

object of integrated crews, apart from the down demarcation barriers, is to some of the more old-fashioned and necessary social and class distinctions on to get away from the concept of and ratings and to turn a ship's crew well-run, well-managed technological vessel so are the pioneers in this field. Y. an oil company with plenty of in experience to draw on) and their on tanker, the London, was the first to go over to the system.

is also fitted out accordingly, with quarters at last coming somewhere standard of comfort they might expect. In an attempt to make the independence on the usual ship-ommunity life, every cabin was with a kettle as well as a shower. as were not fully used—perhaps the its were wrong, or the period of board to the possibility of a new way of

more general, changes include the on of bars for the crew. On one ship, which had better remain is, tradition has so far been forgotten—female passengers are tolerated in bar (what will become of that cious offence—"broaching ship's te "cargo" referring here to passengers. And even on cargo ships, women n the wives of the captain or officer are beginning to be seen s progressive companies like begin to experiment with female s and even navigators. This is in if the Norwegians. Aware of the difficulty of recruiting casual period of full employment, to an hich modern travel possibilities red much less romantic, the set out to make the job as at-ossible.

recruiting problem is not yet as ngland, it is not through any the part of the owners, who in se to admit the existence of a one sense they may be right. owners have always had the advantage of being able to draw e of cheap, coloured labour. rter of all seamen employed in red ships are Chinamen, and re has rarely dropped below 20, s supplemented now by recourse is, particularly Pakistanis, who being employed as firemen in example. The Pakistanis are be any cheaper, although they demanding; at any rate, they ob.

of the reasons put forward r Monde in an article about the reign shipowners who seem to ter their ships in Britain. The cheap labour and enormous hipbuilding are among the fac-ponsible for the union jack to a flag of convenience. Even s are interested; the Ingram f New Orleans is negotiating se of Rowbotham, which has a coasters. The only way the ters can avoid seeing the blue er foreign ships is to stand on without government help and labour. And an aggressive a lot more help to them than tional Union of Seamen. But o late for all concerned.

A SELF-PORTRAIT OF DANISH TEENAGERS

Having dropped anti-pornography laws, Denmark is seen as the Mecca of permissiveness. But an analysis of girls' letters shows that norms don't change as fast as all that.

There is a solid body of myth about the Scandinavian countries, especially about their sexual behaviour. The well-publicised abolition of the Danish laws against pornography—and the consequent, or at least simultaneous, reduction of sexual crime by 25 per cent in two years—is one element in the system of delusions which draws British students and American gits to Copenhagen and Stockholm, in the expectation that sex is as freely available in those sinful capitals as the right to walk on the sidewalks.

In Denmark, certainly, even when these people do succeed in making sexual contact with that outward fringe of Danish girls who pick up foreigners, they are often baffled by the lack of cultural contact. The girls' behaviour springs from a set of norms very different from the cash-based morality of advanced industrial countries. I talked once with a confused and hurt GI. His complaint was that a girl he had met the night before, who wouldn't let him buy her anything but an orange soda, had taken him home to bed, but hadn't met him the next evening as planned. If he had been able to pay her, or at least buy her a lot of expensive food and drink, it would have been within his expectations. As she didn't, it must have been a great love affair, and he had been grossly jilted. He had no clue to other norms than passion or prostitution.

It must be said that it is no easy job to find the truth about a population, especially in such delicate questions. When I came, more or less by luck, upon a mass of contributions written by Danish teenagers for a teenage magazine, it seemed to me that this material, when analysed, might yield some reliable information.

They were contributions to a feature-section of this magazine. Entitled "From My Diary", the section invited readers to send accounts of true incidents from their lives. Accounts selected for printing in the magazine are rewarded by a small prize about £5—and of course by the pleasure of publication. The correspondents wish to communicate (some say they hope reading their history will help others), and they if they get it). But the main attraction, for a researcher, is that they are talking to themselves, to each other, to their own social group, without intervention.

The question in my mind was whether a mass of such material fell into any coherent patterns and revealed anything at all about the contributors other than that they read the same magazine. I had 512 contributions to go on, making 1,059 Xeroxed pages in all. This was the entire intake from 18 January to 9 September 1968: not the selections which were published from it. It was unselected, unedited, some envelopes not yet opened. It was complete and untampered with.

This article shows what emerged about the girls and women who wrote in (I have not yet thoroughly analysed the male contributions). There were 57 male contributions and 455 female, or almost nine times as many. About half of the male contributions were poems, as against about a quarter of female contributions, so perhaps only a much more consciously literary boy will contribute to this type of venture.

The contributors were, not surprisingly, chiefly in their teens. The youngest age stated—though not all of them mentioned their age—was 13; most were from 15 to 17; there were some in their twenties and a few oldies, aged between 45 and 55, writing about their past or about their children. I wanted to exclude literary efforts if possible and concentrate on the actual accounts of events. So I divided the

contributions by form. There were four categories among the female contributions I studied:

1. *Poetry*. A total of 130 poems.
2. *Prose fiction and "declarations"*. There were 31 female contributions under this heading, including twelve "declarations," "statements" or "essays." Of the declarations: two were concerned with parents ("Why quarrel with them? I get along with mine by agreeing with them even when they are wrong"); three with the Youth of Today and the Generation Gap; two with human nature (bad); one with a wish to do something idealistic, one against war, one on anxiety (many causes of anxiety are mentioned, including war and the Bomb, but fear of pregnancy is stated to be the most frequent, and the letter is signed: "21 year old P-pill fan"); one on school, proposing that everyone should leave school at the age of 15, and that after a year those who wish to should return. These didactic statements, I feel, are less significant in discovering what these teenage girls really are, than the next two categories.
3. *Accounts*. Narratives of the first person, purporting to be true relations of real events. There were 170 of these, of which 137 described love affairs.
4. *Letters*. These often differ from the "accounts" only in being addressed to a particular person. Their general theme is: "Søren come back!"

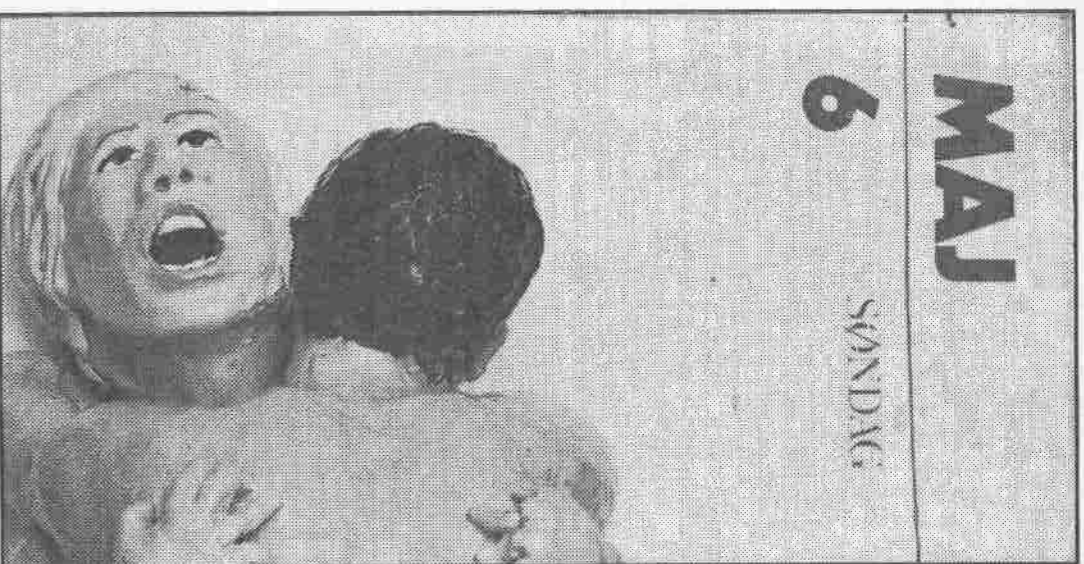
What, in particular, do these contributions tell us about the well-publicised "permissiveness" in Danish sexual life? To judge this, I took a random sample of 20 "accounts" from the 137 that dealt with love affairs.

They were much better written than the prose fiction submitted by contributors to "From My Diary," and also much better than the fiction printed in the magazine. They contained sharp social or psychological observation, expressed often in understatement and in wry humour. The language of the fiction that the magazine prints is, by contrast, flat, characterless, sentimental and "preachy," lacking in bite or social identification. The writers of accounts are telling what they know to be true (or think to be true—there is likely to be some "fiction" in any report), which includes the detail supporting it. The commercial fiction—like that which some contributors modelled on it—is geared to the standardised demands of the mass media, to what someone or other considers socially desirable. A former writer



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of "true-life" stories for English teenage magazines once told me that he had to arrange plots so that there were no actual sexual relations, because this was undesirable for teenagers. The writers of these Danish accounts had no such worry. In contrast to the commercial fiction, they write like mini-Defoes.

The ages of these 20 contributors are typical of the whole sample. The youngest age given is 14; two are 15; six are 16; two are 17; one is 18; two are 20; one is 25; four are teenagers, unspecified; and one contributor is 45 or 46, talking of when she was 20.

In occupation: six are at school; two are apprentices or have been; two are housewives; four mention "work," unspecified; and six indicate no occupation. None of them speaks of higher education or of career training. None of them mentions any desire to move upwards socially through work or marriage; none mentions any "need for achievement." Two of them mention relationships specifically stated to be across class lines. In both cases the boy was from the higher class. In one case, "he came from another milieu—his father owned a lot of buses"; in the other, "his father opposed the marriage, because he was a wealthy man and felt that *equal children play best together*." Both affairs ended tragically. The richer boy was a drunk in both cases. The one was made by his parents to reject his pregnant girl friend; the other boy married his girl but the wife also became a drunk (they were the parents of the narrator). Rather than marry for social or material gain, the girls want a stable relationship based on love alone. For a boy to be rich or a pop idol is seen as a dangerous complication, rather than an advantage.

To judge by their own occupations and by what they say of their parents' occupations, these writers mostly belong to the Registrar-General's classes IV and V—skilled and unskilled workers, cottagers and

farm labourers, fishermen, the lower grades of clerical workers. However, there may be some class in parents concealed by non-mention—managers of large enterprises and entrepreneurs like the owner of buses. There is no way of telling, from their accounts, whether the writers live in city or country, unless the address is given. Only one of them seems to live on a farm, and she is going to marry a farmer; but she started life as a Copenhagen-er. Five of the 20 live in and around Copenhagen, which matches the fact that a quarter of the population of Denmark lives there. But, as I say, the events recounted are neither rural nor urban but homogeneous.

And what are these events? Twenty love stories showing discernible patterns of behaviour.

Six of the accounts mention one boy-friend only. Eleven mention two, and the action is the change from one to another. One mentions three—the first two unkind and sexually exploiting, the third nice and protective: they have now been going together for eight months and she knows it is permanent; she signs herself "happy at last," and gives her age as 16. Two accounts report a period of promiscuity, now ended: both girls are engaged and consider themselves settled. One, who followed pop musicians around from the age of 13, says she did not sleep with as many people as she was thought to; the other gives a psychological explanation. "I have always been very shy, and never had any friends when I was young, because everyone thought I was boring. When I got older, I grew pretty, and boys began to surround me. I slept with them all, to keep their friendship, and not be alone as I was before."

Eighteen of the 20 give clear indications that they have sexual relations with their boy-friend. An idealistic 14 year old, who describes her idyllic friendship with a boy in her class ("We can talk to each other about anything; we have confided many secrets to each other"), concludes by saying: "And when we have finished our studies, we plan to have a sexual relationship, because we get along very well in that way too." She is one of the two who hasn't but she is evidently all for it in principle.

The only four people who regret their sexual activity are: the two who presumably deplore (because they explain and partially deny it) their promiscuity; one 15 year old regrets that she became pregnant; and one girl expresses a pragmatic morality: "I was ashamed of going to bed with Frank when I was going with Poul-Erik, but I needn't have been, because Frank fell in love with me." (She later regrets, not this lapse, but telling lies to Frank which put her new relationship in danger.)

These are the only expressions of regret for sexual activity. They cannot be called "anti-sex," because three of them regret only unusual sexual behaviour, and one an unwanted pregnancy. Virginity, or its loss hardly appears as a concept, still less as a value, either on moral grounds or in reduced chances for marriage. Their attitude is markedly different from the traditional bourgeois one aptly expressed by John Gay in *The Beggar's Opera*: "But the first time a Woman is frail, she should be somewhat nice methinks, for then or never is the chance to make her Fortune." This is entirely absent from their thoughts. They all assume they will be married, especially if they become pregnant.

Their confidence is justified on the whole. Of the 18 at risk, seven became pregnant. Two of them married the child's father. One, the fifteen year old, got a legal abortion. Another fifteen year old miscarried as result of an attempted suicide by drowning. Two of the writers, having been rejected by the father of their first child (they say it was parental pressure on him), again find themselves pregnant and marry the second man. One writer, the mother of two children born out of wedlock, is unmarried, she says, because she has a police record as a thief. "Several times I've known young men who would be happy to be a father to my children, but when they hear about *my par* it is not very long before

I don't see them again." Her "past" is not miscuity (two children by different fathers and enthusiastically accepted as a good as a natural part of social relations be people. Why, then, do all these English come back from Copenhagen and Stockholm claiming that the permissiveness is myth?

When we examine the accounts a little we find that the permissiveness does not mean casual encounters with strangers. Eighteen contributors mention where the social contact is to a love-sex relationship took place, and are as follows. Four met or meet at an approved school; some of them: at a private party or a friend's house, vacation." None met at their own home do not appear in these narratives in public places such as trains, streets, bars. The pair of girls who met their beach in Majorca ("on vacation") talk because they could hear that it appeared only became friendly when it appeared came from a town near their own.

The places and situations of social dominated by the peer group of other teenagers. So, too, are the love affairs. Sixteen of these in one way or another, often in the form of "We all went around together in a group of three boys and three girls who went together." "I began to go around with boys—they weren't trying all the time with the girls; it was all comradeship group of Danish young people cross at least it does in villages and small they all go to school together for Love affairs easily develop, with parental sanction or at least non-interference only when these affairs become serious there to be talk of marriage that the parents appear, as persons of terrific power, the course of events. An example Sweden, occurs in Bo Wilderberg's film now showing in London, where the mother whose schoolgirl daughter says nant, asks, "Who is the boy?" It is a class boy, a protégé and pet—there is the girl is instantly whisked away for a

I think there is a distinct likeness class aspect of modern Scandinavian culture (communal agrarian villages of the 19th century, and scattered far work-forces up until the first, or maximum, second, world war). The communal aspect is described by E. Tang Kristensen in his but accurately named masterwork, *The Common People of Jutland: our Grandfathers; with some Old Zealand and the other Islands: as the Recollections of Old People*. (This treasure of information remains until it is even out of print in Denmark.) According to Kristensen's material, there were three usual life outside marriage, recognised villages:

1. *Betrothal*, leading to marriage: a fort between two families, in general on both sides, but in some cases one side was almost equal to marriage in that it was in effect permitted to the partners.
2. *Partnership*, for the year, in going village gatherings and work dance or resembled the American steady-dating time, except that the partners were seen and named—usually by the leading back village. It was very bad form to object you were given; and the partnership at

shermen, the lower grades of clerical work, there may be some class in parents' attitudes. The middle class is the most common—managers of large enterprises like the owner of buses.

They are of telling, from their accounts, that they live in city or country, unless they are in the city. Only one of them seems to be a farmer; she is going to marry a farmer; she is a Copenhagen. Five of the women are from Copenhagen, which matches the population of Denmark. I say, the events recounted are not very homogeneous.

What are these events? Twenty love stories are mentioned in the accounts.

They mention one boy-friend only, and the action is the change from one to another. One mentions three—the first sexually exploiting, the third nice. They have now been going together and she knows it is permanent; she is happy at last, and gives her age and reports a period of promiscuity. The girls are engaged and considered. One, who followed pop musicians for a while, says she did not sleep with anyone as she was thought to; she is shy, and never had any friends because everyone thought I was too old; I grew pretty, and boys were attracted to me. I slept with them all, to my regret, and not be alone as I was.

There are no clear indications that they are with their boy-friend. An old, who describes her idyllic life in her class ("We can talk anything; we have confided many things to our studies, we plan to have a child, because we get along very well with one of the two who hasn't had a child in principle.

They all regret their sexual activities, but presumably deplore (because they don't deny it) their promiscuity; they say that she became pregnant; they are pragmatic moralists: "I was with Erik, but I needn't have been, because I loved me." (She later regrets, she lies to Frank which put her in danger.)

There are expressions of regret for sexual activities that are called "anti-sex," because they are only unusual sexual behaviour, and not pregnancy. Virginity, or its absence, as a concept, still less as a social ground or in reduced chances of pregnancy is markedly different in the bourgeois one aptly expressed in *Beggar's Opera*: "But the first time she should be somewhat pregnant or never is the chance to be entirely absent from their lives, assume they will be married, and she is pregnant.

They are justified on the whole. Of the women, one is pregnant. Two of them are married. One, the fifteen year old, who is fifteen years old, has had an attempted suicide by drowning, having been rejected by a boy. They say it was parental pressure that found themselves pregnant and unmarried. One writer, the mother of a child of wedlock, is unmarried, she has a police record as a thief. Another young man who would have been married to my children, but when he was born it is not very long before

I don't see them again." Her "past" is not sexual promiscuity (two children by different fathers), but theft. This all sounds very permissive: sex acknowledged and enthusiastically accepted as a good thing and as a natural part of social relations between young people. Why, then, do all these Englishmen and girls come back from Copenhagen and Stockholm complaining that the permissiveness is mythical?

When we examine the accounts a little more closely we find that the permissiveness does not include sexual encounters with strangers. Eighteen of the contributors mention where the social contact leading to a love-sex relationship took place, and the places are as follows. Four met or met at school (one at an approved school; some of them are co-educational), two at work, three at a pop club or jazz club, one at a neighbourhood ball, six through friends, at a private party or at a friend's house, and two "on vacation." None met at their own home (parents do not appear in these narratives until the relationships get serious), and none mentions meeting in public places such as trains, streets, restaurant or bar. The pair of girls who met their friends on a beach in Majorca ("on vacation") talked to them because they could hear that they were Danish. They only became friendly when it appeared that the boys came from a town near their own.

The places and situations of social contact are dominated by the peer group of other teenage friends. So, too, are the love affairs. Sixteen of the 20 mention this in one way or another, often in such phrases as "We all went around together in a flock," "We were three boys and three girls who always went together." "I began to go around with a group who went to bars, but I liked them all, especially the boys—they weren't trying all the time to go to bed with the girls; it was all comradeship." The peer group of Danish young people crosses class lines, at least it does in villages and small towns, where they all go to school together for seven years. Love affairs easily develop, with more or less parental sanction or at least non-interference. It is only when these affairs become serious enough for there to be talk of marriage that the parents suddenly appear, as persons of terrific power, and determine the course of events. An example of this, from Sweden, occurs in Bo Wilderberg's film *Adalen '31*, now showing in London, where the upper class mother whose schoolgirl daughter says she is pregnant, asks, "Who is the boy?" It is Kell, a working class boy, a protégé and pet—there is no anger, but the girl is instantly whisked away for an abortion.

I think there is a distinct likeness between this class aspect of modern Scandinavian behaviour and the situation that obtained in the preceding peasant culture (communal agrarian villages until the middle of the 19th century, and scattered farms with large work-forces up until the first, or maybe even the second, world war). The communal agrarian village is described by E. Tang Kristensen in his ponderously but accurately named masterpiece, *The Daily Life of the Common People of Jutland in the time of our Grandfathers; with some Observations on Zealand and the other Islands; as collected from the Recollections of Old People*. (This monumental treasure of information remains untranslated, and is even out of print in Denmark.) According to Tang Kristensen's material, there were three forms of sexual life outside marriage, recognised in the Danish village:

1. *Betrothal*, leading to marriage: a formal agreement between two families, in general only undertaken between families of equal wealth and status. Betrothal was almost equal to marriage in that sexual life was in effect permitted to the partners.

2. *Partnership*, for the year, in going to the many village gatherings and work dance occasions. This resembled the American steady-dating of the present time, except that the partners were selected and announced—usually by the leading bachelors of the village. It was very bad form to object to the partner you were given; and the partnership allowed, though

A self-portrait of Danish teenagers

it did not require, sexual relations. Later, on the farms, the partnerships were based on occupational rank: the foreman pairing-off with the head milkmaid, and so on down.

3. *Falling in love* was "non-institutional." It was recognised that it did happen and that the situation might involve sexual relations. But it seldom led to marriage unless the partners were equal.

In short, in the village there was plenty of institutionalised and non-institutionalised opportunity for both social and sexual contact. But marriage, the basis of farm life, was in the hands of the parents, and though personal relationships crossed class lines, as they do today, it was exceptional for marriage to do so. The accounts I am describing seem to show that this is not so different today in modern industrialised Denmark.

But before I go on to discuss the parents in these accounts, I must mention another figure who surprised me by her importance: the girl's girl-friend.

The girl-friend is mentioned as important to the action in ten of the 20 accounts. Usually they are companions and helpers, twice they are rivals. One contributor—not in my sample of 20—says: "It is most important to have a steady girl-friend all through your school years." Many of the accounts begin with some such phrase as "One evening my girl-friend Britta and I went to the pop club . . ." or for a walk, or to the beach, to a dance, to any place of social contact. Social life for Danish teenagers is not reserved to those who are already paired up. Girls go, seeking social contacts, to what corresponds to the village green; but not liking to go alone, they go with their girl-friend. Six in the sample of 20 do this; and one isolated and depressed girl, with drunken parents and no friends, goes to the *diskotek* with her sister—they each function as the other's girl-friend.

Parents are mentioned by twelve narrators, ten of whom complain. One complains of ordinary social control. Coming home at 5 am on New Year's Day—instead of at midnight, as she was supposed to—she is kept at home the next day ("They didn't seem to realise I was 16!"). But most of the writers have more serious reasons for complaint. Five parents broke off love affairs, though one girl resumed hers after she was married to someone else. Three are reported to have rejected their daughters: two when they were pregnant, and one (the child of the drunken couple) as an infant; this drunken couple also taught her first boy-friend to drink. Two, and maybe three, parents, manoeuvred their children into sexual situations with boys and then rejected them, one getting the boy to break off, one proposing to make his 16 year old daughter leave home.

Two of the twelve sets of parents are said to give definite support, and in fact in the long run almost all the parents give some support. Only the girl-thief says: "They would have nothing to do with the abandoned girl with a child—but I had never been very sweet to them, either."

The parents, in this Danish "permissive" society, have much more power than I expected before I began to read this material, and their presence is a sign of the seriousness of the relationship. The narrator of Account No. 15 says that, when Keld became seriously interested in her, "he began to visit me when my parents were home." Parental consent is a legal requirement for Danish marriages where the partners are under 21, though efforts are being made to change this to 18. But parental control goes far beyond the giving or withholding of consent to legal marriage.

Parents may seem to pay little attention to the girls' establishment of relationships or to what the young people are up to. But they have considerable power of veto. They exercise this, it seems, according to the norms of the extinct village. The wild, free, sexual life sought by tourists is governed by rather strict and exclusive rules, which are different from ours.