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# Workshops and liberation in Freetown Christiania: Tensions in a post-growth community economy

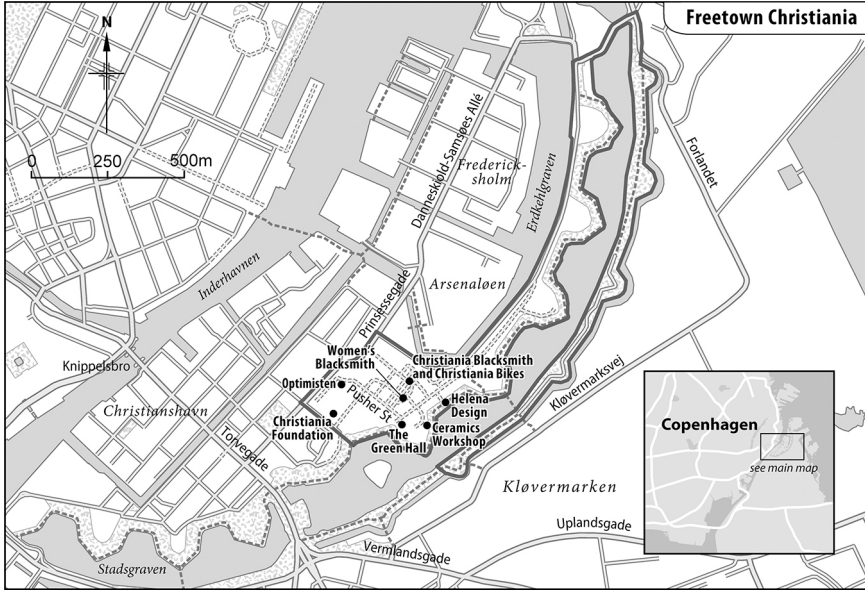
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## Introduction

Eco-communities envision and enact practices which make a double movement: away from the ecologically destructive tendencies demonstrated by contemporary societies, and towards shared, participatory alternatives which are socially and environmentally non-exploitative. In spite of this statement, Freetown Christiania has a complex relationship with environmental sustainability, lacking many of the common understandings of that concept which underlie pro-environmental collective action (Verco 2018; Winter 2016). It also consistently deviates from many of the usual tropes or imaginaries of an eco-community, given its location in the heart of a major capital city and the absence of community-based food production. Much of Christiania's soil is contaminated after its prior use by the state as a weapons store and military testing site and is not seen by residents as safe for producing many crops. Nonetheless, this chapter explores community economic practices in Christiania, particularly focusing on tendencies towards economic democracy and solidarity economics. It argues that Christiania presents patterns for a post-growth community economy, tending away from the most destructive tendencies of capitalism. It also outlines, however, the acute challenges posed by recent developments. By doing so, we hope it contributes to a more granular, empirical understanding of the challenges and possibilities faced when building diverse and community economies.

Christiania emerged in 1971 out of a tumultuous period of housing shortages and social unrest in Copenhagen (Thörn et al., 2011). During this early 'pioneer' period, a group squatted a 32-hectare former naval base in Christianshavn, in the very heart of Copenhagen (see Figure 1), inviting others to join them and create a non-capitalist, self-ruled society in which decisions would be made by consensus and where property ownership would not exist.

Today, Christiania is home to around 1,000 people, who live in fourteen autonomous and self-administering areas. During the intervening decades, the community has developed something of a parallel society: it has its own postal service, recycling and refuse service, gardening and woodland maintenance teams, building



**Figure 1** Outline of the Freetown's location in central Copenhagen. (Source: Thomas S. J. Smith.)

maintenance crew, bathhouse and sauna, two television stations, a community archive, and many other institutions and collective organizations. Each of the fourteen areas – distinguished through imaginative names, such as The Blue Caramel or Dandelion – meets once a month to deliberate on affairs affecting them, while a larger monthly general assembly decides on important matters pertaining to Christiania as a whole.

While the organization of daily life in Christiania takes place substantially through informal relations and volunteering (not least participating in meetings which can run long into the night), it also employs around thirty full- or part-time 'civil servants', mainly drawn from amongst its residents. All civil servants earn roughly the same, apart from the refuse collectors, who earn a little more. This, in many ways, is an inversion of the wage inequalities in capitalist societies. The community's external and internal financial obligations are paid for through individual resident contributions (making up around 70 per cent of the total Christiania budget). These contributions are now calculated according to square metres of living space, rather than a flat per capita fee. Business contributions (making up the remaining 30 per cent) are taken from the incomes of the ninety initiatives or commercial enterprises currently in operation, calculated and agreed on a case-by-case basis. In total, money received from such contributions has increased enormously, standing at about €5 million in 2019. This is more than double the amount from 2004, and four times what it was in 1996.

After more than forty years as an illegal squat, a major development occurred in 2012 when Christiania's residents came to an agreement with the state. Following protracted and tense discussions, the Christianites created a legal structure which

would buy the majority of the land from the Danish government (Coppola and Vanolo 2015), a controversial decision given the fundamental hesitancy of Christianites to own land – even in a collective manner. While the fee was lower than market price, it involved raising millions of euros through the sale of symbolic shares, topped up with bank loans.

### Democratic economic diversity: Christiania and *Foreningen*

*Christiania is a jungle of micro-enterprises, a milder microcosm of Denmark's economy with its predominance of small and medium-sized firms, but the businesses here are run by the workers, who believe in the quality of their products, and show a genuine concern for the wellbeing of their customers.*

(from the novel *Hans Christiania*)

This chapter draws from a study undertaken in Freetown Christiania in 2019, which aimed to sketch its journey from a DIY community that met many of its key needs through endogenous workshop enterprises, to the rapidly evolving economic structures to be found there today. The lead author stayed at Christiania for four weeks in March 2019, as part of the Christiania Researcher-in-Residence (CRIR) scheme, which allows artists, researchers and others to participate in the daily life of the community.

While Christiania is often imagined or framed as a radical anti-capitalist or 'alternative' space (Jonas 2016), a closer examination reveals a much more complex, intricate and pragmatic picture. Due to this complexity, a key concept underlying what follows will be that of the 'diverse economy' – a reimagining of the economy as a web of more-than-capitalist economic practices, developed by the feminist economic geographer J.K. Gibson-Graham (1996). In their work over recent decades, Gibson-Graham dislodge the tendency to fix all economic thought in relation to a system called capitalism, a tendency which would later be captured by Mark Fisher (2009) in the term 'capitalist realism'. Instead, they take a 'weak theory' approach, – remaining open to the context-specific relations which comprise an economy and which enable social reproduction, including a variety of forms of non-capitalist activity (care work, voluntary work, DIY, self-employment, barter, gifts, etc.). While Christiania has a reputation as a place run completely along the lines of anti-capitalist consensus democracy, today's enterprises are a diverse combination of worker's co-operative, informal collective, social enterprise, self-employment and hybrid forms which may defy these categorizations.

We will use a number of interrelated but distinct terms to discuss Christiania's diverse economic forms: '*Diverse economy*' is a broad category referring to the many economic forms which exist, including and beyond capitalist enterprise. This includes what we may view as good and wholesome (e.g. cooperative and social enterprise, gift relations) but also feudal, slave, black market and other modes of economy. '*Community economy*' is a more normative term, referring to those economic forms deemed to foster community and contribute to social and ecological wellbeing (Smith and Dombroski 2021). '*Economic democracy*' refers to initiatives or enterprises

which take decisions out of the hands of individual capitalists or shareholders, and distribute decision-making to other stakeholders, such as workers (in a worker coop) or communities. The ‘*solidarity economy*’ (or social solidarity economy (SSE) as it is often termed) is a broad and increasingly popular term for heterodox economic initiatives which ‘foster relationships of mutual support ... shared responsibility and directly democratic decision-making’ (Miller 2010, 25). SSE is often used to include credit unions, gift exchange-based groups (e.g. food sharing), fair trade networks, participatory budgeting and much besides.

Using these concepts, the chapter argues against a tendency to view Christiania as a state of exception, as a community which, due to its critical perspective on life on the ‘outside’, is opposed to external Danish society. The place has never been a closed enclave, but is rather more of a porous and open experiment (Coppola and Vanolo 2015). Examples attesting to this porosity abound: As has been noted elsewhere, many within Christiania have been proud of consistently meeting their external financial obligations to the state since an initial agreement to pay for water and electricity was made in 1973. A large number of people (estimated at 200 by one interviewee) come from Copenhagen to work in Christiania every day, while many Christianites travel the other way too. Christiania’s older children go to school in Christianshavn, outside the community’s borders, and Christianshavn’s municipal recycling centre (Genbrugsstationen) is located within Christiania.

At a broader cultural level, the organizational style of Christiania draws from a strong culturally embedded tradition of ‘unions’ (*foreningen*) in Denmark – a term which means something akin to association, collective or society. Providing a sketch of early co-operative organizing in Scandinavia, Bernhard (1951, 633–4) noted:

The co-operatives in Denmark have caused a peaceful social, economic, and political revolution of tremendous and far-reaching significance. They have aided in the creation of an “extra-socialistic” economy which is designed to aid the Danish people in meeting the challenges of modern society. Co-operation in Denmark is not a detached thing, as is characteristic in England or the United States, but it is very strongly ingrained in the very life of the people. The economic structure of the nation has been altered; capitalism has been weakened, but the edge of the Marxian sword has also been greatly dulled.

In the first decades of the twentieth century, as Chloupkova et al. (2003, 243) note, ‘wholly voluntarily established cooperatives finally became *the* way of organizing all common practical matters among the Danish rural population.’ This cooperative ethos would go on to permeate Danish society – rural and urban – with a well-known phrase noting that ‘When two Danes meet, they shake hands. When three Danes meet, they form an association.’

## Organizational vignettes from the field

In order to give more insight into this, we will now present findings drawn from interviews and desk research on six Christiania enterprises with a close connection

to the community's autonomous DIY and workshop culture. These are purposefully selected for diversity – ranging from workers' cooperatives to self-employment – and we focus on the aspects of them which relate to the questions of workshop economies and economic democracy. Some of these organizations are well-known, with many media accounts available (Christiania Bikes and the Women's Blacksmith, for instance) while there is no evidence of any English-language writing on some of the others (e.g. Optimisten).

### **I The Ceramics Workshop (Keramik værksted): Artists' collective**

While Christiania has been home to a ceramics workshop since the 1970s, the workshop building – located in Christiania's 'factory district' – had fallen into disrepair by 2015. The space itself was underutilized, and the building was mouldy, damp and in need of renovation. A non-Christianite was invited in to lead the rejuvenation of the space. Windows, floors, doors, heating and insulation all had to be replaced.

It reopened in 2016, with all of the work having been undertaken by the artists themselves, working in their own time, around their work schedules. Demonstrating some of the flexibility of being a commercial initiative in Christiania, for half a year, during the renovation process, the workshop didn't pay any contributions to Christiania. A loan was acquired from the Christiania community to fund acquisition of the new kiln, with further funding provided from the Christiania foundation for the replacement of windows.

Today, the ceramics workshop is fully utilized, providing a shared studio space for seven artists to work in, each with their own work bench and storage area. Consciously reflecting Christiania's non-hierarchical decision-making structures, the workshop occupants meet once a month to administer the space. Each of the seven artists – some of whom are residents, while others come in from outside Christiania to use the space – pays the same amount, plus each pays for use of the kiln separately, due to the expense of electricity.

### **II The Christiania Blacksmith (Christiania Smedien) and Christiania Bikes (Christianiacykler): Social enterprise**

Christiania's Blacksmith – which originally made stoves, stovepipes, guttering, bikes, candlesticks and other metalwork for Christiania residents – was founded in 1978 by four friends, in a former munitions building in the heart of Christiania. The blacksmith also began to produce trailers from recycled bed frames for transporting fuel, building materials and children around the car-free site.

It was in this environment that Lars designed what would become the famed Christiania cargo bike. Originally built as a birthday present for his girlfriend, in 1984, the box bike design came to be in high demand and, as of 1990, was produced in a new factory on the outskirts of Copenhagen and sold worldwide. One estimate suggests that a third of cargo bikes in Copenhagen are Christiania bikes (Williams 2011).

Today, the space is no longer used for blacksmithing, but instead has transitioned into being the home of the social enterprise, *Christiania Bikes* (see Figure 2). This company is the result of a merger of the former blacksmith workshop and a



**Figure 2** The entrance to Christiania Bikes/Smedien. (Source: Thomas S. J. Smith.)

neighbouring bike shop, in 2016. While the Christiania bike is now produced outside of Christiania, Smedien is a popular licensed seller, assembling new box bikes in their original home, while the neighbouring bike shop focuses on their maintenance. The company has also recently launched a leasing service, removing the need for personal ownership of the bikes.

Similar to Christiania's ban on housing speculation, it is not possible to profit from selling a business here, with each business operating under the discretion of the local area, according to an occupancy agreement. As Christiania property belongs to everyone and no-one, it is only possible to transition businesses from one owner to another, with the requisite recompense for any stock or materials held. After negotiations about ownership structures, in what became a five-year takeover process, Christiania Bikes is now run by two co-owners, who employ around ten others in bike assembly and maintenance. As with the Women's blacksmith (described below), the workshop is further evidence of Christiania's connections with the outside world. Christiania Bikes is involved with municipal programmes where individuals who have been unemployed long-term can train at the enterprise for a period of months, often resulting in employment at the end of the time period.

As a social enterprise, Christiania Bikes also has an associated foundation which administers 1 per cent of total revenue to benefit the wider Christiania community, as well as international charitable partners. Revenue was chosen over profit, building in guaranteed returns to Christiania. While the co-owners don't pretend that their twelve-person organization is run along consensus democratic lines, they contend that working conditions are perhaps better there than elsewhere in Christiania, given they're the only place in Christiania which is unionized according to the recognized criteria of the Union of Metalworkers in Denmark (Dansk Metal). The latter comes

with minimum salary requirements and other benefits, but also ensures workers' representatives have a say in how the business is run. Worker representation is also included on the foundation board.

### **III Women's Blacksmith (Kvindesmedien): Collective metal workshop**

Located in the Milky Way area, this woman-owned and -operated blacksmith is found in a large industrial space which had been gradually vacated during the 1990s, when the production of Christiania Bikes moved outside of Christiania. At the same time, the demand for oil-drum stoves and other household items was reducing. Charlotte – my interviewee and one of the three founding partners (along with Dorte and Gitte) – began working in the Blacksmith (Vignette II) in 1995, initially sharing with the men, before the women struck out on their own in 1997. Wasshede (2011, 196) notes that 'besides its function as a workshop and apprentice place for female smiths, [it] was a kind of feminist community'.

The idea of a women's workshop was quite novel, not least for the gender stereotypes it subverts, and the enterprise has gained substantial media attention. This has aided its growth, and it currently employs around ten people, including two men. The Women's Blacksmith has a shop which is regularly open to the public, although much of their revenue comes from commissions for sculptures, furniture, chandeliers, awards and other bespoke items. Since around 2009, they have been training (usually female) blacksmith apprentices through work placements, giving those who come to study experience in more bespoke and non-mechanized production than they may get elsewhere.

### **IV The Green Hall – Workers' Cooperative**

The Green Hall, a large and cavernous former military riding house (see Figure 3), has long served a purpose as a clearing house for salvaged and second-hand building materials within Christiania. Today, it also houses a broad-spectrum hardware, homeware and garden shop. The Green Hall is a key supplier of the wood pellets which nowadays heat many of Christiania's buildings – in the form of district heating systems – and the gas bottles which are widely used for cooking within the community.

The enterprise is a registered workers' cooperative, run by its seven worker-owners. The majority of these are residents of Christiania, with two coming from outside. The workers meet over breakfast every Monday morning at 8.30 am to discuss the business of the week, arranging what needs to be done, by whom and when. The work shared out includes everything from staffing the checkout, to public relations, including placing submissions about the Green Hall in the Christiania weekly newspaper – the community's key internal communications source. The Green Hall runs a delivery service, to get fuel and other necessities to Christiania's residents. This is done in the form of a small electric delivery vehicle, to accord with the community's no-car ethos.

The organization operates a foundation which distributes revenue to community and solidarity initiatives. This has funded a wide range of initiatives, including building projects in Africa, the arts and local theatres, and funding the stays of doctors in countries of the Global South. This type of solidarity income distribution also happens



**Figure 3** The Green Hall. (Source: Thomas S. J. Smith.)

in-kind, more locally, with the donation of materials for certain community building projects (including, for example, Christiania's popular indoor skate park).

### **V Helena Design: Self-employed Jeweller**

Helena has lived in Christiania for thirty-three years. Her jewellery business has been running for about thirty of those, starting as more of a hobby, when she began to occasionally attend markets in Christiania and around Copenhagen. Her current house, where she has lived for the last ten years, is where her showroom/shop is located. She completely renovated the house to strict eco-standards and decided she needed a space in which to meet customers, blurring public with private. This lake-view conservatory space has evolved into a more permanent shop, signed from Christiania's main thoroughfare, reflecting the growing flow of visitors and tourists through Christiania, and the requisite growing dependence on external resource flows.

Helena initially brought her idea for a shop to her local area meeting, which approved of it on a trial basis. After a few months, they agreed on the amount that she should pay to the area every month. This contribution has risen every year, in accordance with her revenue. Displaying a lack of growth-orientation, Helena spoke about working just to 'pay her bills' so that she can use her time for things she values,

primarily activism and ‘community service’ work in Christiania. To this end, she keeps costs down by, for example, skip diving for food. As such, she focuses on the business at the weekends, when the number of visitors and tourists is higher, using much of the rest of the week to help out around Christiania. This community work, which includes helping to organize action weekends and clean-ups around the site, is voluntary, but can include symbolic payment.

### **VI Optimisten (Snedkeriet Optimisten): Collective workshop/self-employment hybrid**

Optimisten is a joinery/carpentry workshop (see Figure 4), founded in 1979, which holds a prominent location near the main entrance of Christiania. Kim, who is in charge of running the workshop, arrived to Christiania in 1978, age nineteen. He lives in the same house that he moved into then – a collective house with separate living spaces for multiple families, but a shared kitchen – and it was the skills obtained during the renovation of that building which started the learning process, leading to his later involvement at Optimisten in 1987.

When Kim arrived, the workshop’s main focus was on taking waste beams from old houses being renovated during the city’s redevelopment and housing projects, and repurposing them into tables and furniture. The latter were then sold both within and outside of Christiania, and took the form of a work integration project for young people, funded by the Danish Ministry of Education. Taking money from the state was a controversial development, however. ‘It was the first example in Christiania of cooperation with the state’, recounts Kim, ‘So, for twenty years, [others in] Christiania thought “Optimisten, they’re not good guys, they got money from the state!”’ Indicating how quickly Christiania is changing on that front, he continues, ‘Optimisten was ahead of its time. Now there’s cooperation with everything’.



**Figure 4** Optimisten’s main workshop space. (Source: Thomas S. J. Smith.)

Originally the workshop was informally organized, mostly meeting domestic needs within Christiania, with interested members meeting on the first Monday of the month to decide who would make what. ‘There were maybe 20 or 30 people but only very few made money off it.’

Kim complains of disorganization amongst early members and, showing some of the tensions which can arise, says he focused on building up and professionalizing the workshop. ‘There were always problems about people paying. And there were always problems that they liked to drink a lot of beer and smoke lots of hash. I was the only one who said “no, no beer, no hash, you can do that after you work.”’

The source of work has shifted: the workshop has professionalized and thus its products have become more expensive, and simultaneously Christiania has become less self-reliant in furniture and other everyday goods. ‘Some customers are from Christiania, but they’re mostly from Copenhagen or north of Copenhagen. That’s where the nice old houses are’, Kim notes, referring to the bespoke woodwork Optimisten supplies for house renovations.

He is the main coordinator, and the only one with a fixed salary. While some community members also pay per hour to use the workshop on an ad hoc basis, more informal arrangements are also evident. This includes a retired Christianite, for example, who helps out in-kind (cleaning around the outside of the workshop, for example), in order to have access to workshop machines for prototyping his own products.

### Confronting normalization and mission drift

*We are not socialists, we are not anarchists, we are not communists, and we are not capitalists. What are we? We don’t define it and that is good. The undefined community is a definition in itself*

(Tata, Christiania resident)

The previous vignettes, along with the quote above, demonstrate what appears to be both a great strength and a great weakness of the Freetown – its pragmatic, evolving collectivity. The community’s consensus approach, for instance, has enabled inclusive decision-making, encouraged dialogue, reduced polarization and, as the community moves forward, resulted in taking multiple perspectives on board at all times. This has played an important role, for instance, in maintaining the community’s integrity in the face of five decades of the state’s divide-and-conquer tactics. However, while it can facilitate common understanding, such openness also appears to result in a community which can lack direction or vision, resulting in mission drift or blunting its formerly radical edge.

On the one hand, not much has fundamentally changed in Christiania’s economy, even since the long battle with the state was brought to a close 2012. Private ownership of property is still forbidden, removing it from the damaging speculative dynamics which have pushed up property prices and driven gentrification throughout Copenhagen and many other large European cities. Community enterprises still take

part in the enterprise meeting on the last Tuesday of each month, where they meet to discuss affairs including their mutual obligations to Christiania, how they can aid struggling businesses, and other issues which might arise. Residents conduct an annual participatory budgeting process, the results of which are published transparently in the community newspaper, distributed freely throughout the local areas. Economic democracy remains deeply grounded, furthermore, not just in the internal running of its enterprises (which, as the vignettes above show, varies significantly in scope), but in each of the fourteen autonomous areas which, ultimately, have the final say over which businesses get to operate in their back yard. This is a level of community-based democratic oversight unheard of in capitalist market economies.

However, Christiania *is* changing, and there is a vocal segment of the community which thinks that, through compromise after compromise, it is losing much of what made life there special. If true, then this appears to be the result of unconscious, creeping and systemic processes. Initially well-intended decisions bring hierarchical dynamics and unforeseen consequences, which in turn bring other hierarchies and unforeseen consequences. Agreement with the state in 2012, for instance, brought the need for lawyers, a new legal foundation to 'represent' the community, harmonization with Danish state regulations and bank loans. These developments have necessitated a more professionalized administrative structure, while bank loans have meant higher financial commitments for all residents and businesses. Such commitments and new hierarchies in turn create subtle new dynamics in everyday life. This includes the normalization of interactions with state funding, but also pressures to work more and search for employment outside of Christiania. Charlotte from the Women's Blacksmith reflected on this latter point:

This is Christiania ... we have so many relationships, and we have been building up this town together and we have been doing lots of projects together, you know? But Christiania has also changed. Many years ago when I moved to Christiania, if you were not working here then you moved [out]. It was like if you live in Christiania, you're also working here, it was an idea from the start ... [Regarding increasing living costs] Most people who came to Christiania didn't come here to work. They came to be part of a community. If you work and work and work, you don't have much time for the community. It's hard to keep that balance.

In its pioneer phase, Christiania's businesses were cut off from normal markets and forms of credit, with banks unwilling to loan to businesses operating in such a risky environment. Because of this, initiatives remained small and informal: they operated in the black market, and people had to be resilient, scavenging or gleaning materials from wider society, while coming up with their own (shared) capital to invest. Due to external pressures, all of Christiania's workshops and businesses have now formalized, registered and pay tax.

The flexibility and case-by-case nature of contributions from businesses to Christiania's economy have led to 'functional diversity' (Coppola and Vanolo 2015, 1160), whereby businesses which are socially important or respected, but which can't afford to pay a huge amount, are treated leniently. Businesses will often co-operate and

step in to pick up slack from others, when necessary. This form of cooperation contrasts with a purely profit-driven approach, but has come with its own down sides. One key drawback repeatedly raised by interviewees was a certain stasis or inertia, caused by the lack of incentives to pass on or close a business, thus freeing up commercial space for others to use within the community:

[T]he system where you can't sell your business has some positive effects in terms of people not speculating too much in their businesses and it's not an unleashed sort of capitalism. But there's one side of it which is an impediment to growth in Christiania – [growth] of a social and cultural kind – which is that the people who've run their businesses, at least until now, have rarely had enough surplus to build up a pension. When you can't build a pension, you can't let go of your business ... And you have a lot of both the businesses and cultural spaces in Christiania, which sort of just wither away because people hold onto them.

Many of these 'withering' businesses take up large or prominent commercial spaces, but simply need to generate a minimal income. As such, their operation has tended towards being a hobby, rather than serving as crucial and vibrant fulcra of a community economy.

## Conclusion

We have elsewhere described Christiania as a 'nowtopia' (Smith 2020), by which is meant a strategic activity involving escape from classical capitalist waged labour, to create real alternatives in the here and now (Carlsson and Manning 2010). Certainly, there have been failures, and a creep towards conformity with the outside world, which increasingly question that status. However, Christiania never claimed final utopian status, merely being one ongoing pragmatic experiment in non-hierarchical organizing.

There appear to have been certain creeping processes unleashed, which are proving difficult to contain. Once ownership of the site was formalized – albeit belonging to everyone and no-one at the same time – the need to fall into line with other regulations has seemed inevitable. The underlying ethos of freedom within collectivity may be slipping away, as financial obligations rise and bureaucracies contribute a form of democratic deficit.

That withstanding, the Freetown provides inspiring examples of what Johannisova and Wolf (2012, 563) describe as 'deep' economic democracy, transcending the understanding of the latter term as just intra-firm worker control. There is an argument to be made that Christiania is a particularly crucial case because it provides a complex picture of broad-based economic democracy in an eco-community – between residents, local area democracy, commercial initiatives, a foundation and the state – whereas much of the literature to date on 'nowtopias' or 'real utopias' remains on the level of studying isolated individual initiatives or enterprises (the Mondragon co-operative, radical squats, participatory budgeting, etc.) (see Riley 2020). Our hope, furthermore, is that the chapter shows the value for researchers of close examination

of the (often complex) economic dynamics of eco-communities, rather than assuming any easy designation as post-capitalist or post-growth.

Christiania is more than the sum of its parts. This chapter drew inspiration from a diverse economy perspective, 'a project of rethinking economy, opening to and being practically affected by the wide diversity of economic activities that offer possibilities of livelihood and well-being, within and beyond the ostensibly global purview of capitalist development' (Gibson-Graham and Roelvink 2010, 323). With this in mind, the organizational vignettes help to understand how Christiania re-embeds the economy in a social-ecological web, providing many lessons regarding how this has worked (or not). What the resulting practices contribute to is a slow form of economic democracy, an economy that doesn't prioritize accumulation and growth, but connections, commoning and 'the possibilities of meaningful social connection and interaction' (Jarvis 2019, 270).

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