Afterword

Introduction

I have long thought that Berneri's *Journey through Utopia* is one of the most valuable texts in the history of political thought. This is a contentious claim. Utopianism is too often treated in academia and wider society alike as either hopeless whimsy and daydreaming or as the foundation of dangerous totalitarianism. There is a widespread tendency to bypass the critical and radical potential of utopias and, by consequence, to dismiss the seriousness of works that deal with the study of utopias. On the contrary, I believe there is little that can tell us more about the political achievements and failings, prevalent ideologies, and everyday lives within a society than articulations of the dreams and desires of its inhabitants. Berneri's work offers nothing less than an incredibly accessible and enjoyable introduction to the history of political thought since Plato—through its utopias. I hope that this new edition will lead to a resurgence of interest in her work and in utopianism, which shows every sign of becoming more poignant in our anti-utopian times.

Berneri takes a critical approach to utopias, tending to present them in a negative light, as totalizing and authoritarian phenomena. In some ways, this is analogous to "common sense" understandings of utopias that permeate society, which reference perfection and impossibility. Berneri's reticence reflects her context. She was highly critical of the communism of Soviet Russia, exploring the impact of its authoritarian bureaucracy on the everyday lives of workers in her book *Workers in Stalin's Russia*.[1] Yet there is nuance in her critique that supersedes colloquial vilification of those who dare to dream of a better society. She consistently deals with her carefully chosen utopians with empathy and humour, linking their biographies with historical context to provide multifaceted portrayals of the conditions that gave rise to their dreams. Her decision to undertake the task of writing such a comprehensive and wide-ranging text on utopianism gives testament to the utmost respect she had for the genre.

Berneri's undertaking was neither to portray nor advocate her own utopia, but rather to assemble a compendium and analysis of a broad tradition of historical utopias. In doing so she was contributing to what has become a flourishing academic niche of utopian studies. There are now many professional associations and networks dedicated to the study of utopianism.[2]

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[1] Marie Louise Berneri, *Workers in Stalin's Russia* (London: Freedom Press, 1944).

[2] The Society for Utopian Studies was founded in the United States in 1975 and is an international and interdisciplinary association devoted to the study of utopias. It publishes the journal *Utopian Studies*, which is

My aims in this afterword are to carry on Berneri's work by touching on utopian writing that has emerged since *Journey through Utopia* was written in 1948, to frame fluctuations in the utopian impulse with reference to societal context and to argue for the continuing importance of utopian thought and action. I would like my contribution to function as a preliminary guide to the contemporary canon for any interested reader who would like to investigate further. Utopias in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries have been incredibly diverse. The structure is more categorical than chronological: I have attempted to group utopias according to political developments or social movements they are associated with. Nevertheless, there is a historical narrative to be told of the proliferation and diversification of utopias since the demise of Soviet communism and the disintegration of the positive utopian impulse under accelerating neoliberalism. I begin with an overview of the widespread distrust of utopianism during and immediately after Berneri's life and the rise of utopian studies as an interdisciplinary field. I then turn to the definition of utopia, which posed a dilemma for Berneri and continues to be the subject of debate. [3] This has implications for what will be included and excluded from later sections. I then outline various categories of utopias that have arisen in the last seventy years. There are almost certainly overlaps and omissions using this approach, but I hope what follows will provide sufficient avenues for interested readers to continue their research.

Post-War Anti-Utopianism and the Development of Utopian Studies

Berneri died on April 13, 1949. During her life she was active in the anarchist movement in France and the UK. She travelled to Spain to visit her father, Camillo Berneri, and during the Spanish Civil War she worked in support of the struggle while living in Paris and London. She was an editor of the paper *War Commentary* during and after the Second World War.[4] In the 1940s, when Berneri was active, Stalinism had established itself as the dominant revolutionary ideology. The Stalinists were intolerant of dissent, and in a polarised environment with the fascists had managed to stamp out most other revolutionary strands of Marxism, socialism and anarchism across Europe. Utopian thought therefore came to be associated with either Marxism or fascism, creating a situation where non-radicals tended to be critical of the idea of utopia in its entirety, leading to a widespread anti-utopianism in society. In Western industrial nations,

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an indispensable resource for scholars of utopia. There is also a Utopian Studies Society of Europe, established in 1988 by a group of British scholars, which organizes an annual conference.

[3] Marie Louise Berneri, *Journey through Utopia* (London: Freedom Press, 1982 [1950]), 320–2.

[4] *Marie Louise Berneri, 1918–1949: A Tribute* (London: Marie Louise Berneri Memorial Committee, 1949).

the post-war economic boom meant the utopian impulse was co-opted into a consumerist culture that channelled populations' desires for a better life into individual purchasing power.[5]

As Berneri notes, Marx and Engels had themselves been critical of utopianism, and their portrayal of historical materialism as 'scientific' was undertaken through a direct contrast with the utopians.[6] It was in the context of Stalinism that the Austrian-British philosopher Karl Popper wrote *The Open Society and Its Enemies*. For Popper, utopias from Plato to Marx were definitively totalitarian. Utopias portray a fixed vision of society and therefore necessitate a strategy to be executed "all at once" by "a strong centralised leadership."[7] For Popper, utopias were blueprints: impervious to change, therefore oppressive of dissidents. The only possible form of government that could allow for institutional improvement without violence and bloodshed was liberal democracy. This sentiment was echoed in the United States, where the right-wing McCarthyite witch-hunts produced a social ideology that equated all kinds of radical or progressive politics with Stalinist communism. The perceived threat of totalitarianism was taken as a pretext to persecute "subversives" without proper evidence, which amounted to widespread social policing of critical thought. Berneri was an outspoken critic of Stalin and was one of the first radicals to publish this dissent in the English language, at a time when many on the left turned a blind eye to his atrocities. She recounted the appalling conditions faced by most workers, the inequality of women, and the entrenched privilege and hierarchy of the bureaucracy.[8] Ten years later Khrushchev denounced Stalin publicly in the Soviet Union and the left in Europe and America was forced to come to terms with the cruelties of actually existing communism.[9]

While mainstream society was distinctly anti-utopian during Berneri's life and immediately following her death, the embryonic field of utopian studies was forming. Issuing from the dominance of Marxism in radical thought, yet in reaction to its totalitarian tendencies, Karl Mannheim's *Ideology and Utopia* became the foundation for both utopian studies and the sociology of knowledge.[10] Mannheim presents utopia as a transformative impulse that has the potential to raise consciousness and change society. Mannheim was an antecedent of the New Left and Frankfurt School, an assortment of libertarian and social democratic academic

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[5] Keith M. Booker, *The Post-Utopian Imagination: American Culture in the Long 1950s* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press: 2002).
[6] Berneri, *Journey*, 320–1; Friedrich Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (Sydney: Resistance Books, 1999 [1880]).
[7] Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies,* vol. 1 (London: Routledge, 2002 [1945]), 173.
[8] Berneri, *Workers*.
[9] Phillip Sansom, "Marie Louise Berneri: A Tribute," *The Anarchist Library* (June 1977): 10, accessed February 16, 2019, https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/phillip-sansom-marie-louise-berneri.lt.pdf.
[10] Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia* (London: Routledge, 1936).

Marxists working in Western Europe to revise Marxism in response to the failure of its historical predictions. The ascendency of consumerist ideology and manipulative advertising strategies in Western industrial societies highlighted the importance of culture in the production of consent. Discovering the importance of pleasure and hope in revolutionary activity led these scholars to revive interest in the idea of utopia, reflected in texts such as Ernst Bloch's three-volume magnum opus *The Principle of Hope* and Herbert Marcuse's *Eros and Civilisation*.[11] These thinkers showed how the utopian impulse can be located within art and pleasure, which can be anticipatory and prefigurative. There is an emphasis on the potential of utopia to arouse political affects such as hope and desire as a basis for revolutionary praxis.

Early utopian studies was largely a Marxist enterprise, yet this is not to say that there has not been a distinctly anarchist history of utopias. The intersection between anarchism and utopianism has historically been one of the most generative and resonant approaches to experimental social change.[12] Nonetheless, Berneri's anarchist approach to the study and analysis of utopian literature was both unprecedented and premonitory, for, as we shall see in this chapter, anarchist-inspired utopias and anarchist approaches to the study and analysis of utopianism have proliferated during the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. I will not provide a special section on anarchist utopias, since many or all of the themes that I cover are inspired or infused by the "becoming anarchist" of utopia.

Defining Utopia

Berneri follows the definition of utopia in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*: "an ideal commonwealth whose inhabitants exist under perfect conditions," though she admits this is "somewhat arbitrary."[13] It is commonplace in contemporary utopian studies to reject the conflation of utopia with perfection, because it excludes works that ought to be included in the genre,[14] not least Thomas More's *Utopia* itself.[15] Berneri also finds that utopias cannot be defined by their form, which can encompass political programmes, literature and actual communities.[16] Utopias in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries have tended to play on this ambiguity, often transgressing the boundaries between the different forms that

[11] Ernst Bloch, *The Principle of Hope*, trans. Neville Plaice, Stephen Plaice & Paul Knight (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1986 [1959]); Herbert Marcuse, *Eros and Civilisation* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1955).
[12] Laurence Davis and Ruth Kinna, eds., *Anarchism and Utopianism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009).
[13] Berneri, *Journey*, 320.
[14] Lucy Sargisson, *Contemporary Feminist Utopianism* (London: Routledge, 1996), 17–28.
[15] Ibid., 24–25.
[16] Berneri, *Journey*, 320–3.

Lyman Tower Sargent construes as the "three faces of utopianism": utopian literature, intentional societies, and utopian social theory.[17] Contemporary utopian studies therefore seeks a broader definition of utopia than was common in Berneri's time. Ruth Levitas draws on Mannheim, Bloch, and Marcuse to argue that utopia must be defined by its function: the expression and exploration of desire.[18] While desire is sometimes combined with hope that utopias might be actualised in practice, this is not always the case. Sargent echoes this in his definition of utopianism as "social dreaming."[19] Utopias are specific instances of this broader phenomenon of utopianism, which Sargent believes to be universal to all human societies.[20]

Other scholars of utopia stress its transgressive and creative functions: the imaginal space opened up by utopia presents a challenge to conventional forms of knowledge and modes of theorizing that enable us to think, feel, and desire differently.[21] Utopia creates a sense of estrangement from present arrangements, opening a gap between thought and the categories of the existing system, which has a subversive political function.[22] Darko Suvin echoes the emphasis on estrangement, defining utopia as a "radical otherness."[23] Utopia is a society in which institutions, norms, and relationships are organized according to a radically different principle. It is the emphasis on sociopolitical relationships that distinguishes utopias from science fiction, where the difference may rest on biological or geological factors.[24] In what follows I will adopt this broad definition of utopianism as the articulation of desire for radically other sociopolitical arrangements.

Dystopias

Dystopia is a category of utopia that has implications for our understanding of the definition and function of utopianism in general. The "dys" stems from Greek and signifies a "bad" place, as a contrast to the "eutopia" (good place) of Thomas More's original pun. The term was first coined in the eighteenth century, but its use did not become commonplace until after the two World Wars, worldwide economic depression, and disease epidemics of the early twentieth century. This context gave rise to the literary form that Berneri begins to cover in her final

[17] Lyman Tower Sargent, "The Three Faces of Utopianism Revisited," *Utopian Studies* 5 no. 1 (1994).
[18] Ruth Levitas, *The Concept of Utopia* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1990), 191.
[19] Sargent, "Three Faces," 3.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Susan McManus, *Fictive Theories: Towards a Deconstructive and Utopian Political Imagination* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).
[22] Lucy Sargisson, *Utopian Bodies and the Politics of Transgression* (London: Routledge, 2000), 9.
[23] Darko Suvin, "Theses on Dystopia 2001," in *Dark Horizons: Science Fiction and the Utopian Imagination*, eds. Raffaella Baccolini and Tom Moylan, (London: Routledge, 2003), 188.
[24] Ibid., 181.

chapter on "Modern Utopias."[25] Dystopias were written as literary critiques of the hegemonic social forms of the time, for example, the anti-Nazi dystopia *Swastika Night* by Katherine Burdekin under the pseudonym Murray Constantine, Yevgeny Zamyatin's *We*, Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*, and George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.[26] These works parody Soviet Communism or extrapolate features of an intensified and illiberal capitalism, aiming critique at concentrated power itself, whatever form that might take.[27] Dystopias also have a function of mobilising political affects, but they are more likely to rouse fear and anxiety than hope or desire. Dystopia continues to be an important and popular genre, and many of its literary devices were adopted by the more critical and self-reflective utopias of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. The line between eutopia and dystopia has now become blurred. Contemporary utopias, rather than being straightforwardly good or bad, tend to shift between the two to offer "multiple or fragmented visions of a world open to potential."[28]

1968 Revival of Utopianism and Utopias of Everyday Life

In the 1950s and 1960s, as the atrocities of Stalinism were decisively exposed, uprisings against communist regimes began to spread. A definitive turning point was reached during the renowned events of May 1968 in France, which ushered in an unprecedented period of social unrest and creativity, including general strikes, occupations by students and workers of universities and factories, mass protests and demonstrations, and the emergence of a radical protest-based artistic movement.[29] This radical optimism signalled the rise of the New Left and with it a profusion of new political ideologies and a revival of utopias. This included neo-Marxist ideas that rejected Stalinism and appeared to be closer to anarchism. Early figures in this movement included André Breton and the Surrealist and Lettrist movements, which later fed into Situationism and autonomia. What distinguishes these perspectives from orthodox Marxism was an emphasis on reclaiming utopia in everyday life. This is reflected in the situationist slogan: "Under the cobblestones, the beach!" and in the works of Guy Debord and Raoul Vaneigem, who challenged modern urbanism and architecture as techniques of

[25] Lyman Tower Sargent, *Utopianism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 26–27; Berneri, *Journey*, 293–319.
[26] Katharine Burdekin, *Swastika Night* (New York: The Feminist Press, 1985 [1937]); Yevgeny Zamyatin, *We* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1921 [1924]); Aldous Huxley, *Brave New World* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1932); George Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (London: Secker and Warberg, 1949).
[27] Berneri, *Journey*, 313; see also Sargent, *Utopianism*, 28.
[28] Lucy Sargisson, *Fool's Gold: Utopianism in the Twenty-First Century* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 13.
[29] Rebecca J. DeRoo, *The Museum Establishment and Contemporary Art: The Politics of Artistic Display in France after 1968* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

separation and alienation, proposing methods for resistance through new ways of relating to space.[30] Both were influential in shaping the events and insurrectionary strategy of May 1968. Michael Löwy's *Morning Star* gives an excellent exegesis of the utopian aspects of neo-Marxism, surrealism, anarchism, and situationism in this period.[31]

The New Left social movements of the late 1960s and the 1970s were partly composed of feminist, black, and gay radicals who broke with existing Marxist organizations, because they tended to be dominated by straight white men who claimed to represent interests of a homogeneous working class. Some of these groups created movements to decentralize power and resistance, such as feminist consciousness-raising groups. These were small, voluntary women-only discussion groups that met regularly to discuss the political aspects of personal relationships and everyday life.[32] The movement encompassed hundreds of thousands of women at the height of their popularity.[33] Consciousness-raising groups themselves were sometimes criticized for being exclusive or homogeneous and failing to account for intersectionality, referring to the ways in which the multiple oppressions experienced by black and other women of colour are not just additive, tagging race on to gender, but lead to a qualitatively different structural location. This led, amongst others, a group of lesbian black feminists to organize the Combahee River Collective in 1974 to address their particular needs and struggles.[34] This was reflective of a broader concern to create movements that would allow many and diverse people to express their desires without being represented by a vanguard.

In the following decade in France and throughout Europe a number of theories now called postmodernism or post-structuralism began to take shape in reaction to the critique of Marxism. They focused on critiquing universalism and grand narratives, the power of language on structuring thought, the binary construction of gender difference, and on theorizing horizontal organization and decentralizing power.[35] At this time, many left-wing thinkers

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[30] Sadie Plant, *The Most Radical Gesture* (London: Routledge, 1992); Guy Debord, *Society of the Spectacle*, trans. Ken Knabb (London: Rebel Press, 2002 [1967]); Raoul Vaneigem, *The Revolution of Everyday Life*, trans Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oakland: PM Press, 2012 [1967]).
[31] Michael Löwy, *Morning Star: Surrealism, Marxism, Anarchism, Situationism, Utopia* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010).
[32] Anita Shreve, *Women Together, Women Alone: The Legacy of the Consciousness-Raising Movement* (New York: Ballantine, 1989).
[33] Naomi Braun Rosenthal, "Consciousness Raising: From Revolution to Re-Evaluation," *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 8 no. 4 (1984): 309.
[34] Combahee River Collective, "A Black feminist statement", in *Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism*, ed. Zillah Eisenstein (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979), 362–72.
[35] Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, trans. Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984[1979]); Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976); Luce Irigaray, *This Sex Which Is Not One*, trans. Catherine Porter and Carolyn Burke, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University

believed utopianism died when the Berlin Wall fell in 1989. Enthusiasm for a rupture or insurrection was abandoned in favour of more modest, tactical gains in the present.[36] While many post-structural theorists did not identify their work as utopian nor deal with utopianism explicitly, there are utopian themes in their work. In particular, they articulate desire for a less exploitative and alienating society, and they valorise the process of desiring-production.[37] Postmodernism and post-structuralism have had a strong influence on the utopian tradition and on its analysis and interpretation in utopian studies.

The anarchist tradition, in which Berneri was firmly situated, has always located utopian change in everyday life and the here and now. Berneri's thesis was that there were two conflicting strands of utopianism: one that subordinated individuals to authoritarian blueprints, and another that encouraged the "free expression of man's personality."[38] Berneri does not cover any explicitly anarchist utopias, yet it is clear she believes that the Diggers, the Utopian Socialists, and William Morris all had an affinity with this tradition. Without centralised government, such utopias allow for the free expression of desires in the here and now without deferring to centralized authority. The theme of anarchy in everyday life was taken up by Colin Ward, a prolific British anarchist writer active in Berneri's circle, who presented examples of already existing everyday anarchy throughout his works, with the most comprehensive and succinct articulation of this ethos in *Anarchy in Action*.[39] For Ward, anarchy is not something that needs to be deferred to the future but is, in fact, the modus operandi of most people functioning in their daily lives most of the time. The purpose of anarchism therefore is not to stage a revolution or insurrection in order to usher in the new society, but rather to cultivate and expand autonomous spheres of self-organized activity. This approach was not new but continued the tradition of earlier anarchists, including Peter Kropotkin, Martin Buber, and Gustav Landauer.[40] Ward drew on a very wide and diverse range of historical and contemporaneous examples from fields such as architecture, urban planning and development, education, social services, and housing to animate his theory.[41] Alongside his emphasis on the

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Press, 1985 [1977]); Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, trans. Brian Massumi (London: Continuum Publishing, 1988 [1980]).

[36] Jurgen Habermas, "The New Obscurity: The Crisis of the Welfare State and the Exhaustion of Utopian Energies," *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 11 (1986).

[37] Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus* (London: Continuum Publishing, 2004 [1972]), 8.

[38] Berneri, *Journey*, 2.

[39] Colin Ward, *Anarchy in Action* (Oakland: PM Press, 2018 [1973]).

[40] Peter Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution*, ed. John Hewetson (London: Freedom Press, 1987 [1902]); Martin Buber, *Paths in Utopia* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1996 [1949]); Gustav Landauer, *For Socialism*, trans. David J. Parent (St. Louis: Telos Press, 1983 [1911]).

[41] Colin Ward, *Welcome Thinner City: Urban Survival in 1990s* (London: Bedford Square Press, 1989); Colin Ward, *The Child in the City* (London: Bedford Square Press, 1978); Colin Ward, *Housing: An Anarchist*

prevalence of anarchistic practices within everyday life, Ward's vision was future-oriented and extrapolative—he wished to analyse and valorise the prefigurative examples of everyday anarchy that he found in order to use them as inspiration for tactical interventions in community organizing. In this vein, Ward wrote a book for children titled *Utopia*, in which he encouraged them to articulate and explore their own dreams and desires, while taking a critical approach to the dreams and desires of others who have shaped the society they live in.[42]

Critical Utopias

The story of late twentieth-century utopianism post-Berneri was about a move away from the kinds of intricately described social plans and detailed blueprints portrayed in her *Journey through Utopia* and toward expressions of desire in the here and now, which connected political theory with social movements. What then of the literary form of utopia? This also saw a revival in the latter half of the twentieth century, however, not without radical alterations in the expression of the genre, influenced by the social context of disillusionment with totalitarian blueprints and the revival of utopianism as an impulse embedded in social movements of the New Left in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. The literary expression of the experimental utopia is explored in Tom Moylan's *Demand the Impossible* and in Lucy Sargisson's *Contemporary Feminist Utopianism*.[43] What unites these "critical" or "transgressive" utopias is an "awareness of the limitations of the utopian tradition."[44] This leads to a number of strategies and modifications of the genre to avoid its totalizing blueprint tendencies, while preserving the function of utopia in expressing hope and desire. First of all, the novels often portray two worlds rather than just the utopian one, in order to contrast the proposed society with the originary one.[45] In so doing, the texts break and transform social and cultural rules by illustrating alternatives. Yet instead of positing a blueprint the texts often use satire, speculation and ridicule of past universals.[46] While earlier utopian societies tended to be presented as static and finite (they had reached equilibrium in the best possible state), the newer expression of the genre tends to focus on the continuing presence of difference, diversity, dissent, and

Approach (London: Freedom Press, 1976); Ruth Rendell and Colin Ward, *Undermining the Central Line: Getting Government Back to the People* (New York: Vintage Books, 1989); Colin Ward, *Cotters and Squatters: The Hidden History of Housing* (Nottingham: Five Leaves, 2000).

[42] Colin Ward, *Utopia* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974).

[43] Tom Moylan, *Demand the Impossible: Science Fiction and the Utopian Imagination* (New York: Methuen, 1986); Sargisson, *Feminist Utopianism*.

[44] Moylan, *Demand*, 10; Sargisson, *Feminist Utopianism*, 24.

[45] Moylan, *Demand*, 10.

[46] Sargisson, *Feminist Utopianism,* 20–21.

imperfection, creating more dynamic and self-critical utopias.[47] The utopias reflect the more general shift toward anti-hegemonic culture and politics, and Moylan argues that they can contribute to revolutionary praxis by opening up discussion of the not-yet, contributing to critiquing the present and envisioning futures in the oppositional project.[48] These critical literary utopias are inflected by the histories of the oppositional movements they arise from, including feminist, queer, and black movements.

Feminist and Queer Utopias

Feminist utopianism actually existed before Berneri's time, and while many of her utopias include feminist themes, it is perhaps remiss of her not to have included any utopias by women. Women writing feminist utopias can be traced back to the French Renaissance thinker Christine de Pizan, whose works both recount the historical importance of women's contributions to society and sketch a utopian city in which women are valued and defended.[49] Another feminist utopia that predates Berneri is Charlotte Perkins Gilman's *Herland*, which describes a society populated entirely by women who reproduce asexually.[50] The society is free from war, domination, conflict, and abuse of either humans or animals. However, it was after Berneri's life, in the 1970s, that the proliferation of feminist utopias began. Common themes in these utopias include group relations based on conviviality rather than biology, non-hierarchical social structures, feminist consciousness, consensus decision-making, and non-abusive use of technology.[51] Many feminist utopias are also queer utopias that portray non-binary genders and polyamorous sexual relations.

Joanna Russ's *The Female Man*, illustrates the device of contrasting different worlds that was popular in utopian novels of the time, as the narrative is split into four, following different women in parallel worlds that cross over, leading the women to compare their different views of gender.[52] Marge Piercy's *Woman on the Edge of Time* is set in the dual worlds of 1970s New York and a future feminist utopia.[53] The protagonist Connie Ramos is held against her will in a mental asylum after she begins to communicate with the future. The utopian society that she communicates with is a decentralized agrarian and communal anarchist

[47] Moylan, *Demand*, 11; Sargisson, *Feminist Utopias*, 37–38.
[48] Moylan, *Demand*, 212–13.
[49] Christine de Pizan, *The Book of the City of Ladies* (London: Penguin Classics 1999 [1405]); Christine de Pizan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* (London: Penguin Classics 2003 [1405]).
[50] Charlotte Perkins Gilman, *Herland* (New York: Pantheon, 1979 [1915]).
[51] Sargisson, *Feminist Utopias*, 227.
[52] Joanna Russ, *The Female Man* (New York: Bantam Books, 1975).
[53] Marge Piercy, *Woman on the Edge of Time* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976).

society that has fulfilled the desires of many of the radical social movements of the seventies: class equality has been achieved, the society is environmentally clean and sustainable, sexism no longer exists, there is no racism and no homophobia. Inhabitants of the utopia refer to each other using the non-gendered pronoun "per" (short for person) instead of he/him/she/her. Intimate relationships are non-normative and diverse, encompassing combinations of polyamory and bisexuality. As the novel progresses, we find that this is only one possible future, and Connie's communications with the future start to receive an alternative dystopic and frightening vision involving brainwashing technology and the harvesting of human organs. The contrast between the possible futures inspires Connie to take radical action in her present to resist domination and oppression. The works of Ursula K. Le Guin also deserve particular note, as she is perhaps the most prolific author in this genre. Le Guin's novels explore feminist, anti-capitalist, and anarchist themes. *The Dispossessed* is her best-known, part of the sprawling Hanish cycle series.[54] The novel contrasts two worlds: Urras—a dystopia in which some of the worst features of capitalism and patriarchy are magnified and its anarcho-syndicalist colony Annares, which is the "ambiguous utopia" of the title. While it appears infinitely preferable to the exploitative and oppressive Urras, Annares is far from a perfect utopia, with its own problems, such as a stifling intellectual atmosphere and a harsh environment necessitating difficult manual and agricultural labour.

Most of the feminist utopias in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries have been literary, yet there is one outlier in the field of social theory. Shulamith Firestone's *The Dialectic of Sex* presents a utopian vision originating in a theoretical critique of the present.[55] Firestone critiques not only her contemporary social conditions but biological reality, which she argues lies at the heart of oppression. She argues that pregnancy is barbaric and feminists are "are talking about changing a fundamental biological condition."[56] The utopian conditions described by Firestone include advances in science that can change material conditions in order to make equality possible. She makes a plea for a world in which cybernetics will eliminate the need for manual labour and new reproductive technologies will eliminate the need for giving birth. The bourgeois family will be eliminated, childcare will be communal, relationships freed from property obligations will be based on love alone, and this will free time for women to undertake rewarding pursuits. The idea of doing away with the family was often used as a

[54] Ursula K. Le Guin, *The Dispossessed: An Ambiguous Utopia* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974).
[55] Shulamith Firestone, *The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution* (London: Verso, 2015 [1970]).
[56] Ibid., 3.

premise to ridicule and vilify Firestone in the mainstream media of the time,[57] yet the idea of a world without families, or with different kinds of families, has recurred in utopian thought since Plato, where marriage and love were subordinated to the needs of the state,[58] and continuing through French philosophers, who began to express their interest in sex not only as a means of reproduction but as a means of enjoyment.[59]

Beginning in the late 1980s, the term "queer" started to be used as an umbrella term for sexual and gender minorities, including gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender people and those who reject traditional gender binaries. The queer movement began as a reaction to a perceived movement to the right of the gay community in their adoption of assimilationist campaigns, for example, gay marriage and military inclusion. The queer movement adopted a more radical leftist stance, rejecting heteronormative and capitalist visions of what relationships, gender, and sexuality should look like. Many of critical utopias discussed above should also be read as queer utopias, because they transgress traditional gender roles and expression and explore alternatives to mainstream understandings of sexuality and sexual acceptability. There is also an emerging literature that takes a utopian studies approach to queer utopias. Angela Jones's edited collection *A Critical Inquiry into Queer Utopias* attempts to synthesize literatures on queer spaces and queer temporality and futurity, locating utopias in theatre and performance, eroticized spaces, queer counter-publics, political activism, and radical experiments in alternative families.[60] Drawing on the work of Bloch, José Esteban Muñoz's *Cruising Utopia* locates queer utopias in the aesthetic realm, as a grounding for a collection of essays that take a cultural studies approach to queer utopianism.[61]

Black Utopias

An important strain of black utopianism in Western Europe—Négritude—began during Berneri's life, in the 1930s. This was a critical theory developed by Francophone intellectuals of the African diaspora in Paris, influenced by Marxism and Surrealism. They argued for a Pan-African racial identity, critiqued colonialism and turned against assimilation as a strategy of resistance. They argued that so long as mainstream culture was racist and considered African culture inferior, then assimilation would always result in further oppression. There was a drive

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[57] Susan Faludi, "Death of a Revolutionary," *The New Yorker*, April 15, 2013, accessed February 18, 2019, https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2013/04/15/death-of-a-revolutionary.
[58] Berneri, *Journey*, 19.
[59] Ibid., 178, 193.
[60] Alison Jones, ed., *A Critical Inquiry into Queer Utopias* (New York: Springer, 2013).
[61] José Esteban Muñoz, introduction to *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity* (New York: New York University Press, 2009).

to assert the previously hidden and oppressed history and culture of black people.[62] In the United States there has also been a practical tradition of black separatism and black communalism that goes back to the early pre-statehood days of the American Frontier.[63]

The "critical utopian" literary genre also encompasses utopias by and about the African diaspora. One of the most renowned writers of black literary utopias is Samuel R. Delaney, whose *Triton*: *An Ambiguous Heterotopia* includes careful examination of symbolic and cultural systems and norms, and the role of the individual in both shaping and breaking beyond such systems.[64] Delaney's work also examines feminist and queer themes, and indeed many of the feminist utopias and queer utopias discussed above include an interrogation of race. The critical utopian genre as a whole tends to pay careful attention to intersectionality.[65] Octavia E. Butler wrote novels which often contain portrayals of alternative communities composed of very diverse peoples including aliens and crossed species, as in the *Lilith's Brood* trilogy, and explore themes of gender and sexual fluidity and polyamory, for example, in *Fledgling*.[66] The diversity of black utopianism and speculative fiction can be approached through the excellent anthology *Dark Matter*.[67]

In the 1990s, another strand of black utopianism called afrofuturism developed, intervening in the aesthetic and cultural realm. It draws on themes from Négritude, separatist movements, and black culture since the 1950s. The genre is most associated with the American Jazz composer and performer Sun Ra, whose live performances and films drew on space-related themes in both the music and the costumes and visuals.[68] Many contemporary artists draw influence from the afrofuturism movement, notably Janelle Monáe, Drexciya, and Flying Lotus, among others.[69]

"Non-Western" and Postcolonial Utopias

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[62] Gary Wilder, *The French Imperial Nation-State: Negritude and Colonial Humanism between the Two World Wars* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).
[63] Thomas Knight, *Sunset on Utopian Dreams: An Experiment of Black Separatism On the American Frontier* (Washington: University Press of America, 1977).
[64] Samuel R. Delany, *Triton: An Ambiguous Heterotopia* (London: Hachette, 2013[1976]); Moylan, *Demand*, 157.
[65] Donna Haraway, "The Cyborg Manifesto," in *Manifestly Haraway* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 2016 [1985]), 52–56.
[66] Octavia E. Butler, *Lilith's Brood* (New York: Central Publishing, 2000 [1987–1999]); Octavia E. Butler, *Fledgling* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2005).
[67] Sheree R. Thomas, *Dark Matter: A Century of Speculative Fiction from the African Diaspora* (New York: Warner Books, 2000).
[68] John F. Szwed, *Space is the Place: The Lives and Times of Sun Ra* (New York: Pantheon, 2012).
[69] Ytasha L. Womac, *Afrofuturism: The World of Black Sci-Fi and Fantasy Culture* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 2013).

Berneri's work focuses solely on Western utopias, clarified by the addition of a subtitle to this edition. Surprisingly little has been written about "non-Western" and postcolonial utopias, but this is not to say that they do not exist.[70] Neither can it be explained by the fact that authors may not use the exact terminology of utopia, since this has not prevented scholars from reconstructing a canon prior to the term's first use by Thomas More. Nevertheless, utopias from outside the West can be difficult to identify since utopian studies developed as a field of study in European and American universities, and therefore definitions and development of the utopian canon has been heavily influenced by Western traditions and worldviews, while the Western sense of cultural supremacy has often led to the marginalisation of histories and cultural artefacts beyond the West.[71] In an effort to trace intercultural threads in the utopian tradition, Jacqueline Dutton adopts Sargent's expansive definition of utopia as "social dreaming" to give an overview of "Jewish, Islamic, Hindu, Chinese, Japanese and indigenous Australian ideals of a better existence on Earth."[72] Aziz al-Azmeh provides an excellent chapter on Islamic utopias covering a period of over a thousand years, contrasting totalitarian and fundamentalist utopias with messianic utopias and utopias of the here and now.[73] James Piscatori offers an analysis of international contestation over different visions of pan-Islamic utopias.[74] Zhang Longxi regards utopia as an allegory of social and political ideas, and compares this process in Chinese and Western utopias.[75]

The task of assembling a non-Western utopian canon has also been approached from a postcolonial perspective.[76] The term postcolonialism developed in the 1980s as a way of focusing on the cultural production of societies historically affected by colonialism and addressing the continuing effects of the colonial legacy on these societies. The idea of postcolonial utopias is incongruous, since many utopias of the Western canon relied on colonial assumptions, for example, many were based in the newly discovered regions of their time such Africa, the Caribbean, South America, or the Pacific and showed scant hesitation about

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[70] Although this line of argument is followed by Krishan Kumar, *Utopia and Anti-Utopia in Modern Times* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1987).
[71] Lyman Tower Sargent, "Colonial and Postcolonial Utopias," in *The Cambridge Companion to Utopian Literature*, ed. Gregory Claeys, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
[72] Jacqueline Dutton "'Non-Western' Utopian Traditions," in *The Cambridge Companion to Utopian Literature*.
[73] Aziz Al-Azmeh "Utopia and Islamic Political Thought," in *Islams and Modernities* (London: Verso, 2009), 89–104.
[74] James Piscatori, "Imagining Pan-Islam: Religious Activism and Political Utopias," in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 131 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 421–42.
[75] Zhang Longxi, "The Utopian Vision: East and West," in *Allegoresis: Reading Canonical Literature East and West* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), 165–213.
[76] Ralph Pordzik, *The Quest for Postcolonial Utopia: A Comparative Introduction to the Utopian Novel in the New English Literatures* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2001).

imagining their new societies on land already inhabited by others.[77] Berneri describes how many eighteenth century utopias were projective fantasies based in North America, Australia, and Africa. Many of these portrayed mythical "noble savages," while others transported Western-style cities and rationalities to another part of the world. As the customs of various countries were discovered by travellers and missionaries, they began to be incorporated into utopias.[78] Settlers of colonies have also produced utopias, as many settlers had specific utopian visions in mind, which in actuality did not materialise, while colonization involved imposing a European culture on earlier inhabitants or destroying their culture by killing and enslaving them. This was an incomplete project, attested to by the fact that postcolonial utopias tend to express modified versions of indigenous cultures or a mixture of these with European culture.[79] With this history, postcolonial utopias have a problematic relationship to the concept of nation, often portrayed as a site of both imperialist oppression and resistance in the form of nationalist counter-identity.[80] Not all postcolonial utopian visions have been nationalist, notably the political philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi, "Sarvodaya," meaning "the uplift of all." This involved methods such as non-violent direct action and setting up small-scale communities and ashrams. Gandhi's vision has been interpreted both as anarchist and utopian.[81] Post-colonial utopias might also include hopes and desires of return to an ancestral country or mythic home, such as Caribbean Rastafarianism and the Chicano myth of Aztlan.[82]

Examples of literary utopias by indigenous writers that draw on these themes include Ayi Kwei's *Two Thousand Seasons*, a largely historical novel exploring a pan-African past, which also expresses a desire for healing past wounds and envisioning a better future.[83] Leslie Marmon Silko's *Almanac of the Dead* explores conflict between Anglo-Americans and Native Americans, with a focus on utopian revolutionaries and autonomous spaces, among them the Zapatistas of Chiapas, as well as expressing dreams for a better future.[84] Ward Churchill constructs an "indigenist" outlook that has utopian aspects, drawing on traditions and values of indigenous people from all around the world to critique the status quo, conceptualise

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[77] Bill Ashcroft, "Introduction: Spaces of Utopia," *Spaces of Utopia: An Electronic Journal* 2, no. 1, 2012, accessed February 16, 2019, http://ler.letras.up.pt/uploads/ficheiros/10634.pdf.
[78] Berneri, *Journey*, 176–77.
[79] Sargent, *Utopianism*, 201.
[80] Pordzic, *Quest*, 3.
[81] John P. Clark, "The Common Good: Sarvodaya and the Gandhian Legacy," in *The Impossible Community: Realizing Communitarian Anarchism* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013), 247–90; Richard G. Fox, *Gandhian Utopia: Experiments with Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press: 1989).
[82] Ashcroft, "Introduction," 2–3.
[83] Ayi Kwei Armah, *Two Thousand Seasons* (London: Heinemann, 1979 [1973]).
[84] Leslie Marmon Silko, "One World, Many Tribes," in *Almanac of the Dead* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991).

alternatives, and make connections.[85] Former colonies have also proven fertile ground for many practical utopias and intentional communities, some of which are listed later in this chapter.

Ecological Utopias

Ecological themes of respect for nature and animals and the desire for a less alienated relationship between humans and the land have been features of utopian visions through the centuries. Examples in Berneri's work include Gerard Winstanley's belief that all land should be held in common, and people ought to live by subsistence rather than accumulation,[86] Gabriel de Foigny's assertion that humans should not consider themselves superior to animals,[87] and William Morris's dismissal of the separation of centres of manufacture from places of dwelling and his dislike of waste and spoilage.[88]

Ecological utopias gained increasing import in the latter half of the twentieth century as scientific research and catastrophic events revealed the magnitude of environmental damage since the industrial revolution and the dangers of human innovations such as the hydrogen bomb. This gave rise to a popular ecological movement that peaked in the 1970s through the 1990s. The ecology movement is perhaps the single movement of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries that still has a tendency toward the genre and form of carefully drawn out social visions that often make claims to having a basis in scientific truth, although the totalizing potential of such visions is often tempered through a basis in bottom-up participation and emphasis on social change through lifestyle rather than law.[89] One of the first utopias of the twentieth-century deep ecology movement was Ernest Callenbach's *Ecotopia*,[90] a fictional work that had a huge influence on the movement. The novel set forth clear normative values and social vision, yet like other "critical utopias" of the time did not construct a blueprint, but rather an imperfect society in progress, with value placed on creativity, difference, experimentation and play, equality among the sexes, and sustainable ecological production.

Another popular ecological utopian vision of the mid-twentieth century was the idea of bioregionalism, a term coined by Peter Berg in the 1970s. Advocates of bioregionalism would

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[85] Ward Churchill, "I Am Indigenist: Notes on the Ideology of the Fourth World," in *Acts of Rebellion: The Ward Churchill Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 251–73.
[86] Berneri, *Journey*, 148.
[87] Ibid., 197.
[88] Ibid., 273.
[89] An excellent history of ecological visions from Thomas More's *Utopia* to contemporary intentional communities and Green electoral parties is Marius De Geus, *Ecological Utopias: Envisioning the Sustainable Society* (Utrecht: International Books, 1999).
[90] Ernest Callenbach, *Ecotopia: The Notebooks and Reports of William Weston* (Berkeley, CA: Banyan Tree Books, 1975).

argue that it is not a utopian vison in the sense of a blueprint but is actually a very practical vision rooted in grassroots democracy and an organizing vehicle for a more sustainable way of living. Nonetheless, the vision is proactive and forward looking rather than merely reactive and protest-based and emphasizes lifestyle change over legislation and reform, which distinguishes it from other sections of the environmental movement and lends it a distinctly utopian tint.[91] The concept of the bioregion is an attempt to localise production and bring people into harmony with the environment in which they live by creating a sense of place based on the natural characteristics of the landscape rather than on national borders. Kirkpatrick Sale is a well-known advocate of the movement, summarizing bioregional values as "ecological understanding, regional and communitarian consciousness, nature-based wisdom and spirituality, biocentric sensibility, decentralist planning, participatory politics, mutual aid, and speciate humility."[92]

A utopian strand of ecological theory worth consideration is the Gaia hypothesis, co-developed by the chemist James Lovelock and the microbiologist Lynn Margulis, which postulates the earth is a holistic self-regulating complex system.[93] The theory is based on mechanistic premises insofar as it attempts to explicate natural laws by which the world is governed, yet it has utopian aspects insofar as it has been used to create visions for more holistic lifestyles and as a basis for neo-pagan spiritualty.[94] It has been argued that the mechanistic aspects of Gaia are in tension with such normative recommendations,[95] and the hypothesis has also been accused of being teleological and labelled pseudoscience.[96] Nevertheless, the Gaia hypothesis has served as inspiration for experimental utopias, New Age eco-villages, and communes.

Indeed, the broader practical aspect of the ecological movement and its actualisation in a network of eco-villages, intentional communities, and sustainable housing developments has been an important part of the utopian vision of the ecology movement. These communities are at the forefront of developments in sustainable architecture and design and serve as examples

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[91] Peter Berg, "Bioregionalism: A Definition," *The Digger Archive*, 2002, accessed February 17, 2019, http://www.diggers.org/freecitynews/_disc1/00000017.htm.
[92] Kirkpatrick Sale, *Dwellers in the Land: The Biorgional Vision* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2000 [1991]), xix.
[93] James E. Lovelock and Lynn Margulis, "Atmospheric Homeostasis by and for the Biosphere: The Gaia Hypothesis," *Tellus* 26, no. 1–2 (1974): 2–10, accessed February 19, 2019, http://www.jameslovelock.org/atmospheric-homeostasis-by-and-for-the-biosphere-the-gaia-hypothesis/.
[94] James Lovelock, *The Revenge of Gaia: Why the Earth Is Fighting Back—and How We Can Still Save Humanity* (Santa Barbara, CA: Allen Lane, 2006).
[95] Michael Ruse, *The Gaia Hypothesis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 179–207.
[96] Ibid., 100–4, 174–75.

to others seeking more sustainable lifestyles. They create and showcase technological innovations that are sometimes adopted more widely, and they also run educational programmes.[97]

Murray Bookchin has attempted to fuse ecologism with anarchism through an analysis of the roots of ecological destruction, which he traces to the dawn of civilization and the creation of hierarchies and the urge to dominate nature and treat nature, animals, and other humans as objects rather than subjects.[98] Bookchin's prolific writing focuses on the conditions for ecological society, but he does not shy away from the traditionally utopian method of detailed description, arguing this allows for critique and reconstruction of values in the present.[99] Bookchin's utopianism has been criticised as vanguardist on this basis by post-left anarchists, notably Bob Black.[100]

Lived Utopias: The Intentional Communities Movement

Berneri briefly mentions communist and co-operative communities as a parallel expression of utopia;[101] an early indication of the now widely accepted inclusion of the intentional communities movement within the lexicon of utopia. The most commonly used definition of an intentional community is Sargent's: an intentional community is "a group of five or more adults and their children, if any, who come from more than one nuclear family and who have chosen to live together to enhance their shared values or for some other mutually agreed upon purpose."[102] I find the number five arbitrary and have encountered communities with fewer members, for example, four adults.[103] Sargisson offers a simplified definition: "Intentional communities are bodies of people who have chosen to live—and usually work in some way—together. They have a common aim or commitment."[104]

Intentional communities have an ancient and international history. The first recorded intentional community be traced back to the sixth century BCE in what is now Southern Italy, where Pythagoras founded the community Homakoeion, based on vegetarianism, spirituality,

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[97] For an excellent introduction to this diverse movement from anthropological and sociological perspectives, see the edited collection Joshua Lockyer and James R. Veteto, eds., *Environmental Anthropology Engaging Ecotopia: Bioregionalism, Permaculture and Ecovillages* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013).
[98] Murray Bookchin, *Toward an Ecological Society* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1988), 8.
[99] His most meticulous visions can be found in Murray Bookchin, *Post-Scarcity Anarchism* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1990).
[100] Bob Black, *Anarchy after Leftism* (Berkeley, CA: C.A.L. Press, 1997).
[101] Berneri, *Journey*, 323.
[102] Sargent, *Three Faces*, 14–15.
[103] Rhiannon Firth, *Utopian Politics: Citizenship and Practice* (London: Routledge, 2012).
[104] Sargisson, *Utopian Bodies*, 29.

and equality of the sexes.[105] The Diggers, described by Berneri,[106] were a seventeenth century British political movement that squatted common land to resist enclosures and are invariably included in any history of the intentional communities movement, as are the experiments of the Utopian Socialists.[107] A revival and heyday of "practical utopias" has occurred in the decades since the publication of Berneri's text,[108] and a huge wave of communities were founded in the late 1960s and early 1970s, many of which survive until this day, although often with aging populations, as founding members become older and recruitment dwindles.[109]

Intentional communities can include shared households, cohousing communities, ecovillages, communes, survivalist retreats, kibbutzim, ashrams, housing co-operatives, and squats. They can be either urban or rural and frequently transgress the assumptions that this geographic imaginary is based upon.[110] The kinds of shared principles that they adopt, similar to fictional and political utopias, are wildly variant and can include political, religious, social, or spiritual values and practices. Most, but not all, intentional communities have a constitution or founding document that sets out shared principles, which may or may not be open to negotiation and modification by new members. Such documents can be found on the websites of the communities listed in directories below.[111]

Many members of intentional communities would hesitate to define their communities or lifestyles as "utopian," largely due to the colloquial association of the term with perfection and impossibility. Intentional communities are clearly neither. The question of utopian intent in both literature and in practice is complex and has been the subject of debate.[112] Most intentional communities may not use the precise term "utopia," but they do base their activities on collectively articulated desire for a different—and better—way of living and they express intent to bring that way of life into being in the here and now through their daily endeavours rather than deferring to an abstract future. There are examples of intentional communities

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[105] Bill Metcalf, "Utopian Struggle: Preconceptions and Realities of Intentional Communities," *RCC Perspectives* 8 (2012): 21–30.
[106] Berneri, *Journey*, 146–47.
[107] Ibid., 207–19.
[108] Lucy Sargisson and Lyman Tower Sargent, *Living in Utopia: New Zealand's Intentional Communities,* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).
[109] Firth, *Utopian Politics*, 51.
[110] Rhiannon Firth, "Transgressing Urban Utopianism: Autonomy and Active Desire," *Geografiska Annaler: Series B*, *Human Geography* 94, no. 2 (2012).
[111] For more examples see Rhiannon Firth, *Critical Utopian Citizenship: Theory and Practice*, PhD thesis, University of Nottingham, 2010, 324–32, accessed February 17, 2019, http://eprints.nottingham.ac.uk/11222/1/Rhiannon_Firth_Final_Thesis.pdf accessed 7 July 2018.
[112] Lisa Garforth and Peter Kraftl, eds., "Special Issue: Utopia and Intention," *Journal for Cultural Research*, 13, no. 1 (2009).

worldwide, including New Zealand,[113] Denmark,[114] Israel,[115] Ethiopia,[116] and Columbia.[117] Indigenous social movements such as the Zapatistas have used utopian terminology and discourse to legitimate their occupation of territory.[118] Rural land rights movements, including the Landless Workers' Movement (MST) in Brazil and the transnational Via Campesina, form intentional communities based on ecological and subsistence farming as part of their struggles for autonomy and access to the land.[119] The off-grid movement has become huge in both the United States and Canada, although groups tend to remain isolated. While there are complex social reasons for families or groups who follow this movement, and many do so from necessity, there is also a utopian discourse that surrounds the movement, and adherents cite desires to create a more sustainable society by putting their values into practice.[120]

Historical, sociological, and ethnographic accounts of intentional communities include studies of the emergent contemporary movement, the earliest of which is Everett Webber's *Escape to Utopia*.[121] The seminal text in this tradition is Rosabeth Moss Kanter's sociological tract,[122] which examines a host of American communities to construct the controversial argument that the "success" of any particular community can be measured by its longevity, which requires mechanisms for building commitment among members. Many texts in this sociological tradition followed the flourishing movement of the 1970s, including Andrew Rigby's *Alternative Realities*,[123] with a focus on the British communal movement; Philip Abrams and Andrew McCulloch's *Communes, Sociology and Society*,[124] which focuses on the

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[113] Sargisson and Sargent, *Living in Utopia."*
[114] Maria Hellström Reimer, "Christiania Copenhagen—A Common Out of the Ordinary," in *Urban Wildscapes*, eds. Anna Jorgensen and Richard Keenan (London: Routledge, 2011).
[115] James Horrox, *A Living Revolution: Anarchism in the Kibbutz Movement* (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2009).
[116] Atnafu Gete Solomon, *Social Transformation among the Awra-Amba Community* (Saarbrücken: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2013).
[117] Alan Weisman, *Gaviotas: A Village to Reinvent the World* (Hartford, VT: Chelsea Green Publishing, 2008).
[118] Anna Esther Ceceña, "The Subversion of Historical Knowledge of the Struggle: Zapatistas in the 21st Century," *Antipode* 36, no. 3 (2004); Jan Rus, Rosalva Aída Hernández Castillo, and , Shannan L. Mattiace, eds., *Mayan Lives, Mayan Utopias: The Indigenous Peoples of Chiapas and the Zapatista Rebellion* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003).
[119] Peter M. Rosset and Maria Elena Martínez-Torres, "Rural Social Movements and Agroecology: Context, Theory, and Process," *Ecology and Society* 17 no. 3 (2012).
[120] Phillip Vannini and Jonathan Taggart, "Voluntary Simplicity, Involuntary Complexities, and the Pull of Remove: The Radical Ruralities of Off-Grid Lifestyles," *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 45, no. 2 (2013): 295–311.
[121] Everett Webber, *Escape to Utopia: The Communal Movement in America* (New York: Hastings House, 1959).
[122] Rosabeth Moss Kanter, *Commitment and Community: Communes and Utopias in Sociological Perspective* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972).
[123] Andrew Rigby, *Alternative Realities: A Study of Communes and Their Members* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974).
[124] Philip Abrams and Andrew W. McCulloch, *Communes, Sociology and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

American movement, and Laurence Veysey's study of anarchist and mystical communities in America.[125] The rise in the environmental and deep ecological movement led to a resurgence of interest in the movement in the late 1980s and early 1990s, examined in David Pepper's *Communes and the Green Vision*.[126] There are many books on the contemporary movement, some of which focus on specific aspects such as cohousing and low impact living.[127] Two excellent books on the British movement by Chris Coates present the historical movement of intentional communities in Britain in great detail in the format of an illustrated gazetteer; from 1325–1945 and from 1938–2000.[128] A similarly detailed account of the movement in the western United States can be found in the edited collection *West of Eden*.[129] The definitive resource on the UK intentional communities movement is the *Diggers and Dreamers* website, which provides many resources, and a directory of communities organized by region.[130] A similar resource that is international in scope is the *Fellowship for Intentional Community* website.[131] These directories offer contact information for communities and details on whether and when they are open to visitors or new members.

Educational Utopias and Critical Pedagogy

Education has been central to utopia since Plato argued that his guardians ought to be the most educated citizens.[132] Levitas, drawing on a line of thought made up of Miguel Abensour's commentary on William Morris in E.P. Thompson's work, argues the defining feature of utopia is precisely its educative function.[133] Many of the utopias portrayed in Berneri's book valorise education, for example, de Foigny was an early advocate of lifelong learning, setting utopian

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[125] Laurence Veysey, *The Communal Experience: Anarchist and Mystical Communities in Twentieth-Century America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978).
[126] David Pepper, *Communes and the Green Vision: Counterculture, Lifestyle and the New Age* (London: Green Print, 1991).
[127] Sarah Bunker, Chris Coates, Martin Field, and Jonathan How, eds., *Cohousing in Britain* (London: Diggers and Dreamers Publications, 2011); Sarah Bunker, Chris Coates, Martin Field, and James Dennis, eds., *Low Impact Living Communities in Britain* (London: Diggers and Dreamers Publications, 2014); Chatterton, Paul, *Low Impact Living: A Field Guide to Ecological, Affordable Community Building* (London: Routledge, 2014).
[128] Chris Coates, *Utopia Britannica* (London: Diggers and Dreamers Publications, 2001); Chris Coates, *Communes Britannica* (London: Diggers and Dreamers, 2012).
[129] Iain Boal, Janferie Stone, Michael Watts, and Cal Winslow, eds., *West of Eden: Communes and Utopia in Northern California* (Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2012).
[130] *Diggers and Dreamers*, accessed February 17, 2019, http://www.diggersanddreamers.org.uk/.
[131] *Fellowship for International Community*, accessed February 17, 2019, http://www.ic.org/.
[132] Berneri, *Journey*, 25.
[133] Levitas, *Concept*, 143; drawing on Thompson, E.P., *William Morris: Romantic to* Revolutionary, (London: Merlin Press, 1977 [1955]), 798–99.

school-leaving age at thirty-five,[134] and both More and Winstanley advocated home schooling.[135]

Since Berneri's time, the relationship between anti-authoritarian education and utopia has developed. A.S. Neill's Summerhill School, based on non-hierarchical governance and freedom from adult coercion predates Berneri's writing, having been founded in 1924.[136] Neill was a contemporary of Berneri, and she compares his educational vision with that of William Morris.[137] Summerhill was a predecessor to many later utopian learning theories and experiments, sparking a radical education movement that developed through the 1960s, reaching a heyday in the early 1970s. One of the earlier works was Neil Postman and Charles Weingartner's *Teaching as a Subversive Activity.*[138] The authors advocate democratic education, exemplifying alternative social relations in the classroom and learning to question dominant language structures and media.

The pedagogical vision of Paulo Freire deserves special note. Freire was a Brazilian philosopher and educator, best known for *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, wherein he developed his theory of critical pedagogy.[139] For Freire, education rather than elite-led vanguardist revolution is the key to social change. He critiqued the traditional approach to education that replicates social hierarchies, which he called the "banking" approach, putting the teacher in charge as the expert holder of knowledge.[140] The problem with this approach is that it positions students as passive subjects of learning rather than active creators of knowledge and reproduces a culture of silence where oppressed subjects are unable to fully perceive or articulate the ways in which their experience was shaped by material conditions.[141] The ability to name what is oppressing us—critical literacy—triggers a process of "conscientization" where one undertakes to perceive and expose social and political contradictions and organize collective action for resistance.[142] Critical pedagogy has been taken up by many other theorists, famously bell hooks and Peter McLaren, and has given impetus to a significant movement of popular education and critical pedagogy working "in, against and beyond" established educational

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[134] Berneri, *Journey*, 194.
[135] Ibid., 157.
[136] A.S. Neill, *Summerhill: A Radical Approach to Child Rearing* (Oxford: Hart, 1960).
[137] Berneri, *Journey*, 271.
[138] Neil Postman and Charles Weingartner, *Teaching as a Subversive Activity* (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1969).
[139] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (London: Penguin, 1996 [1970]).
[140] Ibid., 53.
[141] Ibid., 68.
[142] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of Freedom: Ethics, Democracy and Civic Courage* (Lanham, MA: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998), 55.

institutions worldwide.[143] Freire's vision and method clashed with the vanguardist vision of left parties, which tended to consider themselves the bearers of a singular truth, and exposed all forms of knowledge—including the knowledge of elites—as partial and structurally situated. Critical pedagogy has been interpreted as utopian because it creates space for experimenting with alternative knowledges, envisioning alternative futures, and reconstituting social bonds in the present in order to actualize political desires.[144] It also emphasizes our unfinishedness and unlimited possibility as human beings and the importance of eschewing coercion in favour of creating examples of social change.[145]

Freire's contemporary Ivan Illich offered a damning critique of capitalist social relations and consumer society, which he links to the "hidden curriculum" of mainstream schooling. As an alternative he sketched a detailed utopian plan for *Deschooling Society*, which involves an incredibly diverse array of non-compulsory lifelong learning arrangements co-ordinated through computerised learning webs that are eerily prescient of the modern-day internet.[146] Everett Reimer was a friend of Ivan Illich, and in his *School is Dead* offers a vision based on diversified content, networked organization and equalizing financial arrangements.[147] Paul Goodman in *Compulsory Mis-education* argued that the most valuable and influential educational experiences occur outside schools, and that the social task of education should also therefore be transferred outside formal institutions to public spaces where students can actively participate.[148]

Educational utopias tend to appear more anti-authoritarian than political utopias, yet by no means are they all anarchist: Freire and Illich were inspired by Marxism, while Postman and Weingartner were inspired by liberalism. However, anarchism has always placed particular emphasis on education as a form of social change in the here and now. Joel Spring offers an excellent introduction to the anarchist tradition of radical education, including theoretical approaches and utopian experiments,[149] and Judith Suissa draws on practical experiments to

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[143] bell hooks, *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom* (New York: Routledge, 2014[1994]); Peter McLaren, *Critical Pedagogy and Predatory Culture: Oppositional Politics in a Postmodern Era* (London: Routledge, 1995); Stephen Cowden, and Gurnam Singh, eds., with Sarah Amsler, Joyce Canaan, and Sara Motta, *Acts of Knowing: Critical Pedagogy in, against and beyond the University* (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013).
[144] David M. Bell, *Rethinking Utopia: Place, Power*, *Affect* (London: Routledge, 2017), 106–108; William B. Stanley, *Curriculum for Utopia: Social Reconstructionism and Critical Pedagogy in the Postmodern Era* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1992).
[145] Peter Roberts, "Paulo Freire and Utopian Education," *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies* 37, no. 5 (2015).
[146] Ivan Illich, *Deschooling Society* (London: Calder & Boyers, 1970).
[147] Everett Reimer, *School Is Dead* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1971).
[148] Paul Goodman, *Compulsory Miseducation* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971).
[149] Joel Spring, *A Primer of Libertarian Education* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1975).

construct a philosophical anarchist perspective.[150] While the heyday of the 1970s has subsided, movements focusing on the radical potential of education and learning continue into the current day. The theory and practice of critical pedagogy has been adapted for use in anarchist movements against neoliberal globalization and to resist the marketization of public education.[151]

Architecture, Planning and Utopia

Architecture and town planning have long been associated with utopianism, and Berneri picks up the theme in her own analyses of Etienne Cabet and Andreae,[152] and almost every one of Berneri's utopias includes detailed description of spatial layout. Entire utopian movements have arisen that articulate the need for utopian architecture, for example, Ebeneezer Howard's garden cities and the cohousing movement.[153] Architecture shapes our daily lives, the spaces we can move in, and the boundaries that separate spaces, activities, and purposes. Architects therefore wield immense power over our experiences and communities. Utopian social theorists have also been interested in the relationship between architecture and utopia: Ernst Bloch in *Principle of Hope* dedicated an entire a chapter to architecture,[154] and Colin Ward, as a city planner and architect, wrote extensively on the topic.[155] The function of utopia has also been applied to the field of city planning by Paul and Percival Goodman, who discuss ways to build community values by design, such as reduced consumption, efficient production, and planned security with minimum regulation.[156]

Many architects and planners, like Ward, are motivated by a passion to improve the world and understand that spatial arrangements play an important role in this. Ward was an anarchist who sought ways in which existing architecture could be repurposed in the here and now to meet housing needs and create communities based on mutual aid.[157] Other architectural

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[150] Judith Suissa, *Anarchism and Education: A Philosophical Perspective* (London: Routledge, 2006).
[151] Mark Coté, Richard J.F. Day, and Greig de Peuter eds., *Utopian Pedagogy: Radical Experiments against Neoliberal Globalization* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007); Robert Haworth and John M. Elmore, eds., *Out of the Ruins: The Emergence of Radical Informal Spaces of Learning* (Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2017).
[152] Berneri, *Journey*, 109–10, 224.
[153] Ebenezer Howard, *Garden Cities of To-Morrow*, London: Routledge, 2007[1965]); Bunker et. al., *Cohousing*.
[154] Bloch, *Principle*, 699–745.
[155] See, for example, several chapters in Colin Ward, *Autonomy, Solidarity, Possibility: The Colin Ward Reader*, eds. Chris Wilbert and Damian F. White, (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2011), particularly the chapters titled "The Do-It-Yourself New Town," 71–84; "Self-Help in Urban Renewal," 95–100; "High Density Life," 121–26; "Alternatives in Architecture," 135–40; "Walter Segal—Community Architect," 141–44; "The Anarchist House," 175–84.
[156] Paul Goodman and Percival Goodman, *Communitas: Means of Livelihood and Ways of Life* (New York: Random House, 1960 [1947]).
[157] Ward, "Self-Help in Urban Renewal."

utopias can seemingly do the complete opposite: they institute architectural plans from the top-down that are elitist and presuppose intensely hierarchical and unequal relationships with exclusive or differential access. Sargisson explores this contrast in modes of architectural utopianism over two chapters that contrast the top-down "fantastic" architecture of Dubai with the grassroots and ecological approaches of New Urbanism and Cohousing.[158]

Utopian planning and architecture raise practical issues that have been fundamental for many intentional communities, and while many communities make do with adapting whatever space they find themselves in, for example, a Georgian mansion or Victorian townhouse, other communities collaborate with architects to build community buildings and facilities from scratch through consultation and consensus decision-making.[159] There are obvious tensions in the idea that an egalitarian society might be imposed through top-down technocratic means, yet even a building or community designed and constructed entirely by consensus must crystallise the desires of a particular group in a particular time and place, with temporal implications extending far beyond the original users to other users not yet imagined.[160] This is, of course, true to an extent for all utopias, which even if not actualised may influence future social movements or government policies, with effects that cannot be predicted. In the twenty-first century, the relationship between time and utopia becomes a poignant theme, which will unravel in the following sections.

Post-Left Utopias

Post-left anarchy is a fairly recent strand of anarchist thought that started to become popular around the early 2000s, but which drew on texts that emerged from movements in the 1980s and 1990s and traces its lineage back to Max Stirner's critique of ideology.[161] Post-left anarchists reject political tendencies associated with leftism, such as morality, progressivism, identity politics, collectivism, struggle, and the valorisation of work. They focus on insurrection rather than formal organization as the desired means of social change, and they are critical of residual forms of vanguardism in ostensibly radical movements.[162]

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[158] Lucy Sargisson, "Fantastic Architecture and the Case of Dubai," in *Fool's Gold: Utopianism in the Twenty-First Century* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012) 146–66; Sargisson "New Urbanism and Cohousing," in *Fool's Gold*, 167–88.
[159] Firth, *Transgressing*.
[160] Elizabeth Grosz, "Embodied Utopias," in *Architecture from the Outside: Essays on Real and Virtual Space* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001), 131–50.
[161] Max Stirner, *The Unique and Its Property*, trans. Wolfi Landstreicher (Baltimore: Underworld Amusements, 2017 [1844]).
[162] Richard J.F. Day, *Gramsci Is Dead: Anarchist Currents in the Newest Social Movements* (London: Pluto Press, 2005).

The idea of prefiguration has played an important role both in utopian studies and anarchist studies. In utopian studies, prefiguration is often referred to in the context of intentional communities or social movements that are taken to be engaged in a process of politicizing everyday life through living by example,[163] and the term can also refer to the educative aspects of literary utopias, which can be seen as anticipating possible new configurations of desires.[164] In anarchist studies, prefiguration refers to the anarchist imperative that the means of political action do not contradict its ends.[165] More practically, this entails the ethical commitment of many activists to "be the change" they want to see in the world by creating social change through direct action and rejecting domination in relationships and collective structures.[166] Post-left anarchists reject prefiguration in favour of "the immediate expression of desire, constructing the kind of world one wants to live in immanently and horizontally," which requires radical and antagonistic rejection of dominant social forms and institutions.[167] This entails a rejection of future orientations and separation of the past and present, and therefore a problematic relationship not only with the blueprints and top-down planning of many nineteenth- and early twentieth-century utopias but also with the broader definition of utopia as "social dreaming," which implies thought rather than action.

The post-left does not, however, reject utopian thought entirely, but rather explicitly appropriates the term "utopia" for a present-oriented form of insurrectionary joy. One of the first texts in this vein is Alfredo Bonnano's *Propulsive Utopia*,[168] a polemical pamphlet written in the aftermath of a wave of strikes in France. Bonanno argues for a form of utopia that emerges "*within* the real movement" rather than as "an ideological plaything within the fictitious one."[169] Using the example of "rights" versus "real equality," Bonanno argues that movements ought to seize equality for themselves rather than relying on abstract fictions and sacred concepts, and create utopia now, and on the streets, rather than deferring to the future.[170]

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[163] Lucy Sargisson and Lyman Tower Sargent, "Lived Utopianism: Everyday Life and Intentional Communities," *Communal Societies* 37, no. 1 (2017).
[164] Moylan, *Demand*, 198.
[165] Benjamin Franks, *Rebel Alliances: The Means and Ends of Contemporary British Anarchisms* (Oakland: AK Press/Dark Star, 2006); Ruth Kinna, "Utopianism and Prefiguration," in *The Political Uses of Utopia: New Marxist, Anarchist and Radical Democratic Perspectives*, eds. Sylwia D. Chrostowska and James D. Ingram (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017), 198–218.
[166] Uri Gordon, "Utopia in Contemporary Anarchism," in *Anarchism and Utopianism*, eds. Laurence Davis and Ruth Kinna (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 269.
[167] Andrew Robinson and Simon Tormey, "Utopias without Transcendence? Post-Left anarchy, Immediacy and Utopian Energy," in *Globalization and Utopia: Critical Essays*, eds. Patrick Hayden and Chamsy el-Ojeili (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 159.
[168] Alfredo M. Bonanno, *Propulsive Utopia*, trans. Jean Weir (London: Elephant Editions, 1988).
[169] Ibid., 9.
[170] Ibid., 20–21.

Similarly, the anonymous author of *Brittle Utopias* contrasts the stagnant utopias of state capitalism and state Communism "with a big C," which are "too unified, too pristine," and can "never be fully brought into practice" to the living utopias "in which humans can be truly present," and which do not shy away from change: "a real living dying rotting breathing place, a utopia of process not a brittle non-place."[171] There are echoes of Berneri's contrast between "dead structures conceived by economists, politicians and moralists" with "the living dreams of poets."[172]

The post-left is perhaps the only anarchist perspective in recent times that has produced utopias that Berneri may have recognized, given her definition: "those works which remain in the utopian tradition by describing ideal commonwealths in some imaginary country or in an imaginary future."[173] This is an apparent paradox in light of the distrust of deferring to the future and of unitary desires, yet the post-left utopia Bolo'Bolo appears to be laid out in the style of a utopian blueprint, replete with diagrams, maps, and the characters of a new language.[174] This is a utopia of hyper-diversity, constant differentiation, and semi-nomadic individualism combined with small-scale communalism. While apparently in the form of a blueprint utopia set in the future, with a plan for the entire planet ("Why be modest in the face of impending catastrophe?") the book claims to be a catalyst for present critique, desiring-production, action, and change.[175] Contemporary utopias are seen to "stink of renunciation, moralism, new labours, toilsome rethinking, modesty and self-limitation," yet the author incorporates the best aspects of many of these ideas into "a patchwork of micro-systems."[176] The two main entities in p.m.'s utopia are the *ibu* (individual) and the *bolo* (community). The ibu is born and raised in a bolo and cannot be expelled from any bolo but is always free to leave and has complete freedom of movement to enter any other bolo wherein it is entitled to food and medical care. There is no money, although there is exchange a barter and small-scale bilateral trade between bolos, and personal property is strictly limited to a small portable capsule called a *taku*. Within this arrangement, possibilities are infinite: "No *bolo* looks like any other, just as no *ibu* is identical with any other."[177] The bolos are too small for effective repression, and the means of communication are well-developed, so bolos must recruit through persuasion rather than

[171] Anonymous, "Brittle Utopias," accessed February 17, 2019, https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/anonymous-brittle-utopias.
[172] Berneri, *Journey*, 317.
[173] Ibid., 209.
[174] p.m., *Bolo'Bolo* (New York: Semiotexte, 1985).
[175] Ibid., 37, 39.
[176] Ibid., 3, 66.
[177] Ibid., 65.

coercion. Possible bolos include "Alco-bolo, Sym-bolo, Sado-bolo, Maso-bolo, Vegi-bolo, Les-bolo, Franko-bolo, Italo-bolo, Play-bolo . . . Coca-bolo, Incapa-bolo, HighTech-bolo . . . Freak-bolo, Straight-bolo, Marx-bolo," while there are also "just good old regular bolos, where people live normal, reasonable and healthy lives (whatever those are)."[178]

Other utopias from this tradition include the primitivism of John Zerzan and Feral Faun, who offer radical critiques of capitalism, technology, and civilization and express desire for a more primitive way of life.[179] Rather than portraying this as a return to a golden age, or in the form of a detailed future utopia, Zerzan focuses on "rewilding," which involves a psychological process of rediscovering one's own feral nature, as well as defending and extending wild spaces with radical ecological action. Zerzan argues that this process of psychological dis-alienation can be aided through engaging with critical fictional utopias, including some mentioned earlier in this chapter, such as Marge Piercy's *Woman on the Edge of Time.*[180] The use of style and genre bending is popular—for example, Thom Metzger's work *This is Your Final Warning*[181] and Hakim Bey's *Temporary Autonomous Zone*, which blends social theory, fiction, and poetry, drawing on examples such as intentional communities and "pirate utopias" to articulate a more general theory of multiple alternative and temporary utopian spaces.[182] The post-left tradition was both inspired by and has inspired the creation of many alternative spaces, including squats and social centres, as part of a broader movement that I will turn to now.

DIY Culture and Autonomous Social Movements

The multifarious movements that coalesce under the banner of do-it-yourself culture and politics are strongly associated with anarchism and autonomism and also with the ideas of prefiguration discussed above. Useful sources include the post-left article "Desire Is Speaking: Utopian Rhizomes," which emerges from the insurrectionary eco-activist movement in Britain. The anonymous author begs a redefinition of the utopian impulse to include radical and antagonistic practices of expressing and satisfying one's own desires in autonomous movements, particularly squatting and direct action and practices that grew out of these, including "[a] network of squats, communally owned houses, food co-ops, LET-systems, sound systems, bands, mail orders, festivals, direct-action groups, research groups, no-paper

[178] Ibid., 80, 81.
[179] John Zerzan, *Future Primitive Revisited* (Port Townsend, WA: Feral House, 2012 [1994]); Feral Faun, *Feral Revolution* (London: Elephant Editions, 2000).
[180] Zerzan, *Future Primitive*, xxvi.
[181] Thom Metzger, *This Is Your Final Warning* (New York: Autonomedia, 1992).
[182] Hakim Bey, *T.A.Z.: The Temporary Autonomous Zone, Ontological Anarchy, Poetic Terrorism* (New York: Autonomedia, 2003 [1985]).

(immigration) groups, publishers, magazines, internet providers and newsgroups, infoshops, people's kitchens, mobile kitchens."[183] DIY culture is an anti-consumerist ethic that promotes self-sufficiency in a very wide realm, including music, fashion, media, and housing, promoting independence from established structures. The milieu is incredibly diverse and also includes zine culture and music scenes, such as punk, riot grrrl,[184] rave, New Age travellers, the erstwhile free festival circuit, eco-protest, including Reclaim the Streets and tree squatting against road building,[185] the autonomous social centres movement,[186] and in the technological age of the twenty-first century hacker culture and hackspaces.[187] A useful text on the movement in Europe from 1968 to 1998 is George Katsiaficas's *The Subversion of Politics*.[188] DIY culture has been highly concerned with creating alternative aesthetics, so it is worth consulting photographic as well as academic texts, and some excellent compilations exist, for example, "Traveller Dave" Fawcett's *Traveller Homes*,[189] which documents two decades of redundant busses and lorries transformed into unique mobile homes by travellers from the early 1980s onwards in the UK. Another document worth consulting is Molly Macindoe's *Out of* Order, a visual ethnography of the free party and Teknival scene in the UK and Europe over a ten-year period. [190]

DIY culture and the associated party and protest scenes arguably reached their height in the late 1980s and early 1990s. People entered these lifestyles for many different reasons, including necessity during a housing crisis, hedonism, or as part of a movement in resistance, and in doing so they created space for experimenting with new values and ideals and negotiating and actualizing collective desires. Legal developments, such as the UK Criminal Justice Bill in 1994, meant that the number of people living in converted vehicles has severely declined, and the free festival circuit has almost entirely disappeared in Europe, eaten up by a huge profit-making commercial festival machine, in a move George McKay dubbed "the

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[183] Anonymous, *Brittle Utopias*.
[184] Carolyn Kaltefleiter, "Anarchy Girl Style Now: Riot Grrrl Actions and Practices," in *Contemporary Anarchist Studies: An Introductory Anthology of Anarchy in the Academy*, eds. Randall Amster, Abraham DeLeon, Luis A. Fernandez, Anthony J. Nocella II, and Deric Shannon (London: Routledge, 2009).
[185] George McKay, *Senseless Acts of Beauty* (London: Verso, 1996).
[186] Paul Chatterton and Stuart Hodkinson, "Why We Need Autonomous Spaces in the Fight againt Capitalism,." in *Do It Yourself: A Handbook for Changing Our World* (London: Pluto Press, 2007).
[187] The Invisible Committee, "Fuck off Google," in *To Our Friends*, accessed February 17, 2019, http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/the-invisible-committe-to-our-friends.
[188] George Katsiaficas, *The Subversion of Politics: European Autonomous Movements and the Decolonization of Everyday Life* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1997).
[189] "Traveller Dave" Fawcett, *Traveller Homes* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2012).
[190] Molly Macindoe, *Out of Order: A Photographic Celebration of the Free Party Scene* (Bristol: Tangent, 2011).

criminalization of diversity."[191] While the New Age traveller scene has been decimated in Britain, smaller illegal free parties and raves continue in the UK and US, and some free festivals continue the DIY ethos internationally. There is also an autonomous social centres movement worldwide, many of which were set up in the early 2000s, including in the UK,[192] and with a significant presence in Italy.[193]

More recently there has been a resurgence of movements that attempt to reclaim space from state and capital in order to experiment and build new political culture using non-hierarchical organizing and a DIY political ethos, in particular the Occupy! Movement, which emerged in September 2011 amidst an upsurge of similar movements worldwide, including the Arab Spring and the Spanish Indignados.[194] The movement started in New York in response to the 2008 financial crash and sub-prime mortgage crisis. After initial planning meetings by the New York City General Assembly, Occupy! was formed with the occupation of Zuccotti Park in the Wall Street financial district. The movement focused on resisting neoliberalism and global inequality and became famous for its slogan "we are the 99%," which referred to the concentration of wealth among the top 1% of income earners.[195] The Occupy! Movement spread and became a worldwide movement against inequality and for raising awareness about the lack of "real democracy" around the world.[196] The movement represented a paradigm shift in both radical strategy and popular political discourse. Its slogans such as "we are the 99%" gained mainstream attention, and the strategy of occupation became popular for radical movements around the world. The movement's strategy had both resistant and utopian aspects, involving taking and holding a space—preferably a public and symbolic space that would be potentially inconvenient for state and capital—in order for occupiers to live out their political desires, including direct democracy, mutual aid, and reimagining the uses of public space. The movement was frequently derided as apolitical or naive in the mainstream of the time for its perceived lack of political demands.[197] The refusal to legitimate the state through demands in

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[191] McKay, *Senseless Acts*, 161–69.
[192] Stuart Hodkinson and Paul Chatterton, "Autonomy in the City? Reflections on the Social Centres Movement in the UK," *City* 10, no. 3 (2006): 305–15.
[193] Nicola Montagna, "The De-commodification of Urban Space and the Occupied Social Centres in Italy," *City* 10, no. 3 (2006): 295–304.
[194] Sam Halvorsen, "Beyond the Network? Occupy London and the Global Movement," *Social Movement Studies* 11, no. 3–4 (2012).
[195] Sarah Van Gelder, "Introduction: How Occupy Wall Street Changes Everything," in *This Changes Everything: Occupy Wall Street and the 99% Movement*, ed. Sarah van Gelder (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, 2011).
[196] Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, "The Fight for 'Real Democracy' at the Heart of Occupy Wall Street," *Foreign Affairs*, October 11, 2011, accessed February 17, 2019, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/north-america/2011-10-11/fight-real-democracy-heart-occupy-wall-street.
[197] Nadja Millner-Larsen, "Demandless Times," *WSQ: Women's Studies Quarterly* 41, no. 3 (2013): 113–30.

favour of living political desires and experimenting with new connections and ways of living in the present is a conscious political strategy inspired by anarchism. Occupy Wall Street was evicted in November 2011, after nearly three months of occupation, and throughout the following months occupations in other cities worldwide were also cleared by local police forces. While there have been no occupations on such a large scale since these evictions, the Occupy movement carried its ethos of demandlessness forward to various other campaigns, most prominently Occupy Sandy, a radical disaster recovery effort that will be discussed in more detail in a later section. Both Occupy Wall Street and Occupy Sandy made effective use of technological tools for communication, organizing and promoting their cause, and highlighting some of the ways in which technology has become something of a double-edged sword in twenty-first-century utopianism, which I will turn to now.

Cyber-Utopianism and Techno-Utopianism

The role of science and technology in utopia has been a long-running theme. Examples presented by Berneri include the discoveries of Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis*, including "perpetual motion, elixirs to prolong life, and spontaneous generation,"[198] and Cabet's super-efficient factory machines for industrial production.[199] Berneri also shows us that technology can be a force for evil, using the example of Zamyatin's dystopian integration of the timekeeping watch into the "human mechanism" and his torture bell jar and electrical execution device.[200] The most important event for technological utopianism after Berneri's time was the birth and growth of the internet. The optimism and technological determinism of the early internet days (late 1990s to the early 2000s) led to a period where many saw the internet as a utopian force for democratization and bottom-up cosmopolitanism. The idea that new communications technology could function as a force for good has origins in cybernetics, a new science instituted in the 1940s by Norbert Wiener, Claude Shannon, Gregory Bateson, and others. Cybernetics sought to institute a rational form of governance by reconfiguring relations between humans and machines using new forms of technology, communications, and networked organization.[201] As internet technology developed, a global orthodoxy emerged regarding the relationship between society, politics, and technology that drew on cybernetics.

[198] Berneri, *Journey*, 134.
[199] Ibid., 233.
[200] Ibid., 314–15.
[201] The Invisible Committee, "Fuck Off Google."

Labelled "The Californian Ideology," after its roots in Silicon Valley,[202] it blended libertarian attitudes prevalent in California since the 1960s, such as anti-authoritarian values, counter-culture, and drug-taking with techno-utopianism and free market economics. It was swiftly portrayed as being recuperated into neoliberal capitalist values.[203]

Various strands of utopian theorizing have grown out of this initial optimism that also draw heavily on earlier strands of late twentieth-century utopian thought outlined previously in this chapter. Transhumanism is a movement that believes in both the possibility and desirability of using advances in technology to improve human bodies and intelligence, ultimately transforming the human condition, for example, through bionic implants, cognitive enhancement, and medical advances to prolong lifespan toward immortality. The transhumanist movement is politically complex with splits between right-wing, left-wing, and centrist strands, as well as strands concerned with transcending different human limits. Examples include post-genderism,[204] which seeks to transcend biological limits of the body and transgress binary gender categories, as a development from the work of Shulamith Firestone,[205] who advocated reproductive technologies to free women from childbirth, alongside some literary feminist utopias that portrayed cryogenic childbirth.[206] Extropianism, particularly associated with the work of Max More, advocates overcoming the necessities of human labour and private property through the use of robots and artificial intelligence.[207] Techno-gaianism develops eco-utopian themes, while advocating the development and use of new technologies, such as clean energy, climate engineering, and genetically engineered crops to meet the needs of the population while countering the effects of climate change and restoring the Earth's environment. Techno-gaians believe in the eventual assimilation of humans and all bio-organisms into the collective consciousness of Gaia through electronic means.[208]

Another strand of technological utopianism that developed separately is accelerationism, particularly associated with the work of Nick Land and the Cybernetic

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[202] Richard Barbrook and Andy Cameron, "The Californian Ideology." *Science as Culture* 6, no. 1 (1996): 44–72.
[203] Ibid, 44.
[204] George Dvorsky and James Hughes, "Postgenderism: Beyond the Gender Binary," *Institute for Ethics and Emerging Technologies* 20 (2008): 44–57.
[205] Firestone, *Dialectic*.
[206] E.g., Piercy, *Woman on the Edge of Time*.
[207] Max More, *Principles of Extropy*, Version 3.11 (2003), accessed February 17, 2019, https://web.archive.org/web/20110806105153/http://www.extropy.org/principles.htm.
[208] Robert Glenn Howard, "Researching Folk Rhetoric: The Case of Apocalyptic Techno-Gaianism on the World Wide Web," *Folklore Forum* 29, no. 2 (1998): 53–73.

Cultures Research Unit (CCRU).[209] The term accelerationism was coined by Benjamin Noys, who is very critical of the paradigm, yet the expression stuck and is now used by adherents. Noys describes the phenomenon as the rigorous abandonment of humanist residues, embracing the drive for "a new post-human state beyond any form of the subject, excepting the delirious processes of capital itself."[210] Noys argues that accelerationism is a cultural phenomenon that experiences historical resurgences under particular conditions of capitalism and is indicative of intensified alienation in times of crisis. A compilation of accelerationist works, historical precedents and influences, and critical perspectives can be found in the edited collection *#Accelerate: The Accelerationist Reader*.[211]

A further left futurist vision worthy of consideration is Fully Automated Luxury Communism (FALC). The idea began as a jocular meme in activist circles in London and has since been taken up and developed by Aaron Bastani and other followers of the paradigm who make the explicitly "utopian demand" for the automation of all labour processes in order to free humans from the need to work, alongside social ownership of all means of production.[212] Similarly to transhumanism and accelerationism, FALC has an optimistic vision of the ability of technology to meet human desires without impacting negatively on the planet or exacerbating human inequality.

Cyber-utopianism and technological determinism have been critiqued from their very beginnings, when the Critical Art Ensemble argued that the "promise of electronic utopia" offered by the "new world of computerized communications" should be met with "a healthy amount of scepticism."[213] They argued that "a critical perspective ought to pay attention to issues of commodification and unequal access."[214] Their critique was prescient, as the radical optimism of the early days of the internet eroded over time due to increasing corporate takeover, state digital surveillance, and internet censorship, turning the internet into a double-edged sword, with radical social movements like the Zapatistas using it to mobilize

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[209] Nick Land, *Fanged Noumena: Collected Writings 1987–2007*, ed. Ray Brassier and Robin MacKay (Falmouth: Urbanomic, 2014); Cybernetic Cultures Research Unit, *CCRU Writings 1997–2003* (Falmouth: Urbanomic, 2017).
[210] Benjamin Noys, *Malign Velocities: Accelerationism and Capitalism* (Alresford: Zero Books, 2014), 8.
[211] Robin Mackay and Armen Avanessian, *# Accelerate: The Accelerationist Reader* (Falmouth: Urbanomic, 2014).
[212] Aaron Bastani, *Fully Automated Luxury Communism* (London: Verso, 2019); Brian Merchant, "Fully Automated Luxury Communism," *Guardian*, March 18, 2015, accessed February 17, 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/2015/mar/18/fully-automated-luxury-communism-robots-employment.
[213] Critical Art Ensemble (CAE), "Appendix: Utopian Promises-Net Realities," in *Flesh Machine: Cyborgs, Designer Babies & New Eugenic Consciousness* (New York: Autonomedia, 1995), accessed February 17, 2019, http://critical-art.net/siteapps/WordPress-49402/htdocs/books/flesh/.
[214] Ibid., 141.

international popular support and governments mobilizing the internet against dissenting movements.[215]

In contemporary theory, a critical view on emerging relations between humans and machines is put forward in a broad strand of post-humanism, which draws on themes of transgressing the boundaries between human, animal, and machine. While these theories seek to transgress the anthropocentric assumptions of traditional political theory, they are sceptical about the power fantasies and teleological assumptions about technological progress that underpin transhumanist and accelerationist utopias.[216] The idea that technology can blend with the bios to produce a new kind of human being was a frequent theme in many science fiction novels, dystopias, and critical utopias of the late twentieth century and has frequently entered social theory and even scientific reality in the early twenty-first century. Donna Haraway uses the figure of the "cyborg" as a heuristic to help the reader think about ways in which the boundaries between humans and non-humans (e.g., machines and animals) are and can be transgressed.[217] For Haraway and other theorists of monstrous and uncanny hybrids, among them Tyson Lewis and Richard Kahn,[218] the body itself becomes a site for critical experimentation and utopia, opening up possibilities for new social configurations. This has also led to increased attention to the role of non-human others in existing societies and in possible utopias. Other new social theories, including actor network theory,[219] new materialism,[220] and object-oriented ontology,[221] question the centrality of the human as the sole subject of emancipatory politics and attempt to place more emphasis on relations with and between non-human others, including animals, environmental features, and the planet itself. At times, authors in this grouping of theories present their thoughts as more an epistemological approach than a normative vision or expression of desire; yet Erika Cudworth and Stephen Hobden are able to tease out an emancipatory vision from this diverse body, ending their book

[215] Athina Karatzogianni and Andrew Robinson, *Power, Resistance and Conflict in the Contemporary World: Social Movements, Networks and Hierarchies* (London: Routledge, 2010).
[216] N. Katherine Hayles, *How We Became Posthuman* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 5.
[217] Donna Haraway, "The Cyborg Manifesto," in *Manifestly Haraway* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press 2016 [1985]), 3–90.
[218] Tyson Lewis and Richard Kahn, *Education Out of Bounds: Reimagining Cultural Studies for a Posthuman Age* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Lewis, Tyson and Richard Kahn, "Exopedagogies and the Utopian Imagination: A Case Study in Faery Subcultures," *Theory & Event* 12, no. 2 (2009).
[219] Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
[220] Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009).
[221] Timothy Morton, *Hyperobjects: Philosophy and Ecology after the End of the World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013).

with a "terraist manifesto" with utopian overtones.[222] Post-humanism begs that we reconfigure our relations with non-human others in the context of the looming catastrophes of climate change, resource depletion, and geopolitical conflict that overshadow twenty-first-century utopianism. A further category attempts to think through how we might carve out spaces for utopia from within this ongoing disaster.

Disaster Utopias

The idea of the "disaster utopia" actually has conservative origins dating back to the 1950s and 1960s, when North American disaster researchers and media reporters would laud the community action that arose in the period immediately following the impact of a natural disaster, such as a hurricane, tornado, or flood. The terminology "post-disaster utopia" would be used to describe a period where people would put aside prior differences in order to "roll up their sleeves" and "pull together" to selflessly help others during the recovery effort.[223] According to this account, this "utopian" period of solidarity, consensus, and mutual aid soon recedes as the everyday divisions and differences settle in, at which point it is necessary for a specialized bureaucracy to step in to administer the longer-term tasks of recovery. This account has come under increasing criticism, not least by Naomi Klein, who coined the term "disaster capitalism" to refer to the way in which, in all kinds of disasters, powerful people use proxy global recovery agencies at a local level to clear out deprived communities and profitably reconstruct them as neoliberal developments.[224] Rebecca Solnit turns the idea of the disaster utopia on its head, positing that it is not a momentary suspension of division that leads communities to unite in mutual aid, but that this illustrates an alternative possible sociality that is normally hindered by the minorities in power and by media hegemonies.[225] Solnit draws on records of many historical examples of communities mobilizing mutual aid disaster relief efforts, including the 1906 San Francisco earthquake, the 1917 Halifax explosion, and the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack on the World Trade Centre in New York. scott crow's *Black Flags and Windmills* provides an extended deep ethnographic study and memoir of the Common Ground Collective, the anarchist-inspired movement that built autonomous projects

[222] Erika Cudworth and Stephen Hobden, *The Emancipatory Project of Posthumanism* (London: Routledge, 2017).
[223] John Hannigan, *Disasters without Borders* (Cambridge: Polity, 2012).
[224] Naomi Klein, *The Shock Doctrine* (London: Penguin, 2007).
[225] Rebecca Solnit, *A Paradise Built in Hell: The Extraordinary Communities that Arise in Disaster* (New York: Penguin, 2010), 8–9.

and spaces of self-sufficiency during the Hurricane Katrina relief and recovery efforts.[226] A further example of a utopian disaster community was Occupy Sandy, an offshoot of Occupy Wall Street that organized relief after Hurricane Sandy hit New York and New Jersey in October 2012. The movement organized relief more effectively than the official government and the NGOs, somewhat to the embarrassment of these agencies to the extent that the United States Department for Homeland Security attempted to claim that radical movements are entirely compatible with state-organized relief,[227] while activists in the movement attempted to maintain the anarchist ethos and maintain a political message that "connected the dots between climate change, economic and social inequality and the immediate disaster."[228] A new network for anarchist-inspired disaster relief efforts called Mutual Aid Disaster Relief has a significant online presence and provides training tours for activists in practical disaster relief and anti-oppressive organizing.[229]

Disasters and crises include not only "natural" disasters, but also economic and social disasters. Key policies of neoliberalism, including "structural adjustment," mean that capital withdraws completely from some areas, leading to peripheral zones that are to a large extent autonomous from the world economy. The ways in which communities have mobilized to meet their needs in such circumstances, forming utopian spaces of exile, has been covered in texts such as Andrej Grubačić and Denis O'Hearn's *Living at the Edges of Capitalism*, which covers historical and contemporary examples, including the Cossacks and the Zapatistas.[230] The edited collection *Remapping "Crisis"*[231] offers a very wide range of perspectives and examples of social movements and community action mobilized in Athens in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis.

The twenty-first century has also seen the rise of literary disaster dystopias and catastrophe fiction, including Kim Stanley Robinson's *Science in the Capital* trilogy starting

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[226] scott crow, *Black Flags and Windmills: Hope, Anarchy and the Common Ground Collective* (Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2014).
[227] Ryan Hickey, "To Destroy Is to Build: Occupy Sandy and Mutual Aid," *Occupied Times*, December 2012, accessed February 17, 2019, http://theoccupiedtimes.org/?p=7656; Department of Homeland Security Science and Technology Directorate, *The Resilient Social Network*, Publication Number: RP12-01.04.11-01 (2013), accessed February 17, 2019, https://mutualaiddisasterreliefsite.files.wordpress.com/2017/04/the-resilient-social-network.pdf.
[228] Easton Smith, "The State, Occupy and Disaster: What Radical Movement Builders Can Learn from the Case of Occupy Sandy," *Occupy Wall Street*, August 29, 2014, accessed February 17, 2019, http://occupywallstreet.net/story/state-occupy-and-disaster-what-radical-movement-builders-can-learn-case-occupy-sandy.
[229] Mutual Aid Disaster Relief, accessed February 17, 2019, https://mutualaiddisasterrelief.org/info/.
[230] Andrej Grubačić and Denis O'Hearn, *Living at the Edges of Capitalism: Adventures in Exile and Mutual Aid* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2016).
[231] Myrto Tsilimpounidi and Alwyn Walsh, *Remapping 'Crisis': A Guide to Athens* (Winchester: Zero Books, 2014).

with *Forty Signs of Rain,* Marcus Sedgewick's children's fantasy novel *Floodland*, and Julie Bertagna's *Exodus*.[232] This genre is explored in detail in a chapter of Sargisson's *Fool's Gold*.[233] Disaster utopianism is an important emergent field of research for anarchist and utopian studies, because many scholars speculate that as climate change–related extreme weather events become more frequent, and states withdraw support for communities due to austerity budgets or rely more on repressive social control measures rather than on welfare support, disaster utopianism will become both a more prevalent and more important social phenomenon.[234] Many speculate that as resources become more scarce and climate change renders more areas inhabitable, social conflict will become more commonplace. In this vein, an excellent tract by an anonymous anarchist titled *Desert* suggests that it is too late to pin hopes on saving the world through an anarchist revolution, and instead provides ideas on survival tactics to defend and create spaces and possibilities for liberty and wildness from within the collapse of civilization.[235]

Far-Right and Alt-Right Utopias

Most of the utopias outlined so far seek progressive and socially just transformation with an anti-oppressive utopian horizon. However, in the early twenty-first century we have seen the continuance, development, and proliferation of nationalist, fundamentalist, and far-right movements. Do these ideologies produce utopias? Right-wing ideologies in general tend to be outwardly anti-utopian. There is a distinctly nihilist bent to fascism, which seeks to clear out the old order before building a new mythic order. Fascism is inherently elitist, yet relies on mass politics, so it often operates through the cultural realm, where it frequently appropriates left-wing cultural forms as a basis for recruitment and mobilization of disaffected regions of the working classes.[236] This can give fascism a contradictory and opportunistic feel.

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[232] Kim Stanley Robinson, *Forty Signs of Rain* (London: Harper Collins, 2005); Marcus Sedgewick,, *Floodland* (London: Orion Children's Books, 2000); Julie Bertagna, *Exodus* (London: Young Picador, 2002).
[233] Lucy Sargisson, "Climate Change and Catastrophe Fiction," in *Fool's Gold: Utopianism in the Twenty-First Century* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 98–115.
[234] Uri Gordon, "Dark Tidings: Anarchist Politics in the Age of Collapse," in *Contemporary Anarchist Studies: An Introductory Anthology of Anarchy in the Academy*, eds. Randall Amster, Abraham Deleon, Luis Fernandez, and Anthony J. Nocella II (London: Routledge, 2009), 249–59.
[235] Anonymous, *Desert*, (Berkeley: LBC Books, 2011).
[236] Shane Burley, "Twenty-Five Theses on Fascism," *Institute for Anarchist Studies*, November 30, 2017, accessed February 17, 2019, https://anarchiststudies.org/2017/11/30/twenty-five-theses-on-fascism-by-shane-burley/.

Nonetheless, we must be wary of viewing right-wing ideologies purely in negative terms as reactionary or incoherent in order to identify and resist their potential for populist appeal.[237] Ruth Levitas asserts that we must accept utopias are not the preserve of the left. Conservatism contains ideals of a desired society, such as restitution of hierarchy and the patriarchal/monogamous family and loyalty to the state.[238] Sargisson compares fascists and religious fundamentalists, finding that they take these conservative themes further, drawing on similar themes and emphasizing violent suppression of difference and "a drive towards purity and purge."[239] When expressed in utopian terms this becomes a blueprint utopian vision of perfection; for example, a perfect society composed of a "perfect" race that is uncontaminated and strictly controlled by an authoritarian regime, where domination permeates societies through militaristic masculinity.[240] This is often expressed as a "future in the past" looking back to a fictive golden age of pure and ideal nationhood.[241] Klaus Theweleit locates the mystical, transcendental element of fascism in the violent act itself,[242] while Arjun Appadurai argues that it is the gap between the envisioned perfect community (utopia) and the experienced lives of the majority, which mobilizes a politics of anxiety and the targeting of minorities.[243]

The far right has (rarely) produced literary utopias like *The Turner Diaries*, written by William Luther Pierce under the pseudonym Andrew MacDonald.[244] This novel embodies the far-right theme of purification, depicting a nuclear war and a race war wherein all groups opposed by the author are exterminated, including Jews, gays, and non-whites. The right has also had its own utopian experiments, for example, citizen militias and survivalist retreats framed as a "leaderless resistance" to a "New World Order."[245] While explicit utopias from the far right are unusual, it is important to recognize, critique and resist the continued existence and mutations of the totalitarian blueprint-utopia that Berneri was careful to distinguish from the anti-authoritarian variety.

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[237] Chamsy el-Ojeili, "Reflecting on Post-Fascism: Utopia and Fear," *Critical Sociology* (May 2018), accessed February 18, 2019, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/325021210_Reflecting_on_Post-Fascism_Utopia_and_Fear.
[238] Levitas, *Concept*, 180.
[239] Sargisson, *Fool's Gold*, 4.
[240] el-Ojeili, "Post-Fascism."
[241] Ibid.," 6.
[242] Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies: Women, Floods, Bodies, History*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987).
[243] Arjun Appadurai, *Fear of Small Numbers: An Essay on the Geography of Anger* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).
[244] Andrew MacDonald, *The Turner Diaries* (Fort Lee, NJ: Barricade Books, 1996 [1978]).
[245] David Neiwert, *Alt-America: The Rise of the Radical Right in the Age of Trump* (London: Verso, 2017), 138–39.

The End of History: Anti-Utopianism in the Twenty-First Century

I hope to have illustrated that since Berneri's time there has been an incredible flourishing of diverse, creative, and experimental utopias, particularly from the 1960s to the 1990s, the era of crisis of Fordism and early neoliberal recomposition. Nevertheless, contemporary utopianism is besieged as the context shifts. Suvin argues that "history is a creatively constitutive factor of utopian writings and horizons,"[246] and it is much harder to find utopias in the twenty-first century than in the late twentieth. Why is this? It is commonplace to trace the demise of utopianism to the fall of Soviet Union, yet it seems that there has also been a definite sea change associated with the rising historical dominance of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism is a distinctly anti-utopian ideology and epoch, in the sense that it is an attitude that resists the utopian impulse.[247] Like fascism, neoliberalism has utopian elements, but these are overwritten by "realism." It is a discourse of the least bad option. Francis Fukuyama famously argued that after the collapse of the Soviet Union, we have reached "the end of history,"[248] as liberal democracy has triumphed after other (utopian) alternatives have proven unviable—or in the oft-used slogan of Margaret Thatcher: "there is no alternative."

Neoliberal anti-utopia conflates the critique of a specific utopia with a desire to quash utopian dreaming per se, and in so doing exposes the contradiction of its own utopian foundations as "a pretended eutopia—a community whose hegemonic principles pretend to its being more perfectly organized than any thinkable alternative."[249] Fredric Jameson argues that the contemporary period is politically crippled by the universal belief that all historic alternatives to capitalism have been proven impossible, a belief that underpins the invincibility of capitalism and serves as a premise for dismantling welfare and social gains made by socialist movements.[250] Suvin argues that those utopias that do emerge are either indistinguishable from dystopias (the blurring of genres started by the "critical utopias" is now complete), or alternatively they have been de-radicalised through a process of "Disneyfication," whereby social desires are individualised, infantilised, and commodified to reinforce neoliberal norms.[251] Desire is channelled into a self-perfecting culture of "positivity" and "wellness" that conflates physical and psychological well-being with ethics, enforcing happiness as a moral

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[246] Darko Suvin, "Thesis on Dystopia 2001," in *Dark Horizons: Science Fiction and the Utopian Imagination*, eds. Raffaella Baccolini and Tom Moylan (London: Routledge, 2003), 191.
[247] Sargisson, *Fool's Gold*, 22.
[248] Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York: Free Press, 1992).
[249] Suvin, "Theses," 189.
[250] Fredric Jameson, *Archaeologies of the Future: The Desire Called Utopia and Other Science Fictions* (London: Verso, 2005), xii.
[251] Suvin, *Theses*, 195.

imperative.[252] The idea of happiness as a duty has an embedded vision of a lifeworld that is individualistic and ignores structural causes of oppression.[253]

The social movements and insurgencies of the 1960s and 1970s that produced many of the utopias described early in this chapter were subject to counter-attack by capitalism in the late 1970s and during the 1980s. Autonomist Marxists and Situationists provide the useful concept "recuperation" to describe the process by which capital seeks to integrate radical forms of insurgency into its operation.[254] Utopias often emerge from autonomous communities engaged in DIY practices of slacking off and dropping out. [255] Withdrawal was not merely a negative act but would involve the creation of "autonomous forms of community and existence."[256] This utopian desire for a more autonomous and free life was recuperated in the anti-utopian neoliberal form of precarious labour. "Capital found ways to take people's desires for less work and for forms of flexible labour and arrangements, and turned them into increasingly uncertain conditions."[257] Neoliberalism similarly captured networked utopianism in networked capitalism, cyber-utopia in internet regulation,[258] and disaster anarchism in "resilience."[259]

Neoliberalism also disrupts the temporal gap between past, present, and future. Utopias arise from specific times and places, yet they also stand outside of these, allowing contemporary readers to reflect anew on contemporary problems. Many utopias seek to prefigure a progressive future. The current world is beset by the problem of temporal closure: the idea that "there is no alternative" creates a sense that the future is indistinct from the present. We are left with experience of an eternal present that repeats itself indefinitely. The rise of temporary and precarious work means that workers' temporal experiences are fragmented and autonomy is more difficult.[260] Douglass Rushkoff argues that developments like digital communications and precarisation of labour have meant that time itself has suffered structural

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[252] Carl Cederström and André Spicer, *The Wellness Syndrome* (Oxford: Polity Press, 2015).
[253] Sara Ahmed, *The Promise of Happiness* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010).
[254] Stevphen Shukaitis, "Whose Precarity Is It Anyway?" *Fifth Estate* 374 (Winter 2007), accessed February 18, 2019, https://www.fifthestate.org/archive/374-winter-2007/whose-precarity-is-it-anyway/.
[255] Sadie Plant, "The Situationist International: A Case of Spectacular Neglect," *Radical Philosophy* 55 (Summer 1990): 4.
[256] Shukaitis, "Whose Precarity."
[257] Ibid.
[258] Invisible Committee, "Fuck off Google," 2.
[259] Mark Neocleous, "Resisting Resilience," *Radical Philosophy* 178, (March–April 2013), accessed February 19, 2019, https://www.radicalphilosophy.com/commentary/resisting-resilience.
[260] Brett Neilson and Ned Rossiter, "FCJ-022 From Precarity to Precariousness and Back Again: Labour, Life and Unstable Networks," *Fibreculture Journal* 5 (2005), accessed February 18, 2019, http://five.fibreculturejournal.org/fcj-022-from-precarity-to-precariousness-and-back-again-labour-life-and-unstable-networks/.

mutations in neoliberal capitalism resulting in a spatio-temporal closure characterised as "present shock."[261] The causal field is increasingly reduced to neoliberal doctrines of personal responsibility and aggregate forms of data-driven social correlation. This process of temporal closure increasingly makes the present system feel like the only possibility.

Left movements influenced by theories of constitutive lack have also promoted anti-utopianism on the basis that lack, scarcity, and antagonism are essential to political reality, and absence of hierarchy is impossible.[262] This often leads to forms of vanguardist "identity politics" in which the political goal is to liberate an essentialised category. The critique of identity politics has been a particular concern of post-left anarchy,[263] as well as more utopian strands of feminism, anti-racism, and queer theory,[264] and anarchist intersectional critiques.[265] It is poignant that one of the devices of utopian literature was always "the visitor" who would translate between two worlds and whose own self-understanding would be shifted in the process, problematizing hegemonic assumptions of fixed identities and rigid boundaries between self and other.[266]

Conclusion

Berneri ends her discussion on utopias in the modern age with the claim that there has been "a turning away from the faith in the inevitability of progress."[267] Berneri's context was the aftermath of two World Wars and the beginnings of the Cold War. Progress seems even more incongruous in an age where ecological collapse seems unavoidable.[268] The utopias of the 1960s through the 1990s had already disrupted narratives of progress through ideas such as time travel and alternative futures.[269] This theme of alternative, non-progressive temporalities continues through the post-left and ends in a current state of utopian paralysis and inability to imagine non-dystopian futures. Berneri's book concludes with a rather pessimistic outlook for the future of utopia, arguing that the modern literature of her time was becoming increasingly

[261] Douglas Rushkoff, *Present Shock: When Everything Happens Now* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2013).
[262] Robinson, Andrew, "The Political Theory of Constitutive Lack: A Critique," *Theory & Event* 8, no. 1 (2005).
[263] Lupus Dragonowl, "Against Identity Politics: Spectres, Joylesssness and the Contours of Ressentiment," *The Anarchist Library*, (2015), accessed February 18, 2019, https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/lupus-dragonowl-against-identity-politics.
[264] Haraway, *Cyborg Manifesto*, 16–17.
[265] Erica Lagalisse, "'Good Politics': Property, Intersectionality and the Making of the Anarchist Self," PhD dissertation (Montreal: Department of Anthropology, McGill University, 2016).

[266] Sargisson, *Feminist Utopias*, 179.
[267] Berneri, *Journey*, 310.
[268] Gordon, *Dark Tidings*.
[269] Piercy, *Woman on the Edge of Time*.

anti-utopian, as the dreams of authoritarian nineteenth-century utopias had become nightmares that made "people into Taylorised robots, subordinated by the machines they serve."[270] Today this is repeated in the "McDonaldisation" of neoliberal work. [271]

I will end this afterword with some predictions about the future of utopianism. Utopianism has always placed itself both outside time and in a prefigurative time of immediacy (either as fiction, theory, or practice). The mutation of time in neoliberalism has altered the temporal scope of utopia, while pending ecological collapse throws a shadow over hopes for progressive change. Uri Gordon calls for a modified understanding of prefigurative politics that addresses "the inevitable politics of industrial and neoliberal overreach" with ideas of "anxious" and "catastrophic" forms of forward-looking hope.[272] The function of utopia from this perspective is to produce affects that sustain ethical lifestyles and dignity through the process of industrial collapse and the passing of a way of life.[273] If capitalism collapses in a new dark age,[274] utopianism may develop along the lines of disaster utopia and catastrophe fiction. If, on the other hand, capitalism accomplishes another of its periodic epochal transitions, technologies such as AI, machine learning, human augmentation, and robotics will provide a new basis for alternative imaginaries (such as transhumanism and accelerationism) and critiques (such as eco-utopia). Utopia is thus likely to revive from its present dystopian/presentist slump, as the timeless need to imagine things differently is rearticulated in response to new emerging situations.

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[270] Berneri, *Journey*, 309.
[271] George Ritzer, *The McDonaldisation of Society: An Investigation into the Changing Character of Contemporary Social Life* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press, 1993).
[272] Uri Gordon, "Prefigurative Politics between Ethical Practice and Absent Promise," *Political Studies* 66, no. 2 (2018): 521–37.
[273] Gordon, "Prefigurative Politics."
[274] Sing C. Chew, *World Ecological Degradation: Accumulation, Urbanization, and Deforestation*, *3000 B.C.—A.D. 2000* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2001).