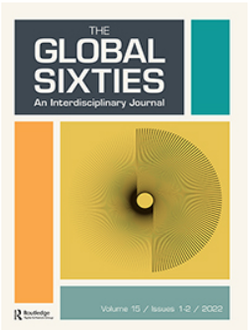


Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

The Global Sixties

An Interdisciplinary Journal

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rsix21

Revisiting 1960s Countercultural Back-to-the-Land Migration and Its Millennial Resurgence

Dr Keith Halfacree

To cite this article: Dr Keith Halfacree (2022) Revisiting 1960s Countercultural Back-to-the-Land Migration and Its Millennial Resurgence, The Global Sixties, 15:1-2, 43-78, DOI: 10.1080/27708888.2022.2133275

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/27708888.2022.2133275

Published online: 14 Oct 2022.

THE GLOBAL SIXTIES
2022, VOL. 15, NOS. 1–2, 43–78
https://doi.org/10.1080/27708888.2022.2133275

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Revisiting 1960s Countercultural Back-to-the-Land Migration and Its Millennial Resurgence

Dr Keith Halfacree

Department of Geography, Swansea University, Singleton Park, Swansea, UK

ABSTRACT

"Getting one's head together" by attempting to go "back-to-the-land" – move into the countryside to live more "naturally" – remains a stereotype of "hippies" from the long Sixties. Yet, while studies of this phenomenon exist, both academic and as memoirs, it has not been researched in detail as much as might have been expected, certainly not in terms of how those involved lived "off the land" and/or outside the US. This paper seeks to resurrect this topic for serious academic consideration. A call to revisit back-to-the-land comes not just from abiding fascination with the Sixties but because this countercultural movement fed into the contemporaneous emergence of a broader and still notable population trend across much of the global North of a "return" to rural living: counterurbanization. Moreover, recent decades have seen the resurgence of countercultural back-to-the-land, building on its long 1960s legacy but now underpinned by a more explicit search for environmentally sustainable lifestyles. This review of back-to-the-land, after noting the demographic place today of counterurbanization, focuses on an overview of long Sixties back-to-the-land and then on the early years of its ongoing resurgence. For both periods, attention is given to how back-to-the-landers have been studied, what their motivations are, whether they move as family or group, how long their rural life tends to last, what opportunities and barriers they have met, and what evidence there is of land work. It is concluded that back-to-the-land today shows considerable continuity with its 1960s heyday but has been more proactive in its spatialized rejection of key everyday life aspects and experiences within contemporary (urban and suburban) mainstream society. In short, a key Sixties phenomenon remains very much alive today but in a more mature form.

KEYWORDS

Back-to-the-land; counterurbanization; rural living; migration; hippies; alternative living

Introduction: the rural in counterculture

David Farber has noted in this journal an enduring challenge for scholars to get beyond well-worn Sixties' countercultural "label[s] and … historicize the countercultural project, tracing what was laid out in real time."[1] To this

CONTACT Dr Keith Halfacree K.H.Halfacree@swansea.ac.uk Department of Geography, Swansea University, Singleton Park, Swansea SA2 8PP, UK. @Halfa1965

challenge can be added the need to tease out this counterculture's legacy today, neither assuming too much in terms of its resonance nor crediting too little its expression of difference.[2] And still more specifically within the challenge is a need to recognize connections, often overlooked, between the 1960s counterculture and environmentalism.[3]

The paper will review the practice of "getting it together in the country" or "getting one's head together in the country"[4] and its study, focusing first on the long 1960s[5] and then on its ongoing millennial resurgence. A central argument is that while this practice faded from attention after the long 1960s, it reestablished itself across many global North countries in the years running up to 2000 and is today a noted force. Moreover, in both periods, developing through the long 1960s but from the outset in millennial times, migration to the countryside was frequently driven by a desire to live a (more) sustainable lifestyle.

The 1960s counterculture, a loosely defined and imprecise set of cultural values, assumptions, and corresponding practices, notably those of a left-libertarian politics that contrasted starkly with "the mainstream" is, of course, well documented, scrutinized, and critiqued. However, the focus has been largely urban, a bias exemplified in populist terms in the Wikipedia entry "Counterculture of the 1960s."[6] In part, this reflects a feeling expressed contemporaneously by countercultural commentator Richard Neville that "[t]he crucial battles for a new lifestyle [would be] in the cities."[7] Nonetheless, the rural was, and remains, central to the counterculture. It was a space expressive of a desire to (re)connect with the supposed "authenticity" of simpler, more natural living that had been overwhelmed in the city.[8] A rural imaginary articulated an alternative world, "a model of an alternative society" to which the counterculture might aspire.[9] For the counterculture to access this countryside, residential migration was inevitable. While the 1960s counterculture did not invent such pro-rural migration, whose recurrent flowering may be linked to long-wave economic crises and upsurges of radical, transformative ideas that are part of "critical reactions to the moving target of capitalism,"[10] it pioneered the demographic phenomenon of "counterurbanization," introduced next.

Counterurbanization, lure of the rural and back-to-the-land

Much has been written about how largely urban societies of the global North appear to express an inverse relationship between their populations' everyday dependence upon land-based livelihoods and a positive attraction to engage with the spaces where such livelihoods are generally recognized as belonging: the countryside. One can examine this "lure of the rural" from many angles within "rural consumption" but a clear expression is residential migration of urban and suburban residents to rural areas.[11]

Such a migratory trend was first identified on a large scale in the United States in the mid-1970s, with evidence of a major demographic shift, a "population turnaround." In short, rural-wards migration was increasingly eclipsing the long-standing dominant trend of urban-wards migration. The former was soon termed "counterurbanization," and expressed the population revival of many rural locations previously blighted by depopulation. Subsequently found across much of the global North, counterurbanization expresses consolidation, albeit highly uneven, of a negative correlation between population growth and settlement size.[12] In this respect, it is vital to recognize how it impacts on suburban as well as urban populations and is thus best thought of as overall population cascading down the urban hierarchy rather than simply relocating from urban to rural.[13]

In the discussion of the causes of counterurbanization, an important strand has stressed an economic, "hard-edged, materialistic and realistic explanation,"[14] ultimately rooted in the uneven spatial dynamics of capitalism. Most explanations, however, are "people-led," expressed through concepts such as "amenity migration" and "lifestyle migration."[15] People's choice to "vote with their feet," to "escape" cities or suburbs for rural environments, could stem from fears associated with urban living, such as anxieties related to crime, pollution, class, or race, or it could focus more on idealized imagined lives to be lead in the countryside: "dreams" of the rural.[16] The latter is more central to this paper, but the former should never be forgotten.

Since its 1970s "discovery," counterurbanization has become a thoroughly mapped, even mundane demographic phenomenon, well absorbed into popular consciousness. Its sense of commonplaceness, however, paradoxically hides the fact that migration to rural areas can express quite radical or even countercultural priorities. These have been much less fully interrogated.[17]

At one level, research *has* suggested countercultural priorities within counterurbanization, notably those forms characterized as explicitly "anti-urban."[18] In particular, migration to rural areas has been associated with "downshifting," "a voluntary, long-term, lifestyle change that involves accepting significantly less income and consuming less."[19] This has been widely demonstrated in the US; for example, Jobes's study of migration to Montana's remote but scenic Gallatin Valley highlighted lifestyle changes as motivation rather than economic priorities, while Hoey's explorations of middle-class migrants to the Grand Traverse Bay area of Michigan saw "relocation [deployed] as a way of [morally] redefining [oneself] in the reordering of work, family, and personal priorities."[20] Migrants have sought to "reclaim" their lives through setting a variety of goals seen as unattainable within hectic, work-centered (sub)urban lives: simplicity; an integrated,

balanced life; foregrounding the (nuclear) family; community; getting to know oneself better.

The "back" in "back-to-the-land" should therefore be seen not in historical terms or as simple reaction but as signifying reengagement with or rediscovery of something perceived as largely lost in (sub)urban society. However, while this tendency has been observed within counterurbanization research and is often referenced in media and pop culture, it has attracted relatively little dedicated academic attention. This gap exists in spite of recognition of how "[d]ropping out of modern society and going back to the land ... characterised all radical movements in the last 400 years."[21] Thus, this paper now focuses on foregrounding those seeking back-to-the-land lives, starting with those in the long 1960s "hippy heyday."

Back-to-the-land in the long 1960s: beyond dropping out

> [T]he ways that people in the immediate post-1968 era worked self-consciously to build community by crafting right livelihoods is a key but relatively untold story of the counterculture.[22]

Academic and quasi-academic work on countercultural back-to-the-land migration and subsequent lifestyles in the long 1960s is most widespread in the US. This is unsurprising given the relatively large numbers involved, as well as links to other socio-cultural innovations, such as environmentalism or lesbian communities.[23] Berry's conservative estimate of "new and mostly ephemeral living groups" suggested that around 3,000 "were established in the decade ending in the mid-1970s"; Schehr suggested a figure of over 2,000 "intentional communities" alone; Simmons saw a peak of around one million back-to-the-landers in the late 1970s in rural North America; and, by 1978, Gardner had estimated that half a million "had spent some time at rural communes."[24] In Europe and elsewhere, by contrast, one must search out exceptions to the general neglect of the topic.

Two further considerations affect our knowledge of why and how back-to-the-land occurred. First, the vast majority of academic work in this area has primarily been interested in the "communal eruption of the 1960s."[25] Individual household or family efforts have been largely overlooked, in part because of their relative elusiveness. They tend either to be subsumed within general studies of counterurbanization[26] or relegated to memoirs. Second, little attention has been paid to actual work on the land following migration. The practical day-to-day "crafting [of] right livelihoods"[27] is a neglected story. In part, this reflects academia's bias in favor of representation (imagined existence) over embodied existence (practiced everyday life)[28] but is an especially noteworthy lacuna given back-to-the-land's axiomatic idea(l) of living on/off the land and connecting with it.

So what is the overview of long 1960s back-to-the-land per a diverse selection of the existing literature? An excellent place to start is Jock Young's observation in 1971 of how the counterculture "inchoate amalgam,"[29] through mobility, was already seeing (former) "hippies"[30] diverging down three non-exclusive paths. They could become "political" and get involved with urban left-wing groups and grassroots community campaigns, they could adopt the challenging strictures of a quasi-religious existence, or they could choose "quietism" by dropping out and moving to the country.

An immediate motivation for taking the latter path was a desire to "drop out" and live life "as far as possible without engagement in straight society.".[31] This often came after having experienced such non-quotidian journeys as the "hippy trail" to the Far East or the upheavals of Paris 1968 or, particularly in the US, from desiring to avoid military service in the Vietnam War. To follow countercultural guru Timothy Leary's call to "turn on, tune in, drop out," merely relocating to countercultural spaces "diverted" from within the urban mainstream proved increasingly unsatisfactory.[32] Something different, somewhere new was sought. Artist's model and celebrated London Soho bohemian Henrietta Moraes described this quest in her autobiography, reflecting on how, around 1968:

> An idea came. Why don't we drop out? Why don't we leave London and go to the country? Why don't we buy a horse and travel all over the place, all over England in fact, like gypsies and be free?[33]

Dropping out could involve rejecting almost all stable aspects of one's old life – jobs, relationships, morals, expectations – by the 1960s epitomized by bourgeois (sub)urban life. It could build on a sense of feeling Other, of no longer having a place within mainstream urban existence:

> In the light of the mounting frustration at the recalcitrance of the rest of society to embrace and support [their] vision, faced with the open hostility of those in power and the fear and contempt of much of the straight world . . . hundreds of young people began moving to the country to make and preserve a world of their own.[34]

At an extreme, millenarian fear of the "possibility of apocalypse"[35] underpinned some urges to drop out.

A principal dropping out motivation – "opting out of the mainstream society and living in the interstices and backwaters of the system or in enclaves of kindred spirits"[36] – while initially romantic and radical, rarely took adequate heed of what a new "rural life" would entail. Dropping out was often back-to-the-land by default but "intrinsically transitional,"[37] eventually followed by either an "attempt to make a new beginning"[38] or a return to the (urban) mainstream. The latter frequently occurred even when the former was attempted. The new life broke down for myriad reasons, from homesickness to lack of resources to an inability to cope with the rigors of rural

existence.[39] Rivers's instructional memoir stressed how potential back-to-the-landers should have no illusions about the challenges of rural living, cautioning against "hollowness in . . . popular motives for 'dropping out.'"[40] Early on at the Montague Farm commune in Massachusetts, Diamond was forced to realize the "never-ending tasks of New England farm life."[41] For the New Buffalo commune, located in that "epicenter for countercultural collectives"[42] of Taos, New Mexico, any sense that "the new social order would emerge spontaneously in the absence of structure"[43] was soon dashed, prompting tensions among those less than "tuned into the land."[44] As Veysey observed, "Crops, by their nature, require future calculation"[45] and a degree of commitment unlikely in any commune with near constant turnover of members. Given these challenges, a common theme within the literature is the fleetingness of many back-to-the-land initiatives.[46]

Yet, even if back-to-the-land existence was short-lived, it still usually involved more than just the desire to drop out.[47] Rural areas were seen to present a range of overlapping material and imaginative resources for lifestyle development along broadly countercultural lines, the "right livelihood" challenge Farber associates with "Beat avatar Gary Snyder."[48] Members of the London-based Tribe of the Sacred Mushroom, for instance, "all had the same vision of a small, isolated village with nature as our garden, populated by organic, rhythmic people instead of mechanical synthetic ones."[49] Communes in particular were typically regarded as providing heterotopic launch pads for a new, better society: "beacon lights for the new age."[50] A belief in prefigurative social change by example – in the context of perceiving "the old system [as] . . . an evil and demonic reality that is about to collapse"[51] – is clear in Fairfield's early surveys of US and European communes. He concluded that "commune people do not wish to escape from society or pretend it doesn't exist"[52] but to (re)make it better.

Materially, despite a "productivist" restructuring of rural space that emphasized intensive agricultural use, the countryside across much of the global North during the long 1960s also presented good opportunities for countercultural projects. First, there was land availability. This was desired by the London-based Albion Free State not just for cultivation but, according to their manifesto, "for diverse needs, permanent free festival sites, collectives, and cities of Life and Love."[53] One result was west Wales's still-extant Tipi Valley community, established in 1976 initially as a site on which to extend the free festival season. In the US, as reflected in communes such as those Melville visited in Taos, land for countercultural projects could be bought cheaply or claimed through the Homestead Act.[54]

Wealthy benefactors also provided land for back-to-the-land. John Lennon purchased Dorinish ("Beatle Island") in Clew Bay off the west Irish coast in 1967. Originally intending to build a family retreat, in 1970 he appointed "King of the Hippies" Sid Rawle custodian. Rawle and his

Diggers established a commune on the island and, in spite of often harsh environmental conditions and local hostility, a group lived there in tents until 1972, "growing vegetable[s] … lighting bonfires to keep warm, and storing food in specially built hollows."[55] Rawle's group then moved to Wales to be centrally involved in founding Tipi Valley. Donovan, the popular singer, similarly purchased three islets off the Scottish Isle of Skye in 1968, envisioning an artist colony. The islets, soon settled by a short-lived back-to-the-land group, were the destination of musician Vashti Bunyan's and artist Robert Lewis's celebrated horse-drawn journey across Britain.[56]

Rural areas in the long 1960s were often able to supply affordable property, suitable for establishing communes in particular.[57] This is evidenced by the "practical commune" of Postlip Hall in the Cotswolds (west England) and Hebden Bridge's (north England) cheap large housing.[58] The US's *Mother Earth News* even did a sales pitch for back-to-the-land in the UK, claiming that "while Britain has no 'free' lands or acreages open to homesteading … [it] does offer opportunities for the purchase and rental of small and inexpensive farms,"[59] notably in the hills. In Australia, initial establishment of what became the countercultural "Rainbow Region" of Byron Shire in New South Wales followed the Nimbin Aquarius Festival of 1973. Nimbin's role in providing "a haven for city-dwellers seeking rural refuge"[60] with strong back-to-the-land elements was facilitated by a supply of property previously used by a declining dairy industry. In France, anti-militarization "resistance farming"[61] was facilitated, ironically, by squatting farms compulsorily purchased by the army to expand its military presence on the Larzac Plateau. In such locations, the communal goal could be achieved, where just being together was often regarded as the crucial experience.[62]

Land features directly in another expressed motivation for adopting a rural back-to-the-land lifestyle – the desire for self-sufficiency, not least in terms of foodstuffs but sometimes more broadly in terms of everyday necessities.[63] This ambition, especially strong among communes influenced by anarchism or religious mysticism, was central to the writings and practice of highly influential advocates of back-to-the-land lifestyles, such as John Seymour in the UK and the Nearings in the US.[64] Coffin and Lipsey found that self-sufficiency was the main motivation for US back-to-the-landers, for whom a degree of everyday independence was seen as a prerequisite for the achievement of other goals – for example, allowing more time and self-control to facilitate lifestyle simplification, social and individual growth, or appreciation of nature. The ambition, however, was rarely seen through. None of Berger's rural communes come close to self-sufficiency, requiring them to undergo "remedial ideological work"[65] to continue. Practitioner Diamond also soon realized self-sufficiency was an unrealistic goal, associated with "total independence freaks." Rivers wrote of moving to west

England's Wye Valley to be as self-sufficient as possible but considered any goal of complete self-reliance both unattainable and too ascetic or communal. The Dutch Hobbitstee community similarly retreated from their 1969 foundational ideal of self-sufficiency.[66]

The paper now turns to the relative lack of attention given in the literature to how back-to-the-landers actually engaged with the land in everyday life.[67] Instead, much greater attention was given to the playing out of the predominant communal model, examining interpersonal relations, gender and age group issues, and the practices of joining and leaving in the context of often high turnover.[68] Both sociologists and media commentators were far more focused on salacious stereotypes of communal life than on finding evidence for land-based production and engagement. As Horton put it in her recipe book seeking to demonstrate the central importance of food and, implicitly, food production to the forty-three North American communes she visited: "It's a delightful joke on the press … that most rural 'hippie communes' should prove to be centered not on lurid sex or violent politics but on food."[69]

The limited evidence suggests that land work and food production were modest in most 1970s back-to-the-land projects. This was the case even if "the common task of survival and living on the earth *defines* the common labor of many [rural communes]."[70] Other work – perhaps more culturally rewarding – such as the building of homes,[71] could take up considerable time, while other forms of employment often generated more income. Examples include Norfolk's (east England) Shrubb Farm members selling home-made fruit loaves to "alternative" London and undertaking lecturing and factory work; Diamond supplementing farm life with casual jobs off-farm; Dutch Hobbitstee members supplementing the small income from their organic farm by producing a magazine, setting up a candle factory, and selling "pure" water; and even west Wales organic farmer and goat-breeder Christine Bott's partner Richard Kemp becoming a major LSD chemist, a clear example of the importance of drug-dealing for some livelihoods.[72]

There were, nonetheless, exceptions. Farber notes Tennessee's The Farm's early concern with sustainability, while Miller emphasizes how, in spite of a hard life, members of the New Mexico communes were producing much food by the 1970s, an observation supported by Kopecky's New Buffalo memoirs. Berger likewise noted how the good quality agricultural land on which The Ranch was located combined with plenty of water and a clement climate to allow the commune to grow much of its food.[73] Similarly, Diamond's "farm mechanics" chapter in his memoir discusses vegetable production, how the commune's cows became the farm's "invisible anchor,"[74] and how land work created a rhythm for living. In the spirit of pioneers such as Seymour, Rivers gave considerable space to outlining his land work, expressing how it connected him intimately with nature:

> When you can stand in your garden on a still spring day and *feel* the life around you, opening, swelling, blossoming, vibrating; when you can sit as still as a stone in the evening in dark green woodland and hear the teeming life around you, the high, tiny whine and ping of insects, throbbing of wings, answering cries and padding of soft feet, all at one with the pounding off your heart; when you can smell approaching rain and read the future in the clouds; when you can sense that you are neither greater nor less than any of these, you are drawing closer to the essence of the country.[75]

Such connectedness, also noted by others, suggests how land work could involve much more than instrumental "food production,"[76] forging "consubstantial" relationships between person and land, whereby two seemingly distinct phenomena become "refractions of each other."[77]

While noting the practical underpinnings of back-to-the-land, we must still not lose sight of its idealistic and even romantic dimensions. For example, Smith and Phillips observed that Hebden Bridge's initiatives may have been facilitated by cheap housing but were strongly motivated by the attractions of a location rich in "idyllic representations of Pennine rurality." US countercultural communes researcher Bennett Berger suggested that "American Pastoralism," or the "pastoral myth . . . [of a] simple and self-sufficient rural life in harmony with nature,"[78] drove back-to-the-land as less a "revolt" against mainstream values than "in part as continuous with the suburban exodus from central cities."[79] This links it to mainstream counterurbanization, as well as to previous radical currents, suggesting common cultural causal factors associated with manifestations of a rural ideal/idyll implicated within almost all "pro-rural" migration.[80]

Authors have also identified utopian motivational emphases for back-to-the-land, even in otherwise non-romantic practical accounts, such as Rivers'. Within his "self-actualizing" communes category, for example, Rigby highlighted the importance of development of the "free" individual, rooted in an earth-based spirituality and a desire for greater self-sufficiency. Zicklin also stressed the spiritual dimension of rural communes, mirrored by individual respondents in Coffin and Lipsey's US case study.[81]

Associated with both a degree of self-sufficiency and personal freedom, lifestyle simplification was a commonly expressed goal of back-to-the-land, both at communal and household scales. A mantra of "simplify, simplify" was recognized in Melville's account of US communes, with attempts made to get back to "essentials"[82] even while acknowledging how "simplicity in living on a little land comes slowly."[83]

Finally, the desire to be closer to and make a stronger connection with "nature" features in almost all accounts. Diamond and especially Rivers described the high valuation of nature as a practical outcome of working the land.[84] Rivers bemoaned humanity's drift away from nature and celebrated how he was now able:

> [t]o live each day surrounded by beauty rather than bustle, to breathe sweet-scented air in place of fumes, eating food that tastes as it used to do, with an appetite sharpened by outdoor work; in short, to provide most of your needs with your own hands from your own land.[85]

Taking this brand of sensitivity still further, Melville concluded that:

> the assumptions that many young people are making about man's [*sic*] place in the natural world is one of the most radical ideas that the counter culture bears. It reverses the typically Western assumption that nature is something inanimate and external to man, something to be mastered and used.[86]

In the spirit of Thoreau's celebrated "life in the woods" at Walden, back-to-the-land could be seen as striving not to seek mastery "over" nature but to realize oneself more fully as part of nature – a disposition, of course, characteristic of the long 1960s counterculture.[87] It remains, as discussed in the next section, a key facet of millennial countercultural back-to-the-land, indicating clear continuity with the long 1960s.

To conclude this section, an illustrative summary of the evolution and maturation of back-to-the-land across the long 1960s comes from lesbian separatist communities in the US. In the extensive research on these communities,[88] the understandable focus on their lesbian separatist dimension validates this paper's earlier observation that the back-to-the-land element is often underappreciated. As Unger observes, through the long 1960s many from the US lesbian community "embraced separatism . . . [whereby l]iving in the country was consider superior to living in cities created and dominated by men . . . [where] both lesbian sexuality and efforts to transform society were constantly oppressed and diverted."[89] While for some it was less about adopting a rural life than finding safe havens and "privacy . . . by isolation,"[90] others in states such as Oregon[91] "sought not a temporary retreat into a kind of fantasy world but rather the creation of a new and viable alternative."[92] Such pursuits frequently chimed with all four key elements of the counterculture identified by Zicklin: naturalism, spiritual quest, free expressiveness, movement for a new beginning.[93] This can be seen in Table 1, which summarizes the core themes Sandilands found expressed by lesbian separatist communities in rural Oregon. Clearly very much more than "dropping out" was involved.

Table 1. Core ecological themes expressed by lesbian rural separatism in Oregon.

- Opening rural land to all women by transforming relations of ownership.
- Withdrawing the land from patriarchal-capitalist production and reproduction.
- Feminizing and reacculturing the landscape, ideologically and physically.
- Developing a holistic and gender-bending physical experience of nature.
- Experience nature as an erotic partner.
- Politicizing rurality and rural lesbian identity.

(Source: Sandilands 2002: 141–54)

Millennial back-to-the-land: rising eco-political consciousness

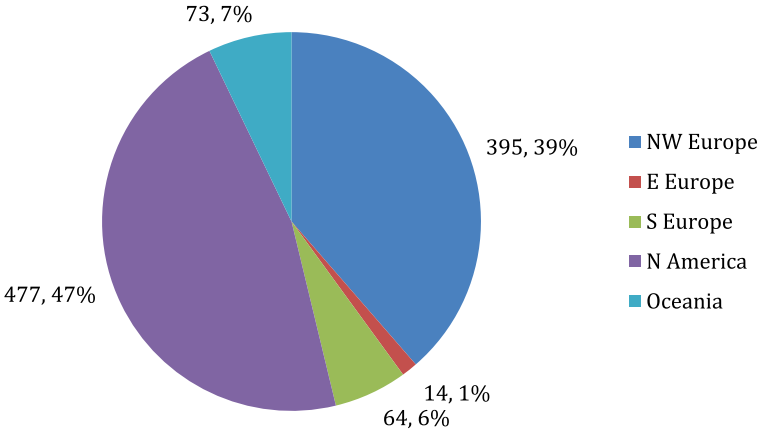
In the 1990s, renewed attention to back-to-the-land was reflected both in a revival in such initiatives and in an increasing awareness of their relevance to debates around directions for rural change, greener living, and even mapping "postmodern" forms of community and identity.[94] While communes still attracted more attention than individual initiatives, this divide has broken down somewhat with the growth of intermediate forms of living space, such as ecovillages (see below). Back-to-the-land projects are also now often proactive sources of information, usually through dedicated web sites, making them easier to find out about.

Dutch researcher Louise Meijering, in 2006, supplied an overview of this latest growth phase of "intentional communities" across the global North by constructing a 1,023-strong database.[95] Northwest Europe and North America accounted for 86 percent of the communities (Figure 1a), although in proportion to total population Oceania, Australia in particular, stands out (Figure 1b). While not all Meijering's intentional communities fit the back-to-the-land label, Table 2 "ecological" and "communal" categories, which "share similar ideals and lifestyles,"[96] are in line with the concept. They accounted for almost half the 496 communities surveyed in detail.

The inescapable observation gleaned from contemporary literature and web sites is that moving to live in a rural environment can only very rarely be dismissed as an "unintended consequence" of an attempt to drop out of mainstream society. Back-to-the-land experimentation now comes across as both very deliberative and outward-looking through engagement with the immense challenge of attaining ecological, economic, and social sustainability. More specifically, it actively promotes a panoply of "green" lifestyle initiatives: from ecovillages and Low Impact Development to "soft technologies" and sustainability practices in general – building, waste disposal, food choice, economic practices.[97] In her first-hand account of rural living, Laughton – also drawing on visits to 28 back-to-the-land initiatives in France and the UK – found those starting this "new generation of small-scale, land-based initiatives ... [are] usually driven by a desire to address some of the pressing environmental problems of the twenty-first century, such as climate change, biodiversity loss and soil erosion."[98]

Back-to-the-land has come of political age amid radical debates about rural futures,[99] with Laughton finding "political – to take positive environmental action" the top answer (34%) to her question "Why did you decide to live and work on the land?"[100] As an example, west Wales's Brithdir Mawr community, founded in 1993, displayed a strong commitment to sustainability from the outset. By 2011 it presented itself on its web site as:

a. Number of intentional communities



b. Intentional communities relative to continental populations*

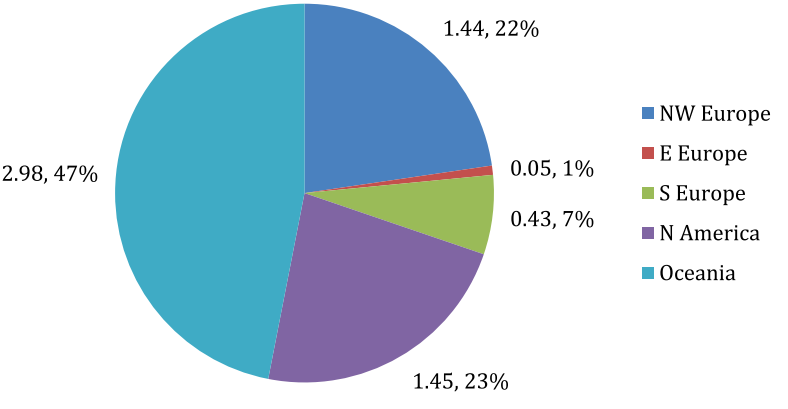


Figure 1. Intentional communities across the global North, c.2003. (Source: data from Meijering 2006: Table 2.1)

> a collective of people working towards sustainability who wish to share their aim with others. We take care of the land, recycle and conserve resources, garden and farm organically and are off the grid for electricity and water. We … choose to live here: working, eating, meeting and laughing together. Being a community is a large part of what we do. … [W]e are striving towards a life in which our footprints are as light as they can be.[101]

Such self-representation is by no means atypical.

Even by the 1980s, more rounded ecological motivations than typically expressed in the early 1960s increasingly underpinned back-to-the-land.[102] The practical clearly joined with the idealistic in the six UK rural communes

Table 2. Characteristics of four kinds of intentional community.

Type	1. Religious	2. Ecological	3. Communal	4. Practical
Location	Various	Rural-remote	Rural-village	Suburban
Ideology	Religious	Ecology	Communal sharing	None
Economic matters	Basic facilities & work in community	Self-sufficiency	Facilities in community	Services & work outside
Finances	Shared income	Independent; private houses	Independent; private houses	Independent; private apartments
Social relations	Communal activities; community contacts	Social contacts outside	Communal meeting places; community & outside contacts	Outside oriented; media
Life course	Continuing	Fluctuation in membership	Changes in membership & ideology	Stable
N	*89 (18%)*	*115 (23%)*	*131 (26%)*	*161 (32%)*

(Source: Simplified from Meijering 2006: Table 3.1)

Pepper saw as "founded as a route to an ecological society" while still drawing upon "romantic pastoral idealism."[103] Similarly, Jacob's diverse US "new pioneers" expressed both "classic American agrarianism"[104] and a contemporary grasp of the challenge of sustainability's economic, ecological, and social "triple bottom line." Exploring the latter, Schwarz and Schwarz's wide-ranging tour of efforts to "live lightly" positioned back-to-the-land "lifestylers" as "one fragile strand in a global movement"[105] of an articulate counterculture. This counterculture critiqued, in particular, the global economic system ("globalization") and was held together by a common thread of "determination to re-affirm the basic values of humanity, community, locality and respect for life and for nature."[106] Thus, in countercultural terms, back-to-the-land was associated with other green strands protesting against land-altering development – and today to the fight against global warming.[107]

While communal living arrangements remained prominent, living together no longer required submission to the classic 1960s communal form. A key expression of rising interest in "intentional communities" was the extension of the "practical and social homes" model of cohousing – pioneered in Denmark and the Netherlands in the 1970s – where a communal core is balanced by a strong awareness of personal space needs.[108] Taken in an explicit back-to-the-land direction, this model evolved into the "ecovillage," with lifestyles centered on sustainability priorities rather than a communal ideal. Ecovillages now express the "diverse threads"[109] of the "intentional communities" movement – search for self-reliance, spiritual enquiry, rejection of mainstream materialist values, reconnection with land, alternative education. They seek to achieve a settled p(l)ace within a place-based "community." However, their "primary driver" is, again, the "upsurge . . . [of] awareness of the seriousness of the ecological problems faced by humanity."[110]

Intimately related to ecovillages and other relatively novel forms of alternative rural living space was rapid growth in Low Impact Development (LID). Simon Fairlie, a figure intimately associated with the practice, defined LID as development "which, by virtue of its low or benign environmental impact, may be allowed in locations where conventional development is not permitted."[111] It epitomizes how back-to-the-land had become less "about retreating to a disconnected idyll" and more a holistic and carefully thought through "radical movement … building new livelihoods in rural areas."[112] LID enmeshes issues of affordability, accessibility, economic survival, and planning with more foundational back-to-the-land concerns about the environment and personal and community development. It potentially ticks all the boxes relating to the economic, environmental, and social criteria required for "true" sustainability. Thus, Pickerill and Maxey depicted LID as "about the confluence of concern for housing needs (low cost, self-built), with low incomes (reducing fuel bills, livelihood creation), self-provision (through energy generation and food production) and minimising environmental impact."[113]

Nonetheless, even within today's eco-politically infused back-to-the-land, currents more resonant of the early long 1960s can still be found. First, millennial back-to-the-land *has* displayed a dropping-out face, characterized by Meijering and colleagues as withdrawal from an alienated mainstream experience in favor of private yet still often communal space.[114] Such dropping out can be seen in the search for "geographic place as personal refuges."[115] More collectively, dropping out was represented in the UK and other European countries by the "new traveler" phenomenon of the 1980s and 1990s.[116] These groups of semi-nomads were drawn to the countryside for what they saw it (re)present – freedom, nature, adventure, community – although, echoing the long 1960s dropping-out experience, the freedom of this choice should not be overstated. As Martin argued, many travelers had been "forced to move onto the road, having … faced social and economic hardship through, for example, unemployment and/or homelessness."[117] The experience of rural living clearly proved positive to many, reflected in numerous travelers' attempts to carry on semi-nomadic lifestyles abroad when domestic state policies proved too oppressive and their pivotal role in establishing back-to-the-land settlements.[118]

Second, as in the long 1960s, there are also still material reasons for selecting a rural residence. For example, in his study of a back-to-the-land subgenre he labeled "back-to-the-water," Smith found that residents of houseboats moored along the River Adur near Shoreham-on-Sea in southeast England were attracted by the lifestyle's affordability.[119] Elsewhere, Meijering described her "practical communities" as "convenient places for nuclear families with children,"[120] again mirroring the long 1960s idea of the rural as a practical site for a communal lifestyle, albeit now defined more as a

community-of-families than the unitary commune. These examples notwithstanding, available land, affordable land, and cheap rural housing are now in many areas the exceptions, especially in countries that have experienced considerable counterurbanization, where "large run-down semi-stately houses in the countryside going for a song"[121] are rarely available.[122]

One consequence of growing rural inaccessibility is countercultural migration from "expensive" (often also rural-counterculture intolerant)[123] countries such as Germany, the Netherlands, and the UK to countries such as Spain and Portugal, where rural depopulation remains the norm and access to land and property thus easier. As with counterurbanization generally, such migrants may have a role in revitalizing a declining countryside and "neutralizing the grave demographic imbalances in rural areas."[124] For example, northeast Algarve in Portugal, a depopulating area with a poor and aging population, has proved attractive to back-to-the-landers from the Netherlands, Britain, and Germany. Likewise, France's thirty-some ecovillages may be a small and largely unremarked element of any "rural renaissance," but "[r]estoration and repopulation of deserted villages is a recurring theme."[125]

Bridging the practical/idealistic divide, the desire for greater independence and individual control through greater self-sufficiency remains very strong. For Jacob, back-to-the-land was even *defined* by an interest "in self-reliant living on [one's] own land," developed via "two core values" of self-reliance and voluntary simplicity. However, he noted that the former should not be overstated, representing an aspirational "distant goal" pursued in "moderation" rather than something immediately achievable.[126] Any quasi-1960s "perception that a return to the land was an all-or-nothing proposition"[127] has been firmly displaced. Similarly, Jacob acknowledged how voluntary simplicity could be "far from simple,"[128] just as Laughton stressed how living on the land is "extremely hard work."[129] Normative self-sufficiency, central to Meijering and colleagues' ideal "ecological community" of Ecotopia,[130] seems especially important for communal projects relative to those at household scale, where it is largely seen as unattainable.-[131] Sargisson illustrated self-sufficiency further across a range of ecologically inclined intentional communities. For example, the Erraid community on a small west Scotland Island was largely self-sufficient in food, produced by low-technology, labor-intensive means. While "[l]ife is simple and hard,"[132] the community had lasted since 1978.

Self-sufficiency can again extend beyond food provisioning to other areas of production and consumption. For example, Smith's back-to-the-water residents embraced broader autonomy, producing sustainable energy, while the Brithdir Mawr community went off-grid with its electricity supply in 1997.[133] For Meijering and colleagues, limiting consumption was a further core feature of Ecotopia. This experiential angle also emerges in other forms,

such as creative expression and a greater everyday ability to engage with "nature." It is all illustrated by Jacob's account of his subjects' "mindfulness experiences" Table 3, which he saw as a key part of a quest for wholeness.[134]

Working the land, back-to-the-land's core practice, is a crucial contributor to Table 3 range of mindfulness experiences and now attracts greater attention within back-to-the-land studies than it did in the 1960s. Rebecca Laughton's *Surviving and Thriving on the Land*, for example, is an effective manifesto for contemporary smallholding in the global North from someone with deep hands-on experience.[135] The book's twenty-eight British and French examples are firmly land-work centered. Elsewhere, Sargisson identified land work as central to many intentional communities, as did Jacob and Schwarz and Schwarz. In contrast, although Hoey's and Jobes's[136] downshifting lifestyle migrants emphasized the importance of becoming "rooted . . . in the physical landscape,"[137] they rarely adopted a land work–centered lifestyle. As Jobes observed of Gallatin Valley in-migrants, "their attraction to this rural setting was clearly not agrarian. These people were moving for a quality of life, not to live off the land."[138] Building on this key distinction,[139] Blekesaune and colleagues recognized three categories of potential smallholders: aspiring farmers, country-life lovers, and recreation seekers.[140]

One reason greater attention is now given to land work than in the long 1960s studies is because, in countries such as the UK, LID-influenced schemes only obtain planning permission if they can demonstrate a clear, immediate need to live on the land. Strict zoning laws seek to prevent rural housing development of almost any sort.[141] Thus, the Lammas ecovillage project in west Wales required all families to demonstrate how they were extracting various "land-based produce" from their smallholdings.[142]

While back-to-the-land advocates stress the need for hard work to be balanced with "rest and celebration," they emphasize how "manual work puts people directly in contact with real materials, which can be profoundly healing and mentally restful."[143] A Brithdir Mawr member enthused about working on their dwelling as a "sheer joyous, sensual, spiritual experience of

Table 3. Reports of "mindfulness experiences" from a survey of US back-to-the-land *Countryside* magazine subscribers.

Experience	% reporting often or very often (n = 565)
Peace of mind	81
Union with nature	75
Joy	74
Living in present moment	65
Sense of wonder	64
Sense of wholeness	61
Accepted in the universe	51

(Source: Jacob 1997: 85)

getting your hands dirty, getting them in the earth, mixing it with straw and slapping it on the walls."[144] Attaining mindfulness through embodied land work is a widespread theme, as highlighted by the Schwarz's tour of attempts to "live lightly," which encompassed projects outside of the global North.[145] Elsewhere, Macintyre describes how the development of an eco-community in the Ukrainian village of Romashki expressly combined the political, practical, and idealistic strands of millennial back-to-the-land.[146] Change started with an urban doctor-and-lawyer couple moving to the village "to live a more 'beautiful life' closer to nature" and their subsequent cultivation of twenty-six hectares to grow food and become as self-sufficient as possible. Other like-minded people visited, some staying to create a diverse community that "share[d] a love for the natural beauty of Romashki and the space to be active and creative with their hands and minds."[147]

Although the challenge of financially maintaining the rural lifestyle has remained paramount since the 1960s, there are now more diverse ways of making a living. As Jacob expressed it: "stress points of a life off the land center to a large extent on the elusive quest for 'enough' money, rather than on the physical encounter with the natural environment of farmsteads."[148] This again reflects how back-to-the-land exponents were usually unable to rely solely on land work to sustain them. Back-to-the-landers now frequently engage in income-generating services such as ecotourism, notably hosting visitors,[149] often as working volunteers through the international World Wide Opportunities on Organic Farms (WWOOF) scheme.[150]

The core economic survival (or "thriving")[151] challenge of back-to-the-land at the turn of the millennium is exemplified by Australia's "Rainbow Region." This part of New South Wales had developed a strong countercultural place identity since it began to attract "alternative seekers" from Australia's urban centers in the 1960s.[152] The 1980s saw the expansion of both the region's communes and its "alternative economy,"[153] based in part on marijuana cultivation. As this economy developed, it entangled communards with conventional counterurbanizers increasingly attracted to the region due both to its scenery and work opportunities in its burgeoning cultural industries. The region developed an alternative media network, hosted various music festivals, and became a locus for nature-infused ambient music production. Towns such as Byron Bay drew backpackers attracted by the region's countercultural reputation, building a circuit of alternative health and well-being services.

The Rainbow Region demonstrates how rural countercultural place identity[154] has consolidated in certain locations since the 1960s. This can help to make an area economically dynamic and relatively self-sustaining by attracting and engaging like-minded people. It also illustrates how the economy of such an "alternative milieu"[155] can entangle back-to-the-land

migrants in lasting ways. Entanglement results from two further aspects of millennial back-to-the-land as well: networks and outreach.

Networking by and for countercultural back-to-the-land was certainly pursued in the long 1960s, both within the alternative press and through specific initiatives such as the US's *Whole Earth Catalog*.[156] UK publications such as *Gandalf's Garden* and *Ahimsa Progress* demonstrated clear back-to-the-land sympathies, the latter metamorphosing in 1968 into *Communes*, produced by Wales's rural Selene Commune. Although this had disintegrated by the mid-1970s, it was swiftly replaced by the Communes Network, which in turn gave rise to the Diggers and Dreamers network.[157] As demonstrated by the present-day vibrancy of the latter, the development, accessibility, and popularization of the internet pushed networking to new heights.[158] The homepage of the US Foundation (formerly Fellowship) for Intentional Community and the Global Ecovillage Network (GEN) claims to "offer … inspiring examples of how people and communities can live healthy, cooperative, genuinely happy and meaningful lifestyles – beacons of hope that help in the transition to a more sustainable future on Earth." UK-based Chapter 7 campaigns for "access to land for all households … through environmentally sound planning" *and has published a land rights' magazine, The Land, since 2006.*

Networking links to a final key feature of millennial back-to-the-land: outreach. Back-to-the-land communes still aspire to become "beacon lights for the new age,"[159] but simply existing on their own terms is rarely enough. With LID, for example, presenting itself as "a seed bed for experimentation,"[160] outreach takes many shapes (Table 4). Some involve formal university courses, such as Tennessee's The Farm commune hosting BSc and MSc students or Wales's Center for Alternative Technology offering master's courses validated through the University of East London.[161] Readily internet accessible, demonstrative and educational outreach comprises hosting courses, typically promoting permaculture and low-impact building techniques; providing physical spaces to environmental organizations for direct action training; engaging with community-centric ecology projects; and hosting visitors and holding community events and open days.[162] Outreach, of course, can also be a vital income stream.

In sum, while embeddedness and entanglement has led millennial back-to-the-land in the same direction as many long 1960s experiments, to become less "deviant" and more "mainstream" over time[163] – reflected in heightened individualism over communitarianism, for example[164] – it can also express back-to-the-land as "politically articulate, reflective and active … a seamless web in which everyday life and political activities are combined."[165] The results are "living examples" or "organic places" for social transformation, at least if some upscaling can be achieved.[166] As Paul Wimbush, a founder of Lammas, put it: the "project is about taking

Table 4. Exemplifying millennial back-to-the-land outreach activities.

The Affinity Woodland Workers Co-operative's Steward Community Woodland settlement initially came together in 1997. It advertised the following courses for 2011:

- Make Your Own Skincare Products
- Wild Food Foray
- Introduction to Bushcraft and Nature Awareness
- 12 v Electrics One Day Workshop
- Off-Grid Renewable Energy
- Natural Vegan Wine Making
- Nature Connection Through Bird Language
- The Healing Hedgerow
- Introduction to Permaculture Design
- Wild Fire Day
- Tree Felling using Hand Tools
- Fungal Foray

The group also had online the following instructive guides:

- How to make mauls or mallets
- How to build, use and not abuse, a tree bog [toilet]
- How to build a small charcoal kiln
- How to make a bender [temporary tent-like structure]
- How to make and use a "bunjip" [a large spirit level]

Around 17 more guides were in preparation and visits actively encouraged through promoting woodland walks, tours of ongoing projects and WWOOF links. There was also copious information on the lengthy planning saga the group had to work through before obtaining provisional permission to settle. Finally, the site advertised green or alternative services offered by individual members.

(Source: Steward Community Woodland 2011)

the best from the alternative culture and merging it with mainstream culture."[167] The millennial rural community imaginary has become less utopian "island"[168] and more something porous and attainable through back-to-the-land's linkages and entanglements with both immediate neighbors and others elsewhere. Community has become a matter of developing "the unselfconscious and unpretentious 'being' of ecological citizenry"[169] in the twenty-first century. Sixties countercultural back-to-the-land, one might say, increasingly comes of age.

As in the long 1960s, back-to-the-land since its 1990s "revival" is again epitomized by the fate of US lesbian separatist communities. The general downturn in such communities in the late 1970s and 1980s resulted in part from potential members' desire to fight to exist *within* mainstream urban society.[170] However, from the late 1990s, Unger observed a "back to the land redux," exemplified by the Alapine Village in Florida from 1997. Here, escapism was played down in favor of cultivating deep connections to the Earth, backed up by efficient practices and explicit networking, Alapine even agreeing to feature in a 2009 *New York Times* story.[171] The lesbian community has also cultivated rural connections through such periodic events as the Michigan Womyn's Music Festival. While again not "utopias," such connections affirm rurality's place in "the creation of empowering, alternative and resistant spaces"[172] that so many forms of rural back-to-the-land now (re)present.

Conclusion: the living legacy of the 1960s countercultural back-to-the-land

This paper has reviewed and summarized a representative selection of the diverse literature on countercultural back-to-the-land experimentation that has taken place across the global North from the 1960s to the early years of the new millennium.[173] The overall finding is that while many currents have fed into back-to-the-land over the decades, there is considerable continuity today with the 1960s heyday. There remains a significant place for "getting it together in the country" within the counterculture; it is not something that died out with the long 1960s. In short, while sensitive to both geographical and historical context, *back-to-the-land remains a practice, or set of practices, that challenges everyday life within the urban capitalist mainstream.*

In articulating back-to-the-land's normative imaginary, seven overlapping themes repeatedly emerged from both the long 1960s and the new millennium. These are shown in Figure 2 and now briefly (re)iterated in this conclusion as they provide useful touchpoints from which to map and interrogate back-to-the-land generally and its status today. This is especially timely given the boost the ongoing COVID-19 crisis appears to have given "rural living."[174]

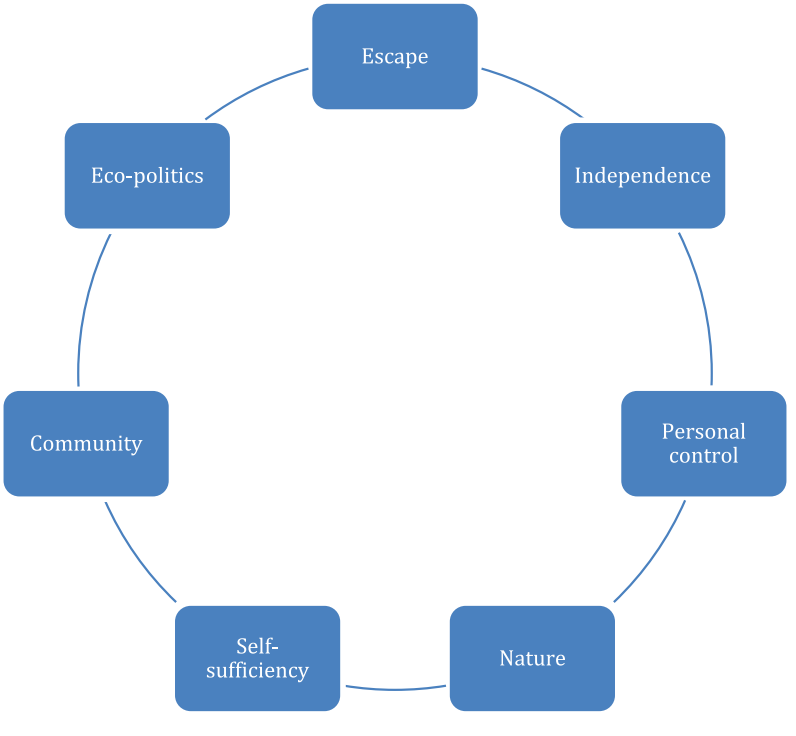


Figure 2. "Getting it together in the country": goals within back-to-the-land.

Studies of back-to-the-land suggest that it is both reactive and proactive, shifting toward the latter through the long 1960s and between then and today. As a reaction (among many) from the counterculture, it expresses a spatialized rejection of key aspects and experiences of everyday life within contemporary (urban) mainstream society. In this sense it has involved attempts to *escape* or drop out of that mainstream. More proactive back-to-the-land has been motivated, to varying degrees, by a feeling that elements perceived as lacking within the mainstream can either be found or brought to fruition within a rural environment. Pursued especially – although not exclusively – through (quasi-)communal living, there is a quest to attain more *independence* from mainstream society. There is a closely related effort to gain greater *personal control* within everyday life, expressed through mindfulness, for example. Furthermore, there is an ambition to become more connected and in tune with the priorities, rhythms, senses, and vitality of the rest of the organic world, or *nature*. These last three elements are all reflected in the focus on gaining a degree of *self-sufficiency*, usually in terms of food production but sometimes more broadly. There is a vital search for *community*, expressed in a desire to connect with both people and the diverse more-than-human inhabitants of local places and, since the 1960s, an increasing emphasis on *eco-political priorities*, not least in a quest for more sustainable living in these far from sustainable times.

Finally, the *rural* location of the new residence is rarely incidental. Rural representations typically encompass all the desired elements[175] – as idealistic as this may be – for the attainment of countercultural goals. Rurality is explicitly appreciated in aesthetic and experiential terms. However, this "radical" lure of the rural is *not* always accompanied by the high degree of land work or even the importance attached to such work that a normative back-to-the-land representation might suggest.[176] Certainly, land features strongly, as does its cultivation, but by the millennium back-to-the-land was not confined to John Prine's dropping out, growing (metaphorical) peaches, and trying to "find Jesus on your own" but was increasingly about foregrounding a practical, enjoyable, and open model for daily living that strives toward the triple bottom line of an environmentally, socially, and economically sustainable life.

Notes

1. Farber, "Building the counterculture," 2.
2. Compare Suri, "The rise and fall" and Frank, *The Conquest of Cool*, respectively.
3. Rome, "'Give Earth a chance'."
4. McCleary, *The Hippie Dictionary*.
5. As readers will be more than aware, temporally defining "the 1960s" rarely settles neatly on 1960–69! Its periodization is challenging; Farber, "Building the

counterculture," note 11; Farber, "Self-invention"; Klein and Hodgdon, "From innocence to experience". The present paper uses the term "long 1960s" to refer to roughly the 1964–78 period.

6. On defining the counterculture, compare Roszak, *The Making of a Counter Culture*; Goffman and Joy, *Counterculture through the Ages*; Yinger, *Countercultures*; Wikipedia, "Counterculture of the 1960s."
7. Neville, *Playpower*, 216.
8. Compare Edgington, "'Be receptive to the good earth'"; McCleary, *The Hippie Dictionary*; Suri, "The rise and fall."
9. Mormont, "Rural nature," 18; developed further in Halfacree, "Trial by space."
10. Berry, *America's Utopian Experiments*, xv; for broader history, see Brown, *Back to the Land*.
11. Tracing the "lure of the rural" in spite of often little land-based dependency: Hadden and Barton, "An image that will not die"; Marsh, *Back to the Land*; Short, "Idyllic ruralities"; Woods, *Rural*.
12. On the discovery and subsequent wide international recognition of counterurbanization, see Beale, "The revival of population" and Berry, "The counterurbanization process"; then Fielding, "Counterurbanization in Western Europe" and Barcus and Halfacree, *An Introduction to Population Geographies*, Chapter 8.
13. Champion and Atkins, "The counterurbanisation cascade."
14. Fielding, "Counterurbanisation and social class" draws out the economic explanation from a wide debate covered by Dean *et al*., "The conceptualisation of counterurbanisation"; Halfacree, "To revitalise counterurbanisation research?"; Halliday and Coombes, "In search of counterurbanisation"; Mitchell, "Making sense of counterurbanization."
15. People-led explanations are well expressed in Benson and O'Reilly, *Lifestyle Migration*; Gosnell and Abrams, "Amenity migration"; Hoey, "From pi to pie."
16. Jobes, *Moving Nearer to Heaven*, 4. Such dreams are well expressed in Benson, *The British in Rural France*.
17. On counterurbanization in popular culture, but with its radicalism less noted, see Halfacree, "Going 'back-to-the-land' again"; Halfacree, "To revitalise counterurbanisation research?"
18. Mitchell, "Making sense of counterurbanization."
19. Hamilton and Mail, "Downshifting in Australia," vii.
20. Hoey, "From pi to pie," 593, plus his connected papers: Hoey, "Grey suit or brown carhartt", "'American Dreaming'", "Pursuing the good life." For the Gallatin Valley see Jobes, *Moving Nearer to Heaven*.
21. Howkins, *The Death of Rural England*, 204. In support of Howkins's bold assertion, compare Brown, *Back to the Land*; Coates, *Utopia Britannica*; Hardy, "The anarchist alternative", *Utopian England*; Hoare, *England's Last Eden*; Marsh, *Back to the Land*; Marshall, "Digging for freedom."
22. Farber, "Building the counterculture," 3.
23. See Rome, "'Give Earth a Chance'" for the former and Unger, "From Jook Joints" and later in this paper for the latter.
24. Berry, *America's Utopian Experiments*, 215; Schehr, *Dynamic Utopia*; Simmons, *But we Must Cultivate our Garden*; also Miller, *The 60s Communes*; Rome, "'Give Earth a Chance,'" 544, drawing on Gardner, *The Children of Prosperity*.
25. Miller, "Foreword," xiv.
26. On neglect of countercultural back-to-the-land families, see Halfacree, "Going 'back-to-the-land' again," "From dropping out to leading on?" For example, although

noting countercultural communities in California's Mendocino mountains, Perry *et al., Counterurbanisation*, 197, considered them anomalous, with "no direct parallel in our other studies" of counterurbanization in the Britain, France and California. Similarly, Jobes's study of lifestyle migration to rural Montana, while clearly demonstrating countercultural textures, says little about explicitly countercultural back-to-the-landers, only noting how "[r]ural areas also attract enclaves based on experimental or countercultural lifestyles, groups who wish to establish their own isolated social world", Jobes, *Moving Nearer to Heaven*, 216.

27. Farber, "Building the counterculture," 3.
28. Halfacree and Rivera, "Moving to the countryside . . . and staying."
29. Zicklin, *Countercultural Communes*, 3. And for the building blocks, see Jobs, "Youth movements."
30. Young, "The Hippie solution." Divergence symbolically began following San Francisco's 1967 "death of hippie" Digger-led commemoration (*sic.*); Farber, "Building the counterculture," 4. Also see Diamond, *What the Trees Said*.
31. Hewison, *Too Much*, 177.
32. According to Leary, *Flashbacks*, 253, his call to drop out was *not* to "'Get stoned and abandon all constructive activity' . . . [but] meant self-reliance, a discovery of one's singularity, a commitment to mobility, choice, and change." Nonetheless, examples of subsequent "diversion" of space for new uses – after Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* – were seen in numerous places: for example, see Jobs, "Youth movements"; Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*; Rycroft, "The geographies of swinging London."
33. Moraes, *Henrietta*, 105.
34. Zicklin, *Countercultural Communes*, 27–8.
35. Veysey, *The Communal Experience*, 471. Such fear came through in motivations for back-to-the-land noted by Berger, *The Survival of a Counterculture*; Kaufman, "The new homesteading movement."
36. Zicklin, *Countercultural Communes*, 26.
37. Kaufman, "The new homesteading movement," 67.
38. *Ibid.*
39. Compare Abrams and McCulloch, *Communes, Sociology and Society*; Brown, *Back to the Land*.
40. Rivers, *Living on a Little Land*, 25.
41. Diamond, *What the Trees Said*, 47.
42. Klein and Hodgdon, "From innocence to experience," 75.
43. *Ibid.*, 87.
44. Kopecky, *Leaving New Buffalo Commune*, 43. For more on New Buffalo, see also Kopecky, *New Buffalo*; Miller, "New Mexico's new communal settlers."
45. Veysey, *The Communal Experience*, 466.
46. From North American evidence, Zicklin's *Countercultural Communes* review noted how numerous communes failed to last a year. Berger, *The Survival of a Counterculture*, 23, estimated the modal duration of "hippie communes" as one to two years. This helps explain why countercultural back-to-the-land has not been studied more fully, being regarded as "ephemeral . . . small collective housekeeping groups"; Berry, *America's Utopian Experiments*, 217; in contrast to more durable spiritual, New Age, or cultish projects. For a fuller account of coming "back-from-the-land," see Agnew, *Back from the Land*.
47. Thus, New Buffalo was so named "because they wanted the commune to be to its people what the buffalo had been to the Plains Indians: a source of all sustenance"; Miller, "New Mexico's new communal settlers," 71.

48. Farber, "Building the counterculture," 5.
49. Darnton, quoted in Miles, *London Calling*, 253. Sid Rawle's London Diggers similarly developed a communal plan to move to the country; *ibid*.
50. Rigby, *Communes in Britain*, 302. On heterotopic launch pads, see Fairfield, *Communes USA* and *Communes Europe*; Nelson, *The British Counter-culture*.
51. Kaufman, "The new homesteading movement," 79; also Veysey, *The Communal Experience*.
52. Fairfield, *Communes USA*, 367; also Fairfield, *Communes Europe*.
53. Quoted in McKay, *Senseless Acts*, 11.
54. For Tipi Valley, Halfacree, "'Alternative' communities in rural Wales"; for Taos, Melville, *Communes in the Counter Culture*. On general opportunities, Halfacree, "From dropping out to leading on?"
55. Anon., "Dorinish," no pagination. On benefactors in Taos, Miller, "New Mexico's new communal settlers." Lennon's "Beatle Island" is covered in Anon., "Dorinish" and Miles, *London Calling*, which also covers the move to Wales.
56. For Donovan's ambition and the subsequent journey of Bunyan, Leitch, *The Autobiography of Donovan*. These examples also demonstrate the importance that many attached to attaining artistic inspiration from the natural world in a conducive environment: Coates, "Within these communities"; Halfacree, "'Glow worms show the path.'"
57. Counterurbanization was still to make its mark in terms of the high house prices and scarce housing availability commonly found in rural areas today.
58. For Postlip Hall as "practical commune", Rigby, *Alternative Realities*; for Hebden Bridge, Smith and Phillips, "Socio-cultural representations."
59. Chadwick, "Back to the land in Britain," no pagination.
60. Gibson and Connell, "'Bongo Fury': tourism," 170. For the Byron Shire development see also Klinkenberg, "The Aquarius festival"; Tiyce and Dimmock, "Nimbin Mardi grass festival."
61. Bové and Dufour, *The World is Not For Sale*.
62. Emphasizing just being together: Jerome, *Families of Eden*.
63. The importance of land comes across clearly in Clarke, *Technological Self-sufficiency*; Rigby, *Communes in Britain* and *Alternative Realities*; Rivers, *Living on a Little Land*.
64. For anarchist / mystical communes: Veysey, *The Communal Experience*. Seymour is well introduced by Seymour, *The Fat of the Land* and *The Complete Book of Self-sufficiency*; the Nearings by Nearing and Nearing, *Living the Good Life* and *Continuing the Good Life*.
65. Berger, *The Survival of a Counterculture*, 115. It may have been needed by those in Coffin and Lipsey, "Moving back to the land."
66. Diamond, *What the Trees Said*, 122. The limits of self-sufficiency are then well noted in Rivers, *Living on a Little Land* and Meijering *et al*., "Intentional communities."
67. Farber, "Building the counterculture," note 21. Fairly cursory descriptions are given in, for example, Brown, *Back to the Land*; Melville, *Communes in the Counter Culture*; Miller, *The 60s Communes*; Rigby, *Communes in Britain* and *Alternative Realities*; Veysey, *The Communal Experience*; Zicklin, *Countercultural Communes*.
68. Berger, *The Survival of a Counterculture*.
69. Horton, *Country Commune Cooking*, 17.
70. Ogilvy and Ogilvy, "Communes and the reconstruction," 97, my emphasis.
71. Farber, "Building the counterculture," 42.
72. On income from other sources, compare Farber, "Building the counterculture"; Rigby, *Alternative Realities*, on Shrubb Farm; Diamond, *What the Trees Said*, working

off-farm; the Dutch Hobbitsee in Meijering *et al*., "Intentional communities"; and Kemp's LSD factory in Tendler and May, *The Brotherhood of Eternal Love* and drug-dealing in Farber, "Building the counterculture."

73. Emphasis on producing food is strong in examples in Farber, "Building the counterculture"; Miller, "New Mexico's new communal settlers," reinforced by Kopecky, *New Buffalo* and *Leaving New Buffalo Commune*; and Berger, *The Survival of a Counterculture*.
74. Diamond, *What the Trees Said*, 120.
75. Rivers, *Living on a Little Land*, 155.
76. Diamond, *What the Trees Said*; Horton, *Country Commune Cooking*.
77. Gray, *At Home in the Hills*, 112.
78. Berger, *The Survival of a Counterculture*, 96.
79. *Ibid*., 94.
80. On the historical depth of a rural idyll: Brown, *Back to the Land*; Howkins, *The Death of Rural England*; Halfacree, "Reading rural consumption."
81. Utopianism – Rivers, *Living on a Little Land* – and self-actualization – Rigby, *Communes in Britain* and *Alternative Realities* – blend into the spiritual dimensions of Zicklin, *Countercultural Communes* and Coffin and Lipsey, "Moving back to the land." Explicitly spiritual or religious communes were a major strand within the counterculture but cannot be covered here: see Fairfield, *Communes USA*; Miller, "The evolution of American spiritual communities"; Young, "The Hippie solution."
82. Melville, *Communes in the Counter Culture*, Chapter 8; Fairfield, *Communes USA*.
83. Rivers, *Living on a Little Land*, 26.
84. Diamond, *What the Trees Said*; Rivers, *Living on a Little Land*.
85. Rivers, *Living on a Little Land*, 13, also 24.
86. Melville, *Communes in the Counter Culture*, 204.
87. Melville, *Communes in the Counter Culture*, on realizing oneself as part of nature as typical of the counterculture: Edgington, "'Be receptive to the good earth'"; Suri, "The rise and fall."
88. In spite of observations by Sandilands, "Lesbian separatist communities" or, more recently by Browne, "Beyond rural dylls."
89. Unger, "From Jook Joints," 181.
90. Unger, "From Jook Joints," 182.
91. See, for example, Sandilands, "Lesbian separatist communities" and Kleiner, "Doin' it for themselves."
92. Unger, "From Jook Joints," 181.
93. Zicklin, *Countercultural Communes*; see also Fairfield's, *Communes USA* and *Communes Europe*.
94. Back-to-the-land revival noted by Coates, "Within these communities"; Halfacree, "From dropping out to leading on?"; Meijering, *Making a Place of their Own*, connected to rural change – Halfacree, "Trial by space"; greener living – Pickerill, "The built ecovillage"; Pickerill and Maxey, "Geographies of sustainability"; cohousing – Jarvis, "Saving space, sharing time."
95. Meijering, *Making a Place of their Own*; Meijering *et al*., "Intentional communities."
96. Meijering, *Making a Place of their Own*, 75.
97. Linking back-to-the-land to sustainability and its practices: Halfacree, "Trial by space"; Jacob, *New Pioneers*; Laughton, *Surviving and Thriving*; Sargisson, "Politicising the quotidian."
98. Laughton, *Surviving and Thriving*, 13.
99. Halfacree, "From dropping out to leading on?"

100. Back-to-the-land comes of political age: Halfacree, "From dropping out to leading on?" and "Trial by space"; Meijering *et al.*, "Intentional communities"; demonstrated clearly in Laughton, *Surviving and Thriving*, 72.
101. Brithdir Mawr, Homepage, no pagination; Maxey, *One Path Forward?*, for its history.
102. However, one should add a note of caution here by observing that "[i]t has almost always been *a given* that living communally went hand-in-hand with somehow being green"; Coates, "Within these communities," my emphasis.
103. Pepper, *Communes*, 74, 126.
104. Jacob, *New Pioneers*, 6; also Berger, *The Survival of a Counterculture*.
105. Schwarz and Schwarz, *Living Lightly*, 364.
106. *Ibid.*
107. Seel *et al., Direct Action in British Environmentalism*; Trapese Collective, *Do it Yourself*.
108. Communes: Diggers and Dreamers, Homepage; Hagmaier *et al., Eurotopia*; Sargisson, "Politicising the quotidian" but "practical and social homes" – Meijering, *Making a Place of their Own*, 17 – emphasized more: Heath, "Peer-shared households"; Jarvis, "Saving space, sharing time."
109. Dawson, *Ecovillages*, 15. More on ecovillages: Pickerill, "The built ecovillage"; Schwarz, "Taste of the good life."
110. Dawson, *Ecovillages*, 17.
111. Fairlie, *Low Impact Development*, xiv. The idea is further illustrated in Pickerill and Maxey, "Geographies of sustainability" and *Low Impact Development*; and University of the West of England / Land Use Consultants, *Low Impact Development*.
112. Pickerill and Maxey, "Geographies of sustainability," 1527 and 1518, 1521.
113. Ibid, 1529.
114. Less dropping out; Philby, "Easy living." But not always; Meijering *et al.*, "Intentional communities."
115. Hoey, "Grey suit or brown carhartt", 350.
116. Good accounts of new travelers: Hetherington, *New Age Travelers*; Lowe and Shaw, *Travelers*; Davis, "New Age Travellers in the countryside."
117. Martin, "New Age Travellers," 723.
118. Travelers going abroad, Dearling, *No Boundaries*, or settling, Halfacree, "Going 'back-to-the-land' again."
119. Smith, "The 'buoyancy' of 'other' geographies."
120. See above 96., 95.
121. Fairlie, "The future of low impact development," 31. Rural exclusivity stressed in Halfacree, "From dropping out to leading on?"; Pickerill and Maxey, "Geographies of sustainability."
122. In other words, while earlier it was argued that that back-to-the-land had helped to develop counterurbanization more generally, by now the latter had rather turned on its creator!
123. Dearling, *No Boundaries*.
124. Camarero *et al.*, "La población rural en España," 125.
125. Schwarz, "Taste of the good life," 28–9; for eco-villages' contribution to France's "rural renaissance" – Kayser, *La Renaissance Rurale* – Bové and Dufour, *The World is Not For Sale*. For the Algarve: Francisco, "Re-inventing the rural."
126. Jacob, *New Pioneers*, 28, 15, 90, 91.
127. Brown, *Back to the Land*, 224.
128. Jacob, *New Pioneers*, 92.

129. Laughton, *Surviving and Thriving*, 9 *passim*. This is very much in the spirit of Rivers, *Living on a Little Land*, and is also true for LID; Pickerill and Maxey, "Geographies of sustainability."
130. *Ecotopia* was, of course, a novel by Ernest Callenbach. Published in 1975, the ecologically utopian society in the book was influential on both the counterculture and the wider green movement.
131. Meijering *et al*., "Intentional communities," as compared to Laughton, *Surviving and Thriving*, but nonetheless see Macintyre, "Romashki; or, a life less ordinary."
132. Sargisson, "Politicising the quotidian," 86.
133. Smith, "The 'buoyancy' of 'other' geographies"; Brithdir Mawr, Homepage; Maxey, *One Path Forward?*
134. Meijering *et al*., "Intentional communities," Sargisson, "Politicising the quotidian," Smith, "The 'buoyancy' of 'other' geographies," Jacob, *New Pioneers*, 85.
135. Laughton, *Surviving and Thriving*; Anon., "Rebecca Laughton."
136. Sargisson, "Politicising the quotidian;" Jacob, *New Pioneers*; Schwarz and Schwarz, *Living Lightly*; Hoey, "From pi to pie;" Jobes, *Moving Nearer to Heaven*.
137. Hoey, "Pursuing the good life," 36.
138. Jobes, *Moving Nearer to Heaven*, 40.
139. Chapter 7, "LID: getting."
140. Blekesaune, "Dreaming of a smallholding."
141. Fairlie, *Low Impact Development*.
142. Philby, "Easy living," 3; about Lammas, Homepage.
143. Laughton, *Surviving and Thriving*, 249, 251.
144. Quoted in Maxey, *One Path Forward?*, 224.
145. Schwarz and Schwarz, *Living Lightly*; see also Dawson, *Ecovillages*.
146. Macintyre, "Romashki; or, a life less ordinary;" see also Moravčíková and Fürjészová, "Ecovillage as an alternative," on eco-villages in Hungary and Slovakia.
147. Macintyre, "Romashki; or, a life less ordinary," 89.
148. Jacob, *New Pioneers*, 77; also Dawson, *Ecovillages*.
149. Halfacree, "From dropping out to leading on?" For examples, see Schwarz, "Taste of the good life," on French ecovillages; Brombin, "Faces of sustainability," on Italian intentional communities; many in Diggers and Dreamers, Homepage.
150. McIntosh and Bonnemann, "Willing Workers;" Wilbur, "Growing a radical ruralism."
151. Laughton, *Surviving and Thriving*.
152. On the Rainbow Region experience see Cock, *Alternative Australia*; Connell and Gibson, "Ambient Australia;" Gibson, "Rural transformation;" Gibson and Connell, "'Bongo Fury': tourism;" Martin and Ellis, "Dropping in, not out;" Wray, "Byron Bay."
153. Martin and Ellis, "Dropping in, not out," 7.
154. See also Longhurst, "The emergence of an alternative" and "Towards an 'alternative' geography," on Totnes in southwest England; Halfacree, "'Alternative' communities in rural Wales" on rural Wales.
155. Longhurst, "The emergence of an alternative."
156. Farber, "Self-invention."
157. Trace this development through Nelson, *The British Counter-culture*; Wood, "History and overview;" Diggers and Dreamers, Homepage.
158. Metcalf, "International perspectives;" Schwarz, "Taste of the good life." Well expressed by: Foundation for Intentional Community, Homepage; Global Ecovillage Network, Homepage; Chapter 7, Homepage.

159. Rigby, *Communes in Britain*, 302; see also the statement in previous paragraph by GEN.
160. Pickerill and Maxey, "Geographies of sustainability," 1531.
161. Metcalf, "International perspectives;" Halfacree, "'Alternative' communities in rural Wales." One can also observe a general willingness to allow university students to research back-to-the-land case studies for dissertations, as gratefully noted in our department!
162. Compare Dawson, *Ecovillages*; Maxey, *One Path Forward?*; Meijering, *Making a Place of their Own*; Sargisson, "Politicising the quotidian."
163. Pepper, *Modern Environmentalism*; Philby, "Easy living."
164. Dawson, *Ecovillages*; Pickerill and Maxey, "Geographies of sustainability."
165. Sargisson, "Politicising the quotidian," 74–5.
166. Sargisson, "Politicising the quotidian," 79; Meijering, *Making a Place of their Own*, 84; Pickerill and Maxey, *Low Impact Development*.
167. Wimbush, "The process," 44.
168. Rigby, *Communes in Britain*.
169. Sargisson, "Politicising the quotidian," 88.
170. Unger, "From Jook Joints," Sandilands, "Lesbian separatist communities."
171. Unger, "From Jook Joints," 192–3.
172. Browne, "Beyond rural idylls," 21.
173. There is still more literature to the present day, but this is too much to cover in this paper.
174. On a resurgent (post-)COVID rural, see Gallent, "COVID-19 and the flight," Marsh, "Escape to the country" and Halfacree, "Pro-rural mobilities."
175. Halfacree, "Talking about rurality."
176. This is not to say that other deep land connections are not made. Furthermore, to fetishize land work, self-building, and manual labor raises issues of inclusiveness for those unable to participate; Pickerill and Maxey, "Geographies of sustainability."

Acknowledgments

This paper was a long time coming – not just back-to-the-land can have troubled times! – and I particularly thank all those who continue to support my academic strivings and, for this paper especially, Larch, Lewis, Natasha, George, Sam, and the notable assistance and support of the editorial team and referees of the present journal.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Notes on contributor

Reader in Human Geography at the UK's Swansea University, **Keith Halfacree**'s research focuses on four overlapping areas. First, he studies "internal" expressions of human migration and has published widely on urban-to-rural counterurbanization, cultural perspectives on migration and on how migration helps structure institutions such as family and place. Second, he investigates rural discourses, mostly in the global North, exploring the content of rural representations and how these link to practices such as migration, sense of place, and

leisure. Third, he engages with conceptual debates on rural change and the shaping of rural futures. Finally, Keith teaches and researches "marginal geographies," geographical expressions of all things "countercultural."

ORCID

Dr Keith Halfacree http://orcid.org/0000-0002-1529-609X

Bibliography

Abrams, P., and A. McCulloch. *Communes, Sociology and Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

Agnew, E. *Back from the Land*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2004.

Anon. (2008) "Rebecca Laughton: Land Girl". Accessed September 2022. https://www.greatbritishlife.co.uk/people/rebecca-laughton-land-girl-7787514

Anon. (2009) "Dorinish". Accessed September 2022. http://lennoncaravan.blogspot.com/2009/10/dorinish.html

Barcus, H., and K. Halfacree. *An Introduction to Population Geographies: Lives across Space*. London: Routledge, 2018.

Beale, C. (1975) "The Revival of Population Growth in non-metropolitan America", United States Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service, ERS 605

Benson, M. *The British in Rural France*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011.

Benson, M., and K. O'Reilly, eds. *Lifestyle Migration: Expectations, Aspirations and Experiences*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2009.

Berger, B. *The Survival of a Counterculture*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981.

Berry, B. "The Counterurbanization Process: Urban America since 1970." In *Urbanization and Counter-urbanization*, edited by B Berry, 17–30. Beverly Hills, California: Sage, 1976.

Berry, B. *America's Utopian Experiments*. Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1992.

Blekesaune, A., M. Haugen, and M. Villa. "Dreaming of a Smallholding." *Sociologia Ruralis* 50, no. 3 (2010): 225–241. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9523.2010.00513.x.

Bové, J., and F. Dufour. *The World Is Not for Sale*. London: Verso, 2001.

Brombin, A. "Faces of Sustainability in Italian Ecovillages: Food as 'Contact Zone'." *International Journal of Consumer Studies* 39, no. 5 (2015): 468–477. doi:10.1111/ijcs.12225.

Brown, D. *Back to the Land: The Enduring Dream of Self-Sufficiency in Modern America*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2011.

Browne, K. "Beyond Rural Idylls: Imperfect Lesbian Utopias at Michigan Womyn's Music Festival." *Journal of Rural Studies* 27, no. 1 (2011): 13–23. doi:10.1016/j.jrurstud.2010.08.001.

Camarero, L., F. Cruz, M. González, J. Del Pino, J. Oliva, and R. Sampedro (2009) "La población rural en España. De los desequilibrios a la sostenibilidad social", Barcelona: Fundación La Caixa, Serie Estudios, 27

Chadwick, R. (1971) "Back to the Land in Britain", Mother Earth News 10: Unknown Pagination, available at www.motherearthnews.com (accessed 03 2009)

Champion, A., and D. Atkins. *The Counterurbanisation Cascade: An Analysis of the 1991 Census Special Migration Statistics for Great Britain", Seminar Paper 81, Department of Geography*. Newcastle upon Tyne: University of Newcastle, 1996.

Chapter 7 (2009) "LID: Getting the Policy Right", Chapter 7 News 6: 59–63
Chapter 7 (2021) Homepage. Accessed September 2022.https://tlio.org.uk/chapter7/
Clarke, R. *Technological Self-sufficiency*. London: Faber and Faber, 1976.
Coates, C. *Utopia Britannica. British Utopian Experiments: 1325-1945*. London: Diggers and Dreamers Publications, 2001.
Coates, C. "Within These Communities." In *Diggers and Dreamers. The Guide to Communal Living 2008/2009*, edited by S Bunker, C Coates, and J How, 5–15. London: Diggers and Dreamers Publications, 2007.
Cock, P. *Alternative Australia: Communities of the Future*. Melbourne: Quartet Books, 1979.
Coffin, R., and M. Lipsey. "Moving Back to the Land. An Ecologically Responsible Lifestyle Change." *Environment and Behavior* 13, no. 1 (1981): 42–63. doi:10.1177/0013916581131003.
Collective, Trapese. *Do It Yourself: A Handbook for Changing Our World*. London: Pluto, 2007.
Connell, J., and C. Gibson. "Ambient Australia: Music, Meditation, and Tourist Places." In *Sound, Society and the Geography of Popular Music*, edited by T Bell, 67–88. London: Routledge, 2009.
Wikipedia (2021) "Counterculture of the 1960s". Accessed September 2022. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Counterculture_of_the_1960s
Davis, J. "New Age Travellers in the Countryside: Incomers with Attitude." In *Revealing Rural "Others"*, edited by P Milbourne, 117–134. London: Pinter, 1997.
Dawson, J. *Ecovillages, Schumacher Briefing 12*. Totnes: Green Books, 2006.
Dean, K, B Brown, R Perry, and D. Shaw. "The Conceptualisation of Counterurbanisation." *Area* 16 (1984): 9–14.
Dearling, A., ed. *No Boundaries: New Travellers on the Road outside of England*. Lyme Regis: Enabler Publications, 1998.
Diamond, S. *What the Trees Said, Life on a New Age Farm*. New Hampshire: Beech River Books, 1971.
Diggers and Dreamers (2021) Homepage. Accessed September 2022. http://www.diggersanddreamers.org.uk
Edgington, R. "'Be Receptive to the Good Earth': Health, Nature, and Labor in Countercultural back-to-the-land Settlements." *Agricultural History* 82, no. 3 (2008): 279–308. doi:10.3098/ah.2008.82.3.279.
Fairfield, R. *Communes USA: A Personal Tour*. Baltimore: Penguin, 1972.
Fairlie, S. "The Future of Low Impact Development." In *Diggers and Dreamers. The Guide to Communal Living 2008/2009*, edited by S Bunker, C Coates, and J How, 31–40. London: Diggers and Dreamers Publications, 2007.
Fairlie, S. 2009 *Low Impact Development* 2nd edition Charlbury:Jon Carpenter
Farber, D. "Building the Counterculture, Creating Right Livelihoods: The Counterculture at Work." *The Sixties* 6, no. 1 (2013): 1–24. doi:10.1080/17541328.2013.778706.
Farber, D. "Self-invention in the Realm of Production: Craft, Beauty, and Community in the American Counterculture, 1964-1978." *Pacific Historical Review* 85, no. 3 (2016): 408–442. doi:10.1525/phr.2016.85.3.408.
Fielding, A. "Counterurbanization in Western Europe." *Progress in Planning* 17 (1982): 1–52. doi:10.1016/0305-9006(82)90006-X.
Fielding, T. "Counterurbanisation and Social Class." In *Migration into Rural Areas. Theories and Issues*, edited by P. Boyle and K. Halfacree, 41–60. Chichester: Wiley, 1998.
Foundation for Intentional Community (2021) Homepage. Accessed September 2022. https://www.ic.org/

Francisco, M. *Re-inventing the Rural through Ecoimmigration- the Northeast Algarve", Paper Presented at European Society for Rural Sociology Summer School, Córdoba*. Spain: October, 2010.

Frank, T. *The Conquest of Cool*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Gallent, N. "COVID-19 and the Flight to Second Homes." *Town and Country Planning* 89, no. 4/5 (2020): 141–144.

Gardner, H. *The Children of Prosperity: Thirteen Modern American Communes*. New York: St Martin's Press, 1978.

Gibson, C. "Rural Transformation and Cultural Industries: Popular Music on the New South Wales Far North Coast." *Australian Geographical Studies* 40, no. 3 (2002): 337–356. doi:10.1111/1467-8470.00184.

Gibson, C., and J. Connell. "'Bongo Fury': Tourism, Music and Cultural Economy at Byron Bay, Australia." *Tijdschrift voor Economische En Sociale Geografie* 94, no. 2 (2003): 164–187. doi:10.1111/1467-9663.00247.

Global Ecovillage Network (2021) Homepage. Accessed September 2022. https://ecovillage.org/

Goffman, K., and D. Joy. *Counterculture through the Ages*. New York: Villard, 2005.

Gosnell, H., and J. Abrams. "Amenity Migration: Diverse Conceptualizations of Drivers, Socioeconomic Dimensions, and Emerging Challenges." *GeoJournal* 76, no. 4 (2011): 302–322. doi:10.1007/s10708-009-9295-4.

Gray, J. *At Home in the Hills*. Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2000.

Hadden, J., and J. Barton. "An Image that Will Not Die: Thoughts on the History of anti-urban Ideology." *Urban Affairs Annual Review* 7 (1973): 79–116.

Hagmaier, S, J Kommerell, Stengal, and M Würfel. *Eurotopia: Directory of Intentional Communities and Ecovillages in Europe*. London: Edge of Time, 2000.

Halfacree, K. "Talking about Rurality: Social Representations of the Rural as Expressed by Residents of Six English Parishes." *Journal of Rural Studies* 11, no. 1 (1995): 1–20. doi:10.1016/0743-0167(94)00039-C.

Halfacree, K. "Going 'back-to-the-land' Again: Extending the Scope of Counterurbanisation." *Espace, Populations, Sociétés* 2001, no. 1–2 (2001): 161–170. doi:10.3406/espos.2001.1984.

Halfacree, K. "From Dropping Out to Leading On? British counter-cultural back-to-the-land in a Changing Rurality." *Progress in Human Geography* 30, no. 3 (2006): 309–336. doi:10.1191/0309132506ph609oa.

Halfacree, K. "Trial by Space for a 'Radical Rural': Introducing Alternative Localities, Representations and Lives." *Journal of Rural Studies* 23, no. 2 (2007): 125–141. doi:10.1016/j.jrurstud.2006.10.002.

Halfacree, K. "To Revitalise Counterurbanisation Research? Recognising an International and Fuller Picture." *Population, Space and Place* 14, no. 6 (2008): 479–495. doi:10.1002/psp.501.

Halfacree, K. "'Glow Worms Show the Path We Have to Tread': The Counterurbanisation of Vashti Bunyan." *Social and Cultural Geography* 10, no. 7 (2009): 771–789. doi:10.1080/14649360903205157.

Halfacree, K. "Reading Rural Consumption Practices for Difference: Bolt-holes, Castles and life-rafts." *Culture Unbound* 2, no. 2 (2010): 241–263. doi:10.3384/cu.2000.1525.10214241.

Halfacree, K. "Alternative' Communities in Rural Wales." In *Rural Wales in the Twenty First Century: Society, Economy and Environment*, edited by P Milbourne, 65–88. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011.

Halfacree, K. (2021) "Pro-rural Mobilities and post-Covid Rurals: Speculations from the UK", Paper Presented at Leaving the City for the Beach and Bush: Counter-urban Trends to Regional Australia, Research Workshop, University of Sydney, School of Architecture, Design and Planning, February (Online)

Halfacree, K., and M.J. Rivera. "Moving to the Countryside . . . and Staying: Lives beyond Representation." *Sociologia Ruralis* 52, no. 1 (2012): 92–114. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9523.2011.00556.x.

Halliday, J., and M. Coombes. "In Search of Counterurbanisation: Some Evidence from Devon on the Relationship between Patterns of Migration and Motivation." *Journal of Rural Studies* 11, no. 4 (1995): 433–446. doi:10.1016/0743-0167(95)00032-1.

Hamilton, C., and E. Mail. *Downshifting in Australia. A Sea-change in the Pursuit of Happiness, Discussion Paper 50*. Canberra: Australia Institute, 2003.

Hardy, D. "The Anarchist Alternative: A History of Community Experiments in Britain." In *Anarchism and Geography. Contemporary Issues in Geography and Education*, edited by I Cook and D Pepper, 35–51. Vol. 3. 1990.

Hardy, D. *Utopian England. Community Experiments 1900-1945*. London: E and FN Spon, 2000.

Heath, S. "Peer-shared Households, quasi-communes and neo-tribes." *Current Sociology* 52, no. 2 (2004): 161–179. doi:10.1177/0011392104041799.

Hedgepeth, W. (1971) "The Commune Way Keeps Spreading because Maybe It'll Be Different Here", Look Magazine 35: 63–70

Hetherington, K. *New Age Travellers*. London: Cassell, 2000.

Hewison, R. *Too Much. Art and Society in the Sixties 1960-75*. Methuen: London, 1986.

Hoare, P. *England's Last Eden. Adventures in a Victorian Utopia*. London: Harper Perennial, 2006.

Hoey, B. "From Pi to Pie: Moral Narratives of Noneconomic Migration and Starting over in the Postindustrial Midwest." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 34, no. 5 (2005): 586–624. doi:10.1177/0891241605279016.

Hoey, B. "Grey Suit or Brown Carhartt: Narrative Transition, Relocation, and Reorientation in the Live of Corporate Refugees." *Journal of Anthropological Research* 62, no. 3 (2006): 347–371. doi:10.3998/jar.0521004.0062.303.

Hoey, B. "American Dreaming'. The Changing Landscape of Work and Family in the American Middle Class: Reports from the Field." In *The Changing Landscape of Work and Family in the American Middle Class*, edited by E Rudd and L Descartes, 117–139. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2008.

Hoey, B. "Pursuing the Good Life: American Narratives of Travel and a Search for Refuge." In *Lifestyle Migration*, edited by M Benson and K O'Reilly, 31–50. Farnham: Ashgate, 2009.

Horton, L. *Country Commune Cooking*. New York: Coward: McCann and Geoghegan, 1972.

Howkins, A. *The Death of Rural England*. London: Routledge, 2003.

Jacob, J. *New Pioneers. University Park*. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania University Press, 1997.

Jarvis, H. "Saving Space, Sharing Time: Integrated Infrastructures of Daily Life in Cohousing." *Environment and Planning A* 43, no. 3 (2011): 560–577. doi:10.1068/a43296.

Jerome, J. *Families of Eden*. New York: Seabury Press, 1974.

Jobes, P. *Moving Nearer to Heaven: The Illusions and Disillusions of Migrants to Scenic Rural Places*. Westport: Praeger, 2000.

Jobs, R. "Youth Movements: Travel, Protest, and Europe in 1968." *American Historical Review* 114, no. 2 (2009): 376–404. doi:10.1086/ahr.114.2.376.

Kaufman, M. "The New Homesteading Movement: From Utopia to Eutopia." In *The Family, Communes and Utopian Societies* , edited by S Teselle, London: Harper and Row 63–82. 1972.

Kayser, B. *La Renaissance Rurale, Sociologie des Campagnes du Monde Occidental*. Paris, 1990.

Kleiner, C. (2003) "Doin' it for themselves: lesbian land communities in southern Oregon, 1970-1995," Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation, University of New Mexico, Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation. Accessed September 2022. https://www.proquest.com/docview/305312782?pq-origsite=gscholar&fromopenview=true

Klein, B., and T. Hodgdon. "From Innocence to Experience: Irwin B. Klein and the 'New Settlers' of Northern New Mexico, 1967-1971." *New Mexico Historical Review* 87, no. 1 (2012): 75–104.

Klinkenberg, A. (2016) "The Aquarius Festival Was the Spark that Ignited the Rainbow Region", Monster Children online, Accessed September 2022. https://www.monsterchildren.com/aquarius-festival-1973/

Kopecky, A. *New Buffalo*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004.

Kopecky, A. *Leaving New Buffalo Commune*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006.

Lammas (2021) Homepage. Accessed September 2022. https://lammas.org.uk/

Laughton, R. *Surviving and Thriving on the Land, Dartington*. Devon: Green Books, 2008.

Leary, T. *Flashbacks*. New York: Putnam, 1983.

Lefebvre, H. *[1974] the Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1991.

Leitch, D. *The Autobiography of Donovan. The Hurdy Gurdy Man*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2005.

Longhurst, N. "The Emergence of an Alternative Milieu: Conceptualising the Nature of Alternative Places." *Environment and Planning A* 45, no. 9 (2013): 2100–2119. doi:10.1068/a45487.

Longhurst, N. "Towards an 'Alternative' Geography of Innovation: Alternative Milieu, socio-cognitive Protection and Sustainability Experimentation." *Environmental Innovation and Societal Transitions* 17 (2015): 183–198. doi:10.1016/j.eist.2014.12.001.

Lowe, R., and W. Shaw. *Travellers*. London: Fourth Estate, 1993.

Macintyre, T. (2010) "Romashki; or, a life less ordinary. A narrative ethnography into an alternative rurality in Ukraine", MSc Dissertation, International Development Studies, Wageningen University

Marsh, J. *Back to the Land: The Pastoral Impulse in England, from 1880 to 1914*. London: Quartet Books, 1982.

Marsh, S. (2020) "Escape to the Country: How Covid Is Driving an Exodus from Britain's Cities", Guardian September 26th. Accessed September 2022. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/sep/26/escape-country-covid-exodus-britain-cities-pandemic-urban-green-space

Marshall, P. "Digging for Freedom." In *Utopia Britannica. British Utopian Experiments: 1325-1945*, edited by C Coates, 21–25. London: Diggers and Dreamers Publications, 2001.

Martin, G. "New Age Travellers: Uproarious or Uprooted?" *Sociology* 36, no. 3 (2002): 723–735. doi:10.1177/0038038502036003012.

Martin, F., and R. Ellis. "Dropping In, Not Out: The Evolution of the Alternative Press in Byron Shire 1970-2001." *Transformations* 2 (2002): 1–15.

Mawr, Brithdir (2011) Homepage at: http://www.brithdirmawr.co.uk/ (accessed 2011)

Maxey, L. (2002) One Path Forward? Three Sustainable Communities in England and Wales. Swansea, Dept. of Geography, University of Wales, Swansea, unpublished Ph.D. thesis

McCleary, J. *The Hippie Dictionary*. Berkeley, California: Tenspeed Press, 2004.
McIntosh, A., and S. Bonnemann. "Willing Workers on Organic Farms (WWOOF): The Alternative Farm Stay Experience?" *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 14, no. 1 (2006): 82–99. doi:10.1080/09669580608668593.
McKay, G. *Senseless Acts of Beauty*. London: Verso, 1996.
Meijering, L. "Making a Place of Their Own. Rural Intentional Communities in Northwest Europe. Utrecht / Groningen: Netherlands Geographical Studies 34, 2006.
Meijering, L., P. Huigen, and B. van Hoven. "Intentional Communities in Rural Space." *Tijdschrift voor Economische En Sociale Geografie* 98, no. 1 (2007): 42–52. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9663.2007.00375.x.
Melville, K. *Communes in the Counter Culture*. New York: William Morrow and Co, 1972.
Metcalf, B. "International Perspectives." In *Diggers and Dreamers. The Guide to Communal Living 2008/2009*, edited by S Bunker, C Coates, and J How, 41–47. London: Diggers and Dreamers Publications, 2007.
Miles, B. *London Calling*. London: Atlantic Books, 2010.
Miller, T. *The 60s Communes: Hippies and Beyond*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1999.
Miller, T. *Foreword" to Kopecky, A. Leaving New Buffalo Commune*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, pp. xiii-xvi, 2006.
Miller, T. "The Evolution of American Spiritual Communities, 1965-2009." *Nova Religio* 13, no. 3 (2010): 14–33. doi:10.1525/nr.2010.13.3.14.
Miller, T. "New Mexico's New Communal Settlers." *New Mexico Historical Review* 87, no. 1 (2012): 69–74.
Mitchell, C. "Making Sense of Counterurbanization." *Journal of Rural Studies* 20, no. 1 (2004): 15–34. doi:10.1016/S0743-0167(03)00031-7.
Moraes, H. *Henrietta*. London: Penguin, 1995.
Moravčíková, D., and T. Fürjészová. "Ecovillage as an Alternative Way of Rural Life: Evidence from Hungary and Slovakia." *European Countryside* 10, no. 4 (2018): 693–710. doi:10.2478/euco-2018-0038.
Mormont, M. "Rural Nature and Urban Natures." *Sociologia Ruralis* 27, no. 1 (1987): 3–20. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9523.1987.tb00314.x.
Nearing, H. and Nearing, S. *Living the Good Life*. Harborside: Social Science Institute, 1954.
Nearing, H. and Nearing, S. *Continuing the Good Life: Half a Century of Homesteading*. New York: Schocken Books, 1979.
Nelson, E. *The British Counter-culture, 1966-73. A Study of the Underground Press*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989.
Neville, R. *Playpower*. London: Paladin, 1971.
Ogilvy, J., and H. Ogilvy. "Communes and the Reconstruction of Reality." In *The Family, Communes and Utopian Societies*, edited by S Teselle, London: Harper and Row, 83–99. 1972.
Pepper, D. *Communes and the Green Vision*. London: Greenprint, 1991.
Pepper, D. *Modern Environmentalism: An Introduction*. London: Routledge, 1996.
Perry, C. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History*. New York: Wenner Books, 2005.
Perry, R., K. Dean, and B. Brown. *Counterurbanisation*. Norwich: Geo Books, 1986.
Philby, C. (2010) "Easy Living: The Truth about Modern Communes", Independent 23rd October. Accessed September 2022. https://www.independent.co.uk/climate-change/news/easy-living-the-truth-about-modern-communes-2020668.html
Pickerill, J. "The Built Ecovillage: Exploring the Processes and Practices of eco-housing." *RCC Perspectives* 8 (2012): 99–110.

Pickerill, J., and L. Maxey. "Geographies of Sustainability: Low Impact Developments and Radical Spaces of Innovation." *Geography Compass* 3, no. 4 (2009a): 1515–1539. doi:10.1111/j.1749-8198.2009.00237.x.

Pickerill, J., and L. Maxey, eds. *Low Impact Development. The Future in Our*. Leeds: Hands, Wordpress online, 2009b.

Rigby, A. *Alternative Realities*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974a.

Rigby, A. *Communes in Britain*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974b.

Rivers, P. *Living on a Little Land*. London: Turnstone Books, 1978.

Rome, A. "'Give Earth a Chance': The Environmental Movement and the Sixties." *The Journal of American History* 90, no. 2 (2003): 525–554. doi:10.2307/3659443.

Roszak, T. *The Making of a Counter Culture*. London: Faber, 1970.

Rycroft, S. "The Geographies of Swinging London." *Journal of Historical Geography* 28, no. 4 (2002): 566–588. doi:10.1006/jhge.2002.0445.

Sandilands, C. "Lesbian Separatist Communities and the Experience of Nature." *Organization and Environment* 15, no. 2 (2002): 131–163. doi:10.1177/10826602015002002.

Sargisson, L. "Politicising the Quotidian." *Environmental Politics* 10, no. 2 (2001): 68–89. doi:10.1080/714000535.

Schehr, R. *Dynamic Utopia: Establishing Intentional Communities as a New Social Movement*. Westport, Connecticut: Bergin and Garvey, 1997.

Schwarz, W. (2000) "Taste of the Good Life", Guardian 23rd August. Accessed September 2022. https://www.theguardian.com/society/2000/aug/23/guardiansocietysupplement4

Schwarz, W., and D. Schwarz. *Living Lightly. Travels in Post-Consumer Society*. Charlbury, Oxfordshire: Jon Carpenter, 1998.

Seel, B., M. Paterson, and B. Doherty, eds. *Direct Action in British Environmentalism*. London: Routledge, 2000.

Seymour, J. *The Fat of the Land*. London: Faber, 1961.

Seymour, J. *The Complete Book of Self-sufficiency*. London: Faber, 1975.

Short, B. "Idyllic Ruralities." In *Handbook of Rural Studies*, edited by P Cloke, T. Marsden, and P. Mooney, 133–148. London: Sage, 2006.

Simmons, T. (1979) But we must Cultivate our Garden: Twentieth Century Pioneering in Rural British Columbia, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota

Smith, D. "The 'Buoyancy' of 'Other' Geographies of Gentrification: Going 'back-to-the Water' and the Commodification of Marginality." *Tijdschrift voor Economische En Sociale Geografie* 98, no. 1 (2007): 53–67. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9663.2007.00376.x.

Smith, D., and D. Phillips. "Socio-cultural Representations of Greentrified Pennine Rurality." *Journal of Rural Studies* 17, no. 4 (2001): 457–469. doi:10.1016/S0743-0167(01)00014-6.

Suri, J. "AHR Forum the Rise and Fall of an International Counterculture, 1960–1975." *American Historical Review* 114, no. 1 (2009): 45–68. doi:10.1086/ahr.114.1.45.

Tendler, S., and D. May. *The Brotherhood of Eternal Love*. London: Panther, 1984.

Tiyce, M., and K. Dimmock (2000) "Nimbin Mardi Grass Festival: The Impacts", Paper Presented at Events beyond 2000: Setting the Agenda Conference, Sydney, Australia. Accessed September 2022. https://www.academia.edu/download/45620067/Goldblatt-Events-2000.pdf#page=228

Unger, N. "From Jook Joints to Sisterspace: The Role of Nature in Lesbian Alternative Environments in the United States." In *Queer Ecologies*, edited by C Mortimer-Sandilands and B Erickson, 173–198. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2010.

University of the West of England/Land Use Consultants (2002) Countryside Council for Wales. Low Impact Development – Planning Policy and Practice. Final Report, Bristol: UWE/Land Use Consultants

Veysey, L. *The Communal Experience*. New York: Harper and Row, 1973.

Wilbur, A. "Growing a Radical Ruralism: Back-to-the-land as Practice and Ideal." *Geography Compass* 7, no. 2 (2013): 149–160. doi:10.1111/gec3.12023.

Wimbush, P. (2009) "The Process. Lammas' Experience of the Planning System". Accessed September 2022 http://lammas.org.uk/lowimpact/documents/TheProcess_000.pdf

Wood, A. (1990) "History and Overview". Accessed September 2022 http://www.diggersanddreamers.org.uk/Articles/199001.htm

Woodland, Steward Community (2011) Homepage. Accessed September 2022. http://www.stewardwood.org/

Woods, M. *Rural*. London: Routledge, 2011.

Wray, M., J. Laing, and C. Voigt. "Byron Bay: An Alternate Health and Wellness Destination." *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management* 17, no. 1 (2010): 158–166. doi:10.1375/jhtm.17.1.158.

Yinger, M. *Countercultures*. New York: Free Press, 1982.

Young, J. "The Hippie Solution: An Essay in the Politics of Leisure." In *Politics and Deviance*, edited by I Taylor and L Taylor, 182–208. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973.

Zicklin, G. *Countercultural Communes. A Sociological Perspective*. London: Greenwood Press, 1983.