual or group changes their behaviour as a result of the demand or command of authority. It is a voluntary form of behaviour where someone accepts instructions from someone else. While conformity is centred upon changing to fit in with a group because of social pressure, obedience relates to the influence of authority and the presence of a hierarchy and an imbalance in power that change someone’s behaviour. The social norm of obedience is that people should obey the commands issued by a person with legitimate authority.
FACTORS AFFECTING OBEDIENCE

A range of factors influence obedience in people. These factors may or may not operate concurrently, but each plays a role in the extent to which a person will follow the rules.

- **Identifiability** – the knowledge of their personal details being recorded or tracked influences many people to obey.
- **Proximity** – people are more likely to obey if the authority is close by.
- **Punishment** – people are more likely to obey in order to avoid punishment.
- **Setting** – people are more obedient in a formal setting and if there are others in the same setting who willingly obey.
- **Status** – people are more likely to obey if someone has a higher status than they do because they may fear the repercussions.
- **Rewards** – people are more likely to obey if there are rewards on offer.
- **Laws** – laws greatly influence the level of obedience as the punishments for breaking laws vary from fines, to community service, to incarceration.
- **Education** – knowledge and experience combine to make informed citizens who are often more sceptical of some orders or rules imposed by authority figures.
- **Independence** – personality and self-awareness affect the degree of obedience.
- **Religion** – people who strictly adhere to a belief system are more likely to obey the commands that have been written down.

Figure 9.02 People are more likely to be obedient in the presence of authority such as police officers in uniform.

ACTIVITY

1. Define the term ‘obedience’.
2. How does obedience differ from conformity?
3. Describe a situation(s) where you think obedience may apply. Justify your response.
4. Rank the top five factors that you believe influence obedience and provide reasons for your choices.
5. How would you act and how would you feel if you were told to do something by an authority figure that you do not agree with?
6. Does obedience lead to social cohesion?
7. Referring to the quote below, think of a few examples at the meso and macro levels of society.
   
   ‘Decent people participate in horrific acts not because they become passive, mindless functionaries who do not know what they are doing, but rather because they come to believe – typically under the influence of those in authority – that what they are doing is right.’ (Prof. A Haslam, University of Queensland School of Psychology, 2012.)

8. Does the level of obedience decrease as the size of a group increases?
SIGNIFICANT STUDIES ON OBEDIENCE

Public Announcement

WE WILL PAY YOU $4.00 FOR ONE HOUR OF YOUR TIME

Persons Needed for a Study of Memory

*We will pay five hundred New Haven men to help us complete a scientific study of memory and learning. The study is being done at Yale University.
*Each person who participates will be paid $4.00 (plus 50c carfare) for approximately 1 hour's time. We need you for only one hour: there are no further obligations. You may choose the time you would like to come (evenings, weekdays, or weekends).
*No special training, education, or experience is needed. We want:

- Factory workers
- City employees
- Laborers
- Barbers

- Businessmen
- Clerks
- Professional people
- Telephone workers

- Construction workers
- Salespeople
- White-collar workers
- Others

All persons must be between the ages of 20 and 50. High school and college students cannot be used.
*If you meet these qualifications, fill out the coupon below and mail it now to Professor Stanley Milgram, Department of Psychology, Yale University, New Haven. You will be notified later of the specific time and place of the study. We reserve the right to decline any application.
*You will be paid $4.00 (plus 50c carfare) as soon as you arrive at the laboratory.

Figure 9.03 Re-creation of Stanley Milgram’s advertisement for the ‘shock experiment’

1. Find a suitable video clip and research the aim, process and outcomes of Milgram’s experiment, then copy and complete Table 9.03. You might like to conduct some preliminary research before watching the clip and completing the table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ASPECT</th>
<th>DETAILS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Source</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social context</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Process</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ethical issues</td>
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<td>Outcomes</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusions/implications</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

RESEARCH: CAN CONFLICT CHANGE BEHAVIOUR?

2. When behaviours conflict with beliefs, most people feel uncomfortable or stressed. Social psychologist Leon Festinger called this ‘cognitive dissonance’, where to achieve a better balance, people change, justify or ignore the behaviour or belief. Critique Festinger’s theory of cognitive dissonance and analyse the relationship between cognitive dissonance and obedience in individuals.
Responses to social influence

Social influence refers to how people’s opinions, actions and emotions are influenced by a social group. What changes people’s behaviour is their personal evaluation of the situation and the extent to which they are persuaded by others.

SOURCES OF SOCIAL INFLUENCE

A range of factors can persuade a person to act differently. Some of these are explored briefly below.

Social bases of power in individuals

Social psychologists John French and Bertram Raven determined five types of power that relate to persuasion. A sixth type, informational power, was added later to further distinguish it as a distinct form of power. The effectiveness of each is situational.

1. Coercive: influence through threat of force to gain compliance
2. Referent: influence through charisma, connection and personal affinity
3. Informational: influence through access to or control of sensitive data
4. Legitimate: influence from those selected, appointed to or elected in superior positions
5. Reward: influence by positive or negative rewards offered for certain behaviours
6. Expert: influence through detailed knowledge in a specific field

ACTIVITY

1. What do you think are the most effective sources of social influence?
2. In pairs, provide examples of social situations where different sources of social influence have been evident.
3. To what extent do comments or ‘likes’ under YouTube videos and Facebook posts influence your perception?
HOW DOES SOCIAL INFLUENCE HAPPEN ONLINE?

New technologies blur the boundaries between online, mass, interpersonal and other communication dynamics and create a powerful mix for greater social influence. They change the way people obtain information and how they form personal and subsequently social opinions. Some examples of how social influence has transpired online have been collated by Carr et al. (2008) and Muchnik et al. (2013):

- Online news items were more likely to be rated highly and liked more if they were shared by peers, as opposed to having been chosen by the editor, because individuals trust their peers and perceive news items shared by them to be of high quality.
- Comments and ratings on sites such as TripAdvisor and Urbanspoon are thought to accurately portray the opinions of users, but 'herding' behaviour online to create a positive review was easily manipulated.
- Online discussion following strong exposure to anti-marijuana campaigns led to an equally strong reaction by adolescents and to collective anti-marijuana attitudes. Similarly, weak exposure and no online interactivity led to weak opinions. Of note was that outspoken participants online greatly influenced others' opinions.

Herbert Kelman, a Harvard University academic, identified three responses to social influence. All involve a change in behaviour of the individual. Kelman asserted that people seek consistency in their lives, that they need to be right and that they need to be liked.

ACQUIESCENCE

Acquiescence is similar to compliance, although in this case a person can be reluctant to conform. It entails agreeing to something or even giving in. However, you might see a change in behaviour, but not necessarily in attitude. The change in behaviour may only last as long as a reward lasts.

In a group, acquiescence may be evident because of peer pressure. An individual may acquiesce in order to please group members or avoid conflict by giving in. The more an individual is attracted to the group, the more likely he or she is to acquiesce and adhere to the group's requirements. For example, some meso-level groups conduct initiation ceremonies in which a new member is required to carry out various activities before being accepted. The individual may agree to participate, even though it may be contrary to his or her personal beliefs, because the concept of social desirability is very strong.
The media has reported on numerous incidents of initiations involving offensive, illegal, harmful or discriminatory acts in university colleges, for example. Otherwise, positive initiation ceremonies can take place for inclusion of new members into groups, such as presenting certificates or acknowledging achievements in more formal settings.

At a micro level, people might be acquiescent when answering questionnaires for social research. Participants tend to respond in a way they believe someone else would like them to. This is called social desirability bias. For example, people may select higher ratings when asked certain questions. If they are answering a Likert-scale question, where the choice range is from 1 to 5, respondents might select the highest or what is perceived to be the most desirable number, such as 4 or 5. They may also tend to agree with all the statements, even when they are unsure, or simply agree with statements regardless of the content.

INTERNALISATION
Internalisation occurs when individuals modify their behaviour if they think the group to which they belong is right. Kelman believes this is the most permanent and pervasive response to social influence, particularly when the influencer represents a respected, trustworthy, knowledgeable position. People adopt opinions, behaviours and actions of the group and incorporate them into their own personal way of life and value system.

Internalisation is closely linked to the process of socialisation and learning what is acceptable and what is not. Both of these processes are part of developing a personal identity, which takes place when aspects of society’s rules and norms become features of people’s personalities. People want to be right, so they adopt decisions based on the alignment of their values with those of society. This alignment of values means that what they want and what society wants are the same thing.

IDENTIFICATION
The process of identification occurs when people agree to give in to group pressure because they want to attain the qualities or characteristics possessed by certain members. It relates directly to people’s desire, how attractive they perceive the influencer to be and the degree of emotional attachment to the influencer. They make decisions or change their behaviour in order to maintain a positive and self-defining relationship with the influencer.

According to social psychologist John Turner (1983), the three steps to social identification are:

1. Social categorisation – when a person and others are perceived, defined or recognised as members of distinct social groups. They are stereotyped – for example, footy player, scientist, hipster, hairdresser.

2. Ascertaining norms – these distinguish one group from others. Groups are seen as more homogenous or more extreme than they actually are.

3. Self-stereotyping – perceived characteristics of the in-group are adopted or conformed to.
IN-GROUPS AND OUT-GROUPS

In social psychology, an in-group is a social group that you identify yourself as being a member of. An out-group, on the other hand, is a social group that you do not identify with.

There is a range of social phenomena stemming from in-groups and out-groups that could be researched, such as in-group favouritism, out-group derogation and group polarisation.

Identify examples of your in-groups and out-groups. Think about how your identity and behaviours change as a result of interacting with in-groups and out-groups.

---

1 Define the term ‘acquiescence’.
2 Account for an individual’s behaviour during a controversial initiation ceremony such as in university colleges.
3 Describe the process of internalisation as a response to social influence.
4 Think of a social situation where internalisation would take place and depict the process in a flow chart.
5 What does the process of identification involve?

---

Under the influence: how the group changes what we think

Researchers study what gives social norms their power

BY SHIRLEY S WANG

How is it that so many people started saying ‘Awesome!’ or started wearing Ugggs? These are examples of how individuals’ behavior is shaped by what people around them consider appropriate, correct or desirable. Researchers are investigating how human behavioral norms are established in groups and how they evolve over time, in hopes of learning how to exert more influence when it comes to promoting health, marketing products or reducing prejudice.
Psychologists are studying how social norms, the often-unspoken rules of a group, shape not just our behavior but also our attitudes. Social norms influence even those preferences considered private, such as what music we like or what policies we support. Interventions that take advantage of already-existing group pressures, the thinking goes, should be able to shift attitudes and change behaviors at less cost in effort and resources.

Norms serve a basic human social function, helping us distinguish who is in the group and who is an outsider. Behaving in ways the group considers appropriate is a way of demonstrating to others, and to oneself, that one belongs to the group.

But surprisingly little is known about how attitudinal norms are established in groups. Why do some people in a group become trendsetters when it comes to ideas and objects?

"The questions are among the most challenging in the field," said H. Peyton Young, a professor at the University of Oxford in the U.K. and at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. Dr. Young studies how norms influence economic behavior. "It's definitely a big open research area where there's a certain amount of dispute.'

One question is whether there is always a leader that sets or changes the norm, or whether norm change occurs organically over time, even in the absence of a strong leader.

Researchers have studied how new ideas and innovations -- whether the latest fashion, electronic gadget or slang word -- are introduced and spread within a group. Individuals who innovate tend to be somewhat isolated from the rest of the group, researchers say. Being too much a part of a group may constrain one's ability to think outside of convention, says Christian Crandall, a professor of social psychology at the University of Kansas, Lawrence, who studies social norms. 'There's a freedom to innovate that comes with isolation,' Dr. Crandall says.

Though innovators may be isolated, the group often adopts their innovations because these new ideas or objects are an accessible way for members of the group to bond or signal solidarity. It could be a baseball cap worn backwards, or a pocket square. Each conveys a different identity.

But before others will take up the new idea, someone central to the group, with more connections than the innovator, has to recognize it.

Another major factor is whether the new idea evokes emotion. Jonah Berger, marketing professor at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School, studied what makes ideas 'go viral.' His team analyzed 7000 newspaper articles in the New York Times and found the articles considered most popular on the newspaper's website were those that aroused more emotions, particularly happy emotions but also anger or anxiety.

Scientists know group pressure is a powerful influence over health behaviors, including alcohol use, smoking and exercise. By developing a deeper understanding of the dynamics of trend-setters and trend-followers, researchers may discover more behavioral options for promoting health and preventing disease.

The more public an object or behavior is, the more likely it is to spread, Dr. Berger says. The bright-colored bracelets worn to show support for cancer survivors are seen by others, making a private value visible. 'Your thoughts are not public, but your behaviors are,' Dr. Berger says.

Rarely does any one individual set an entirely new norm for the group. Group leaders, however, help perpetuate or shift the norm. Unlike innovators, leaders tend to be high-status 'superconformists,' embodying the group's most-typical characteristics or aspirations, says Deborah Prentice, a social psychologist at Princeton University. People inside and outside the group tend to infer the group's norms by examining these leaders' behaviors.

Societal attitudes toward gay Americans largely changed after high-status individuals like Elton John and Elizabeth Taylor spoke out and explicitly established a new norm of acceptance, the University of Kansas' Dr. Crandall says.

But observation of others' behavior can also result in misperceptions of the norm, which in turn can cause the actual norm to shift. Misperceptions are dangerous when it comes to risky behavior. In a series of studies, Dr. Prentice and her team asked student participants, who filled out questionnaires, how much alcohol they drank, and how much they thought a typical student at their college drank. The researchers found students often overestimated how much others drank. The amount students reported drinking was closely related to their beliefs about how much others drank. Students who thought others drank more tended to report drinking more.

Occasionally, a misperception of societal norms can have a positive effect. Individuals who hold negative opinions about other ethnic groups, for example, may suppress these views if they think the attitudes won't be accepted within their own group. 'Suppression becomes reality over time,' Dr. Crandall says.

Deindividuation

WHAT IS DEINDIVIDUATION?

Deindividuation is the effect of a group on the behaviour of its individual members. The theory assumes that when a person becomes part of a group, they become anonymous and have a reduced sense of self-awareness. As a result of group membership, people experience a lack of restraint, loss of personal identity and diminished responsibility, and according to the theory, they then automatically become engaged in anti-social and aggressive behaviours.

Deindividuation is a term that was coined by Leon Festinger in 1952 and research was carried out throughout the 1970s. From the late 1990s, criticisms of deindividuation have become apparent and alternative theories have been explored.

Figure 9.06 shows the situational conditions (inputs), the intrapersonal transformations (changes) and the overt behaviours (outputs) of deindividuation, according to psychologist Philip Zimbardo.

ACTIVITY

1. Define the term ‘deindividuation’.
2. Is it possible to ever lose your personal identity?
3. Apply the three stages of deindividuation to a real-world scenario. Does the theory fit?
WHAT CAUSES DEINDIVIDUATION?

Being part of a group is a key factor in deindividuation. A group can develop its own identity. Deindividuation is closely linked to ‘crowd psychology’, where the behaviour of a larger group is heavily influenced by a person’s loss of accountability. The energy of the group can affect each member, causing each to become more and more excited or hyped up. This then leads to a sensory overload for members, forcing them to make very quick, impulsive and sometimes inappropriate decisions. The group tends to take on a life of its own and develops its own norms.

The anonymity that comes from being part of a group is another key factor. Group members may lose their personal identity and therefore become anonymous; this may mean they behave differently. This loss of personal identity is more likely to encourage people to act aggressively or to deviate from acceptable social behaviours when they are in group settings than when they are alone.

A third key factor is that the presence of a large group and anonymity give rise to diffused responsibility. It follows that a large group provides its members with a greater degree of anonymity, which may lead to stronger antisocial behaviour.

ACTIVITY

1 What conditions lead to deindividuation?
2 Have you been part of a group that has engaged in behaviours of which you do not approve? How did you respond?
3 Make a list of social situations in which you have felt anonymous. Follow this up with a class discussion on ‘anonymity from what/whom?’
4 Think about a free-dress day at school or on an excursion. Do you behave or feel differently because you are not in uniform? Why/why not?
5 Have you been in fancy dress for Halloween or a party (or even simply worn sunglasses or a ski suit) and felt a sense of anonymity?
6 In which situations do you feel as though you have less responsibility for what happens? For example, litter in the playground or talking in assembly. How does being part of the school cohort affect your level of responsibility?
7 Does diffused responsibility inevitably lead to conflict?
WHAT ARE THE EFFECTS OF DEINDIVIDUATION?
The effects of deindividuation are many and varied and depend on the social and cultural context. Some of these effects are:

- aggression and crime escalating as a result of situational factors such as noise and physicality. An example is looting during riots
- heightened emotions, resulting in a person liking a group more because of common actions, but also having difficulty remembering the exact sequence of events
- uninhibited impulsive and irrational behaviours – for example, a study by Andrew Silke in 2003 found that 206 out of 500 violent attacks that occurred in Northern Ireland between July 1994 and December 1996 were committed by individuals who wore disguises
- lack of responsibility for actions – for example, defendants at the Nuremburg trials after the Second World War, and American soldiers in Vietnam, frequently mentioned they were not personally responsible for their actions and therefore did not display any guilt
- absence of self-awareness – for example, a study by Diener and Wallbom in 1976 found this led to an increase in cheating
- crowds providing an opportunity to ‘hide’ and share the blame – for example, sports fans littering at stadiums
- in its extreme form, deindividuation can lead to the dehumanisation of victims. This happens when victims are regarded by their attackers as being less than human, especially when the identity of the victim is unknown
- cyberbullying and online harassment, where social cues are absent and the identity of the people interacting is hidden behind avatars or nicknames, which also conceal other identifying features such as gender and age
- Internet software piracy, where people can download material virtually anonymously.

COPY and complete Table 9.04 by explaining the effects of deindividuation and think of a few different examples to support your explanation.

Table 9.04

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EFFECT</th>
<th>REASON FOR DEINDIVIDUATION</th>
<th>REAL-LIFE EXAMPLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aggression</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heightened emotion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impulsive behaviour</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No responsibility taken for actions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyberbullying</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Software/video/audio piracy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

EXTEDED RESPONSE

2 Assess the impact of deindividuated people on society. Refer to course concepts and examples in your response.
SIGNIFICANT STUDIES ON DEINDIVIDUATION
The 1971 Stanford Prison Experiment by psychologist Philip Zimbardo is infamous for showing how people display aggression in deindividuated situations.

Research the Stanford Prison Experiment before finding and watching a suitable video clip and copying and completing the information in Table 9.05.

Table 9.05

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ASPECT</th>
<th>DETAILS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Source</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social context</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Process</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethical issues</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outcomes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusions/implications</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

THE BBC PRISON STUDY
A similar experiment, the BBC Prison Study, was conducted 30 years later. Unlike Zimbardo’s experiment, there was a focus on ethics. The findings about power and the operation of groups have been cited in many academic journals and it is worth comparing the very different results to the original prison experiment. Access this site for more details.
Nonconformity determines boundaries

Nonconformity is a deviation from social norms. It happens when the rules and expectations of a group are violated. Society operates on the basis of majority influence and consensus. However, this is sometimes difficult to achieve, given the hybrid nature of societies and the diversity within them. People and groups can have competing or contradicting interests that differ from the shared interests of the majority.

In all groups, shared behavioural guidelines, rules and expectations are established and social relationships are formed. Many norms are unwritten and are not frequently articulated so you may only become aware of violating society or group norms after the fact. You might become aware of inappropriate behaviours and attitudes by receiving social cues from group members such as verbal reprimand, non-verbal disapproval, social exclusion or social isolation.

Types of general social norms that, if not adhered to, indicate inappropriate behaviour include:

- **legal norms** – these are enshrined in law and are established for the common good of the community. The boundaries between appropriate and inappropriate behaviours are very clear here, as are the penalties – for example, laws against causing affray, drink driving, graffiti, trespassing, murder and assault
- **moral norms** – nonconformity to these is often evident at a micro level where accountability towards family and friends who uphold similar moral standards is quite high – for example, lying and cheating
- **religious norms** – nonconformity to preached standards can at times be covert – for example, not ‘tithing’ (a Christian Old Testament requirement to give a proportion of your income to the church), living together before marriage and polygamy.

Other specific social norms, when violated, highlight just how inappropriate some behaviours are, such as:

- ‘hooking up’ with a boyfriend or girlfriend in the playground at school
- talking loudly on a mobile phone on public transport
- swearing at shopkeepers
- asking someone at work when they plan to retire
- asking someone to tell you how much they paid for their house
- taking a ‘sick day’ off work when you are not really sick.
Deviant behaviour has been labelled by some people as sick, weird, immoral or illegal. A study conducted by sociologist JL Simmons in 1965 revealed alarming results about the perceptions of deviance. One-hundred and eighty people in the USA were asked to list things or types of people they thought were deviant. The answers given by 10 per cent or more of the respondents are shown in Table 9.06. It is important to note that social norms change and that some items on the list may not necessarily appear if the study were repeated today and/or in a different society.

Table 9.06 The most frequent responses to the question posed in 1965, ‘What is deviant?’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESPONSE</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Homosexuals</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug addicts</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcoholics</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prostitutes</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murderers</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminals</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesbians</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juvenile delinquents</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beatniks</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mentally ill people</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perverts</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communists</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atheists</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political extremists</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Norms change over time, as do laws. Some norms that were once taboo topics are slowly becoming part of our social fabric. Is it because some things have become so commonplace that people no longer consider them deviant? Some changes to norms that have reflected a more positive and inclusive approach and acceptance by the majority are associated with mental health, concepts of gender, and addressing the needs of Indigenous groups and migrant communities.

**Parental attitudes towards nonconformity of gender stereotypes**

Kane (2006) conducted interviews with 42 parents of preschool aged children (3 to 5 years) to explore their view of children’s gendered behaviour and attributes. Participants were diverse in terms of socioeconomic status, racial/ethnic background, and sexual orientation. Kane questioned parents about their children’s clothing, toys, and general behaviour in an effort to understand the gender expectations that they had for their children, as well as to explore how parents responded to the idea of gender nonconformity. Kane’s (2006) findings indicated that the fathers were more likely to support clearly defined gender roles for boys and girls than were the mothers, who tended to be more flexible with their concepts of appropriate behaviour for boys and girls. Fathers were also more conscious of maintaining stricter gender boundaries for their sons than for their daughters.
Kane (2006) also found that both mothers and fathers were generally comfortable with gender nonconformity among daughters, and often encouraged it by buying boys’ toys, and fostering an interest in football, fishing and the use of tools. Some parents commented on being proud that their daughters exhibited masculine characteristics that were not stereotypically female.

‘I never wanted a girl who was a little princess, who was so fragile ... I want her to take on more masculine characteristics.’

‘I don’t want her just to colour and play with dolls, I want her to be athletic.’

(Comments from parents of daughters cited in Kane, 2006, p. 157.)

However, Kane (2006) also found that other parents expressed concern when their sons were interested in girls’ toys, or displayed behaviour considered to be stereotypically female. Examples of behaviours that were particularly concerning for parents of boys were the wearing of skirts and dresses, using nail polish, playing with Barbie dolls, and showing an interest in dance, particularly ballet.

‘He’s asked about wearing girl clothes before, and I said no ... he likes pink, and I try not to encourage him to like pink just because, you know, he’s not a girl ... there’s not many toys I wouldn’t get him, except Barbie, I would try not to encourage that.’

(Comments from a mother of a son, cited in Kane, 2006, p. 160.)

Kane (2006) noted that many parents felt that they needed to shape their sons’ masculinity and that their parental attention was needed to achieve gender conformity for boys. This attitude was not seen in relation to daughters. While parents encouraged some typically feminine qualities and pursuits for their sons (i.e. nurturance, compassion, domesticity), many drew the line at more iconic feminine behaviour, such as an interest in dance, playing with Barbies, and passivity. Twenty-one of the 42 parents interviewed had positive comments about their sons’ display of domestic, nurturing and compassionate behaviour (i.e. playing with dolls, tea sets, kitchen centres), however, these interests were generally seen as being gender neutral rather than strictly feminine. Kane also noted a disturbing tendency among some parents to belittle or devalue certain feminine interests and attributes, which in turn sends a message to both boys and girls that masculine interests and characteristics are more valued by society.

The Sex Information and Education Council of Canada

Figure 9.08 Advertisements showing nonconformity to gender expectations tend to catch people’s attention because they challenge norms and stereotypes.
The social costs and benefits of nonconformity

At times nonconformity is celebrated and provides a refreshing change or challenge to the status quo. It is needed to test the constraints of modern society. Researcher Andrew Bergerson states that nonconformists present themselves the way they do because they believe they are ethically superior and to give themselves a greater self-concept. However, he goes on to say that others, such as fascists and racists, also see themselves as nonconformists. At times, nonconformity is completely inappropriate and may lead to causing someone or something harm.

The costs and benefits of nonconformity for the wider society are listed in Table 9.07.

Table 9.07 The costs and benefits of nonconformity for the wider society

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COSTS</th>
<th>BENEFITS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Widespread suspicion of nonconformist groups</td>
<td>Clarifies social norms and makes boundaries more obvious, causing society to define, adjust and reaffirm social norms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perpetuating effects – may stimulate more deviance, descending into further disarray</td>
<td>Serves as a precursor for change, e.g. Martin Luther King and the civil rights movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diverts resources away from some areas in need and focuses on a few more ‘vocal’ nonconformists</td>
<td>Increases unity within a group – deviance may remind people of something they value – then strengthens that value</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unproductive deviance (Steadman Jones, 1971), e.g. vandalism</td>
<td>Challenges the status quo, e.g. uni students opposing government policies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structural violence and inequality (Workman, 1994)</td>
<td>Highlights recognition and the need for human rights to be afforded to all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disruption of social order and social control leading to social dislocation and exclusion of some groups</td>
<td>Seeks to celebrate differences within society, e.g. the Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras parade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intergroup aggression and tension</td>
<td>Social media can be used to inform and educate the public about various regimes and practices that impinge on human rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-authoritarian problems (Guandong, 2012)</td>
<td>Spurs social change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More time-consuming and costly decision-making processes due to disagreements</td>
<td>Creativity, innovation and entrepreneurialism (Palmas, 2014)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flow-on effect to others in society, e.g. Australians travelling to Syria to fight with Islamic State militants</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marginality of some groups and unequal access to resources (Blackman, 2014)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. Project yourself back to when your grandparents were teenagers. How do you think nonconformity was perceived and dealt with then?

2. Using an example, evaluate the benefits of nonconformity for society.

3. Using an example, evaluate the costs of nonconformity to society.

The costs and benefits of nonconformity for individuals are listed in Table 9.08.

Table 9.08 The costs and benefits of nonconformity for individuals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COSTS</th>
<th>BENEFITS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Erodes trust between family members and peers</td>
<td>Individual identity can be expressed openly and freely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social exclusion</td>
<td>Acute awareness of legal, civil and political rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stigmatisation, such as in the case of gender nonconformists</td>
<td>Independence, agency and rational choices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological damage and uncertainty about acceptance</td>
<td>Inferences of greater status and competence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confusion about identity and predictability of personal interactions</td>
<td>Celebration of diverse individuals within society, e.g. LGBT people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not feeling secure/safe</td>
<td>Creation of communitas (Wilkins, 2008)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear of victimisation</td>
<td>Recognition that one person has the power to make significant change, e.g. Rosa Parks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labelled for life after a ‘deviant’ act</td>
<td>Opportunities for peaceful nonconformity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Censure/disapproval (Wilkins, 2008)</td>
<td>Greater participation in public life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Increased knowledge, flexibility and participation (Blackman, 2004)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strengthened viewpoints and empowerment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The surprising benefits of nonconformity

BY SILVIA BELLEZZA, FRANCESCA GINO AND ANAT KEINAN

New research finds that under certain circumstances, people wearing unconventional attire are perceived as having higher status and greater competence.

Mark Zuckerberg, Facebook’s founder and CEO, captured the attention of the media when he wore a hooded sweatshirt when meeting with investors before his company’s initial public offering. While his appearance before professionally dressed bankers and investors left some observers thinking the young entrepreneur’s nonconforming dress style was a sign of disrespect, it signaled confidence to others...

When and why does nonconformity in appearance lead others to make positive rather than negative inferences about an individual? We examined this question and identified conditions under which observers attribute enhanced status and competence to a person whose appearance does not conform to the norm for a particular setting. Our studies explored various environments and populations, from business executives to shop assistants at high-end boutiques in Milan, Italy. Our studies found that nonconformity leads to positive inferences of status and competence when it is associated with deliberateness and intentionality. In other words, observers attribute heightened status and competence to a nonconforming individual when they believe he or she is aware of an accepted, established norm and is able to conform to it, but instead deliberately decides not to. In Zuckerberg’s case, for example, many
observers saw his decision to wear a hoodie on his tour of the most important Wall Street banks to be a deliberate choice.

In contrast, when observers perceive a nonconforming behaviour as unintentional, it does not result in enhanced perceptions of status and competence. When a nonconforming behaviour appears to be dictated by lack of means, lack of better alternatives or lack of awareness of the dress code, it will not lead to positive inferences from others. Thus, to benefit from deviance from the norm, we should make sure that others perceive our nonconforming practices to be deliberate and intentional choices. From a psychological standpoint, intentional deviance from a norm can project heightened status and competence by signalling that one has the autonomy to act according to one's own inclinations. Autonomous individuals tend to act independently and behave according to their own rules.

Mark Zuckerberg, CEO of Facebook, breaks social norms with his attire.

How might nonconformists such as Mark Zuckerberg be perceived by the conforming masses?

When you see, hear or interact with an obvious nonconformist, what are your initial reactions?

Using an example, evaluate the benefits of nonconformity for individuals.

Using an example, evaluate the costs of nonconformity to individuals.

TED TALK: THE POWER OF NONCONFORMITY

Access this website to watch the video, The Power of Nonconformity by Grant Cox (2013).

Here is a set of questions to consider before, during and after watching the TED Talk to supplement, complement or extend what is being addressed in class.

Before watching

a. Define the following key terms relevant to the video: nonconformity, identity, values.

b. Think about the benefits of social cohesion for society.

While watching (you may need to pause and/or replay to gather all the answers)

c. Outline the role of nonconformity in achieving individual or group recognition. Provide an example.

d. In what ways can nonconformity trigger innovation? Provide an example.

e. Explain how nonconformity can provide a 'voice' to some individuals and groups. Provide an example.

After watching

f. Can deviance play a positive role in society? Support your response with evidence.

g. To what extent does nonconformity boost an individual's or group's identity?
The impact of agenda setting on attitude formation

**WHAT ARE ATTITUDES?**
An attitude is a positive or negative view of something. It involves an evaluation of an issue, idea, object, event, activity or situation. Ambivalence towards these things is also considered an attitude. Ambivalence means a person holds both positive and negative views about something. Attitudes can be formed by an individual’s or group’s experience of the past in addition to their current circumstances, which can, in turn, affect behaviour. For example:

- people may show heightened sensitivity if they are directly affected by an issue
- coalitions and alliances may form to bolster support for a certain position
- people with a strong conviction can influence others
- political parties capitalise on changing attitudes of the public to ensure votes
- people can demonstrate a learnt tendency to react in a particular way to certain issues.

**WHAT IS AGENDA SETTING?**
Agenda setting is sometimes related to the media and its ability to manipulate public perception of issues by concentrating on just a few key issues and topics. Researchers Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw developed the Agenda Setting Function Theory (and coined the term ‘agenda setting’) after studying North Carolina voters during the 1968 US presidential election. They found a significant link between issues that voters thought were important and what was covered prominently in the media.

Agenda setting by the media is about harnessing the power of people to influence public opinion. By carefully selecting the stories they broadcast and presenting limited viewpoints, they are able to use public opinion to influence public policy. However, other research suggests that the general public is affected the most but the policymakers themselves are not as affected because they cannot change their priorities easily.

![Figure 9.09 The processes of the Agenda Setting Function Theory](image-url)
Agenda setting is achieved through frequent and prominent coverage of news items so that the audiences come to regard an issue as important. A range of tactics is used to indicate the importance of an issue and develop attitudes in consumers, including:

- appearance of these news items on the front page
- a large font size for the heading
- the use of graphics
- inclusion of expert quotes and statistics
- online availability
- online interactivity.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF AGENDA SETTING

The effects of having no choice about the messages we hear and the consistent approach to certain views in order to shape our thoughts has quite profound effects on attitude formation. It means particular groups in society may be unfairly targeted and portrayed in an unjustifiably positive or negative light. This creates a need for social and cultural literacy when approaching the media. Some consequences of agenda setting are:

- the demonisation and dehumanisation of some groups, such as asylum seekers. This has happened during significant news coverage that is disproportionate to the issue at hand. Some nonconformist groups – such as the Bra Boys of Maroubra, Sydney, and extremist religious groups – have also been the subject of agenda setting.

- people tend to immediately form an opinion about a group rather than adopt a neutral position before investigating further. They do not engage in comprehensive analysis, but instead rely on the manipulated information that they have seen over and over again. This is called ‘priming’ and it is a tactic usually used in relation to sensitive political issues that audiences, it is assumed, do not have much knowledge about.

- the salience of issues influences observable group behaviours. For example, if bikies are featuring prominently in the news, the general public tends to be more alert and aware of anyone wearing the stereotypical leathers, displaying tattoos and riding a motorbike.

- strength of public opinion increases as news coverage increases. For example, some religious groups have attracted immense attention in Australia and the news media...
plays upon Caucasian people’s emotional attachment to the Judaeo-Christian norms in Australian society, instilling fear and seeking to create rapid judgements of other religious groups.

- framing stories, which takes place at the macro and micro levels. Although this is a necessary tool for relaying complex issues in a simplified manner, journalists present stories in a way that resonates with the public and influences its perception by using anecdotes and stereotypes.

How traditional media and weblogs use each other as sources

Research has established that sources have the power to influence the news agenda of the media and that media can under certain circumstances act as sources for each other. This study examined the use of weblogs as sources in the traditional media and the use of sources in weblogs in general. A content analysis of 2059 articles over a six-year period from the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* found that the newspapers increasingly legitimized weblogs as credible sources (30–40% of articles studied cited a blog as a source). A separate content analysis of 120 weblogs found that they heavily relied on the traditional media as sources (70% of political posts sourced mainstream media). By allowing each other to influence their news agendas, there is indication that the traditional media and weblogs create what the researchers introduce and define as a news source cycle, in which news content can be passed back and forth from media to media.


1. What is an attitude and how is it formed?
2. Define the term ‘agenda setting’.
3. Explain how the media set their agenda.
4. Assess the impacts of agenda setting on attitude formation.
5. Examine a range of media reports from television, radio, the Internet and social media.
   a. Which issues were covered in relation to groups and individuals?
   b. Think of a specific group. How can it set its own agenda?
   c. Can you find a correlation between news stories that are given prominence?
   d. Which tactics have been used to enhance the prominence of issues presented?
6. To what extent does media coverage influence your attitude towards the individuals or groups mentioned?
7. How has social media such as weblogs, Twitter and Facebook enhanced the media’s ability to set agendas?

Nonconformity and social change

Nonconformist groups are extremely important in instigating social change. If the world were full of conformists, there would not be as much diversity in art, music, film, politics, business and every other aspect of society. Many groups draw attention to current inequalities, failings or abuses and target the relevant governments. Positive social change takes place when the authorities alter their practices and policies. Some well-respected nonconformist groups have been solely responsible for improving the life chances of people at macro, meso and micro levels.
AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

Amnesty International is a large nonconformist group that does not align itself with any religious, economic or political ideology. The group has branches in almost every country in the world and works to promote the core value of protecting human rights for all citizens. At times, its actions are deemed unconventional. However, pressure from its more than two million members often leads to social change in certain parts of the world.

Nonconformist action by Amnesty International is visible in different forms, such as boycotts, public demonstrations, awareness-raising concerts, Facebook and Twitter campaigns, and calls to action through email and petition campaigns to presidents, prime ministers and other people in positions of leadership and power. For an organisation with no legitimate authority, it has generated an enormous amount of respect, power and influence throughout the world. It also adopts standard practices to initiate change, such as publishing detailed reports, monitoring global media, and undertaking targeted appeals and direct lobbying. Such action and solidarity across the globe has helped persuade governments over time to change their behaviour by implementing fairer laws and practices.

PIRATE RADIO GROUPS IN THE UK

Pirate radio groups broadcast content illegally. They are considered nonconformist because they bypass standard industry regulations. Hundreds of pirate radio stations exist today, but they are not static; some close while others open, depending on funding, raids and consumer following. In the decades since the proliferation of pirate radio stations in the UK in the 1960s, more in-demand music genres have been made available well before they are broadcast via legal channels. The ideology, values and behaviours of pirate-radio DJs and operators have led...
to social change. They stood for freedom of expression, liberalisation of the media, anti-commercialism and rebellion against old-fashioned British society. Many years after first coming into existence, music once played illegally has been integrated and celebrated into mainstream society. Radio Caroline, originally broadcast from a boat in international waters, played music from artists such as The Who and Bruce Springsteen, helping these stars gain exposure. The timeline below is a summary of UK pirate radio over the past six decades.

1960s
- Radio Caroline and Radio London began broadcasting from international waters
- Broadcast pop and rock music, which the legal BBC Radio did not
- Pirate radio audience estimated at 10–15 million people

1970s
- Offshore radio stations became illegal so land-based stations were set up
- Rock and soul music broadcast

1980s
- Pirate radio operators (about 600) outnumbered legal radio stations
- Reggae, hip hop, jazz and blues were among the genres broadcast

1990s
- Strict penalties applied to pirate radio
- Broadcasting Act / 1990 encouraged diversity but failed to cater for community-based groups
- Dance and rave music broadcast

2000s
- Research indicated that 24% of adults in the UK listened to pirate radio
- Grass-root artists and urban music broadcast

2010s
- Legalisation of many pirate radio stations and integration into UK society

Figure 9.12 The 2009 film, *The Boat That Rocked*, was based on pirate-radio station Radio Caroline.

1 How can nonconformist groups achieve social change?
2 Describe the ideologies of Amnesty International and state how these can lead to social change.
3 Outline the values of pirate-radio stations in past decades and describe how they may influence others.
What is Christiania?
Christiania is an area in the capital city of Copenhagen, Denmark. Once occupied by the military as barracks, it was abandoned and left vacant for many years. Fencing was removed on multiple occasions by parents wanting their children to be able to play in the green parkland areas within the neighbourhood. Christiania is a counterculture community comprising approximately 900 residents.

Historical and social development of Christianites
The expansion of suburbanisation, urban renewal and education policies and practices were characteristics shared by many cities across Europe after the Second World War. In Copenhagen, as elsewhere, there was a lack of affordable housing caused by urban migration, gentrification, speculative property development and corruption and incompetence in local government. Clearly, troubling times had instigated waves of dissent and given rise to the ideal of utopia. Student protests were also prevalent in this era of social discontent. In response, Danish authorities advocated urban planning as a means of social engineering to encourage compliance and uniformity from nonconformists and young people who crowded the cities.

However, Christiania was closed off. It was not long before people such as the homeless and drifters, deviating from the Danish norm, moved in. Two buildings were burnt to the ground before more organised squatters put a stop to the vandalism and began preserving and even refurbishing the dilapidated buildings.

Christiania’s popularity grew quickly, attracting an interesting mix of people struggling with post-industrial society, such as hippies, students, leftist activists, collectivists and squatters who subscribed to the simple mission of pursuing, according to the Christiania Guide, a ‘magical mixture of anarchy and love’. Police tried to clear the occupants during the hippie revolution, but other people continued to arrive. In a relatively short time, these nonconformists had banned hard drugs and laid the foundations for a truly democratic community.

The government agreed to let them stay as a ‘social experiment’ and parliamentary debate ensued, even though there were plans to hand over the area to the ministry of culture.

Christiania was philosophically similar to other countercultural movements, yet while many other alternative communities established in the 1960s and 1970s failed, Christiania thrived.

The social activism and ‘do it yourself’ culture appealed to people who liked the anarchy and rejected the conformity required by the outside world’s highly regulated social structures.
### 1960s
- Rebellion by young people disillusioned by the nuclear arms race, growing materialism and authoritarian education system.
- Student protests on the university campus in Copenhagen.

### 1965
- First major drug laws were passed in parliament.

### 1968
- Countercultural student/youth movement – opposition to established society and the pursuit of freedom. International countercultural movement where young activists took over, moved into universities and abandoned houses to create free spaces for alternative lifestyles.

### 1970s
- 26 September 1971: free town of Christiania was founded.
- 1972: population was 200–300 inhabitants.
- 1972: agreement with Ministry of Defence recognised Christiania as having a right to use the land area upon payment of a fee to cover electricity and water expenses.
- 1973: social democratic government announced it would have the status of a social experiment for a period of three years.
- 1973: documentary of the Hansen family’s one-week visit to Christiania aired on national television.
- 1976: Supreme Court ruling called for immediate eviction of squatters.
- 1976: On 1 April, 20,000 people marched from Christiania to Danish Parliament and the court’s ruling was never realised. Scheduled eviction was postponed.
- 1977: a group travelled to Sweden to form a similar community in Haga.
- 1978: Majority in parliament decided to preserve Christiania for another three years.

### 1980s
- Polarisation in Danish politics met with demonism, green movement, peace movements, squat movements.
- 1981: Street battle with police, blockades and Molotov cocktails in response to perceived police harassment.
- More disincentive military-style opposition in contrast to the first generation of peace-loving settlers.
- Christiania Act passed in parliament legalised the squat temporarily. Most of the laws related to building codes but also addressed the illegal bars, tax evasion and payment for electricity and water.
- 1989: Riot police raided and provoked heavy fighting.
- New emphasis on historic preservation; residents put pressure on authorities to preserve apartment buildings.

### 1990s
- Building of new houses prohibited.
- Use of cannabis grew significantly and the market flourished.

### 2000s
- 2001: Government with a tough agenda against crime was elected and abolished the act on crime.
- 2003: Police estimate that about two-thirds of retail cannabis sales in Copenhagen took place in Christiania (i.e. approximately 20 kilograms sold per day).
- 2004: Government objective to normalise and regulate Christiania. Supervision of the area was transferred to the state through an alteration to the Christiania Law in 2004. Shift in policy. Police crackdown, arresting 60 dealers. Open competition for urban development plans for Christiania.
- 2007: Obligatory fines for personal use quadrupled to 70 euro.
- 2008: Contentious relationships and negotiations broke down. Christiania took the state to court for breach of an earlier agreement.

### 2010s
- April 2011: Christiania closed everything and blocked entrances in protest of privatisation.
- 22 June 2011: Government allowed inhabitants to collectively buy the land where Christiania is located for 76 million kroner (14 million euro, to be paid before 2018).
- September 2011: Fundraising to buy land began.
- 1 July 2012: Foundation Freetown Christiania was founded.

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**Figure 9.15 Fifty years of Christiania**
CHRISTIANIA TODAY

Christianites are known for being resourceful. The community has experienced organic growth but has also morphed into a tourist attraction due to its unique nonconforming nature. It still holds true to the original ideals of challenging neoliberalism. It is a porous enclave that is demographically more diverse than most other districts in Copenhagen.

Activities that service the community have developed over time. Although members of a nonconformist group, some Christianites are certainly conformist, evidenced in the patronage of facilities such as health care, the post office, bars, restaurants, kindergartens, workshops for making bicycles and furniture shops. Every society needs these things (and more) to function effectively and meet the needs of modern populations.

Author of Anarchism Today, Randall Amster, comments on the state of anarchy – the absence of a central government – in Christiania. Anarchists are collectivists in that they believe in the innate sociability of humankind and the rational desire of people to live, work and play alongside each other. Christiania is a self-governing group in which self-interest can flourish but which still addresses the needs of the whole community.

The occupants of Christiania are relatively poor and have a low level of education. Approximately 60 per cent of residents are male and 20 per cent are under 18 years of age. Further, 60 per cent of residents have not been educated beyond primary school. While there is a group with a substantial registered income, who could be described as middle class, two-thirds of the population either receive social assistance or have no registered income. Overall, residents earn half the average income in Copenhagen.

David Bramwell (2014) states that Christianites are nonconformists in a world that seeks to constrain individual expressions of identity, morality, sexuality and the normal capitalist processes. It has no cars, no signposts and no street names. The group’s ideologies have attracted a ‘creative class’. Houses are regularly modified to accommodate changes in the

Figure 9.16 A nonconformist house in Christiania
community. Formally, they must obey the standard rules of security and construction, but few do obey these, instead producing ‘free-form houses’.

Pusher Street is an area of overt deviance. For 32 years, a cannabis market was allowed to operate openly and was even considered an integral part of the community. The self-regulation of the Christianites led to the creation of a ‘green zone’ to show the limits of the cannabis trade. However, during police crackdowns from 2004 onwards, law enforcers aimed to catch dealers and enforce a zero-tolerance policy. People felt so strongly about the ‘freedom’ permitted in Christiania that many, both within and outside the community, physically defended it.

A significant threat to the survival of Christiania is the Danish government’s plan for normalisation — that is, to bring the nonconforming actions of this group into line with mainstream society. Christianites claim that the government is intent on opening up the area for privatisation, which is at odds with the collective use of property as a neighbourhood that cannot be bought or sold. Other plans to normalise Christiania include promoting Danish culture and values by naming streets, enforcing official registration at one address rather than cohabiting and clearing self-built houses. On the whole, the normalisation plan has failed.

In response to other government plans, the Christianites have been quite clever and so far have retained many ideals they originally stood for. Hellstrom (2006) notes that when the ministry of environment presented a local plan for Christiania in 1991, the community responded with a Green Plan that went over and above the official approach to the cultural, historical and recreational values of the area by drawing attention to the conflict between certain buildings and the need for an aesthetic balance in such a beautiful and peaceful place.

**ACTIVITY**

1. Where is Christiania located?
2. Outline the social conditions that led to the establishment of Christiania.
3. Describe the development of the Christianite group since its inception.
4. How does the Christianite worldview differ from your own?

**The role of status, authority, power, privilege and responsibility**

A range of academic research and ethnographic studies has provided information about how Christiania functions as a community. One researcher, Alberto Vanolo, lived in Christiania for one month as a result of an initiative to attract researchers. While he was there, he interviewed 30 Christianites of varying ages and genders from different fields such as workers and scholars. He also conducted participant observation of daily life and local events. Much of the following information comes from his work.

Despite being established as egalitarian, the mainstream society standards of status still apply in Christiania. Social stratification exists, just like in any other society, but in this group it is not consciously articulated or reinforced by residents in the same way as it may be in Australia, for example. It is an organic social order that has developed from within. Borge Madsen (1981) documented that social stratification was clearly established within the first
decade of Christiania being formed and was one of a number of factors that led to a crisis period. The social structure was composed of three main groups:

1. The activists – those who consistently and deliberately pursued the nonconformist political struggle against capitalism
2. The underclass – those who regularly used drugs and alcohol
3. The liberals – those who enjoyed civil liberties afforded to them and were relatively indifferent to political ideals.

Every individual, whether a resident of Christiania or a tourist to Christiania, holds their own notion of what constitutes high status. Worldly criteria such as level of education, income, home ownership and personal appearance are just some things that combine to form an individual’s perception of status. Christianites are a range of skilled and unskilled people, educated and less-educated people, professionals and tradesmen, and business owners and unemployed.

The absence of a central authority in Christiania means that democratic, active participation and open debate can take place. The highest authority is the general assembly, where open meetings are conducted and to which everyone is invited. Often, shops and cafes close down to agree on an agenda for the meeting. The decentralised structure of Christiania provides all residents with an opportunity to partake in decision making. No single person or sub-group within Christiania is allowed to make a decision on their own. Decisions must be reached by consensus and at times meetings run late into the night, even if the topics for discussion are obscure or insignificant to most. The continued existence of Christiania largely depends upon maintaining external relationships with authorities, including the Danish government, Copenhagen municipality and Copenhagen police. So, ultimately, the legitimate bodies officially recognised by law are at the top of the Christianite hierarchy.
Collective power plays a very important role in the lives of Christianites. Prior to the drug ban of the 2000s, power determined an informal hierarchy of different individuals and small groups in establishing and maintaining rights to sell cannabis from certain locations. In an oppositional community group such as this, ‘soft’ disciplinary power, established through practices such as dialogue and negotiation, is more effective in achieving conformity and consensus than coercive power. Those who possess better people skills hold more power because they are able to influence thought, direct discussion and communicate clearly.

Privilege refers to the special advantage, permission or right that one person has been granted. Others might interpret it as unjust compared to their needs and entitlements. In Christiania, gaining membership and residence with the community is almost arbitrary. It is not quite a transparent process and may depend on who you know or to whom you are related. Those with a higher social status, better social connections and potential to contribute to the cause are preferred over strangers. Vacancies for housing are advertised in the Christiania newsletter and the residents themselves may assess each application.

As a group that holds individual freedom in high esteem, each member regards himself or herself responsible for the wellbeing of the entire community. A key feature of this freedom is that each individual is responsible for his or her actions. Sub-committees within Christiania have been formed to facilitate management of the community. Each committee takes on different roles and responsibilities – for example, there is a musical theatre group and a rubbish collectors group.

Information circulation is considered informal, although it is much more organised and structured now than before the introduction of communications technology.

1. Describe the social structure of Christiania.
2. Outline the roles of power and privilege in the community.
3. Assess the implications of the lack of authority within the community.
4. To what extent do authority and responsibility influence conformity within Christiania?

Christianite identity

Sociologist Donna Della Porta notes that in order to be transformative, a social movement needs a sustained collective identity with relatively well-defined boundaries. Christianites definitely satisfy these criteria. Their collective identity is based on the ideals that were so pivotal to the establishment of the group decades ago and the physical area that they occupy. The 34 hectares are within specific physical borders and emphasise the fact that identity is strongly tied to locality.

The group is self-governing and believes in absolute freedom. Members have been unified in protest and resistance to change and regulation from external forces such as government. It is one of the only de-commodified spaces in Europe. There is a conscious commitment to non-growth. Activism is an expectation and many residents work towards limiting standard paid work and corporate influence on the community.

Group membership is fluid but despite this movement, the group maintains cohesion through kinship and communal living. The sense of community is enhanced by actively including oppressed and marginalised groups, such as the homeless. Acceptance of others defines part of the group’s identity. For example, the Gay House within Christiania was set
up as a meeting place for gay, lesbian and transgender people in Copenhagen. It also hosts cultural events, music performances and invited speakers.

Figure 9.18 Christianite identity

Just like group membership, identity can be fluid too. Would the Christianites have the same identity without the aforementioned boundaries? To some extent, the group lives in a state of uncertainty and has done so for some time. In February 1978, the Danish High Court affirmed the decision of a subordinate court that Christiania could legally be cleared at any time.

People have little money here, but invest in odd things. Last year we [the area meeting] have had very little money, something like 5000 kr [about A$1000]. There are a number of things to fix here, like the roofs and the water system, but we decided to renew a very old and rusty bench. I don’t know why, but everyone thought it was a great idea.


Part of Christianite identity comes from the creative nature of unique and irreplaceable housing, and from the lack of private ownership. Houses, music and art have a 1970s feel. People cannot buy a dwelling, nor do they have complete control over their property, which creates a very open community. Boundaries between common space and private space are non-existent apart from a few fences around houses in the most desirable locations. Even travellers can wander in and out of houses or backyards. For example, one dwelling has a skate bowl and anyone can go there to look or participate.

Another aspect to Christianite identity is the Danish concept of hygge, which has no English equivalent, but generally means a sense of happiness, cosiness, comradery and contentment. To an outsider, the group may appear unruly, unkempt and in disarray. But to an insider, it is the closest they can get to utopia.

Community radio and television stations perpetuate the unique identity of Christianites too. News and events are communicated to all, building a sense of cohesion and inclusion for all group members.
1. List a range of characteristics that contribute to the Christianite identity.

2. How has social cohesion been achieved in Christiania?

3. Describe the sense of community that is promoted within Christiania.

Group influence to achieve cohesion

Most members within the Christianite community voluntarily adhere to group norms and values, which results in a cohesive environment. By actively participating, Christianites create and debate their own rules, which means there is no need for codification and institutionalisation. On the other hand, not everyone necessarily agrees with how the group functions. Some people may adopt the value system not because they endorse those values, but because they recognise that in order to be accepted and protected by others, they must share and participate in their values.

There is a relaxed experience of time within the community, allowing for creativity and innovation. It is not uncommon to see people strolling, drinking or chatting at any time of day or night. Residents are attracted to this and value highly the lack of structure and rigidity in social life, which some observers feel is more typical of being unemployed or lacking direction.

Peer pressure operates in a positive way so that people internalise the group’s norms and values. Conduct norms have been established over time and are affirmed through peer pressure. An expectation when eating at the Morgenstedet, which is an organic cafe, is that...
everyone clears their own table when they have finished. The philosophy behind this is that guests should contribute to maintaining the cafe to keep prices low. Other examples of conduct norms include that no photographs are allowed, particularly in Pusher Street, and all group members strictly agree that no hard drugs are allowed and cannabis may not be sold to minors. The open sale of soft drugs is also now banned, but this is more a result of legal pressure from external forces.

A strong emphasis on anti-consumerism from all residents creates cohesion within the group. For example, Coca-Cola is not sold in Christiania because it symbolises commercialism and a certain way of life representative of mass consumption and monetary power. Attempts to demonetarise consumption are evident in a few locations. For example, second-hand clothes and items are left out so that anyone can take whatever they want and once a week people bring food for a collective kitchen meal. And, as is often the case in alternative lifestyles and movements, a large number of people are vegetarian and cafes reflect this. This norm has been adopted because people are opposed to exploitation, and have respect for life and for the rights of all living things.

A unique approach to ensuring the effective functioning and continuity of the group is the ‘common purse’. It is 70 per cent funded by resident payments and 30 per cent funded by business. Interestingly, having cafes, guided tours for tourists and other businesses overtly contradicts the anti-capitalist values that Christiania opposes; yet each is crucial to its survival. Perhaps, in contemporary society, there is no way to avoid capitalism completely. As a whole, Christiania’s residents are ecologically oriented and they see great benefits in recycling and working towards becoming an economically and environmentally sustainable community. Every Monday, a team scours the city for discarded products that could be used for housing materials. This scavenger economy and the notion of the right to exist bolsters Christiania and its culture. Much of the work carried out is voluntary. For example, no one is in charge of Loppen, a concert venue in an old army hall. All decisions are made unanimously during a weekly meeting.
Another key value in Christiania is personal and social responsibility. Everyone is free to behave as they wish, but they must bear the consequences of this. For example, if they behave offensively in public, they risk losing respect and damaging relationships. Spontaneity of expression is celebrated but can be condemned at the same time. For example, residents may paint a wall or write poetry on a door as a mark of creativity, but as not all group members may approve of this, artists need to think carefully about their actions and how they may affect others.

1. Outline the benefits of individuals actively participating in the community.
2. How does peer pressure operate in positive and negative ways within Christiania?
3. Provide an example of anti-consumerist values in Christiania.
4. Comment on the paradox that a nonconformist community collects money from its members for the same purpose as mainstream collection of taxes.
5. To what extent is the Christianites’ ecological approach to living in the 21st century considered to be conformist?

Nonconformity and sanctions

In Christiania, nonconformity is celebrated and the diversity within the community forms unique relationships and tests levels of tolerance for which the community is so well known. There is a positive tolerance to what is normally considered deviant behaviour. However, consequentialism ensures that although group members are free to behave as they wish, they must bear the repercussions.

There are a few simple rules within this self-governing society:

- No weapons
- No hard drugs
- No violence
- No private cars
- No biker’s colours.
However, rules have been broken and there have been various incidents of violence within the community. As with any other social group, if rules are broken, sanctions are imposed. Sanctions in Christiania range from non-verbal – such as a disproving look, hostility or isolation from other members – to physical assault. Some visitors have violated the rules and been threatened.

There is zero tolerance to hard drugs. The ‘Junk blockade’ of 1979 was initiated by Christianites themselves and showed dealers they were not welcome. Following a police crackdown more than a decade ago, there were also a few accounts of automatic weapon possession and biker activity and four people were killed.

Failing to contribute to the common purse is frowned upon (although it is accepted that a certain percentage of members never pay fees –15 to 20 per cent of the population – because they are unable or unwilling to pay). While there is no formal authority or police, those who do not pay their share are publicly shamed by having their names printed in the local newspaper and are pressured to pay or move out of the neighbourhood.

Joseph Cederwall reports on effective ways of ensuring conformity to group rules and sanctions if the rules are not adhered to.

**Effective self-monitoring by the community**

In the Freetown community no one makes claim to the role of leader. There are committees of residents responsible for monitoring the compliance with rules and the level of satisfaction of residents. There are also area representatives who act as contact groups for the fourteen geographic units and monitor compliance, mediate conflict and ensure satisfaction of residents in their areas.
A series of graduated sanctions for violation of community rules

Graduated sanctions for violation of community rules exist and in the most serious cases they are either a temporary ban from living in the community or permanent exclusion. For instance once, due to overindulgence or sheer enthusiasm for his automatic weapon, a resident randomly fired off rounds into the night from his rooftop at 5 am. Not surprisingly, that person was asked to leave, however he was also well liked and was invited to return to visit so long as he left his gun behind.

Mechanisms of conflict resolution which are cheap and easy to access

The first port of call for any conflict is the local area level – anything that cannot be resolved there can be taken either to a committee dedicated to a certain topic or to the common meeting (open to all residents). Skilled facilitators can assist to mediate in these cases, however the people living closest together and most affected have the first chance to deal with the matter and resolve it in a way acceptable to all in that area. The beauty of this system is that compromises are freely reached and decisions do not need to be enforced as they are made by and in conjunction with the people involved.


1. Describe the attitudes of Christianites to nonconformity.
2. List the rules in Christiania and suggest why there are so few compared to Australian society.
3. Assess the effectiveness of sanctions for breaking Christiania’s rules.

Interactions with the wider society

It may be surprising to learn that people from all over the world have had exposure to Christiania. It is the fourth most visited tourist attraction in Denmark. The positive and negative interactions with the wider society are outlined in Table 9.09. Many of these can be found in newspaper or investigative reports.

Table 9.09 Positive and negative interactions between Christianites and the wider society

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSITIVE/CONFORMIST INTERACTIONS</th>
<th>NEGATIVE/DEVIAN'T INTERACTIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Industrial interactions, e.g. fulfilling orders of custom-made bikes (the ‘Christiania bike’). These are made in an external factory but are designed and assembled within Christiania. Creative and performing arts interactions, e.g. the focal point is the Grey Hall, which is the largest concert hall. It has hosted artists such as Bob Dylan, Rage Against the Machine and Metallica. Economic interactions, e.g. 33 per cent of group members are officially connected to the job market outside Christiania but live within the community.</td>
<td>Legal interactions, e.g. serious confrontations with police over drug dealing. In 2004, police in riot gear arrived and booths were torn down. Sixty dealers and 20 accomplices were arrested. Drug dealing continues to be the main negative interaction between a few Christianites and the wider society. They defy authorities by adapting to new ways of dispensing and new methods of retail trading. Civics and citizenship interactions, e.g. residents are Danish and required to pay normal taxes but they do not</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Perceptions of Christianites by others

Perceptions of Christianites vary greatly. Official statements and actions from legitimate and politically correct organisations are quite different from the individual perceptions held by travellers, which are again very different from those of the Danish nationals.

In the first three decades after 1971, Denmark was ruled by minority governments and political coalitions with heterogeneous and most often cautious attitudes towards Christiania and its residents. As is evident in a government report from 1973, the perception of what Christiania fundamentally was about led the social democratic government to give the group the status of an official ‘social experiment’. Scandinavian countries have a strong record of social justice and commitment to equality and opportunity. So, perhaps the perception was that this intriguing alternative community could offer value to the Danish people or serve as a case study to be analysed later.

Some people perceive Christiania as a symbol of an alternative to modern urban life. To them, it represents all the possibilities and choices about the ways they could live, rather than being constrained to a life of standardised work and adhering to the wider hetero-normative Western society in which they live. Outsiders may see the Christianites as brave for publicly opposing strong norms and expectations. The public perception about keeping or removing the group and its area has significantly altered since the 1990s, as shown in Figure 9.23.

![Figure 9.23 Danish people’s opinion about Christiania, 1975–2003](image)

Others perceive the Christianites as failures of society, living in a self-created welfare ghetto where stray dogs, alcoholism and shabbiness are the norm and the people are rough and dodgy. In addition their – at times unjustified – reputation as drug takers/dealers and relative
impunity have led to territorial stigmatisation. Police also hold this view of Christianites as anarchists defined by illegal activity.

A more positive perception held by others is that Christiania is a ‘creative urban milieu’. There is a push for creativity in many cities and the celebration of art in Christiania is extensive. A sculpture, painting or statue has been installed in each corner of public space and houses are decorated in original and colourful designs. Music is a constant around the centre of town and jazz performances light up the streets on most nights.

Christianites themselves argue that it is the houses they have built, as opposed to the existing old military buildings, that must be preserved. True to form, this approach to conservation and preservation puts the emphasis on the countercultural movement and its by-products. As a group, they promote their collective sense of self-regulation and responsibility, but there is no doubt that the superficial tourist experience of Christiania is distinctly different from the real Christiania.

Danish filmmaker Poul Martinsen followed the ‘typical’ Danish family Hansen from Hedehusen, a suburban city between Copenhagen and Roskilde, on their visit to Christiania. Featuring Eli Hansen, an unemployed construction worker in his forties; Lise Hansen, a home helper in her late thirties; and their two sons, Morten, eleven and Jesper, sixteen years old, as they agreed to spend a week in the Freetown, the documentary provided a combined insider/outsider perspective of the contested area.

While the family initially held the view that the community should be closed, by the end of the week Mr and Mrs Hansen and their two sons had changed opinion. Having shared the daily life of the Christianites, the family was much closer to the view that Christiania presented an alternative that should remain. Transmitting a shift in attitude, the televised stay of the Hansen family in 1976 eventually made the government understand that a clearance was politically impossible.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FAMILY MEMBER</th>
<th>BEFORE</th>
<th>DURING</th>
<th>AFTER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eli (father)</td>
<td>‘My immediate opinion about Christiania,’ he says, ‘is close the shit-hole. What you hear from there is about hash problems, thefts, criminals and on the whole asocial behaviour.’</td>
<td>‘They are simply people who have a very relaxed attitude towards the entire existence and they live more or less as we did in farming society a hundred years back, without heating and without electricity.’</td>
<td>Still convinced there is something ‘ravingly bad’ with the situation, but he is not at all sure that Christiania is the problem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lise (mother)</td>
<td>‘I know it’s grimy in there and I reckon we will have to burn our clothes once we get back.’</td>
<td>‘It really smells out here, they have dogs and horses and pigs and I don’t know what … That is to say it smells all the way, I can hardly stand that smell, I had to lie underneath the quilt all night in order to keep it out.’ Joins in the preparations in the common kitchen of the nova cooperative.</td>
<td>‘Met so many people, and they helped each other … as they said themselves, they acted together … they did things together, they tended to the children together … and all the status objects that people are so fond of, all that is non-existent out there … the people, they just want to be together; they just want to be something for each other, and that I think we ought to pay more attention to …’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The near future (5 to 10 years)

Christiania is no longer viewed as the bold and enduring social experiment it once was. There is a greater degree of ambivalence when it comes to thinking about the future of the group and some hope for integration of different lifestyles with mainstream society.

CURRENT TRENDS

The most significant trend has been the ongoing negotiation between Christiania and the Danish government. Joseph Cederwall reports that tensions culminated in a 2012 agreement that finally gave legal recognition to the group as collective owners of the land. He states that:

… this then enabled the purchase of the land by a Community Land Trust which holds it in trust for the common benefit of all current and future residents and as such is intended to prevent any privatisation or partition of the land under the government’s ‘mixed ownership’ plans which would have created inequality and allowed an ‘elite’ to form, thus fragmenting the delicate social cohesion.


Thörn adds:

Some argue that Christiania now, after years of wasting energy on fighting the state in a struggle for its own survival, can finally focus on development of its counterculture, as well as on other political issues and struggles. Others feel that legalisation means that Christiania loses the political and cultural edge it had as a squatted space; and that the ‘foundation model’ in the long run opens up the area for gentrification and commercialization …

A handful of architects and urban planners has studied the Christianites and how their physical surroundings contribute to their success, which promotes creativity, multiplicity, empowerment and individuality. Various concepts identified by these professionals have been incorporated into modern urban design elsewhere.

Tourism is essential for the survival of the Christianites and their nonconformist lifestyle because tourists take home and share the vision of this alternative community. There are no official tourist campaigns for attracting business and there are no hotels in which tourists can stay.

Since the police crackdown in 2004, authorities estimate that drug activity has reduced by 80 to 90 per cent, but dealing now takes place in less obvious places than Pusher Street, such as in taxis, as people find new methods of buying and selling their products. Following the 2004 crackdown, police presence was contested daily and struggles still continue every now and then.

**LIKELY CHANGES AND PROBABLE CONTINUITIES**

The most likely changes to the community of Christiania can be divided into short, medium and long term. Table 9.11 outlines these changes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIMEFRAME</th>
<th>LIKELY CHANGE</th>
<th>IMPACT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Short-term changes (0–1 year)</td>
<td>Decreased police presence and more of an emphasis on productive dialogue about curbing the drug trade</td>
<td>More harmonious relationships with authorities and a genuine pursuit for law and order within the community. Reduced visibility and profitability of the cannabis market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium-term changes (2–5 years)</td>
<td>Regulation of institutions to be in line with mainstream Danish society, such as schooling requirements, health standards and building-code compliance. Pressure from Danish nationals for equality, i.e. that all Christianites should pay taxes too</td>
<td>Increased occupational prospects and health and safety indicators for Christianites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long-term changes (6–10 years)</td>
<td>Urban restructuring and gentrification. Increased commercialisation and entrepreneurship. Loss of cultural edge and impact from the 1970s</td>
<td>Gradual loss of countercultural ideals</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each of the likely changes within the next 10 years points towards the loss of the original autonomous and free community that Christiania established itself to be. With every year that passes, with every news clip broadcast and with every video shared, the hybridisation between an external, market-driven economy and the internal, self-governing, hippie enclave increases in Christiania. Will the group be able to hold powerful capitalist forces at bay?
The strongest elements of Christiania will continue. Probable continuities are listed in Table 9.12.

Table 9.12 Probable continuities in Christiania over time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIMEFRAME</th>
<th>LIKELY CONTINUITY</th>
<th>IMPACT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Short-term continuities</td>
<td>Emphasis on individualism, art, freedom and self-sufficiency  &lt;br&gt;Centrality to Denmark’s tourism brand</td>
<td>Continued celebration of individuality and acceptance of all who are considered non-conformists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium-term continuities</td>
<td>Increased seeking of employment opportunities outside the community  &lt;br&gt;New drug dealers are recruited and are largely disenfranchised second-generation immigrants who won’t adhere to conduct norms and mix cannabis with other harder drugs</td>
<td>Increased wealth of residents and therefore increased power  &lt;br&gt;Christiania may become a foothold for gangs and criminal activity where social and criminal problems spiral out of control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long-term continuities</td>
<td>More legal challenges to the status and ownership of the land and dwellings in Christiania</td>
<td>Uncertainty of legal status creates stress. May seek to strengthen identity of Christianites as they band together to battle disputes in court</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

OTHER PREDICTIONS FOR THE FUTURE

The counterculture movement of the 1960s was not truly global in scope; it had a Western flavour, reaching from the USA to Europe and Australia. The ideology of freedom from the post-war lifestyle, anti-consumerism and all that it entailed appealed to many people around the world. This nonconformity still exists today and will continue to exist in the future. But given globalisation and the rapid development and uptake of new technologies, it is possible that sympathisers to the cause of Christiania and other nonconformists will conglomerate in online communities rather than within physical boundaries. The core attributes and values of Christiania will be adopted by like-minded people who can connect on any given online platform.

ACTIVITY

1. What trends are taking place for Christianites now?
2. Think of a range of factors that could change the group in the future and explain how they would do this.
3. Decide on the most likely change and most likely continuity.
4. How do you think Christianites will interact with and influence society in the future?
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