Damanhur: A "Magical Mystery Tour"

Communities

\$5.50 (\$7 Canada) Summer 1999 (Issue #103)

Journal of Cooperative Living

Walden Two Communities: Where Are They Now?

Science of Behavior, Sí!

Growing Up at Los Horcones

Path with a Behaviorist Heart





A GUIDE TO COOPERATIVE LIVING

Communities Directory

Now in a revised second printing.

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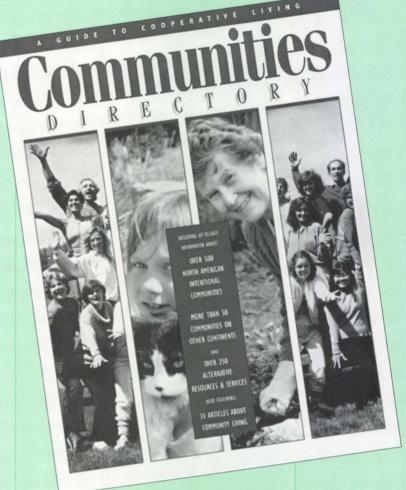
Easy to use, it includes maps, cross-reference charts (sorted alphabetically and geographically), and an extensive index for finding communities by areas of interest.

Thirty-one feature articles cover various aspects and issues of cooperative living.

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Published by the Fellowship for Intentional Community, a network of communitarians promoting communication and understanding about and among intentional communities.

See order form on page 78.



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Author and Bioregionalist

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the residential facility
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A 20 year old NYC intentional community



An experiment in open communication committed to exploring applications of feedback to learning

Ganas' goals are to learn to focus attention, hear and respond. We want to bring reason and emotion together in daily dialogue, and to create our world, with love, the way we want it to be.

Ganas people dream of developing open minds with which to talk together and understand each other better. We want to learn how to give up competitive power plays, care, cooperate, and welcome anyone who wants to join us — with pleasure. Hopefully, if we succeed, whatever we create will be replicable.

The Foundation for Feedback Learning began in 1973. Six of us started Ganas on Staten Is. in 1979, and we're all still here. Our population has grown from 6 to 75. Most of us are now a bonded, caring, hard working, fun loving, extended family.

People of many races, nationalities, religions, professions, and life views live together at Ganas in surprising harmony. Possibly that is because about half of us get together every day to talk about work, personal issues and anything else that comes up.

Ganas shares 9 large residences on Staten Is. in a racially mixed, lower middle class, suburban neighborhood, a half-hour free ferry ride from downtown Manhattan. Many of us work in our 4 commercial buildings nearby. We renovated all of our buildings ourselves to suit our needs and our pleasure — and they really do.

The houses are surrounded by flower and vegetable gardens, many trees (some fruit bearing), lots of berry bushes, a small swimming pool, a large deck, and pretty spots for hanging out. It feels rural, although we have views of the Manhattan skyline.

Living space is comfortable, attractive and very well maintained. The food is plentiful, meals are excellent and varied enough to suit most people, including vegetarians and vegans. Dinner is served at 7, but if they prefer, people can prepare meals for themselves in one of 4 fully stocked, well-equipped community kitchens.

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Ganas people are developing G.R.O.W. II. During the summers we host a large variety of interesting weekend events, and we work in the Ganas facility in New York City year round.

G.R.O.W. II needs competent help during the summer and responsible caretakers during the winter when we're away.

The people who form a new community at G.R.O.W. II will also be invited to participate in Ganas in NYC if they want to.

(Ganas continued)

Recycling is the community's business. Most of our work happens in 4 resale stores called Every Thing Goes. One refinishes and sells furniture; the second sells clothing. The third is a gallery. The original store sells everything else. The stores are all near our houses. They are well organized, efficiently run, and very attractive.

Visitors are welcome. If you want to work in the community, we'll discuss our needs and your skills when you get here. Approximately 40 people work in the businesses and the houses. Full time work is 40 hours a week. This covers expenses plus up to \$300 per mo. and a share of the businesses' profits. Please bring money for your expenses in case you can't work with us.

If you decide to try living at Ganas for a while and choose not to work with us, all your expenses can be met with one fee of \$450-600 a month. People staying for up to 4 nights are asked to pay \$35 a day and help out some. Visitors coming for longer stays (but less than 1 mo.) can pay expenses at the rate of \$150 a wk.

IF YOU WOULD LIKE TO LIVE, WORK & PLAY IN COMMUNITY WITH INTERESTING & INTERESTED PEOPLE,

If you care about good problem-solving dialogue based on truth and goodwill (and want to learn how to do it); If you believe in close relationships with varied people who hear, understand, and care about each other; If you want interesting, valuable work, and you enjoy working productively (or want to learn how to); IF SUCH THINGS FEEL RIGHT FOR YOU ... YOU ARE INVITED TO VISIT AND PERHAPS TO LIVE & WORK WITH US

Communities

Journal of Cooperative Living

FRONT COVER

Twin Oaks, 1990. Photo courtesy of Twin Oaks.

BACK COVER

Twin Oaks "meta" with his charges. Photo courtesy of Twin Oaks.

FOCUS



WALDEN TWO COMMUNITIES: WHERE ARE THEY NOW?

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 In order to live happier, healthier lives, communitarians at Los Horcones design programs to encourage desirable behavior in each other. Does it work? *Paul Chance* travels to Mexico to find out.
 - What Is the Science of Behavior?

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• The Novel Walden Two—Deborah Altus



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Richie Graham recounts the exhilaration of the behaviorist heyday at Dandelion community.



45 "Who's the Meta Tonight?": Communal Child Rearing at Twin Oaks

What's it like to have many sequential caretakers, see your parents rarely, and be the "community's child"? *Hilke Kuhlmann* interviews *Lee Ann Kinkade*.

49 But Can He Design Community?

Skinner's utopia inspired excitement and hope. But could his fictional community work in the real world? Twin Oaks cofounder *Kat Kinkade* sizes it up.

53 Growing Up at Los Horcones

Multiple parents, a slew of siblings, and community-wide reinforcement of self-esteem and concern for others—childhood in this "Walden Two" is like nowhere else. *Deborah Altus* interviews *Juan Robinson-Bustamente*.

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COMMUNITIES

Journal of Cooperative Living

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COMMUNITIES (ISSN 0199-9346) is published quarterly by the Fellowship for Intentional Community at Route 1, Box 155, Rutledge, MO 63563. Periodicals postage paid at Rutledge, MO, and at additional mailing offices. POST-MASTER: Send address changes to Communities, 138 Twin Oaks Rd., Louisa, VA 23093. Indexed in the Alternative Press Index.

SUBSCRIPTIONS: \$18 (\$22) for four issues, \$25 (\$30) for institutions (prices in parentheses for outside of the US). Single copies are \$5.50 in the US, \$6 elsewhere. (All payments in US dollars.) Available from Communities, 138 Twin Oaks Rd., Louisa, VA 23093.

BACK ISSUES: Rt. 1, Box 155, Rutledge, MO 63563; 660-

EDITORIAL OFFICE: Communities, 290 McEntire Rd., Tryon, NC 28782; 828-863-4425; communities@ic.org.

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FELLOWSHIP FOR INTENTIONAL COMMUNITY: Rt. 1, Box 155, Rutledge, MO 63563; 660-883-5545

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ADVERTISING: Communities, 290 McEntire Rd., Tryon, NC 28782; 828-863-4425; communities@ic.org.

WEB SITE: www.ic.org.

This magazine printed on recycled paper, using soy-based inks, at Hignell Printing in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

LETTERS



Send letters to Communities magazine, 290 McEntire Rd., Tryon, NC 28782. Your letter may be edited or shortened. Thank you!

Kudos, Critiques for "Health and Healing" issue

Dear Editor:

Thank you for the Health and Healing issue (Spring '99). Here at Ecovillage at Ithaca, a cohousing community of 30 families, we have experienced the power of community support and healing first hand. Within the first year and a half of residency, three of us faced critical, lifethreatening illnesses. Although it was clear that the community's energy was stretched to the limit and that round-the-clock care was not possible, in each case the community provided excellent support to the patient and family.

In my case, I was diagnosed with advanced stomach cancer and went through almost a year's ordeal of major surgery and chemotherapy. The community rallied around me, providing companionship, meals, errands, rides to medical appointments, and additional support for my sister, who was my primary caretaker. Various Ecovillage members provided regular Reiki treatments, massage, yoga, and meditation. A member who is a hospice minister helped my son deal with the trauma of my diagnosis. When I was in the hospital, neighbors came for a sing-along or to hold my hand. Our organic farm provided abundant fresh organic vegetables.

I can't imagine a more perfect environment for dealing with such a crisis. I am happy to report that I have far outlived the medical prognosis and today have no visible signs of cancer. I have no doubt that the support of the community was a strong contributing factor to my recovery.

Pamela Carson

Ecovillage at Ithaca Ithaca, New York

Dear Communities:

I was pleasantly surprised to find an article about a Camphill community in the Spring '99 issue ("Everyone Feels Useful Here"). Perhaps readers would be interested to know there are similar Camphill communities in North America. I live at one in Minnesota and there are others in New York state, Pennsylvania, Ontario, British Columbia, and California. Some work with adults, others with children.

Trudy Pax

Camphill Village Minnesota Sauk Centre, Minnesota

Dear Editors:

The Patch Adams interview and his photo on the cover of your Spring '99 issue were offensive to me. I believe Patch Adams represents a misuse and abuse of the health, healing, and community values many of us have chosen.

I am a nurse with the Indian Health Service in Arizona. I have explored communes, land trusts, and alternative lifestyles, and look forward to living in community soon. After viewing a promotional video from Geshundheit Institute and visiting their West Virginia site twice, I have little hope and no faith in this group's reliability. In my opinion, P. Adams accumulates money from naive donors who believe they are building a remarkable hospital but in fact are supporting the lifestyle of a world-class clown. Despite the grandiose blueprints, there is little logical or tangible evidence that health care will be provided to serve others at this site.

The claims that his former community served 15,000 people with free health care are based on what evidence? I believe that he and another founding M.D. who since left in the mid-'90s, lived in a house in northern Virginia where they claimed to "treat" psychiatric patients in "hippie health style," with everyone living there, etc. The docs also worked shifts in an emergency room for cash, but later were happy to give up their ties to Western medicine and begin their dreams and schemes for the ideal health center.

Fluff and whipped cream do not make

a hospital or a healing community. Patch's clowning, however beneficial to some, should be separated from claims about the planned hospital, and there should be public documentation of the plans for manifesting the hospital before anyone promotes this guy or his fundraising. Both are, in my opinion, concerned with self-infatuation and exciting ideologies without responsibility.

Karina Sabot Sells, Arizona

Blair Voyvodic, M.D., Board Chair of Gesundheit! Institute, responds:

As a family doctor whose duties include emergency coverage at our local, rural hospital, I appreciate the "hard-core" necessities of health care. We are not seeing patients at Gesundheit now precisely because we understand the responsibilities and infrastructure necessary to offer good care. Our free hospital is a hugely ambitious project.

Patch generates his own income from his exhaustive speaking tours; money donated to Gesundheit goes to stewarding the property in West Virginia so it can be ready to build a hospital when we get funding. What keeps us going is the delight of linking up with the thousands of people who, inspired by the message we hold out, bring more fun, friendship, and the joy of service to their own communities. While we cannot guarantee that we will have the funds to build the hospital, we can say that we have brought a fresh voice to the public dialogue on health care and the value of community. And we'll keep reaching and working toward our dreams.

Dear Editor:

Recently I came across a quote from Margaret Mead: "99 percent of the time humans have lived on this planet we've lived in groups of 12–36 people. Only in times of war—or what we have now, which is the psychological equivalent of war—does the nuclear family prevail, because it's the most mobile unit that can ensure the survival of the species. But for the whole flowering of the human spirit, we need groups, tribe, community."

This quote nicely sums up my own intuition of why creating community may be a hereditary predisposition toward intimately sharing our lives with others. It appears that most of our ancestors sought community. Most everyone agrees that we are social beings. The only question is,

how close do we get to each other? How much do we share?

Along the same lines, I suggest that monogamy is a temporary historical aberration. I doubt that most of my ancestors stayed with one partner through their whole lives. Not when they lived so closely together in small tribes.

I'm not suggesting a return to the past; rather that in creating our present social systems much that was useful was left behind and forgotten.

Fine articles on Y2K! Especially liked Tom Atlee's thoughts. Thank you.

David Coe Mount Shasta, California

Dear Communities:

I have subscribed to *Communities* for almost five years now and read each issue from A to Z. I find it inspiring and know it will be instrumental for me in finding the right community when I'm ready to make another move. Three years ago I lived for a year in a yoga/meditation/retreat center community in northern Michigan (Song of the Morning) and liked the experience so much that I want to move to a community in a friendlier climate. So all the information in your magazine is of great help to me.

I have a request: Would you consider including each writer's picture? That would make it more personal for me, and I'm sure for other readers, to get a sense of who the person is behind each story.

Tineke Wilders

Walden Two Still Inspires ...

Dear Communities:

Since you're doing an issue on Walden Two communities: please print the address of my new Walden Two Fan Site: www.twinoaks.org/clubs/Walden Two. It's balanced between support and criticism of the ideas in Walden Two.

Nexus

Twin Oaks Community Louisa, Virginia

Join in the community dialogue!

Have an opinion or comment about something you've read? Send us a letter! See address above.



Communities Editorial Policy

Communities is a forum for exploring intentional communities, cooperative living, and ways our readers can bring a sense of community into their daily lives. Contributors include people who live or have lived in community, and anyone with insights relevant to cooperative living.

Through fact, fiction, and opinion we offer fresh ideas about how to live cooperatively, how to solve problems peacefully, and how individual lives can be enhanced by living purposefully with others. We seek contributions that profile community living and why people choose it, descriptions of what's difficult and what works well, news about existing and forming communities, or articles that illuminate community experiences—past and present—offering insights into mainstream cultural issues.

We do not intend to promote one kind of community over another, and take no official position on a community's economic structure, political agenda, spiritual beliefs, environmental issues, or decision-making style. As long as submitted articles are related to the theme of community living, we will consider them for publication. However, we do not publish articles that 1) advocate violent practices, or 2) advocate that a community interferes with its members' right to leave.

Our aim is to be as balanced in our reporting as possible, and whenever we print an article critical of a particular community, we invite that community to respond with its own perspective.

Submissions Policy

To submit an article, please first request Writer's Guidelines: 290 McEntire Road, Tryon, NC 28782; 828-863-4425; communities@ic.org.

Advertising Policy

We accept paid advertising in Communities because our mission is to provide our readers with helpful and inspiring information—and because advertising revenues help pay the bills.

We hand pick our advertisers, selecting only those whose products and services we believe will be helpful to people interested in community living, cooperation, and sustainability. We hope you find this service useful, and we encourage your feedback.

Communities Advertising, 290 McEntire Road, Tryon, NC 28782; 828-863-4425; communities@ic.org.

What is an "Intentional Community"?

An "intentional community" is a group of people who have chosen to live or work together in pursuit of a common ideal or vision. Most, though not all, share land or housing. Intentional communities come in all shapes and sizes, and display amazing diversity in their common values, which may be social, economic, spiritual, political, and/or ecological. Some are rural; some urban. Some live all in a single residence; some in separate households. Some raise children; some don't. Some are secular, some are spiritually based, and others are both. For all their variety though, the communities featured in our magazine hold a common commitment to living cooperatively, to solving problems nonviolently, and to sharing their experiences with others.

PUBLISHER'S NOTE



Communities Magazine Makes a Profit!

ART OF THE MATURATION PROCESS FOR AN INDIVIDUAL INVOLVES becoming financially stable and capable of economically standing on one's own. Achieving this goal inspires confidence, self esteem, and the expectation of a viable and exciting future. A business undergoes a similar process—until it reaches financial stability there is always doubt about the wisdom of the venture.

The Fellowship for Intentional Community (FCI) has subsidized *Communities* since the organization assumed the responsibility for publishing the magazine in 1992. Each year we hoped that *Communities* would be able to stand on its own, and each year it wasn't quite at that point.

However, recognizing the significance of this outlet for ideas and stories about the communities movement, the Fellowship persisted. We were confident that the magazine would one day become self-sufficient, and also felt that putting the word out consistently and thoughtfully justified the investment.

We were right! At the last FIC organizational meeting in November, when the financial folks announced that *Communities* magazine appeared to break even in 1998, everyone cheered. We knew that the final figures were not in, but our excitement was palpable.

So let the party begin. We can applaud all the people who worked so diligently for so long to reach this point. I would like to mention a few—our editor, Diana Christian; our production and design staff, Lance Scott and Paul DeLapa; Laird Sandhill, our

EXPENSES		
Printing	\$24,012	
Postage	3,496	
Telephone	625	
Photocopying	637	
Office	16,047	
Labor	22,847	
TOTAL EXPENSES	\$67,664	
INCOME		
Subscriptions	\$34,974	
Single Issues	5,872	
Distributor Sales	21,570	
Advertising	11,922	
TOTAL INCOME	\$74,338	
NET PROFIT	\$6,674	

Communities Number 103

publications manager; and our Reach ad coordinator, Patricia Greene—dedicated to always search for better, less costly, more efficient ways to serve our subscribers and potential subscribers. And, of course, you, our readers, whose support has been far greater than an annual subscription. Your spreading the word and helping us open new distribution outlets has been an invaluable part of our success. Please join us in the spirit of celebration.

So, how did we do it? First, it should be noted that the improved economic status of *Communities* occurred at the same time as the improved economic status of the Fellowship in general. It is not a coincidence that both financial improvements came in the first full year that the Fellowship sponsored the Art of Community gatherings, which provided substantial income to the Fellowship and exposure for the magazine.

Magazine income increased in every significant category. Subscriptions and distributor income increased by over \$3,000 each. Our advertising income was up by over \$1,000. Overall, our income increased by about 12.5 percent.

And expenses decreased in every significant category. Printing, postage, and telephone costs were all down by about \$3,000 each. More efficient staff operations, switching to a new printer, and letting go of nonessential services drove our expenses down by over 16 percent.

This left us \$6,675, or almost 10 percent, of our operating expenses. Hopefully we will be able to build on our success.

As we expressed in our recent Y2K issue, the need for community is becoming more acute as we move into the next few years. The call to become more interconnected and to recognize the links between us is, increasingly, heard from all parts of our global society. I hope you will continue to help us spread the word about communities and cooperative lifestyles to people in all walks of life. The message is becoming more universally relevant, and our scope is becoming broader and more inclusive as we recognize shared concerns. At the same time, we will continue to serve the bedrock of our movement—communitarians and others who support intentional communities infused with vision and hope.

Marty Klaif is Publications Manager for the Fellowship for Intentional Community.

A former Kerista member, he and his partner are in the process of forming a small

COMING IN FUTURE ISSUES

community outside Portland, Oregon.

"Conflict and Healing Conflict," Fall '99. Is conflict natural and inevitable in community? What is the nature of community conflict; how do some communities heal conflict? If, as some say, conflict actually reflects people's underlying childhood woundedness, how can we heal emotionally as well as resolve community conflicts? When can the community handle it, and when should they seek outside help? Communities, 290 McEntire Rd., Tryon, NC 28782; 828-863-4425; communities@ic.org.



Art of Community Audiotapes

Multigenerational Living in Communities: Meeting Everyone's Needs Caroline Estes

Finding Your Community: An Art or a Science? Geoph Kozeny

Manifesting Our Dreams: Visioning, Strategic Planning, & Fundraising Jeff Grossberg

Raising & Educating Children in Community Diana Christian, Elke Lerman, Martin Klaif, Judy Morris

Conflict: Fight, Flight, or Opportunity? Laird Sandhill

Consensus: Decisions That Bring People Together Caroline Estes

Six "Ingredients" for Forming Communities (That Help Reduce Conflict Down the Road) Diana Christian

Building a Business While Building Community Carol Carlson, Lois Arkin, Harvey Baker, Bill Becker, Judy Morris, Ira Wallace

Legal Options for Communities Allen Butcher, Aiy'm Fellman, Stephen Johnson, Tony Sirna

We Tried Consensus and Got Stuck. Now What? Caroline Estes & Laird Sandhill

Each tape, \$8.95. S+H, \$2, 1-4; \$3, 5+. Art of Community Audiotapes, Rt 1, Box 155, Rutledge, MO 63563; 660-883-5545; fic@ic.org.

Intentional Communities

Web Site

The most comprehensive resource on intentional communities available on the World Wide Web.

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COMMUNIT



GOOD NEWS FOR URBAN COMMUNITY activists looking for legislative precedents. In January 1999, Boulder, Colorado passed a revised Cooperative Housing Ordinance allowing up to eight unrelated adults to buy a house together and considerably eased the financial and legal requirements to do so. Even with an unusually high number of progressive, "alternative" residents and exorbitant housing costs—and with "affordable housing" as its number one agenda item—the city of Boulder has nevertheless been one of the most difficult places to share rental costs or live in community. For example, no more than three unrelated adults can share a house together, and until 1996, no more than three unrelated people could jointly buy property. Cedar Barstow of the nonprofit Boulder Housing Coalition (BoHoCo), a project of the Solstice Institute, estimates that in spite of the law, 10,000 to 15,000 people, or 10% of Boulder's population, nevertheless break the law by living in shared housing arrangements of more than three people.

"Even though it's illegal, it's still the city's most successful affordable housing strategy," says Ben Lipman of BoHoCo.

So BoHoCo offered technical assistance to the Boulder City Council, and in 1996, thanks to their work and the work of individual communitarian activists including Barstow, Lipman, and others, Boulder passed its first ordinance allowing six unrelated people to buy a house together in order to create a housing coop. Unfortunately the financial and legal hoops people had to jump throughforming a complex and expensive cooper-

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ative housing corporation, getting approval of mostly disapproving neighbors (fearing "Animal House" or "hippies")—were so intimidating and potentially expensive that the city had few takers.

The 1999 revised ordinance makes it much easier. The people buying a house together don't have to form a cooperative co-op and need not get approval from but simply notify neighbors within 300 feet.

The Boulder City Council is also considering further legislative support for cooperative housing, including revising the "only-three-unrelated-adults" law so that up to five or six unrelated people can share a house as tenants in permitted rental co-ops; as well as finding ways for elderly homeowners to rent out their extra bedrooms for additional retirement income without becoming "zoning criminals."

Boulder now allows the land portion of a city property to be owned by a community land trust, and up to 49 percent of the house to be owned by an interested nonprofit. This means the rest of the 51 percent of the house cost could be divided among up to seven unrelated purchasers—considerably reducing each person's share of the housing costs.

"We're hoping to attract affordable-housing grant money to Boulder to help implement this new strategy," says Lipman. "We could set a precedent for affordable urban community living for other high-rent university towns nationwide."

For more information: Boulder Housing Coalition, 303-939-8463; solstice@ic.org.

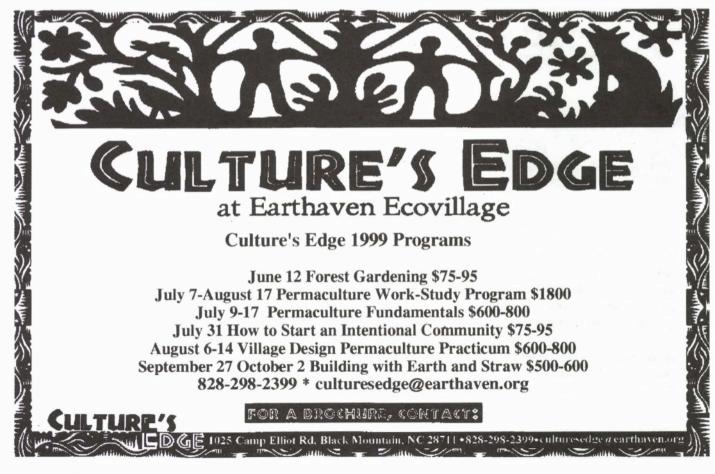


Since the Robin Williams movie *Patch Adams* has made such a splash world-wide—with many audiences in theaters around the nation giving it a standing ovation—the **Gesundheit Institute** in rural West Virginia has received a flood of responses from people, according to board member *Heidi Read*. They have been deluged with phone calls, email, and requests for interviews, mostly from people who reconnected to the joy of service or got in

touch with the pain they've felt about the kind of health care they have received, or given. "Many young people are writing," reports Read, "saying they've wanted to make a difference with their lives and felt they couldn't, and after seeing the movie they feel inspired again to follow their dreams."

"Most people contacting us want to let us know how inspired they are by what we are doing and to wish us well," adds Gesundheit board member Blair Voyvodic, M.D. "Many write to say they are coming to get cured at our hospital (!) or they want to come and volunteer." Unfortunately, because of Gesundheit's limited space and small staff, they have had to cancel their volunteer program for this summer. "We tell people again and again that we do not yet have a hospital," says Voyvodic, "and we are doing our best to do the fundraising and the community building needed in order to build the free hospital of our dreams."

The majority of media coverage of Patch Adams and the Geshundheit Institute has ranged from warm to enthusias-



tically supportive, says Voyvodic. Two exceptions were a nationally televised Inside Edition TV program in January of this year and a nationally syndicated Associated Press article in the same month that appeared in many newspapers nationwide. Both stories implied that Patch Adams and the Gesundheit Institute have deluded people by fund raising for many years with no up-and-running free hospital yet to show for it, along with interviews with volunteers who were disappointed by their experience at Gesundheit. The journalist who wrote the AP article told Voyvodic later that she was upset with how the editors had twisted her originally balanced and supportive article. "The negative publicity was vague and lacked substance," says Voyvodic. "The result for us was another flood of people writing to express support."

And has the movie generated funds to build the free community hospital? According to Voyvodic, three people offered major funding (prompting Patch Adams, in his excitement and gratitude, to prematurely announce that the hospi-

tal was now funded). One "turned out to be someone who was living a fantasy of having that kind of money," he says, "but the other two were much more involved and more substantial. We have not yet received donations from them and still have a lot of arrangements to work out before we do. These people have encouraged us to continue pursuing every additional funding source that we can." Another supporter was Universal Studios, who donated \$425,000 to a professional fund-raiser to develop a data base for fundraising. From that Gesundheit has received \$76,000 and has added 17,000 people to their mailing list.

Voyvodic offers suggestions for other communities facing media and public attention: "Be clear about what you want people to know and keep saying it. When people have asked us about the criticism or the rumors that we were already funded, we have consistently brought their attention back to what we are doing now and what we want to do in the future. We are most effective in communicating when we stay grounded

in loving, intelligent idealism. We lose connection with our audience if we succumb to frustrations and disappointment. This is easier said than done, given how rarely mass media gives communities the opportunity to spotlight what we see as important."



Speaking of media, the recent increase of media focus on intentional communities continues. In February the cohousing movement and **Hundredfold Farm**, a rural cohousing community now forming in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, received two full pages of coverage in the *Gettysburg Times*. According to member *Mark Knight* the paper featured a local family's experience with cohousing in Seattle and California, profiled a Pittsburgh-based firm that helps cohousing projects, and described the brief but active development of Hundredfold Farm.

On November 15 of last year the Washington Post Magazine ran a six-page multifaceted article on Twin Oaks commu-

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nity, "The Other American Dream," complete with a cover shot of a family in front of a community residence and an inside photo of *Alex McGee*, the FIC's Art of Community coordinator and *Communities* magazine co-Guest Editor (Winter '97).

The January 1999 issue of Mademoiselle magazine highlighted intentional communities (though they couldn't resist poking fun), in their "Seven Hottest Predictions for the Coming Year." Editor Elizabeth Crow wrote: "Utopian Communities. Erewhon lives! Oneida rocks! If you can't quite go for old-line proletarian politics ... there's a low-tech, grassroots alternative: the old-time commune. Everyone shares, everyone cares. Upside: Low overhead, low maintenance and you never, ever have to grow up. Downside: You think having roommates is a drag now? See what it feels like 10 years from now." Hmmm. Anyone care to write Ms. Crow and let her know the real scoop on the "low overhead, low maintenance" part? And hey, I didn't know we weren't grown ups. (Mademoiselle, 350 Madison Ave., New York, NY 10017; mllemag@aol.com.)



And in a strange twist on the intentional community concept, in February a syndicated article from Block News Alliance described the upsurge of "Y2K communities" in newspapers nationwide. Writer Michael D. Sallah described an unnamed community nestled in the Blue Ridge Mountains near Roanoke, Virginia, as "just one of many Y2K havens going up across America," adding that most of the Y2K communities were located near farmland with access to fresh water." He noted that a Sully County, South Dakota, developer is offering a planned unit development for survivalists, "Heritage Farms 2000," with five-year leases on five-acre lots for about \$10,000. Then there's "God's Wilderness" in Finland, Minnesota, advertising itself as a relocation site for Christians, with each lot including a cabin, well, pump, shed, greenhouse, and outhouse. Y2K havens can be upscale too-according to Sallah a 120-acre Y2K development is being planned in Monte Vista, Colorado, with a commercial plaza and a golf course.



What about established, vision-based intentional communities and Y2K? Brice Wilson of Sirius community in western Massachusetts has organized The Valley Year 2000 Center, with a mission to help local residents organize their own towns and communities to prepare for Y2K. In December 1998 the center co-sponsored a public meeting that drew 300 people from as far away as Boston and Rhode Island to discuss the role of taking a community approach to Y2K preparedness. "Sharing, interdependence, a commitment to simplicity and sustainability, a belief that working together is smarter and saner than working alone-that's what will get us through whatever comes down around Y2K," says Wilson. "Y2K gives us an opportunity to share what we have learned, just at the time when most people out there are willing to listen."

Across the country at Alpha Farm in Oregon, community members feel much the same. "Intentional communities know



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Summer 1999

the value of cooperation and working together-that's what they're built on," says cofounder Caroline Estes. Alpha Farm plans to be able to house and care for up to 100 neighbors, more than six times their current population, if Y2K disruptions become severe. "We're already getting phone calls," reports Caroline. Alpha Farm is also organizing public meetings in the nearby towns of Deadwood and Mapleton to help others in the region get prepared. "We can't consider ourselves prepared until our neighbors are prepared," she says. "This is a golden opportunity for community-minded people to create community on a broader scale."



In the Summer '98 issue we reported that the 30-year-old Ananda Village community in Nevada City, California, was on the verge of bankruptcy because of legal expenses for two devastating lawsuits which might require that the community sell its 750-acre property and community members leave their homes. While the community won the first lawsuit, they lost the second one, a sexual harassment suit brought against the plaintiff's former lover, against the community itself, and against the community's leader, Swami Kriyananda. In speaking with Ananda members as this issue goes to press, it seems that the community will survive without having to sell their property. In September 1998 Ananda entered a Chapter 11 Reorganization with a Sacramento Federal Court-approved Reorganization Plan to pay all of their creditors 100 percent of what is owed them. According to Ananda member Karen Gamow, the total

cost of legal defense and damages is several million dollars and there is no estimate at this time of how many years it will take to pay it off. "We are settling in for a very long period of repayment," she says. Meanwhile community members and members of Ananda's sister communities (not named in the lawsuits) in California, Oregon, and Washington, as well as Ananda's community businesses, are making monthly contributions from \$25 to \$100 a month towards paying off the debt.



Interested in learning more about communities worldwide? Check out the International Communal Studies Association (ICSA). Formed in 1985 to help academics and others, the ICSA publicizes research projects, encourages comparative studies, and maintains a list of communities and individuals active in community research. "Its main purpose," according to ICSA president and Communities columnist Bill Metcalf, is to "study all forms of communal living, past and present, wherever in the world, under whatever conditions, and with whatever success." The ICSA Bulletin supplies scholars and com-

munitarians with research findings, as well as information about community federations and specific communities worldwide. International conferences have been held in Israel, Scotland, the US, and the Netherlands; the next will take place at ZEGG community in Germany in 2001. To join, contact ICSA at Yad Tabenkin, Ramat Efal 52960, Israel; yadtab@actcom.co.il; or see their Web site at www.ic.org/icsa.



The Fellowship for Intentional Community's fourth Art of Community Gathering is scheduled for June 4-6 in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, co-sponsored with MidAmerica Housing Partnership. Workshops will be offered on finding your community; ecovillages and sustainable communities in urban neighborhoods; consensus decision making; resolving conflict; visioning, planning, and fund raising; "six ingredients" for forming new communities, and more, with presenters Geoph Kozeny, Jeff Grossberg, Lois Arkin, Laird Sandhill, Caroline Estes, Diana Christian, Paul DeLapa, Tony Sirna, and others. For more information: 540-894-5798; alex@ic.org. To register: MAHP, 319-365-3501; mahp@inav.net. Ω

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12 Communities Number 103

All Aboard!

SEPTEMBER: A STRETCH OF DESERT outside Tucson, Arizona (First Semester).

It is only nine in the morning but the scorching sun already forces us to seek shelter. Seventeen of us have found a small patch of shade near some creosote bushes;

we circle for a meeting. We will have to get comfortable as there is much to cover today: organizing cook crews, discussing how we want our community to run, and planning a tentative itinerary for our yearlong bus journey.

This may not sound like your typical community. However, it provides the basis for a Master's degree in Environmental Education with the Audubon Expedition Institute. Our innovative program in-

volves traveling across North America on a yellow school bus equipped with a small kitchen and library. We learn about environmental, political, social, and cultural concerns experientially by visiting with organizations and people directly involved in these issues. We cook our meals, direct our own education, and sleep outdoors every night. With all of these factors in place, the overall success of the program depends on one central tenet: the ability to live in a cooperative learning community.

While many of us picked up the notion of cooperation from early Sesame Street episodes, its real significance has so

far eluded me. Recently though, living in a small space with so many strangers has shed real light on the concept. Learning to recognize which decision will be best for the whole group can be difficult. Dividing the space on the bus, organizing cook crews, and deciding wakeup times requires effort and cooperation on everyone's part.

This first meeting focuses on a subject dear to us all: food and meal prepa-

ration. The logistics are daunting. How do you cook for 17 people and how do you get them to agree on menus? In order to distribute the work we decide to create cooking groups of four. I mistakenly think we just count "one, two, three, four" and create our groups. But there is more to it than that. A brave soul first makes a list of food restrictions to assist the groups in their meal planning. What she cannot





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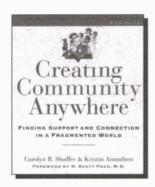
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Laura J. Plant, who now has her Masters Degree in Environmental Education, lives in Vancouver, Canada. Audubon Expedition Institute, Box 365, Belfast, ME 04915; 207-558-5859; aei@audubon.org.



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\$19 postpaid, book rate \$21 postpaid, priority PO Box 5415 Berkeley, CA 94705 510-869-4878 foresee is how this list will balloon into a longer list of what food people will and will not cook. Many of us take food for granted even though it is a complex issue in our lives. Cooking for a group of this size means we have to consider a myriad of ethical, moral, and aesthetic food concerns. With such a diverse range of tastes and talents, we learn how to work together to come up with a plan that will suit everyone. Time, compromise, faith, and a few names in a hat create groups that

everyone can live with—for now anyway. Just like every other decision we'll make this year, we'll re-evaluate at midsemester.

I remember sitting on the bus late one night after a long drive through the Arizona desert. We arrive at the campsite and have to decide our wake-up time. Some of our community members are already asleep, but a few

bleary-eyed troopers are still in the game. "How about 9:00 a.m.?" someone suggests. This idea is shot down. It is too late for our busy schedule. Then the discussion grows more philosophical: Why did we plan such a hectic itinerary for our-

selves? After all, this program is self-directed—designed by students—and we have no one to blame but ourselves. I point out that we are drifting away from the topic.

"Time to refocus." Someone suggests 8:00 a.m. I look at my watch: it is almost one in the morning now!

"I need my eight hours," moans a tired voice from the rear of the bus. By the time we compromise on 8:45 a.m. we have been discussing/arguing/deciding the topic of sleep for almost half an hour. The result? We learn from this experience to decide wake-up times much earlier in the day.

As most people realize, even if everyone in the community agrees on common goals, 17 people cannot go for long without conflict. Some of us sit in a four-hour meeting without uttering a sound; others speak right up and express anger often. For example, we started out in the shade of our two-ton bus this morning. We know we want to do a backpack trip, but that is all we know. Some of us really want to go to Big Bend National Park in southern Texas; maybe we can attempt a short canoe trip on the Rio Grande. Others cannot bear the idea of a two-day drive on a cramped bus heading into a ridiculously hot part of the country. The afternoon fails to bring us any closer to a decision. We move to the other side of the bus and put up our awning to avoid the relentless heat and sun.

"I don't care where we do our next backcountry trip, somebody just make a decision!" one of the students fumes. I

"This is such a

special place.

I wish you

could hear the

wolves ..."

really don't blame him for losing his cool. It's hot, we're frustrated, and the meeting has been going on forever. By now he has walked out and we are not sure whether to make a decision with one member missing. We have to decide, but when someone leaves we begin to question the effectiveness of our decision-making process. How do we make it work

for everyone? Tonight we all go to our tents a little more tired and frustrated than usual.

FEBRUARY: A CAMPGROUND IN GREAT Smoky Mountains, Tennessee (Second Semester)

I am on the cook crew. A couple of people leave their bowls for me to fill. They will not be here when dinner is served; they are off to the pay phone. It is a 15-minute walk from our tent sites. It is dark by the time I have finished the dishes and am able to venture to the phone myself. Luckily for me, the full moon illuminates the paved road. The moon is like a spotlight and I wonder why I even brought my flashlight. The soda machine glows red in the distance and I see that I am second in line. I know enough to bring coins and a book to read in line; I have done this before. Forty-five minutes later I am alone and dialing my partner's number. The moths bang against the old, cracked light above the phone and I look at the strangers' numbers carved into the wood edging of the campground map. It is late, but my partner is in an earlier time zone on the coast. We talk for only a short while, conscious of the cost. I hear howling in the background. It sounds amazingly close. Chills run up my spine. I have never heard this before.

14 Communities Number 103

"This is such a special place. I just wish you could hear the wolves ... "

Being near a phone while on the road is not always easy or convenient. It is not as though we want to spend all our time on the phone, but it seems someone always wants to call home. I refrain from telling family members I will telephone on a certain date or at a particular time. I once left a message on my partner's answering machine that I would call back later that day. Four days later I finally

came across a phone. It amazes me how many gas stations and campgrounds have no interest in Alexander Graham Bell's invention. Because of this, we students have all developed the unusual skill of being able to spot any public phone within a square-mile radius of the bus. It becomes a race to see who can get to the pay phone on grocery shopping days, as this is one of the few times we have several hours near a group of several phones. It is these weekly

calls home that help reconnect us with our families and help them understand what we are experiencing.

The routine of on-the-road community living continually tests us. As graduate students, our academic needs are as unique as our personalities. Some of us can read anywhere, even on a moving bus with eight different conversations happening all around. Others need quiet or crave the comfort of a traditional library setting. Some of us need an entire day at a university where we can spread our work out on a table and use reference materials unavailable on the bus library. These needs affect our community decisions significantly. We may create "quiet nights" using the bus's interior lights for quiet study. We may schedule more library days and therefore miss visiting a resource person.

If our group of 14 students and three faculty members is not prepared to sit in a circle for as long as it takes to solve these problems, then we have failed in understanding the idea of cooperation. It is during these long and often arduous group meetings that one quickly recognizes that our learning community is just a microcosm of society at large. And if we

struggle to come up with solutions to problems—such as personality conflicts or arranging daily schedules—it is little wonder we as a society are having so much trouble with difficult and complex issues such as resource extraction and land use.

OCTOBER: AN OLD-GROWTH FOREST IN central Maine (Third Semester)

The bus pulls up to a gate that is blocking the road. We were not expecting this. As is turns out this is an excellent oppor-

The routine

of on-the-

road

community

living

continually

tests us.

tunity to test our consensus skills. A caretaker comes out of the office and explains that the logging company in this area charges \$10 per person to use this road. Maintenance, he explains, is expensive. We are on our way to a day hike in a small patch of old-growth forest. In our travels we have already met with or visited a logging company executive, a selective logger, an author who writes about forestry issues, an active logging site, a paper

mill, a newspaper recycling facility, and several environmental activists. We now want to visit the forest itself to get a firsthand understanding of what the issues are all about.

This business of a \$10-per-person charge needs to be discussed, so we get permission to park our bus and use a patch of grass nearby for a meeting. A few of us are determined not to pay a logging company for road access to a protected area. Some of us do not want \$10 to stop us from seeing the woods. A few deep sighs are faintly heard as lunches begin to appear from backpacks and we realize we are going to be here for awhile.

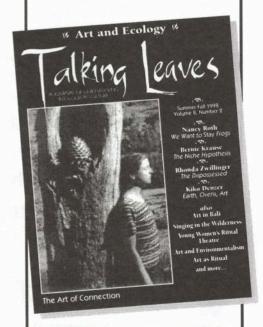
For the first time I recognize what a mature and unique decision-making body we have become. Even though frustrations are high, the discussion moves along smoothly. I feel the rumbling move along the road toward us and we pause as the logging truck barrels past. The dust barely settles before another comes along, reminding some of us why we don't want to pay. The caretaker comes over to try and help us make up our minds. He explains what the money is for and how it is used. He eventually leaves when he realizes we are not the typical tourist group.



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For me, the problem is not even about whether or not to pay the fee, but more about our ability to come to consensus when the group is so divided. We have come a long way from that first morning in the desert. I think we are getting somewhere.

As the sun slowly slides westward we know that if we do not decide soon, it will be too late to hike at all. With some give and take, we decide to pay. Those who feel uncomfortable with the decision are going to write letters to the logging company. The caretaker accepts our payment and gives us the address of where to write.

We wade across a stream and enjoy a quiet hike through the lush green patch of ancient forest. We walk far enough in to get away from the sound of the road. We know that this is our last resource experience for our study of the Maine woods before we head south to Cape Cod.

Cooperation and compromise. I had not previously given these ideas much thought, but as my time "on the bus" continues, I see more clearly the value of developing the skills necessary to work effectively with other people. I have called it developing a "17-sided viewpoint." It is a challenge to see all sides of an issue even when you are attached to your own personal interest. A tight bond is created among people who journey, struggle, and triumph together. There are many advantages to living this way, but I think the most hopeful is the notion of jointly caring for a place and feeling a sense of community. We made a school bus into a home and a group of strangers into a cohesive, committed group of learners. I now wish for this kind of mutual caring to spread beyond the walls of our cooperative community homes (and buses) and to include more of the natural world. Ω

Damanhur: A 'Magical Mystery Tour'

AM 130 FEET UNDERGROUND IN A cavernous complex, deep inside a mountain near Valchiusella in northwest Italy, marveling at murals with complex and imaginative designs and other

beautiful artwork. This is Damanhur community's Temple of Mankind, which, as my guide Eseride Ananas tells me, was excavated by hand over 20 years by hundreds of community members. I have just been taken through a four-hour ritual to ensure that I would attain what they called "the right state of consciousness" and my energies would resonate with the frequencies within their sacred space.

I am shown a complex apparatus made mostly of copper and other metals, glass, and plastic that Eseride describes as an alchemical device to facilitate healing, astral travel, and time travel. She leads me to another underground room in which the walls are inscribed with unfamiliar symbols, which, she says, are an ancient sacred language, predating all other languages and known only to Daman-

hurians. Their 48-year-old founder and spiritual leader, Oberto Airaudi, also known as Falco, reputedly learned this language through conscientious study and "lucid channelling." Only Falco is fluent in it.

Over the last 25 years I have visited dozens of communities on four continents. I have never seen anything like this.

Damanhurians describe scientific research in what

they term "Selfic" science or "Selfica," saying it is based on three metaphysical principles: "As Above, So Below," "Similar Responds to Similar," and "Thoughts Create Reality." They believe that alchemy,



Dr. Bill Metcalf of Griffith University, Australia, an expert in intentional communities worldwide, has since the early 1970s studied both contemporary and historical communal groups around the globe. He is president of the International Communal Studies Association, a Fellow of the Findhorn Foundation, and author of Shared Visions, Shared Lives: Communal Living Around the Globe (Findhorn Press, PO Box 13939 Tallahassee Fl, USA, 1996); and From Utopian Dreaming to Communal Reality (University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, Australia, 1995). Bill has lived communally for about half of his adult life.

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only a small part of Selfica, can transform the "subtle energies" of a person or thing into something else. Damanhurians do not change lead into gold, although they believe it is possible. They believe that colours and metals have vibrations which can affect one's health, so they wear Selfic bracelets of copper wire to ensure wellbeing. Selfica works with what members call "intelligent energies," usable only for good, never for harming people or for personal gain.

Are these people serious? Damanhur communards talk about scientific research. I wonder whether they are conducting groundbreaking experiments at the forefront of scientific inquiry, or are well-meaning practitioners of "pseudoscience," or ... some combination of these.

Or am I, as a middle-aged academic, unable to recognise profound wisdom and insights in Damanhur's claims because their methods fall outside of my conventional western scientific paradigm?

Damanhur is one of the larger, more prosperous communities I've visited, where 450 community members live and work on 460 acres of forest and farmland. The 25-year-old community has 70 buildings; 40 different community businesses; a community constitution; and their own bus service, daily newspaper, and community currency, the credito. They also operate their own medical services, schools, and university. Through such thriving businesses as Atelier Damil, weaving top-quality fashion accessories; Compagnia della Buona Terra, marketing exclusive organic produce; and Cyber Damanhur, the internet provider for this region, I observe a comprehensive, highly diversified economy bringing significant benefits to everyone in the community. Damanhurians work hard and "work smart" to create a thriving economy in this otherwise economically depressed region of Italy.

I'm impressed with their complex social, political, and economic structures, and how they are revitalising the local economy. My hosts are friendly and helpful, my room comfortable, the food excellent, their organisation of my visit efficient and businesslike.

On the other hand ... how does one respond to statements such as: "Damanhur is an internationally renowned centre for spiritual and social research"? Or "Damanhur is involved in changing the structure of time itself"? Or that their Temple of Mankind is "a large laboratory where art and science, technology and spirituality, are united in the search for new paths of evolution and growth for all humanity" that is "a living being" which "may be used as an extraordinary healing instrument" wherein "it is possible to

enter into contact with the Forces which are co-operating with humankind to create a new future"?

Professor Massimo Introvigne, writing in *Communal Societies* (1996), suggested that the completion of this temple "is magically linked, in Damanhur's inner worldview, to the salvation of the whole

planet." A senior Damanhurian disagrees, stating, "The temple is a metaphor for what is working inside of us; it's a place to experiment with all the arts; it's a challenge to prove that we were really capable of doing what even we thought was impossible."

While Damanhur members worked in secret for many years, they now seek recognition and professional legitimation. "The results of over 20 years of experimentation at Damanhur are open to researchers from all over the world," reads the literature of Libera Università di Damanhur (Free University of Damanhur). I wonder about their bid for legitimacy, however, as their courses include "esoteric and spiritual physics: the ancient and futuristic science of Selfica; the true nature of time and space; the structure of the soul and human personality, life, death and past lives; pranatherapy and healing techniques; sacred dance; autohypnosis; creative visualisation; and astral travel."

The community has created its own calendar, with September 1, 1998 being New Year's Day of year 24. Their collective aim for Year 24 is to be more open and transparent to outsiders, hence my visit as President of the International Communal Studies Association.

They located the community here in Valchiusella Valley, I'm told, because they

I have never seen anything like this.

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believe it's one of only two places in the world where four "synchronic lines" intersect. Their literature describes these lines as "energy rivers that surround the Earth and link it to the universe. These energy flows are able to catalyse the great forces present in the cosmos. The lines can modify events and carry ideas, thoughts, and moods, thereby influencing all living creatures."

How does one know that synchronic lines exist? Jeff Merrifield, author of Damanhur: The Real Dream (London: Thorsons, 1998), asked this of Falco, Damanhur's spiritual leader, who explained, "In the beginning, I was using out-of-body journeys, a technique which can be used in this kind of research, to define the synchronic lines." Falco also said, "When I was 14 ... it was easier for me to develop things like levitation or materialization.... I never played football, but ... I would make a face appear in front of the goalkeeper so that he would get scared and not stop the ball."

Damanhurians live in communal households, called nucleos, of five to 18 adults, plus children. Marriage is based on a contract, usually of one to five years, renewable with the agreement of both parties. Nucleos eat together, sharing child-rearing and household duties. Damanhurians estimate that it costs \$US155,000 to raise each child, so the community tries to plan all births according to economic and social priorities. Most children are born at home, delivered by Damanhur's midwives.

The nucleos are grouped into four communities: Etulte, Tentyris, Rama, and Damil, together comprising Damanhur Federation. Damanhurians are linked by democratic processes and their constitution: the second article of which begins, "Each member of the People takes a commitment to spread positive and harmonious thoughts." The eighth article states, "The body is to be fed harmoniously, kept clean, respected, and looked after."

Members commonly adopt the names of animals and plants to which they feel attracted. Thus I chat with Gorilla Eucalipto, Orango Riso (Orangutan Rice), and Esperide Ananas (Butterfly Pineapple).

Two "King/Queen Guides" are elected for six months to be leaders of Damanhur; their power constrained by a "College of Want to live a five minute walk from downtown?

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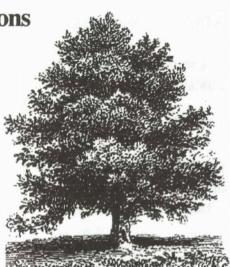
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Justice" and the knowledge that all leaders have regular "public trials" to assess their leadership. Falco is not infallible, and people can challenge him; however, I'm told, "We trust him because he has been shown to be correct."

Lepre Viola (Hare Pansy), a Queen Guide, assures me that Damanhurians actually do undertake both astral travel and time travel. She has experienced astral travel "out of my body, but not out of the room," although she says other Damanhurians achieve greater astral travel.

"Could I astrally travel home to Australia?" I ask.

"Yes, but it's easier to just fly on a plane," is her witty reply.

Time travel can be undertaken into the past, never to the future, they say, and "it is important to keep the door open in order to be able to return." Damanhurians consider time "not only as a linear sequence of events, conven-

tionally going from past to future, but also as a 'temporal sea' of constant present, where all events are present contemporaneously."

Not surprisingly, in the past Damanhur has incurred the wrath of the Catholic Church and of conservative Italians who saw it as a dangerous cult. Some unsuccessfully tried to connect the community with the ill-fated Solar Temple and other controversial sects, and have alleged that Damanhur threatens the peace—which it does not.

Falco tells me that Damanhur is at the centre of Europe, equidistant from Rome, Paris, and Berlin, and that it will serve as a model for all Europe. "We make the Europe of the future," he says. Falco plans to create an independent, spiritual republic in this part of Italy.

Damanhurians run for office in local elections. They represent enough votes to have put 14 of their members on four district councils, and anticipate achieving a majority of representation after the next election. They enthusiastically participate in regional environmental and social planning issues—to everyone's benefit, in my opinion.

Before becoming a Damanhur member, one spends up to two years in a "testing period." Members vow to "follow the laws of Damanhur and the natural laws of good communal living and engage in the work of Damanhur."

On one hand, I agree with the part of their literature that states, "It is crucial ... to elaborate new social models ... flexible enough to be successfully applied under the most diverse conditions. Only by so doing, is it possible to create a new future for humanity. It is high time that existing new societies raised their voices to affirm their will and capacity to exist and live, creating a benchmark for others.

"We make the Europe of the future," Falco says. ... New forms of society are possible and practicable. They are the indispensable pathway to the creation of a new planetary balance in social, economic, human and cultural terms." But I wonder about their claim that "the formula which has made Damanhur possible and successful ... [can] be exported and applied anywhere in the world to create new

sustainable societies."

This leaves me where I began—passionately admiring Damanhur's wonderful economic and social communal model, but equally dubious about their claims

As one Italian observer wryly observed: "Nothing like this exists outside the films of Indiana Jones." Ω

For more information about Damanhur: www.damanhur.it; Damanhur: The Real Dream, J. Merrifield (London: Thorsons, 1998); "Damanhur: A Magical Community in Italy," M. Introvigne, Communal Societies, #16, pp. 71–84, 1996.

Note: We preserve the spelling of our Commonwealth authors.



'THE COWS WILL COME & EAT YOUR EGGPLANTS'

BY YISCAH BRACHA

ROM THE MILITARY BUNKER AT THE PEAK OF the highest hill on the west side of the road to Elat, Kibbutz Lotan is a hazy little clump of splotches of green and the tiny blue dot of the swimming pool. Just to the south of Lotan is a slightly larger hazy clump and that is Kibbutz Ketura. From this military bunker, we can't see the other kibbutzim and moshavim in the Arava desert, but we know they're there. Except for a newly constructed suburb on a hill just north of Elat, all the human settlements on this side of the valley are either communal or cooperative farms. The Israeli government decided to settle the valley this way and it would not be settled at all without government and kibbutz movement support. There is not enough water. The Arava gets one inch of rainfall per year.

Across the valley and well to the south, nestled just below the foothills of the Edom mountains to the east, are the swatches of green and little dots from the Arab village on the Jordanian side of the invisible border. It is easy—too easy—to miss the border, especially since it gets redefined every few years. James, the English birder who leads British and German bird watching groups, unwittingly crossed the border when he was jogging late one afternoon. It's a good thing Israel was officially at peace with Jordan at the time or

he could have been shot. As it was, a huge contingent of Jordanian troops swooped down on him to investigate; the Israeli soldiers stationed as guards at the entrances to Lotan jumped in their jeeps to meet them; and someone managed to sort between the Arabic, Hebrew, and English that was thrown back and forth to determine that the whole thing was an accident.

This military bunker is a bizarre place that, according to logic, shouldn't be here; but then that is the story of Israel. It must have been a major engineering and logistical challenge to construct, for there is nothing that holds these loose hills together except gravity. Even walking on them sends stones and boulders down. The ever molding and shaping power of water has left these sandy hills alone. To get the construction equipment and materials up here and then to build a large bunker without having it all crash down must have been quite a feat. Why? Why would anyone defend this place? There is nothing of material value here: No oil, no precious metals, no water, no food. No timber, no coal. No material wealth of any kind. Just ibex and sand, desert foxes and hyenas and porcupines that chew holes in the irrigation lines, the occasional acacia tree, and many species of birds migrating between Europe and Africa. Why would anyone want to claim this land except to have the ability to pass through it in order to get to someplace else? But when national borders were last drawn, these crumbly hills and the vast flat desert floor between them were included within the nation-state of Israel and so the government built an infrastructure to support several dozen communal human settlements. Settle the people, claim and defend the land, not to protect wealth, because there isn't any of that, but simply to protect the psychic boundaries of who we are.

OTAN WAS THE LAST KIBBUTZ ESTABLISHED in the Arava and also the smallest, with approxi-the time I first arrived. When I visited again five months later, the number of children had increased by 30%. A baby boom was underway; almost every married woman was either pregnant or nursing a newborn. In addition to the members, there also were a dozen Australian teenaged volunteers on a year-long Reform Jewish youth movement program. A dozen hired Arab workers were harvesting melons and tomatoes from the commercial fields. And there were a gaggle of provisional members: individual volunteers like Shlomo, my housemate Josh and me; and two Israeli soldiers, including my other housemate, Ophrah, who had just completed their mandatory service and were working on the kibbutz until they figured out the next step in their lives. During my three-month visit, the kibbutz hosted a wedding, two groups of birders, a Vipassana meditation group on a 10-day retreat, and the occasional stray tourist.



I gulped with a sense of deep inadequacy. I knew nothing about growing in a desert.

The kitchen prepared enough food for 100 but it never really knew how many it would serve.

Most of the members were 35-40 years old and about half were present at the community's founding 15 or 16 years earlier. They were young, full of energy and surging enthusiasm then; drawn together by their dream of establishing a religious community within the Reform denomination of Judaism. They had met in the youth movement where they sang together, hiked together, loved each others' souls. The native-born Israelis served together in the army; the immigrants, most from English-speaking countries, did their army service later. The kibbutz movement gave them land and houses nearly for free; told them how to establish and manage a date plantation as well as commercial fields growing tomatoes, melons and other hot weather crops; told them how to establish and manage a modern dairy. Nobody in those days asked whether a dairy belonged in a desert that got one inch of rainfall a year.

Youthful enthusiasm lasts only so long and then the stark reality of 60-hour weeks sets in, as well as endless meetings and a kibbutz movement in financial crisis. There was a housing crunch with no clear idea about how to alleviate it. There was a labor shortage with no clear idea of how to get more labor without places for people to live. And there was a wavering—a loss of vision—a confusion about who they were and why, in fact, they were there showering cows in the desert five times a day. The old dream of being a Reform Jewish kibbutz wasn't grabbing very many hearts any more, and half of those who had nurtured that dream at the start were gone. Some of those who remained were hanging on to it. Some had quit dreaming and wanted only a peaceful life and a secure future for themselves and their families. Some were tired of the endless hassles and negotiations of community life but were afraid to try anything else; they had been there all their adult lives.

And some, like Mike, were visionaries.

Save the land. It is crazy to be here in the desert with our air conditioned concrete houses and a swimming pool. It is crazy to watch the water meter spin while we shower the cows to keep them cool. The date plantation and the commercial fields use thousands of liters of water a month. And that was just Lotan; the other kibbutzim and moshavim in the Arava used far more. The aquifer, their common resource, already was contaminated with encroachment from the Red Sea. Salinity was increasing at the rate of 1% per year. Lotan was merely the smallest and youngest of all the culprits, but who were the culprits really? After 2,000

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years of precarious existence in Diaspora, the Jewish people finally had a land—The Land, The Homeland, The Source. Settle the people, make the desert bloom—that was the romantic vision of the early Zionists. Nobody was talking permaculture or balanced ecosystems then. It wasn't in their mythology, and to judge them from our mythology isn't quite fair. Their mythology was to bring Jews home from all over the world and have them all be speaking Hebrew, a liturgical language understood only by the most learned men at the time.

It must be in the Jewish blood to bring these crazy visions into being, and Mike, all of us, carry that blood. His crazy vision was to transform the kibbutz into a steward rather than a rapist of the land. Elat, the town at the tip of the Arava jutting into the Red Sea, once had been a haven for migrating birds but development for tourism had degraded their habitat, so Mike started a small bird reserve just south of Lotan. Israel has no recycling programs; Mike built a waste separation facility in the parking lot behind the kitchen. Gilly, the kitchen manager, obtained almost all kibbutz food by ordering from the suppliers twice a week. The yogurt and ketchup, the and olives and oranges and rice, everything arrived either in cardboard boxes, plastic bottles, or tin cans.

"Save all the packaging," requested Mike.

"Atah meshug, are you nuts?" But Gilly obliged, and then Mike considered what to do with the pile that rose up like the mountains of Edom every week.



"What is the plan here?" I asked. "There is no way the kibbutz can handle this much egaplant."

In his spare time and with the help of volunteers, he built an observatory in the bird reserve with discarded truck tires and aluminum cans, stuccoed by an adobe paste he made from shredded newspaper, cow

manure, cement, and sand. He manufactured soil for the organic garden from composted kitchen scraps, flattened cardboard boxes which once held food deliveries, and cow manure spiked with alfalfa from the bird reserve. He scrounged tractors from official kibbutz work branches to make rows, spread them with the ingredients of the future soil, and laid down black irrigation line. He begged the kibbutz to dedicate a bit of the scarce available hous-

ing for an official "ecological volunteer" like me who could manage the garden while he continued to work in the metal shop. The metal shop produced income and that's what counts. There were many members who scornfully questioned the value of housing ecological volunteers that didn't directly produce income for the kibbutz, and balked at the few hundred dollars that the timers on the irrigation system cost. What good is organically grown food, they asked, when we are not sure how we are going to finance the housing we need? And can you even grow food organically?

"It's silly, a crazy idea," said the manager of the commercial fields.

But all of it was silly. None of it made sense. Why figure out how to control pests organically while the salinity in the water table increased 1% a year? Why ask the kitchen to save cardboard to make soil while deteriorating negotiations with the Palestinians could put Israel at war with Jordan again? But this was authentic behavior for us. If our ancestors had behaved sensibly, the Jewish people wouldn't exist today. Fernando was a Portuguese volunteer. When the Inquisitors in the 14th century declared that observing Shabbat was a crime punishable by death, Fernando's women ancestors started lighting white candles in closets on Friday nights. They senselessly lit Shabbat candles in closets for five hundred years, long past knowing why, until, in 1983, Portuguese authorities revoked the Inquisition laws. If they had behaved sensibly, Fernando would not be here. None of us would. We would have disappeared like all the other ancient Mesopotamian tribes, possibly to be remembered in history books like the Romans and Greeks and Sumarians and Philistines, but we wouldn't be arguing about irrigation timers on a small kibbutz in the Arava.

I arrived on the day before the new moon of Rosh Hashanah, the beginning of 5758, three and a half moons before the end of the Christian year 1997. After a summer of desert temperatures and searing sun, the weather had finally cooled enough to start planting the autumn crops. Mike had carved out twelve long rows in the organic garden but only four of them were fully layered with cardboard and compost and alfalfa and manure. He had run out of both raw materials and time.

It would be my job to manage this garden and I gulped with a sense of deep inadequacy. I knew nothing about growing in a desert; my experience came from the rich central plains of North America where autumn was a time to harvest and preserve, not begin the new crop. I knew nothing about these strange fungi and bugs that only had begun appearing in the Arava within the last 30 years. Every year could bring a new disease or bug. The only transferable skill I thought I could offer was how to think about a garden; how to conceptualize its evolution from one season to the next; how to systematically plan for rotations, for growth,

for rest, for cycling resources from one area to the next. But even that would turn out to be nearly useless in a place that does not operate by carrying out plans. It operates by a different set of principles: Respond to the crises and opportunities sent by the Universe.

Which is the only explanation for the fact that of the four fully composted rows, two of them would become planted with eggplant, about 90 plants in each row. The first row was already flowering when I arrived, six or eight clusters of lovely violet blossoms on each plant.

"What is the plan here?" I asked Mike that first week. "There is no way the kibbutz can handle this much eggplant on its own."

"Sure it can," he said, "there are a hundred people eating here." And I dropped it because I didn't know how much a hundred people could eat.

Along with tomato, peppers, basil, rosemary, thyme, and half a dozen other plants Mike wanted to try, there were six more flats of eggplant seedlings in the shadehouse those first few weeks. After Mike had ordered and received the first 100 plants, the commercial fields had offered him these six additional trays. Of course he accepted them; the organic garden was the begging cousin of the kibbutz family and he couldn't say no. When some young Americans visiting from Jerusalem for the holidays became captivated by the vision of saving the Earth, they begged to help in some way.

"Plant the eggplants," said Mike, concerned because they were bursting out of their plastic cells. I objected—"We

have enough, we need the row for something else"-but Mike had to seize the opportunity.

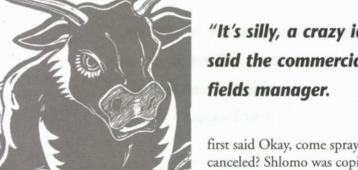
By then that first row was unstoppable: 12, 20, 50 fruits per plant with no end to them in sight. The first picking yielded 3 large crates. Gilly usually ordered half a crate per week. Those three crates piled up in the cooler to be tripped over and cursed at by every person who walked through.

The eggplants became the joke of the season. They were beautiful. Their blue-black skins glistened in the sunlight, they were firm but still springy to the touch, and they were nearly without blemish except for the occa-

sional hole poked by a bird. We didn't know what to do with them. We talked about them in the dining hall, speaking in English for my benefit while everyone else in the dining hall spoke Hebrew, a strictly liturgical language only a hundred years ago. Conversational Hebrew in the dining hall continually reminded me that absurd visions indeed can prevail. Could we sell the eggplants to another kibbutz? No, they already had more than enough eggplants of their

own. Could we sell them to the natural foods store that had just opened in Elat? Could we sell them to the distributor who came down from Tel Aviv? No, and no; the garden hadn't been certified organic so we couldn't advertise them that way and the distributor would only take them in packaging that would cost more than what the eggplants would bring. Let's mount a stand on the road to Elat and sell them to people who stop. But with a crucial labor shortage already there was no way we could let someone sit on the road all day waiting for cars to stop. Then just leave them there with a box for money and if they don't pay, so what? I was laughing but I was also annoyed, what a ridiculous thing it was, planting half the fully prepared rows in the garden with a crop we couldn't use.

But that was Lotan. In that month of the most abundant eggplant, the dairy manager cut off part of his finger in an accident with the tractor, and the assistant manager had learned that a close friend had just hung himself. Cows lowed in the moonlight begging to be milked and my housemate Josh started living in the milk house. Someone learned that a provisional member from South Africa who had been taking a strangely perverse interest in guns also had ties to South African special police forces; the executive committee stayed up all night long debating what to do. Word came down from Tel Aviv that someone would arrive to spray for Mediterranean fruit flies. A big fury erupted. Did we need the spray, was it harmful to human health, what kind of reputation would Lotan give to the world if it



"It's silly, a crazy idea," said the commercial

first said Okay, come spray, and then canceled? Shlomo was coping with his Swiss guest Angela, a former traveling companion from India who had expected him to leave everything and travel around Israel with her. One day after she'd arrived, he learned that his

closest childhood friend had died in a car accident in Tel Aviv. And Mike had been frantically pushing Shlomo, Duo, and me, his three ecological volunteers, to help him achieve a sense of completion with his numerous projects before he left for a trip to America for three weeks.

Two days before Mike's departure, Shlomo and I were each laying on mattresses on the floor of my house to discuss plans for our upcoming trip to India. We were on thin

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That first row was unstoppable: 12, 20, 50 fruits per plant with no end to them in sight.

foam mattresses on the floor because the night before someone had taken the couch that Josh and Ophrah and I had been using. Now the only living room furniture we had were three thin mattresses and one overly large desk.

Ophrah returned from Jerusalem and, observing our furniture dryly, declared that we had gotten one step closer to the Bedouin ideal. A year or so ago, Shlomo told us, two cows escaped from the dairy barn. They wandered north to the garden, moseyed in the beds, smashed plants, and stepped on one of the several-hundred-dollar irrigation timers Mike had begged the kibbutz to buy. The cows took huge cow mouthfuls of everything. No one knows how they escaped.

"What good are plans?" Shlomo asked. "Look at this place. Look at me. Angela arrives on Sunday, and Monday I learn that my friend dies in a car accident in Tel Aviv. You wait and see: the cows will come and eat your eggplants."

The cows did not come but Dalit did, just two days after Mike, Shlomo, Angela, and Jo all left, leaving me as the sole guardian of the "ecological projects" on Lotan. Dalit came with her German boyfriend Hans, and in less than a week they had won the hearts of everyone under the age of 30—quite a feat, since gentle, mellow bird watcher James was still fending off rude queries about why he, a Christian, had a presence in a Jewish community. Dalit was 22 or 23, born in the industrial Israeli town of Haifa but raised in America, and she was going to get the entire kibbutz to switch to a vegan diet in a few weeks. She was going to grow sprouts on the roof of her house. She would corner me in the kitchen and, her face two inches from mine, rapidly and animatedly would explain her latest idea for greening Lotan.

Dalit had a vegan recipe for an Indian curried eggplant stew intended to serve six. You were supposed to roast the two eggplants and that's what she wanted to do with the eight crates in the cooler, but I successfully talked her into baking them after we calculated that roasting would take about eight hours. That stew was amazing. We served it for dinner that night. People came back for seconds, then thirds. They scraped the bottom of the pan and begged for more.

Dalit and Hans stayed for about three weeks before sud-

denly deciding to go back to America. But in those three weeks Dalit had found half a dozen ways to use huge quantities of eggplants at once, and she'd even gotten the most curmudgeonly resistant member of the kibbutz—who previously had snorted at any mention of the ecological projects or organically grown food—to ask what soup or stew Dalit had made that night. Dalit left her vegan recipes with Gilly who, the next week, complained because the garden hadn't produced the quantity of eggplants she was counting on.

BOUT A YEAR LATER, AFTER I LEFT INTENSE, crazy Lotan, I attended Friday night services at a small synagogue in the soil- and water-rich plains of central North America. There were only 15 other worshippers besides me. At the potluck afterwards I discovered that the woman sitting next to me had returned from Lotan only two weeks before. She had gone to attend a workshop on Judaism and ecology that had attracted nearly 100 people from around the world. Lotan was becoming a center for people exploring the spiritual connection between Judaism and our relationship to the Earth, she said, and income from these visitors was going up. It was not yet enough to replace income from the dairy, but some day it might be. She told me that Israeli tourists already had started hearing about the bird reserve and wanted to visit it before Mike had finished the observatories. Israelis typically do what they want, and members raised the concern that the tourists might damage the fledgling reserve before it was ready to accommodate them. They also might accidentally cross into Jordon, less than half a kilometer away. No one had forgotten the international incident of the jogging James.

"Services were beautiful there," she gushed. "I'm looking for something like that here."

Lotan. The salinity in the water table probably has risen more, and the shortage of both labor and living space probably is even more severe as ten more children have been born. American newspapers are not at all hopeful about the prospects of peace in the Middle East. Yet down the hill from a military bunker in an arid desert, we made soil from cardboard in which we grew more eggplants than it seemed we ever could eat. The cows could have come and munched them any time, but Dalit needed those eggplants to convince the kibbutz that vegan food could taste good. Mike didn't know Dalit would come and neither did I. Ultimately, there's no rational reason for anything. At first, says that opening line in Genesis, there was nothingness; a void. But then divine speech caused the world to be. It was a senseless act of beauty and we continue in them to this day. Ω

Yiscah Bracha is a writer and environmental activist living in St. Paul, Minnesota.

Walden Two Communities: Where Are They Now?



FROM THE GUEST EDITORS . DEBORAH ALTUS, HILKE KUHLMANN, & TOM WELSH

EACTIONS TO WALDEN TWO ARE TYPICALLY PASsionate. Some have embraced the novel, as Kat Kinkade once put it, "as a brilliant flash of light." Others have despised it and view Skinner's utopia as an example of vicious mind control. But like it or not, B.F. Skinner's utopian novel, Walden Two, has had an impact on modern intentional communities, particularly in North America.

Walden Two was published in 1948 but sales were slow until the '60s when it became a bestseller. Several groups around North America formed in the '60s to start Walden Two communities. Out of one of those groups came Twin Oaks, arguably one of today's most

influential, respected, and well-known intentional communities. Even though Twin Oaks has long since abandoned its Walden Two focus, the community's systems of labor and government are examples of Skinner-inspired behavioral engineering that have been widely admired and frequently modeled by a number of contemporary intentional communities.

The Walden Two movement stretched beyond the borders of the United States, although it did remain a largely a North American phenomenon. In Mexico we saw the founding of Comunidad Los Horcones, while Canada was the site for Dandelion Community. A Walden Two-inspired co-op house opened in Ireland. Students jumped on the bandwagon, opening co-op houses inspired by Walden Two in Lawrence, Kansas, and Kalamazoo, Michigan. The community in Lawrence, Sunflower House, continues its behavioral system at age 30. The one in Kalamazoo, Sydelle House, was inspired by Lake Village, a community founded by Roger

Ulrich, a behavioral psychology professor and colleague of Skinner. Lake Village now describes itself as "ecological" rather than "behavioral," and Sydelle House no longer exists.

In addition to the well known Walden Twoinspired communities (Twin Oaks, Dandelion, Lake Village, and Los Horcones), an untold number of 1960s communes attempted to implement aspects

of Walden Two. For example, a sub-group of Tolstoy Farm, called the Woody Hill Co-op, lived by a Walden Two-inspired system for a brief period of time. These attempts at implementing Walden Two were typically short lived, often leaving those involved discouraged and em-

bittered about the promise of behaviorism to save society.

In the half-century of both admiration of and animosity toward Skinner's novel, where is Walden Two today? Is Walden Two possible? Or to frame the question a little differently, is Walden Two desirable? Why have many Walden Two communities abandoned behaviorism or failed entirely? Why have some (or maybe just one—Comunidad Los Horcones) continued to base their practices on the science of behavior? Is Walden Two simply out of fashion or are the ideas it presents unworkable? Alternatively, has Skinner been misunderstood? In other words, are we mistakenly using the book as a blueprint for a community rather than as a call to experiment with human behavior from a natural-

We turn to our authors for help with these questions. Paul Chance takes us south of the border to the Mexican community of Los Horcones, where members continue to study and practice

science perspective?

Is Walden Two possible?

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"behaviorology," as they call it, in their everyday lives. Hilke Kuhlmann, a German doctoral student studying Walden Two-inspired communities, provides us with an overview of some of the groups inspired by Skinner's novel. Richie Graham and Kat Kinkade give insiders' views on founding and living in Walden Two-inspired communities, while Juan Robinson-Bustamante and Lee Ann Kinkade add the perspective of growing up in such communities.

Guest editing this issue was an interesting and somewhat challenging experience because the three of us do not have a unified view toward Skinner and Walden Two. But this fact may have been helpful to the final product in that we were open to presenting different interpretations of Walden Two rather than editing this issue to conform to one perspective toward Skinner and the science of behavior. Alternatively, we let authors speak with their own voices and put forward their own opinions on this controversial figure and his equally controversial novel. Each author provides an interesting slant on Walden Two and its impact on intentional community living, some quite positive and others amused or even sad. We urge those of you interested in learning more about

Is Walden Two desirable?







Guest Editors (top to bottom) Deborah Altus, with son Elijah; Hilke Kuhlmann; and Tom Welch.

Skinner's views to read him in the original and let your opinion be guided by how you view his words, directly, rather than by what others have said about him. Ω

Deborah Altus is a former member of Sunflower House and a long-time student of Walden Two communities. She lives, loves, and plays in Lawrence, Kansas, where she puts most of her energies these days into raising one-year-old Elijah. She wishes she had a Skinnerian air crib to simplify life.

Hilke Kuhlmann is writing her doctoral dissertation on the influence of B.F. Skinner's Walden Two on the communities movement, and has spent the last year living in Walden Two-inspired communities, including Twin Oaks, Dandelion, and Lake Village. She lives in Freiburg, Germany.

Tom Welsh lived and worked in cooperative communities, including three Walden Two-inspired communities (Lake Village, Sydelle House, and Sunflower House) for 20 years. He currently promotes cooperative approaches to training concert dances at Florida State University and the University of Utah.

About "Walden Two": In this issue references to Skinner's novel are italicized; however, references to his fictional community are not.



Creating more happiness and well-being was the aim of Los Horcones founders.

DEBORAH ALTUS

SCIENCE OF BEHAVIOR, SÍ!

BY PAUL CHANCE

N THE ROAD TO TECORÍPA IN NORTHERN Mexico, a small sign quietly announces a nearby community. Turning right onto the dirt road through the low Palos Verdes trees that dot the Sonoran desert, a second sign bids welcome to a community that "applies the science of behavior to the design of a new society." Beyond the unlocked gate lies Los Horcones (orr-cone-ase), a living, breathing community that once existed only in the imagination of behaviorist B. F. Skinner and his utopian novel, Walden Two.

Ever since *Walden Two* first appeared in 1948 it has been controversial. One critic called the fictional community "the most totalitarian state ever conceived." Another opined that it offered a life that is thin, sterile, and ridiculously confined. Others have warned that if

people ever lived in a Walden Two-style society, they would become zombies, automatons or sheep—dull and spiritless.

The criticisms stem partly from the fact that the fictional community, called "Walden Two," applied scientific principles of behavior to human affairs. The most important of these principles concerns what behavioral scientists term the law of effect, which says that the likelihood of performing a particular behavior depends on the consequences (or effects) that that behavior has had in the past. People can put this law to practical use by providing consequences that change the frequency of desirable or undesirable behaviors.

All societies make use of the law of effect to change the behavior of its members. Most societies emphasize

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punishment, such as reprimands, fines, or confinement, to weaken undesirable behavior. Skinner, however, believed it was possible to design a community based largely on the use of positive consequences, with little or no punishment or threat of punishment, and wrote *Walden Two* to demonstrate what such a society might look like. *Walden Two* characters use positive reinforcement such as praise, recognition, and access to enjoyable activities to strengthen desirable behavior.

Skinner's fictional community is a great success, with neither a leisure class nor an underclass. *Walden Two* characters experience no alcoholism, no crime, and little sickness. They work only four hours a day, with ample time for recreation and the development of individual talents and interests. They are healthy, happy, and productive.

It is one thing, however, to imagine a utopian society

founded on a science of behavior and quite another to create one. While we see in *Walden Two* a thriving community of nearly a thousand people, we are told nothing of how the first residents overcame the many practical problems of community living. How did they establish rules of conduct, train teachers, or attract suitable residents? Skinner didn't say. It is up to those who would build a real Walden Two community to work out these and the countless other challenges.

I first visited Los Horcones 10 years ago. When I passed through the open gate on the road to Tecorípa, I found a small village of white stucco and adobe buildings with red tile roofs. The largest adobe was a community center with a kitchen and dining hall, a recreation room, and a kind of town office. Nearby stood a combination laundry and bath house. Other structures included the children's house, a school, a blacksmith shop, and

WHAT IS THE SCIENCE OF BEHAVIOR?

LSO CALLED THE ANALYSIS OF BEHAV-Aior or behavior analysis, the science of behavior grew from the philosophy of behaviorism popularized by John Watson in the early 1900s. This science studies behavior, animal and human, by systematically observing relationships between behavior, what occurs just before that behavior, and what follows immediately after that behavior. These relationships are summarized in the form of principles; for example, the principle of positive reinforcement states that a behavior will be more likely to occur in similar circumstances in the future if it is followed by a reinforcer now. Other principles include extinction, negative reinforcement, and punishment. The principles of behavior are derived from the same careful experimental approach that has generated the principles of physics, chemistry, and biology.

Skinner and his followers have combined the principles of behavior to build techniques or procedures to accomplish certain training tasks. For example, the technique of shaping uses carefully timed reinforce-

EN LOS HORCONES
APLICAMOS LA CIENCIA
DE LA CONDUCTA
AL DISEÑO DE UNA
NUEVA SOCIEDAD

IN LOS HORCONES
WE APPLY THE
SCIENCE OF BEHAVIOR
TO THE DESIGN OF
A NEW SOCIETY

Los Horcones members want to share their achievements with the world.

ment to change an existing behavior into an entirely new one, which is especially useful when teaching new skills. Fading is another behavioral technique, in which the cues for a behavior are gradually adjusted to teach a trainee when to engage in a behavior. These techniques are the foundations of some of the training approaches described in the accompanying articles.

B.F. Skinner was a leader in the development of this field from the 1930s until his death in 1990. Walden Two, his fictional utopia, provides a glimpse at how the science of behavior might be used to design an entire society. While the science is not yet sophisticated enough to provide all the tools needed to design a whole culture, its spin-off technologies have helped manufacturing businesses reduce injuries, allowed people with disabilities to attain a higher quality of life, and helped students at all levels learn complicated skills more easily. The specific technologies laid out in Walden Two are not Skinner's legacy. His contribution lies in providing us with a framework for analyzing behavior, enabling us to experiment with cultural practices until we find ones that help us meet our goals.

—Tom Welsh

Tom Welsh is one of the Guest Editors of this issue.

individual living quarters.

Walking among the buildings I soon encountered Juan, a tall, olive-skinned man of about 40 with jet-black hair and movie-star good looks. Juan, who spoke English well, was one of the community founders, its camp philosopher, and its principal spokesperson. He told me that the community had its origin in a school for retarded and autistic children. Six young teachers started the school and found positive reinforcement very effective in working with troubled children.

"The school was very successful," said Juan. "We were very good at improving the lives of disturbed children. Then one day we began to ask whether we couldn't use positive reinforcement to improve our own lives. Could we live in a better way?"

In 1973 Juan and the others began to build a community like the fictional Walden Two, based on positive

reinforcement and the science of behavior. When I visited in 1989, Los Horcones had grown to a population of about 30. Community members still operated the school for autistic children, but they also owned a bulldozer. which they used for their own construction projects and rented out to

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Adults in Los Horcones work nine-hour days; children often join them at various tasks in between their school sessions.

others, and grew vegetables and orchards of oranges and grapefruits. They had a fish pond and an irrigation pond that doubled as a swimming pool in the summer. They got milk from their own cows, and made cheese and yogurt. They raised goats, chickens, rabbits, and beef cattle. They sold any surplus food in Hermosillo, about 35 miles away.

The economy of Los Horcones, like that of Walden Two, was nearly self-sufficient, but Los Horcones had a different system for getting the work done. In Walden Two, workers must earn a certain number of "labor credits." Adults may sign up for any job that is available, but the credits vary with the job. A pleasant task, such as cutting flowers, earns few credits, while an unpleasant one, such as digging a trench, earns many.

Los Horcones members rejected Skinner's labor-credit system, deciding that all work should have equal value.

described a workload that stretched from six in the morning until about nine at night, with a break during the hottest part of the afternoon.

"First I help to prepare the breakfast, then I go to the school to help look after the children, then I weed the garden, then I help to prepare the lunch..." Her schedule called for her to work an hour or two at each task, and was reminiscent of a student's day except that instead of classes she had various forms of work. Her busy schedule seemed to leave little free time. Asked if there were any times during the day that the people of Los Horcones can call their own, Lupilla's husband, Lucho, dark and bearded, answered, "Here, all the day is ours."

Work assignments were made by Ramón, a man of perhaps 35 who spoke neatly chopped English. He explained that each routine job—milking cows, preparing meals, teaching children, washing clothes—came under the direction of one or more self-appointed coordinators who did much of the work themselves or let him know what jobs needed more help.

With only about 30 residents, many of them children, there was more than enough work to go around, and adults worked an average of nine hours a day. Lupilla, in her midtwenties—six feet tall and glowingly attractive—

Los Horcones also departed from the Walden Two model in its system of government. In Skinner's utopia, a Board of Planners made policy decisions; at Los Horcones decisions were made by consensus. All adult members of the community met to discuss problems and possible solutions.

"Even if only one member of the community objects to a proposal, we will not act on it," said Juan.

There could be no change in the behavior code of Los Horcones, for instance, without consensus. Every society has a behavior code, of course. It usually comes in the form of laws, morals, and customs. At Los Horcones, the code is a set of rules.

Every society recognizes the importance of encouraging people to abide by its code, particularly to help youngsters grow into adults who willingly and happily obey the rules of society. At Los Horcones, as in Walden

Two, responsibility for caring for and teaching children lay primarily in the hands of experts, people specially trained in child care and education. These "metas," as they were called, made very little use of punishment, relying instead on praise, smiles, hugs, and other forms of positive reinforcement. The youngest children spent much of the day with the metas, and in the evening all of the children slept in the children's house with a meta, rather than in their parents' quarters.

The Los Horcones metas noted problems in health or behavior, and recommended ways of dealing with them so that all adults treated the problem in a consistent manner. If a child got attention by having

tantrums, for example, the metas might suggest that everyone ignore the outbursts. If a child were extremely shy, metas might recommend that the community encourage more outgoing behavior by, for example, praising the child for making a contribution to a group discussion. In such cases, the metas kept records of the children's behavior so that they could evaluate efforts to change it.

To educate their children, Los Horcones members adopted a form of individualized instruction that did not exist when Skinner wrote Walden Two, the Personalized System of Instruction, developed by behaviorist Fred Keller. Los Horcones students worked through a carefully arranged series of small instructional units, demonstrating mastery of each unit before going on to the next. No school bell rang; no one was marked down for being tardy or absent. Children reported to the school when it

suited them and worked on the appropriate units. A meta checked their work and recorded completion of the unit on a chart. If the student failed to meet the standard, the meta provided help or directed the student to additional study exercises. Los Horcones children studied five subjects: reading and writing, mathematics, science, social studies, and, of course, behavior science.

Training in behavior science was not restricted to youngsters, as every new member of the community was required to study behavior principles.

"First, understanding behavior helps people in the community get along with one another," explained, Linda, about 32, tall and slender. "Second, if only a few people in the community understand principles of behavior, those people will have too much power."

Behavior science was not only studied, but put to practical use. Evidence was everywhere of research aimed

"We began to ask whether we couldn't use positive reinforcement to improve our own lives. Could we live in a better way?"



at improving daily life in the community. For instance, Alberto, a man of about 30 with a ready smile, was busy writing and testing educational computer programs.

"I don't want the children to feel foolish when they use a program that doesn't work well," he said. "If they make an error, it is my fault, not theirs, so I say, 'Oh, stupid me. I make a big mistake. I will correct it." Linda also did research on education, attempting to determine why school was not as attractive to children as playing games.

"I want the children to come to school as eagerly as they go to play," she said. Other experiments were aimed at making chores more pleasant and attracting new members to the community.

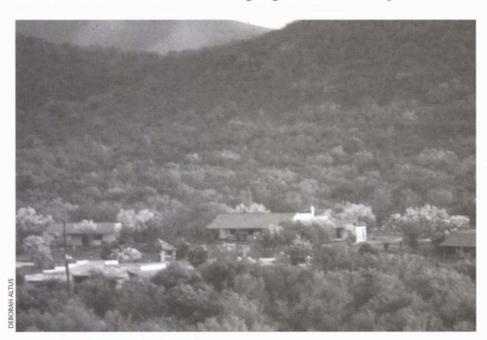
Los Horcones members also experimented on their own behavior. A wall in the community's central office was covered with charts that reflected the efforts of

Communities

community members to change their behavior. One woman was keeping track of her feelings of jealousy. When she found out how often she had those feelings and what seemed to provoke them, she would take steps to reduce them. Another graph revealed that someone was making an effort to speak up more often at community meetings. "A constantly experimental attitude:" remarks a character in *Walden Two*, "that's all we need."

While obvious differences exist between Los Horcones and the fictional community, it can be said that a Walden Two of sorts now exists. For, unlike other experimental communities, Los Horcones really is based on a science of behavior. But does this science deliver the utopia that Walden Two promises?

People who've visited Los Horcones have raved about the life and people of the community. "If my little sister were to tell me tomorrow that she was going to live in



The community's red-tile roofed buildings are nestled amongst the Palos Verdes trees in the Sonoran desert.

Los Horcones the rest of her life," said Ocoee Miller, a homemaker in Lawrence, Kansas who has visited Los Horcones, "I would be delighted because I know she would be happy there." Another visitor, the manager of a student cooperative in Lawrence, said, "I have never seen such warm, caring people anywhere." He took a group of students from the University of Kansas to Los Horcones for a brief stay. Some of the students were skeptical about the idea of founding a community on a science of behavior but came around once they observed life at Los Horcones. Said one student who had been particularly doubtful, "If this is the life that Skinner offers, bring it on."

The members of the community did seem to be

happy. People treated each other with warmth, good humor, and affection. While the adults and older children might easily put on an act for visitors, the youngest children seemed just as content.

Indeed, if the success of a community can be judged by the behavior of its children, then Los Horcones deserves high praise. The children didn't fight over toys, push or hit one another, or struggle to get adult attention. On the contrary, when children weren't playing with others their own age, they seem to be entertaining or teaching those younger than themselves. The children seemed quite happy, and were remarkably well behaved. Caroline, a girl of five with long blond hair, sat through a half hour lecture on dental care (all the while happily sucking on a lollipop) without ever interrupting or causing a disturbance. Sebastian, a round-faced boy of perhaps three with coal-black hair and eyes to match, took

delight in working through a phonics lesson with Linda. And while school may not have been as appealing to the children as playing games, at least they didn't seem to dread it.

People interested in community living may be uneasy about the idea of turning their children over to metas or having them sleep in a separate building. But the children of Los Horcones and their parents saw each other throughout the day. The children ate in the dining halls at the same times as the adults, and children were often free to wander around the grounds. On balance, the children of Los Horcones probably spent more of their waking hours with their parents than American children whose parents both work.

This is in spite of the fact that both parents work in Los Horcones. In fact, the community seems to have achieved the sexual equality Skinner only imagined in *Walden Two*. The term "women's work" was meaningless in Los Horcones, where both sexes were as likely to labor in the kitchen as in the field. Women also held posts as coordinators. And of the four people who seemed to be the most influential members of the community (all of them founding members), two were women.

Yet the people of Los Horcones were not living quite the good life promised by *Walden Two*. Adults typically worked nine-hour days, leaving them little time for relaxation and the development of individual talents. The solution seems to be finding more people to share the work. To achieve Walden Two's four-hour workday, Los Horcones must grow, but growth has come slowly. Visitors are told that this is because of the important role

family life plays in Mexican society. "People want to come here," Linda told me, "but they feel pressure to stay near their families."

There may be another reason growth has been slow. Life in Los Horcones was quite different from the life of the outside world. The larger society holds out the possibility, at least, of material wealth and ease: a car, a big house, servants. Such things are not possible at Los Horcones, where little value is placed on material things, and no one is anyone's servant.

But if Los Horcones has fallen short of the Walden Two ideal, at least it has not lived up to the fears of Walden Two's critics. It is not a totalitarian society. Nor does life there seem thin, sterile, or ridiculously confined. No one there could be remotely characterized as a zombie, automaton, or sheep.

Indeed, Los Horcones seemed a dynamic, humane place to live. One even gets the feeling that the community will find the new members it needs to thrive. And why not? What they are trying to do in Los Horcones is, after all, an exciting experiment in a new way of living. Cynics will insist that the experiment must fail. But it just might succeed. Perhaps all it needs is more people willing to add sweat to idealism; people willing to work for a new kind of life; people willing to

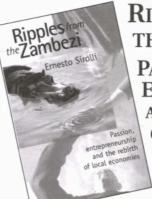
push open the gate to an inspired community along the road to Tecoripa.

While the essential features of Los Horcones remain the same as when I visited 10 years ago, some things have changed. Lupilla, Lucho, and Alberto, for example, no longer live there but others have joined. Caroline is now 16 and studying in France. Yet the dream of building a new society with help from the science of behavior and an experimental attitude remains the driving force for these dedicated communitarians.

Visitors are welcome to Los Horcones but must pay for room and board. Facilities are limited, so inquire before making travel plans, and allow six weeks for a reply. For information on Los Horcones or its sister community in Arizona, write Los Horcones, 841 E. 7th St., Tucson, AZ 85719; email them at walden@imparcial.com.mx, or visit their Web site at www.LosHorcones.org.mx. Ω

Paul Chance is a writer specializing in behavior science. He is the author of numerous magazine articles and of First Course in Applied Behavior Analysis and Learning & Behavior, both published by Wadsworth.

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Walden Two Communities What Were They All About?



Sunflower House, Lawrence, Kansas.

Imagine a farming community of a thousand people somewhere in rural America. Imagine schools and laboratories mixed in with barns and dining halls. Imagine a society in microcosm where all children are raised through praise and encouragement. A world where adults work for the simple pleasure of getting a job done. Where everything is owned communally and shared equally. Where aggression, war, and crime are things of the past.

O YOUNG PSYCHOLOGIST B.F. Skinner in the summer of 1945, this dream seemed all but down the road. Unlike other utopian thinkers before him, Skinner hoped to employ the science of behavior to achieve his ideal society. The aggressive, exploitative rat race was to be substituted by a saner society. This change, he felt, could only be accomplished if society turned its back on punitive control and learned to rely on positive reinforcement. Walden Two, as he called his utopian community, was to be a planned society, designed by behavioral scientists who would help to bring about this paradigm shift from punishment to praise.

The dream of the young psychologist was pretty much ignored in 1948, when his novel *Walden Two* was first published. Yet Skinner went on to become the most prominent behaviorist ever, and his view of human nature was to impact Western society immensely 20 years down the road. By the 1960s, "behavior modification" was a commonly used term.

Not everybody embraced Skinner's ideas, though. His critics and there were many—thought Skinner's view of human nature was simplistic. Human behavior, they felt, was not as easily predictable as Skinner thought. Furthermore, they argued that behavior modification condemns humans to "automatic virtue," as Joseph Wood Krutch put it. They feared that this new science of behavior reduced human beings to the status of laboratory rats. They called Walden Two a frightening Brave New World. Behavior modification, they claimed, does not teach people to think and make their own decisions, but reduces them to unthinking robots controlled by omnipotent behavioral engineers. And who, they ask, controls the controllers? Who makes sure that the goal continues to be a peaceful world? Dehumanized automatons could be conditioned to like anything. They could even be conditioned to like being conditioned, as Krutch points out. No goal, not even world peace, could justify stripping human beings of freedom and dignity.

Skinner reacted to much of the criticism by saying that his critics simply misunderstood. Most of the critics attacked Skinner's view of human nature and his advocacy of consciously controlling the environment to produce happy people. Skinner, on the other hand, maintained that he did not advocate control at all, and that the environment is always controlled, no matter what humans do. Therefore, he felt that he merely urged people to free society from the haphazard, punitive control that continually leads to poverty and war. He maintained that his view of human beings and how society should be designed was a simple matter of presenting scientific evidence, just as his proposals for a better society were a direct result of looking at human beings with a clear and neutral scientific eye. Skinner felt that his critics clung to a romantic view of humankind and, motivated by fear, were not ready to accept the findings of the science of behavior, just as people had violently rejected the fact that the sun does

not orbit around the Earth.

Skinner's critics, on the other hand, felt that Skinner greatly overestimated science. Skinner, they say, cannot "prove" that there is no such thing as a soul, or that humans are not born with a rich inner life, or that the only choice we have is what kind of control we want. His experi-



Roofing the new building at Twin Oaks. "We went into it, head over heels, with very little planning or investigation," says cofounder Kat Kinkade.

ments may point in that direction, but his view of human nature is still his interpretation of the scientific data. And viewing Skinner's statements as one possible interpretation of the data among others, they feel justified in criticizing that interpretation. Scientists, they maintain, are no better equipped to make moral decisions than anybody else. And Skinner's imaginary scientists, they say, have just as little right to make moral decisions for the rest of society as nuclear scientists have a right to decide when and where to drop the bomb.

The controversy raging around Skinner hardly even caught the interest of those who wanted to turn Walden Two into reality. With the heyday of behaviorism and of communal living coinciding, it is perhaps not astonishing that there were groups who set out to "do" Walden Two. And the excitement was widespread indeed, resulting in commu-

nal experiments in the US, Canada, and Mexico.

By the late 1960s, academic conferences were organized in the US to discuss the possibility of founding Walden Two communities as scientific experiments, complete with funding and "laboratory" reports.

Intricate proposals were drafted,

newsletters passed around, and subcommittees formed to discuss the finer points of the envisioned minisociety. "It was as if we had found a new religion," says psychology professor and future communard Roger Ulrich in retrospect. "The entire universe was accessible

and easily packaged." Yet despite the excitement, very few Walden Two experiments actually grew out of the academic discussions. Even Skinner never acted upon his vague plans for a utopian community, and showed only the mildest of interest in the utopian experiments inspired by his novel.

Kat Kinkade and her friends had what the academics lacked: a pioneering spirit and a knack for leadership. "Walden Two for me was a brilliant flash of light," remembers Kat. "I cannot exaggerate the excitement I felt when I read it. The community it depicted was everything I had ever wanted." It was simply impossible, she felt, "that there was no such place in life." A legal secretary and single mother in her thirties, it was primarily Kat's energy and determination that brought about the first and most famous of the Walden Two experiments: Twin Oaks Community.

In the summer of 1967 Kat and seven others pooled their resources and bought a farm near Charlottesville, Virginia. Says Kat: "We went into it, head over heels, with very little planning or investigation." They had very little background in the science of behavior but plenty of faith in Walden Two. After the first excitement of being on a farm had worn off, they sat down and literally extracted from the novel everything they could use. They appointed planners and managers, just as Skinner had described, and fiddled around with his description of a labor-credit system. Apart from these structural elements, behavioral techniques as such were not all that important even during Twin Oaks' early history.

Despite their enthusiasm, Kat and her friends soon discovered that Walden Two was less of a blueprint for communal success than they had assumed. "In Walden Two Frazier tells his visitors that techniques of behavior management for human society are developed and ready for use," Kat recounts. "It was years before I recognized this as part of the fiction."

Consider the labor-credit system, for example. The main problem encountered by the communards was the impossibility of giving out enough labor credits to make every job equally desirable. At one point, just trying to get people to wash dishes caused a huge inflation. They simply couldn't hand out enough labor credits for it without being short of workers in other areas. The four-hour work day promised by Skinner was not even dimly within sight if they wanted to produce enough hammocks, which soon turned out to be their main source of income. After much experimenting, Twin Oakers finally decided to make one labor credit equal one hour, period. This step all but erased the behavior modification aspect of Skinner's work system.

The attempt to have planners and

managers at Twin Oaks illuminated a more subtle and fundamental problem. Within only a few months, complaints could be heard about the planners. Members resented the fact that the planner meetings were not open to the public, and they questioned the decisions made by the three planners. The planners decided



Lake Village members. "It was as if we had found a new religion," recalled Roger Ulrich, right. Tony, left, and Carole Ulrich, center.

to make their meetings public. Still there were complaints. One of the original founders even attempted a coup to become a planner. Kat, one of the planners of the time, was flabbergasted.

Looking back after almost 30 years, she has a much better understanding of what was happening at the time: "The only thing we did not predict and could not control was the feeling that the average citizen had about somebody else doing the government," she recalls. "They just hated it. And even though you would ask them, 'What decisions would you have wanted to be different?' they would say, 'I don't know of any decisions that I would have wanted to be different; the decisions were fine, I just wanted to be part of it.' So at this point I conjecture that Skinner was wrong: The average citizen will not in fact be satisfied with such an arrangement."

As a reaction to the intense resentment against the idea of planners, the Twin Oakers modified the plannermanager system heavily. By the early seventies, the role envisioned for the planners had shifted from omnipotent decision-makers to facilitators.

By the midseventies, Twin Oaks

had acquired quite a bit of fame through the publication of Kat's book, A Walden Two Experiment (see p. 60), and the community became a powerful magnet for people seeking an alternative lifestyle. For many of them, Walden Two was little more than a faintly familiar title. Instead,

people were swept off their feet by new age ideas and the grand experiment of free love. New communities were founded that felt inspired partly by Walden Two, but much more by the example set by Twin Oaks.

Among these egalitarian, incomesharing communities were East Wind (founded in 1974), Aloe (1974), North Mountain (1972), and Dandelion (1975). All of them experimented with the plannermanager and labor-credit systems, and their experiences were largely similar to those of Twin Oaks.

However, several Walden Two experiments developed independently of Twin Oaks, such as Lake Village in Michigan. In the late 1960s, a group of students gathered around psychology professor Roger Ulrich to give Walden Two a shot. Running a preschool for disadvantaged children and impressed with the effectiveness of behavioral techniques, the group wanted to widen the scope of

their activities to encompass a whole community.

Almost before moving in together in 1971, the founders of Lake Village found themselves caught up in an intense struggle for power. In academia and also at the preschool, Roger held a position of authority, even fame. It was mainly through Roger's efforts that the psychology department of his university had been transformed into a Mecca for behaviorists. Would he now be willing to partake in an experiment as an equal among equals? The group also experienced considerable debate about what their aim actually was. They knew they wanted to use behavior modification techniques, but to what end? What exactly were the behaviors they wished to reinforce? Explains Roger: "In the lab the experimenter tries to be a dictator. He tries to achieve total control. As soon as the experimenter himself becomes a subject, certain methodologies become far less practical and far less attractive."

Within months of living communally, the people at Lake Village let go of the idea of having planners; in fact, they tossed out the entire idea of establishing a planned society. "If I sat down at one of our Sunday morning meetings at Lake Village and proposed a system for monitoring and differentially reinforcing everyone's social interactions," Roger once wrote, "I'd be laughed out of the house."

After abandoning the idea of being the experimenters-cumsubjects of a scientific experiment, Lake Village quickly turned into a hippie hangout, with a live-and-let-live atmosphere, wild parties, and lots of drugs. Today, Lake Village is a quiet place, not really a community anymore, but rather home only to Roger, his wife Carole, and four or five other people.

Sunflower House in Lawrence, Kansas, can also be considered a Walden Two experiment of sorts. Founded in 1969 and continuing to this day, Sunflower House stands very much in the tradition of student cooperative housing. It never aimed at being the kind of fully incomesharing community where people spend their entire lives, as envisioned in Walden Two. Yet those involved in Sunflower House felt inspired by Skinner to use behavioral principles to improve cooperative living, thereby creating a modified, smallscale version of a Walden Two experiment. Several residents designed and carried out behavioral experiments at Sunflower House, always with the prior approval of all residents. Master's and doctoral theses resulted from these self-experiments in cooperative living in the '70s and '80s, with human development professor Keith Miller—the driving force behind the founding of the student cooperative—as an active and enthusiastic advisor. These days Sunflower House runs smoothly with the help of the systems designed by its former

Deep in the Sonoran desert of northern Mexico, a very different

THE NOVEL WALDEN TWO

Walden Two was Behavioral Psychologist B. F. Skinner's second book and only novel. Written during a seven-week period in 1945 and published in 1948, the

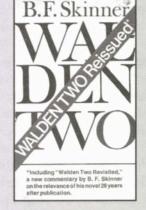
novel provided Skinner with the opportunity to extrapolate from his laboratory findings on operant behavior to societal problems. Using standard conventions of utopian fiction, Skinner presents his idealized community to the reader by means of a guided tour for six visitors led by Frazier, the community's founder. Frazier proudly displays the community's application of behavioral engineering to his often skeptical visitors whose questions allow for debate on the merits of the community's practices. As Frazier tells us, through judicious management of the contingencies of reinforcement, the inhabitants of Walden

Two lead simple but satisfying lives filled with abundant time for hobbies and pursuit of the arts. At 1,000 inhabi-

tants, the community is large enough to satisfy the members' material and social needs, but small enough to foster cultural experimentation.

The community allows its members the freedom to pursue work that interests them rather than follow predetermined gender or social class roles. The micro-society is loosely structured with managers overseeing daily operations (i.e., dairy or garden managers) and planners facilitating the far-reaching development of the community. The goal of work is not to make money (members are not paid wages), but to produce needed products that benefit them as consumers. Laborsaving devices are used and encouraged, yet concern is shown for conservation of resources. All possessions are held in common

and children are reared collectively with special attention from childcare specialists who are experts in shaping



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Walden Two experiment blossomed. Set apart from the American communal scene both geographically and culturally, Comunidad Los Horcones was founded in 1973 by a group of six young teachers. Their experiences using behavioral techniques with autistic children had been so overwhelmingly positive that they were enthusiastic about trying the same techniques in building a whole new society. They pooled their substantial resources and bought a large chunk of desert property one hour from their hometown of Hermosillo, 175 miles south of the US border. Unlike Twin Oaks and most of the other North American groups, the future founders of Los Horcones didn't take Walden Two as a blueprint, but rather as a source of inspiration to think of their own societal design. Their interest lies to this day with the application of behavioral techniques.

Within a few years, Los Horcones members had transformed the inhospitable stretch of land into a green oasis and transplanted the school for autistic children, their main source of income, onto the community property. Their decision-making process has become more and more cooperative over the years, their work-sharing smoother. But their real source of pride is their social laboratory: members of Los Horcones are experimenters and experimental subjects at

With the heyday of behaviorism and of communal living coinciding, some groups set out to "do" Walden Two.

the same time, and, as they feel, with great success. In fact, every area of life at Los Horcones has been influenced by their application of behavior modification techniques. The children especially have had an upbringing well in accord with behavioral ideas on child education. And the seven children who grew up

at Los Horcones, the founders' children, are impressive indeed: self-assured, polite, bright, and ready to take on responsibilities in their home community.

A Walden Two success story? Perhaps. Yet visitors have frequently commented on the prominent role that cofounder Juan Robinson has

> always played at Los Horcones, and have questioned the causal relationship between the community's unique characteristics and its use of behavioral techniques.

"I did not think that what made them operate so well was behaviorism," observed Kat after a visit to Los Horcones. "I think it's charisma; I think it's Juan."

It is possible that many of the issues the other Walden Two communities had to face, mainly the control issue, simply didn't come up at

behavior. The children undergo frequent lessons in self-control, seen as essential to the community's success. Frazier, while strongly opinionated, is not powerful and the community is not dependent on his leadership for its survival. The tour, and the book, end with the visitors' reactions ranging from enthusiastic to hostile—providing Skinner with the opportunity to address the readers' potential reservations.

The main theme of Walden Two is that society should make use of its knowledge of human behavior to develop, through non-coercive means, a set of practices to promote valued goals such as cooperation, peace, and equality. In keeping with its namesake, Thoreau's Walden, Walden Two suggests a means for peaceful experimentation with societal conventions. In Walden Two, cooperative, pro-social behaviors are strengthened by their positive consequences. Skinner's main message is that behavior is controlled, whether we like it or not, yet behavior controlled by positive consequences is liberating and promotes cooperation while behavior controlled through aversive means is oppressive and promotes resentment.

The actual practices described in Walden Two are much less important to Skinner's message than the theme of experimentation. Skinner did not mean for the book to be the blueprint for a community, but rather to describe one possible form that a community based on the analysis of human behavior might take. To Skinner, the practice of experimenting with cultural practices was paramount and a successful culture would be one that was willing to continually test and revise its ways. In his introduction to the reissue of Walden Two in 1976, Skinner pushed this point even further: "The choice is clear: either we do nothing and allow a miserable and probably catastrophic future to overtake us, or we use our knowledge about human behavior to construct a social environment in which we shall live productive and creative lives and do so without jeopardizing the chances that those who follow us will be able to do the same." —Deborah Altus

Excerpted and revised from an entry written for The Dictionary of Literary Utopias, Vita Fortunati and Raymond Trousson, Editors.

Deborah Altus is one of the Guest Editors of this issue.

Los Horcones because the group always had a well-liked figure of authority, and a founding group that accepted this.

What are the lessons to be learned from Walden Two communities? That science cannot fully explain human behavior? That it is difficult if not impossible to subject free human beings to intense behavior modification programs? That people resent control, however benevolent in intent?

Yet that is not the whole picture. Twin Oaks, Lake Village, Los Horcones, and the other Walden Two communities were founded by individuals and under very specific circumstances. Their stories cannot be used to "prove" anything. Walden Two may yet work, under different circumstances. This may be a comforting thought for some, and a frightening one for others.

Let us consider for a moment what remains of Skinner's utopian ideals. Most of the Walden Two communities still show a definite preference for praise over punishment. A positive verbal environment is emphasized, and communards will frequently be praised for accomplishments, encouraged to try new skills, or reaffirmed in their dreams and aspirations.

The value of nonviolence has also survived at these communities, and, more importantly, was valued highly all along. All of the communities stuck to the basic premise that positive reinforcement, not punishment, should be at the core of human interactions. Even in the face of seeing their dream rejected, none of the Walden Two communards tried to force their ideas on unwilling people. None reverted to coercion.

Skinner's labor-credit system has also been important. All of the Walden Two communities felt that it was necessary to have some kind of structure to ensure an equal distribution of work. The labor-credit system helped them to achieve this egali-

tarian ideal. Originally intended as just another behavior modification program in the fictional Walden Two, the labor-credit system has had a tremendous effect on the communities movement. While most of the communes of the seventies shied away from the level of societal structure advocated by Twin Oaks, several



Twin Oaks and the communities it inspired helped transform Walden Two into something unique: a working model for secular communities. Dandelion members, Kinaston, Ontario, 1982.

communities that had very different agendas from Walden Two in fact adopted the labor-credit system in the 1970s. Secular communities in particular found the Twin Oaks model helpful. While aiming for something completely different, Twin Oaks and the communities following in its footsteps thus transformed Walden Two into something new and unique: a working model for communities who do not wish to center themselves around a strong leader or ideology.

It may seem odd that the brand of communities that originally aimed for Skinner's rather paternalistic ideal should be the ones most aware of issues of control and power these days. But perhaps it was precisely their struggle with Walden Two and its implications that taught the communards some valuable lessons. The resistance against having some people make all the important decisions was

so strong at all the communities that the communards had to reconsider Skinner's notion of "government through scientific expertise." No matter what decisions were actually made, people wanted a say in it. If one agrees with the reasoning that simply studying all the factors involved in an issue will not logically

indicate what course of action to take, this reluctance to leave decisions to scientists seems a rather necessary ally of intellectual freedom and tolerance.

Should behaviorism go out the window, then? I think not. In a way, the Walden Two communities never really had a chance to test the power of

positive reinforcement or the predictability of human behavior because the control issue took center stage right away.

Unfortunately, Skinner freely mixed the presentation of the techniques of behavior modification with the philosophy he built around them. Perhaps we should sharply differentiate between the science of behavior and the philosophy of behaviorism. The science has uncovered many useful laws of behavior, which, while strictly neutral, can be used for good or ill. The techniques of behavior modification uncovered by Skinner are tools, no more and no less. And as tools, they are apparently quite powerful. Enhancing our knowledge of these tools will greatly aid us in being aware of how our behavior is constantly being influenced.

Yet the philosophy that Skinner

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has built around his scientific discoveries is another matter altogether. Walden Two and all it implies about humankind is the result of his personal philosophy, and there is no reason why anybody should agree with him on the basis of scientific evidence. Skinner's claim that his is a logical result of his scientific research is, in fact, a deeply unscientific statement. No experiment in the world can possibly "uncover" survival of the race as an ultimate goal, find objective proof upon which to reject the use of punishment, or determine the desirability of the nuclear family. No matter what the experimental findings, there is always room for numerous and perfectly legitimate interpretations.

Skinner has done the science of behavior a questionable service by overloading his scientific findings with sweeping conclusions about the destiny of humankind. Skinner was sure that society should be run by psychologist-kings. Yet the message speaking through almost all of the Walden Two experiments is that human beings will not happily surrender personal responsibility. Perhaps it is time for the science of behavior to free itself of its philosophical armor and let every person decide for themselves what conclusions to draw from the enhanced understanding of human behavior brought about by behaviorism.

Yet whatever may be said in criticism of *Walden Two*, the fact remains that Skinner's novel inspired countless people to take a closer look at society and how it was affecting their own lives, and to search for better ways to relate to each other. Ω

Hilke Kuhlmann, one of the Guest Editors of this issue, is writing her doctoral dissertation on the influence of Walden Two on the communities movement, and has spent the last year living in Walden Two-inspired communities.

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PATH WITH A BEHAVIORIST HEART

BY RICHIE GRAHAM

"I like it!"
Summer 1981.
Dandelion members
encouraged each
other in positive
interactions during
their behaviorist
period.

T'S 1963. I'M THIRTEEN YEARS OLD, IN SEVENTH grade, and President Kennedy has just been shot. Over the next 10 years, there will be a war in Vietnam, the civil rights movement, race riots, the emergence of the women's movement, and the assassinations of Martin Luther King, Bobby Kennedy, and Malcolm X. These were the events that surrounded me as I came of age in the late '60s. They also set the stage for my search for solutions to address the chaos I saw around me.

Eventually, the answers I came up with led me to live at Dandelion Community in Canada, but it took another 14 years and some deeply shaping experiences before I was ready to take that leap. One such experience was a college course in behavioral psychology in 1974. The writings of B. F. Skinner touched something deep inside me, and I developed a solid appreciation for behavior principles. I think what I found so attractive about

behaviorism was that it seemed so rational. It was a theory of human behavior that fit the facts. Moreover, it was an optimistic statement about the human condition: If most of our behavior is learned, then maybe inappropriate behavior can be unlearned or even prevented. I can still remember how exhilarated I felt reading *Walden Two*, and what a beautiful vision I thought Skinner had to offer the world in terms of solving some fundamental social problems.

Toward the end of that college course, my teacher brought in a brochure about Twin Oaks, described as a Walden Two-inspired community in Virginia.

"Holy smokes!" I thought.

"There are people actually building such communities. Where do I sign up?" I became so excited I dropped out of school and went exploring.

My travels brought me to the 1975 Communities Conference at Twin Oaks, which turned out to be another turning point in my life. Over 400 people attended, all sharing the enthusiasm for trying something new. I got the sense that the people at the conference were willing to not just talk but do something. It felt like we were ready to change the world and nobody could stop us. And the conferees came from such diverse backgrounds: religious and secular people, meditators, back-to-the-landers, hippies, scientists. The air was electric when we talked about community. It was at this conference that I first met folks from Dandelion, a newly founded Walden Two-inspired community near Kingston, Ontario.

The Twin Oaks conference was also important to me

in another respect. It was the first commune I had ever visited, and I was impressed at how well organized it was. The members I met there seemed so responsible, competent, and friendly. At the conference, we were planning community; at Twin Oaks, they were already living it. I became exhilarated that this alternative lifestyle actually worked out for people, and that I wasn't alone with my wild ideas about going communal.

After the conference, I ended up going back to school to complete my BA in psychology. Yet throughout the next year, I corresponded with Dandelion and made plans to visit. On my first trip there in the spring of 1976, I met the five original members. They had one small building, a dilapidated farmhouse, probably at least a hundred years old, that sat on a hill with great views of the surrounding countryside. They also had one cow, a 1939 tractor, a small garden, a late model car, and 50 acres. Not much materially, but the

members positively glowed with a beautiful vision for community. Dandelion captured my heart and soul right then and there.

A year and a half later, after finishing my degree, I joined the community. It was 1977—the beginning of my quest for the Holy Behaviorist Grail.

My first year at Dandelion was a phenomenal time. I really liked the people I was living with and the extraordinary visitors we attracted. And there weren't any "ordinary" days. Every morning I woke up with a sense of excitement. Somehow just being there felt more meaningful and important than anything else I had done in my life. It was a place

where my values and behaviors finally matched. I felt like I was practicing what I preached. I felt like a pioneer. I felt like we were somehow making the world a better place.

And in some ways I think we were. We lived an egalitarian lifestyle, sharing all resources and not distinguishing between women's and men's work. We were a functioning democracy, reaching most of our decisions by consensus. Our labor-credit system allowed us to have a flexible work schedule with a mixture of physical and mental work. And living in such an egalitarian environment changed me. I became less sexist, less racist, more cooperative.

Life at Dandelion was also exciting because I had the chance to use some of my behavioral knowledge. I immensely enjoyed using my teaching skills to train visitors in our tinnery and hammocks businesses. And I

l joined the community in 1977—the beginning of

my quest for

the Holy

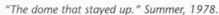
Grail.

Behaviorist

projects designed to change some aspect of the behaviors they didn't like about themselves. I was once approached by two members asking me to help them quit smoking, and together we developed what we called the "Outhouse Intervention." On one column of a large poster they agreed to write down all the negative things about smoking. On the other column they wrote down all the positive effects of not smoking. Before lighting up, they had to read out loud both columns of the poster. We then put the poster up in the outhouse and agreed that that would be the only place they could smoke, which we thought added another aversive element that would discourage smoking. I remember walking past the outhouse, smiling to myself as I heard them reciting items from the poster.

The other behavioral aspect of Dandelion that really

was enthusiastic about helping members with personal



interested me was developing our positive verbal environment, changing the way we spoke to each other. I was heavily influenced by the O.U.R. World series, behavioral books that described changing language as a focus of social change. The authors' premise was that a large part of anyone's "environment" is the language they use and that focusing on language was an aspect of the environment that individuals could change. So at Dandelion we made a commitment to intentionally saying out loud what we liked about the people we were living with and the work they did. To facilitate reinforcement of positive verbal behavior, we put up an "I Like It!" sheet, where people wrote down what they liked about other people's behavior. We also agreed to avoid using the words "should" and "ought," as no real solutions to behavior problems are found by moralizing. And we stated our personal preferences in terms of "likes" and "dislikes"

rather than in generalized "goods" and "bads."

It was a struggle in the beginning, but we finally made some progress. We started saying our likes out loud so well that often visitors or newspaper reporters told us we sounded phony. We figured that was because they were coming from a culture that did not emphasize the positive. That perception usually faded after they had been with us a few days—and then they really liked it! Occasionally even anti-Skinnerians would visit, and even *they* said they liked our environment. Having that kind of verbal environment is probably the thing I miss most now from my days there.

My second year at Dandelion I started hearing and reading about Comunidad Los Horcones in Mexico. Our southern neighbors seemed dedicated to using behavior analysis in a more systematic way than we were. I set out to take a look myself, and was very much impressed with



Author Ritchie Graham met B.F. Skinner, "the most humanitarian person I ever met," at an American Psychologist Conference, 1978.

what I saw. I had some wonderful talks with Juan, Fernando, Linda, and Ramón, and really liked the way they had structured their community through applied behavior principles. One thing I learned from Los Horcones was that Dandelion's behavior code was stated in very general terms. For example, in our rule,

"Clean up after yourself," too much could be open to personal interpretation. The behavior code of Los Horcones had more specific items, such as "Put butter back into fridge" and "Wipe table after use," so people would have a clear idea of what was expected. They also had weekly meetings where members could report back what they had observed in terms of how they each followed the code. I thought that this might be an excellent tool for Dandelion as well.

I returned from Los Horcones re-enthused, and in time Dandelion embarked on its most "behaviorist" period. We began a flurry of intense excitement and craziness by breaking down our original behavior code into more specific items. As a result, the code grew from one to 20 pages! We started nightly behavior meetings where members could report what they had observed during the day. The meetings were usually positive and

there was a general level of excitement about adopting a more active approach toward shaping more communitarian behavior.

In hopes of attracting other behaviorists to Dandelion, I wrote an article for the *Behaviorists for Social Action Journal* about our Walden Two experiment. I presented papers at a couple of conferences, including the American Psychological Association in 1978 where I even met Skinner, who turned out to be the most humanitarian person I had ever met. I wrote letters to behaviorist friends inviting them to come and check us out.

But alas, it wasn't meant to be. In fact, I believe I was the last behaviorist to join the community.

When I first moved to Dandelion, I was sure that it wouldn't be long before other "pioneer behaviorists" either joined us or built other Walden Two communities. I held that belief for a couple of years until it gradually began to fade. Looking back after 15 years since leaving Dandelion, it is clearer to me now why we had such a hard time attracting members in general, let alone behavioristic ones. We had basically defined ourselves as a behaviorist, non-smoking, vegetarian rural community located in Canada. And we were poor; we had a low standard of living. Those variables drastically limited our pool of potential members. So we never grew beyond two or three dozen people. And that was the high. By the early 1980s, all of the original members had left Dandelion; the void they left was never really filled again.

Yet there were a few years during which Dandelion was a visionary community. We tried to design social systems that would prevent problems rather than simply dealing with them when they occurred; we changed our verbal environment with considerable success; and in our work scene, we had many of the elements that the more progressive companies are now experimenting with, such as on-site childcare, flexible hours, profit sharing, and more emphasis on teamwork.

When I compare the years I spent at Dandelion with other life experiences, there's no doubt in my mind or heart that at no other period in my life was I stimulated to grow so much in so many ways while enjoying the process so well. Something about living in such an intense, intellectually stimulating environment continually stirred up ideas and passions. And I still carry my enthusiasm for behaviorism, although I have come to realize that social change happens in small steps. Yet I believe that living at Dandelion gave me a glimpse of a future where people rely more heavily on positive ways to shape each other's behavior. I treasure the memory. I had the time of my life while living at Dandelion; it was definitely a path with a heart. Ω

Richie Graham now lives in Burlington, Vermont, where he is an advocate for people with disabilities.

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In the early days, childcare workers, or "metas," raised the children.

TWIN OAKS COMMUNITY

'WHO'S THE META TONIGHT?'

Communal Child Rearing at Twin Oaks

> HILKE KUHLMANN INTERVIEWS LEE ANN KINKADE

For roughly a decade (1973–1984), the Twin Oaks community experimented with a communal childcare system that was partly inspired by Walden Two, and partly by the example set by Israeli kibbutzim. Twin Oaks built a children's building called Degania (named after a kibbutz), gave young communards a crash course in childcare, and established a system of 24-hour-care for the community's newly born babies. The childcare workers, called metas (a kibbutz term), were charged on behalf of the community to assume responsibility for raising the children, while strong parental involvement was discouraged. After five more or less childless years, the community was ready for the grand experiment of communal child rearing.

Lee Ann Kinkade, now 25, was one of the first babies to be born into the community in 1973. She spent the first six years of her life at Degania, then graduated to a room in an adult residence. At 13, she left the community to live with her mother, but soon returned to Twin Oaks. She was subsequently legally adopted by Taylor, a childcare worker who had been heavily involved in her upbringing, and to whom Lee Ann had formed close ties. She has mixed feelings about her experimental upbringing, but concludes that the communards meant well, and could have done worse.

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HILKE KUHLMANN: What did a typical day at Twin Oaks look like for you as a child?

LEE ANN KINKADE: Let me describe a day I may have had in 1978, when I was about five years old. I lived in the children's building, Degania, which was fairly isolated from the rest of the community. In fact, until we were four or five, our socialization was entirely confined to the children's building rather than the rest of the community. All my early memories are of Degania. Our daily life was pretty regulated. We all got up at nine—the metas referred to this as the "cuddle shift" because we would get out of bed very sleepily, get our hair brushed and be nagged to brush our teeth, and then have breakfast. After that came some schooling. The method used at that time was Montessori rather than anything more specifically Skinnerian, simply because that was what Justin, the teacher, was trained in. After Montessori we generally had lunch, and then a nap, and then free play until dinner.

HK: When would you see your biological parents during a regular day?

LAK: Sometimes not at all. Especially in my case, because my mother didn't live at Twin Oaks for a year and a half when I was a child, and my father was not very directly involved in my care. But generally speaking, evenings were reserved for one-on-one care because it was recognized by Twin Oaks that children needed individual attention. So each child would have a date, so to say, with an adult called a "primary," from six to nine every evening. But primaries were not necessarily biological parents. We were also put to bed by this person. I remember having as many as five different primaries in the seven nights of the week.

HK: Where did you sleep at night?

LAK: All the children—seven or eight of us in 1978—slept in one room in Degania. When we were put to bed, a night meta came on, who slept in the same building with us. Everybody else slept in the adult residences of the community. Whenever I woke up at night frightened or wanting a glass of water, I didn't call a person's name, but just, "Night meta!"—and there was always someone there. But since I was usually asleep by the time the night meta came on duty, I had no idea who would respond.

HK: How important a role did positive reinforcement play in your daily life?

LAK: Well, Twin Oaks was of course more rigidly behavioral in its early years. But attempts were definitely made





to use positive reinforcement throughout our upbringing. I benefited from some of this. For example, being told over and over again that I was good at something did give me a good sense of self-esteem. I'm a teacher now, and I use some reinforcement techniques with the kids myself. But there were other aspects of the emphasis on positive reinforcement that I would gladly have missed. When I was a baby, for example, I cried a lot and demonstrated a lower-than-average use of such behaviors as smiling, sitting up, etc. This was partly because I was a colicky baby, and partly because I had cerebral palsy. The way the metas decided to address the problem was by only reinforcing "alert and happy behavior" from Thrush. (That's the name the community gave me. I have since changed it.) I cannot remember this, and I don't like to think about what this must have felt like for me as a baby.

HK: What was used at Degania instead of punishment?

LAK: Mainly time-outs and the verbal statement "Not okay." This worked with varying success. For example, we all knew that "Not okay"—which was the metas attempt to avoid telling us "No"—was simply a substitute that meant exactly what it was supposed to replace: "No." Also, Skinner's ideas about reinforcing desirable

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Metas left
all the time.
I got very
used to
losing
people.

FACING PAGE, TOP: Two '70s-era metas oversee fingerpainting. FACING PAGE, BOTTOM: The children's residence, Degania, built especially for children, had lower doorknobs and light switches, small tables and chairs, and tiny stairways.

ABOVE: A bicycle outing, circa 1979. Lee Ann Kinkade, far left.

behavior and ignoring undesirable behavior are a little more difficult to carry out in real life than they are in the laboratory. For example, there was a boy in my group who discovered that I was extremely sensitive to high noises. He also discovered that if he then screamed, I would burst into tears and throw myself on the floor. Now, the metas discussed this and concluded that they would comfort me—that being the non-Skinnerian part—and tell him, "Not okay!," but otherwise ignore the behavior on his part. Of course the real problem was that the reinforcement he was getting from watching me freak out was infinitely more important than the minor-to-negligible effect of hearing "Not okay!"

HK: Was it difficult for you as a child to adjust to new metas? What was it like when metas left the community?

LAK: Metas left the community all the time. By the time I was five, all of my original caretakers had left. When someone leaves the community, and you're a child, it's like they died. Of course in the *Walden Two* vision, the society would be so ideal that no one would ever leave. But I believe that, even in Walden Two, it was true that childcare was just one of many jobs one could do for a short amount of time, and then move on to, say, milking the cows or gardening. [Pauses]

Children become attached. I am still deeply attached to metas who parented me since I was five. There is a lot of pain associated with that for me. I got very used to losing people. And probably the single hardest thing for me growing up was how often I had to form new attachments. The fear became "The people you love are always going to go away." Now what's also true, given the early Degania model, is that we never went without food, without clothing, without hugs, even. I was a well cared for child. If I missed a meal, it was because I hated what was being served. But in terms of attachment ...

HK: Where was your mother during all of this?

LAK: My mother's reasons for having me were this: "The community needs babies; I can make one." She was 20 years old at the time, and very clear from day one of her pregnancy that she was having a baby for the community. There is some family history playing into this, because her mother, my grandmother, Kat Kinkade, was the main proponent of the Skinnerian childcare model. So part of it was, I believe, a desire to please her mother, to do right by her mother's cause. Unfortunately, her clarity that this was the community's baby dissolved emotionally for her when I was born. It was unbelievably painful for her to give me to the community. So painful that, when I was a year and a half, she left the community. Partly because of other circumstances, but partly because it was too hard to have me around yet not really have me. And she got a lot of negative feedback for having a hard time about her feelings of loss. The emotional was to be sacrificed to the ideal—and it just can't be done.

HK: When did your mother return to Twin Oaks, and what was your relationship to your father?

LAK: My mother came back to Twin Oaks because my father was leaving, and I needed a legal guardian at the community. At that time, my father was incredibly disillusioned with the child program. He no longer believed that communal child caring was viable, he had another child with another woman, and by the time I was three

he decided to cut his losses and leave the community.

They were all very young, very idealistic, and they tried to implement what they believed to be perfect ideas.

HK: How did you relate to your mother when she returned to Twin Oaks?

LAK: Our relationship was almost instantly strained. Both of us had sort of dreamed of a reunion, which was not possible, since she was not integrated into the childcare scene. She was not a meta. She was not really a kid person, particularly. She was very onagain, off-again in her involvement with me. And she was not encouraged by the community to get more involved in my upbringing. There were just a lot of problems. My mother felt pushed out by the metas; she in

turn criticized the metas for the job they were doing; and she and I had trouble figuring out how, exactly, we were supposed to feel close to each other.

HK: Were your experiences of being a child at Twin Oaks representative of most children there at the time?

LAK: I was on the extreme end of the scale because my mother was originally so committed to the *Walden Two* ideal, and she would not otherwise have chosen to be a mother. But there were other children whose parents were also not metas. They did not see their parents during the day, and only on occasional weeknights, if at all. This was roughly between 1973 and 1978. After that the communal child care program disintegrated. A while ago, I talked to one girl who grew up at Twin Oaks with me and didn't have close ties to her mother either, and she said to me, "But you know, when I think about child-hood, I remember being fine."

HK: Looking back as a 25-year-old, how do you feel about the communal child rearing you experienced at Twin Oaks?

LAK: I think that it was an experiment whose time had come. The founders of Twin Oaks, including my grandmother, had had experiences in nuclear families that offered little to no support for child rearing, which I still think is the hardest job in the entire world. And it makes sense that a book like Walden Two, which takes the burden of child rearing and distributes it among a group of individuals, would be immensely attractive. Unfortunately, it has some major drawbacks. Among them is continuity of care. Metas are not automaton scientists, and they shouldn't be. The varying degrees of skill and experience among the metas, and simply the different personalities involved in childcare, led to a lack of consistency. So I pretty much knew who to ask for what. "Meta A, can I have a cookie?" "No." "Meta B, can I have a cookie?" "Yes." Hey, cookie! This takes place in all family dynamics. But it's one of the things that Skinner really failed to see coming: that the individual relationship between, in this case, child and meta, superseded in some ways the structure of that relationship.

How do I feel about the people who tried to implement the behaviorist, communal child care system? One thing you have to remember is that they were all 22. They were all very young, very idealistic, and they tried to implement what they believed to be perfect ideas. And their memories were of the imperfect childhoods they had had themselves. I think that they really, deeply believed that they had a system that would work better than the alternatives that were then available in mainstream culture. Ω

Lee Ann Kinkade, now a teacher and author, lives a few miles down the road from her former community.

Hilke Kuhlmann is one of the Guest Editors of this issue.

BUT CAN HE DESIGN COMMUNITY?

BY KAT KINKADE



Kat Kinkade, in the early days of Twin Oaks.

O COMPREHEND WHAT the B.F. Skinner novel Walden Two meant to me in the early years, you have to understand that I was in love. Not with anyone I knew, all just flawed humans, but with Frazier. From the first time we see him, jogging on his heels down a dirt embankment, up through the last, when he shouts, "I am not a product of Walden Two" and proves it by some utterances of a rather egotistical sort, I recognized him as the man I had always wanted. There he was, mentally brilliant and emotionally warm, giving his life to something worth doing and succeeding in bringing about a community where I wanted to live. I wanted him for my life partner.

Of course I realized that he was only fiction and I couldn't have him. Just the same, he was real to me in the sense that he represented my ideal. Skinner had portrayed Frazier as very human indeed, with a sizable ego that I thought was rather cute. Somehow I managed to dream that there would be people attracted to his ideas who would resemble Frazier in basic ways, and I wanted to be around people like that.

I was also in love with Frazier's creation. I longed to spend my life at Walden Two, the community described in the book. It had everything I wanted. I particularly wanted to join Fergy's choir and sing Bach masses, but the groups that sat in the alcoves of the Ladder having friendly, witty conversations with one another appealed to me, too. Witty conversation that isn't aggressive or competitive is a thing that I haven't experienced much, and it is very attractive in fiction.

The four-hour day was what made

most of the Walden Two community's miracles possible. Get a group of a thousand people of good will together on one piece of land and make it possible to support them with a mere 20 to 28 hours a week each. The time they have left over would naturally go in many directions—artistic, musical, scientific, whatever. Of course there would be a Golden Age. Why not?

I used to read Walden Two once a year or so, and over time I noticed some of Skinner's mistakes. He was wrong about mothers being willing to have their infants raised in a community nursery; he was wrong about members being willing to leave their government to a small group of individuals; he had failed to predict the sexual revolution and underestimated the women's movement. But worst of all, he was completely wrong about the four-hour day.

Skinner says that Frazier, in demonstrating how the four-hour day was accomplished, put on a bad show but made a devastating argument. When I read the book, that argument totally convinced me. These days it saddens me that I was so naive and that the argument itself is almost worthless. Okay, so at Twin Oaks we don't have our own bank. But the amount of labor we put into keeping track of money is considerable, and Skinner didn't realize that that department would even exist. As to the savings that might come from removing commerce (buying and selling) from our culture, the hours that go into keeping track of labor credits are not trivial, and we have to do a lot of buying and selling as a community anyway.

The big gap in Skinner's fantasy, the one that glares at me as I compare it to my real life community of Twin Our use of Walden Two as a sort of Bible in the early days united us and gave us a clear goal.

Oaks, is the lack of businesses and industries that would be needed to support the population. Skinner imagined some clever ways to bring costs down, but they wouldn't touch the support costs for all those people.

Twin Oaks, at its modest income per member (technically povertylevel), needs to gross half a million dollars every year to support its less than 100 members. If we were a thousand, and remained at this same standard, even assuming economies of scale, we'd need \$4 million every year. Generating a cash income requires over a third of our total time. Skinner's four-hour day simply doesn't cover it. It pretty much has to be a six-hour day minimum, and that's seven days a week. A good portion of that effort has to go into marketing our products, trying to squeeze out a bigger market share, cajoling potential customers with juicy profitable deals (for them, not us), and other such commercial tasks that most communitarians shrink from.

I read Walden Two again the other day, and I mused over some of the details. Take that flock of ducks, for instance. Sure, they look cute on the water, and yes, they're delicious. But if Skinner had ever consulted with a community food service manager, he would have learned that to feed a

thousand people, even if half of them were vegetarians, that flock of ducks all together would provide less than one meal. Skinner wrote about a community of a thousand people, but many of the details in the book would be much more probable with about 200.

And those clever little glass plates, where did they come from? If the community had them custom made by a small firm that manufactures glassware, where did they get that kind of money, and how could their financial managers countenance spending those thousands of dollars for such a trivial purpose? Or, if they had their own little glass factory, and their domestic dishes were just a spinoff from a genuine business enterprise, how did they manage to find a niche in an industry dominated by Corning?

As to paying their taxes with roadbuilding labor, quite apart from the unlikelihood of such a deal with any county officials, road building requires, at a minimum, a gravel quarry and two large, expensive trucks and the maintenance for them. In the early Chinese communes, where labor was not valued very highly, commune members probably maintained their own roads with buckets of stones, wheelbarrows, and rakes. But Skinner did not mean for his Walden Two to engage in back-breaking labor. He just didn't know much about roads, and even less about the economics of supporting a thousand people.

The environment that Skinner knew about was the college campus, and as a professor and rising star in behavioral psychology, he never needed to study the economics of how universities are supported. This ignorance

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of practical economics is pretty well the norm among writers of utopian novels, most of them intellectuals who quite justifiably find fault with the society but do not have any business background and so, unfortunately, do not really know how one could go about creating the financial underpinnings of the societies they envision.

Nevertheless, without Walden Two, Twin Oaks would not be here. Those of us who were inspired by the book did not see those flaws that are so obvious in hindsight. We accepted the blueprint in Walden Two as if its author knew all about how to found and maintain such a community. We defended that vision, fought for its details, based our community on the suggestions that came out of the book. To this day, 31 years later, one can find a thick stratum of Walden Two influences throughout our community culture. Our Labor Credit system and Planner-Manager system are the most obvious. Dormitory-style living, with one room for each one of a couple, is also still the norm, in spite of our drift toward family living. Even behaviorism has a niche here. I frequently hear people say about a particular incident, "Let's not reinforce that. We don't want to increase that behavior."

Over the years, we experimented with several aspects of the fictional community. We tried rammed earth bricks (too time-consuming), and aircribs (fine but unnecessary). A great deal more of what we do has been invented or adapted by us as time goes by: electric carts for the aging or injured; a Trade-off Game (a system which allows us all to participate in economic decisions each year); restrictions on watching television; a highly effective car-pooling system; car-





Top: "Without Walden Two," says Kat, " Twin Oaks would not be here." Meeting in the new building, 1971.

BOTTOM: Skinner underestimated how many labor hours it takes to support a community. Early on Twin Oakers began making hammocks, one of their community businesses.

christening parties; a yearly Halloween costume parade; a visitor program; new-member orientation sessions; a hot tub. Some of these things hadn't even been invented when Skinner wrote *Walden Two*. I imagine he would have approved of all of them, except maybe the broad franchise implied by the Tradeoff Game.

How about behaviorism as a practical tool for cooperative living? Today's communitarians don't take this very seriously. Does that mean we have proved it useless? I don't think so. For one thing, we founders didn't know very much about it, but mostly we simply did not have the time and energy to devote to it because the pressures of keeping the community alive financially were overwhelming. Behaviorism is not (I have learned since) nearly as far along in its potentially useful techniques as it was in the fictional Walden Two. The result of all those factors is that Twin Oaks never tried very hard to be a behaviorist community. We just never got around to it, and now it is much too late.

Perhaps the largest influence on Twin Oaks by the fictional Walden Two is the principle of egalitarianism. Of course Skinner did not invent this. Tribal communalism has been around for hundreds of years, and the Israeli kibbutzim were already established and successfully living within this principle since before Skinner wrote the book. His picture of an earnestly benevolent communistic society, however, strongly appealed to Twin Oaks' founders, and we zestfully proceeded to invent our American version of it. Absolute equality has had to be compromised over the years, but not very much. At this point we hold to a standard of institutional fairness that is stricter than in Skinner's community, and almost as communal as the kib-butzim, but with our peculiarly American variations.

I've heard people sneer at Skinner as a novelist, calling his book merely a series of speculative lectures. I've never agreed with that. I think he did a lot better than any other utopian novelist. I remember one community founder who said to me, "I like Walden Two so much that I even love the plot!" I felt the same way. I found a fair amount of purely novelistic material (like Burris's silly conversational gambits with Mary, or the ego combats between Frazier and Castle, or the friendly permission from a small orchestra to let the amateur Frazier play the big solo in a sonata) that had no bearing on the basic subject matter, but for me they were lively, interesting conversations or incidents that might well happen in such a community. I loved them, just as I loved Frazier's astonishing "proofs" of why his community worked so well.

Though Skinner in many areas did not really know what he was talking about, though his vision of community economics was sparse to nonexistent, his Walden Two persuaded me, and it attracted the others who started Twin Oaks along with me in 1967. We acknowledged that Skinner had left out some important things that we would have to figure out for ourselves (mostly how to make a living while living in the country), but we wanted a community like his Walden Two. For our vision of this Walden Two we sacrificed potential members with a different vision, and opened ourselves to ridicule for our "Walden Two or bust" attitude.

Our use of Walden Two as a sort of

Bible in the early days provided us founders with a master plan of sorts which was useful in that it united us and gave us a clear goal that we agreed on. Like any new community that has nice land, interesting people, and a little cash, we attracted the attention of many people who joined, had leadership potential, and wanted to steer our group in a different direction. In those first formative years, they had no success, because we founders had the fictional Walden Two in our imaginations and would not let go. In later years, of course, the takeover efforts were more successful, but by then the members (not just founders) of the community had a firm idea of what Twin Oaks was supposed to be, and changes in directions had to come about slowly. So it is fair to say that Walden Two, in spite of all its inaccuracies, contributed significantly to the stability and success of Twin Oaks.

I suspect that most of the current members of Twin Oaks have not even read Walden Two, and if they did, they wouldn't much care for it. From their point of view it is seriously out of date, and they have only limited respect for behaviorism anyway. Its influence at Twin Oaks is entirely in the past. So I think I'm writing this article as a sort of funeral oration. For me and for Twin Oaks, the vision of Walden Two has died, but when it was alive, it did good things! Thank you, Skinner, for writing the book that inspired us. Bless you, Walden Two, and rest in peace. Ω

Kat Kinkade cofounded Twin Oaks and East Wind communities and helped start Acorn community. She is author of A Walden Two Experiment (Quill, 1972) and Is It Utopia Yet? (Twin Oaks, 1994).



Children at Los Horcones are raised by behavioral as well as biological parents.

GROWING UP AT LOS HORCONES

DEBORAH ALTUS INTERVIEWS JUAN ROBINSON-BUSTAMENTE Juan Robinson-Bustamente was born in 1972, the son of two of the founders, Juan Robinson and Mireya Bustamente and the first child at Los Horcones. At that time six adult members lived on 26 acres two miles outside of the Sonoran capital of Hermasillo in northern Mexico. When Juan was 10, the community moved to their present location, a 250-acre parcel of land about 35 miles from Hermosillo.

DEBORAH ALTUS: Have many adults from the time of your birth remained in the community?

JUAN ROBINSON-BUSTAMENTE: Yes, my biological parents and two other founders. Some members whom I came to consider as my behavioral parents left the community. We coined the term "behavioral parents" for community members who share parenting functions. We believe that all the members who constantly interact with the children have as much influence as biological parents.

DA: What was it like to grow up with many parents?

JRB: I believe that being raised by everyone in a Walden Two-style community has many advantages. For instance, everyone is required to study children's education and how to apply behavioral principles in everyday life, so they can define objectively the children's behaviors that all community members will promote, that is, reinforce, in the new generation. This avoids the conflict children face when their parents aren't clear about what behaviors they want to discourage.

It's sad to see that most parents aren't formally taught how to educate their children. In most families each parent has different educational goals and approaches for their children, and often the mother reinforces some behaviors that the father later punishes, and vice versa. Of course, they don't do it deliberately

but the results are the same: The children, the parents, and the society all suffer.

DA: Do you have a special relationship with your biological parents that is different from your relationship with other adults in the community?

I'm as optimistic as my parents about using the science of behavior to design a better culture.

JRB: In the beginning, when we were still a small group, I related more to my biological parents. But when the community grew larger this relation extended. Now there's no difference between my relationships with my biological and behavioral parents. We learn to love our parents like we learn to love other people not biologically related to us. That's what happened to me. Love is learned, not inherited.

DA: What were the housing arrangements for children at Los Horcones?

JRB: Our children's house has special adaptive facilities—smaller tables and chairs, smaller closets. Of course children don't spend the whole time there; their education and care take place all around the community.

Also, living in the children's house doesn't mean having fewer opportunities to relate with their biological parents. When I was little I liked sleeping in the same house with all my brothers and sisters. I imagine I would have felt uncomfortable if, after spending all day together, each of us had to go to separate houses to sleep. I think that many children would like to sleep with other children besides their biological siblings, since it's like being at a fun summer

camp all year long.

I liked that all our things such as toys, clothes, etc. were communal property that we kept in the children's house. Although toys and games were available to use any time we wanted, we didn't consider them "private possessions" but communal possessions that we all used. We

learned to talk about them in a different way. Instead of saying, "my puzzle" we would say, "the puzzle I am using" or "the bike I use." It was funny because when we

were little, we would even sometimes say "the hand I use" instead of "my hand." Although all property is shared at Los Horcones, we respect the private use of property. Our parents were careful not to punish our sharing behavior by letting small children misuse those things we cared about. So sharing never became a problem or a loss but an advantage.

DA: What were the advantages or disadvantages of group child-rearing for you personally?

JRB: I had many brothers and sisters to play with, not just my own biological siblings. Also, activities were scheduled all day and we didn't have to wait till our parents finished working to play with or be with them.

The fact that our communitarian family is behaviorally designed was another advantage. It's based on results of carefully controlled experiments rather than on different people's subjective viewpoints. I believe that living a community lifestyle is what all children naturally like but Western society teaches them to adapt to the opposite. I'd like to add that in Los Horcones we don't try to abolish the family but rather to

extend it to all members; that is, to form a communitarian family, a human family.

DA: Could you describe a typical day in your childhood?

JRB: When I was about nine years old we were eight brothers and sisters, biological and behavioral. We spent a lot of time together in various playing and learning activities. We all slept at the children's house in bedrooms shared by age. Our biological and behavioral parents took care of us during the day and night.

Every morning I got ready for breakfast at the communal dinning room. I remember all of us children enjoyed eating together with the rest of the members. I also remember that when I visited my friends or cousins who lived in traditional families, they often ate alone and spent most of their day without seeing much of their parents. To me, this was very strange and it still is. Western cultural practices aren't designed so that biological parents can spend enough time with their children. In the West, money comes first and children second, if at all.

After breakfast, the oldest children went to school in a building we call the study center. I liked that all of our teachers were community members, including our own parents. I really enjoyed the more independent way we studied, and since we were not under a rigid schedule, I was able to do other activities any time. I remember that when children from the outside visited they were also amazed that we didn't need to be at school all day, and that our parents were not only our parents but also our friends and teachers. Now, I appreciate even more the relationship children have with all members in a Walden Two community. It makes me feel sad, more now than before. that most children don't consider their teachers or even their parents as friends, and vice versa.



All the children consider each other brothers and sisters, whether they're biological relatives or not.

I remember liking to accompany the adults while they were working. They never made me feel like a burden; on the contrary, they always welcomed me and taught me about what they were doing. I soon learned to drive the tractors; work in the garden; milk the cows, feed rabbits, chickens and other animals; help in the carpentry and mechanics shop; help the cook in the kitchen; and many other interesting activities, which I enjoyed a lot. I believe that this opportunity to learn outside the classroom around the community is very important in a child's development, and something my friends from the city enjoyed a lot when they came to visit. So learning was another fun activity; it happened all day long and in all settings.

After studying or working with the members, a bell announced lunch and we were all reunited again, chatting and enjoying each other's company. After lunch I used to spend time playing or resting, usually with other children or adults. Now that I see what most children do in their everyday life, I appreciate even more the communitarian family for the freedom I had to wander around, without being threatened by potential crime or violence.

During the afternoons we usually played some sports or helped out with community chores. I never got bored or heard my brothers and sisters complain about chores as most children in the outside do. We had dinner at 7 p.m. Sometimes, I helped prepare it or washed the dishes. Children of all ages participated in the daily chores of the community. We didn't just play, study, and receive everything on a silver platter. In this way, we learned to be co-responsible for our community home, and become productive citizens. At night we went back to the children's house to sleep, although occasionally, we were invited to sleep in our parents' rooms.

DA: Do you have any children of your own? Would you raise your children as you were raised?

JRB: I don't have biological children yet but I do have behavioral children. And yes, I would like my biological children to be educated and cared for within a communitarian family, which is happening now with two children from the second generation.

As I mentioned, Los Horcones is an experimental society. Families, as well as other cultural practices, change as we obtain new data from experiments carried out inside or outside the community, so I can't say that my biological children will be educated in exactly the same way I was. But I can be sure they will grow up in a communitarian family.

DA: What was your academic education?

JRB: At an early age we began to study math, natural sciences,

language, and social sciences. We also studied other subjects such as English, Behavior Analysis, ethics, philosophy, computers, sociology, anthropology and a variety of technical courses. Besides using the behaviorally based Personalized System of Instruction, we also developed our current educational model which we call the "personalizing communitarian behavioral" model. It is personalizing, because it views each student as a unique person and focuses on helping him or her become a better person, not just a more knowledgeable student. It is communitarian, because it sees schools as genuine communities where many people besides teachers teach, and because it teaches teachers and students the necessary skills to promote a sense of community. And it is behavioral, because it applies educational techniques derived from a science of behavior.

What I liked most about my academic education was the opportunity to progress at my own pace and not having a rigid study schedule, which gave me the opportunity to participate in other activities that took place during school hours. Our school was year-round and had no specific times for vacations, so I learned to integrate study into all of my life, not just during the school year. As we grew up and finished high school, our college studies focused on learning those subjects that interested us and which are relevant to cultural design.

DA: What is your reaction to the novel Walden Two? Was your childhood similar to the way Skinner described children's lives in the book?

JRB: It makes me feel sad that a living Walden Two community like Los Horcones is judged on what grandfather Skinner did or didn't write in the novel. From our point of view, the fact that a community is inspired by the novel does not make it a

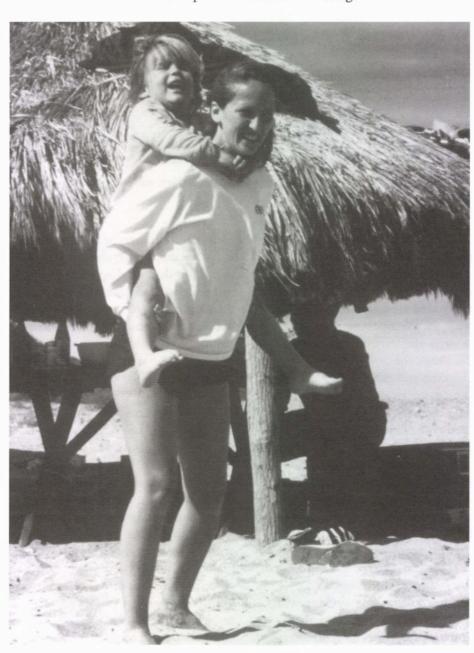
"Walden Two." In our opinion, a Walden Two community is one in which the members are strongly committed to applying the science of behavior to design a new and better society. We consider Los Horcones a Walden Two community because we do this to shape a humanistic society based on cooperation, mutual help, nonviolence, and ecological sustainability.

And yes, there were some similarities in my childhood to those in the novel. All adults functioned as par-

ents for all the children, children lived together in a children's house and shared things, we had communal childcare, adults studied to become parents, and programs were implemented to teach us "self-control."

DA: Has it been easier for you to live at Los Horcones than for the adult members who weren't raised with behavior analysis?

JRB: I think it has been easier, since I've been learning communitarian



All experiences—play, work, and school—are considered part of Los Horcones' children's education.

behaviors and reinforcers since I was little. I didn't have the problems that people raised outside have when they come to live with us. I never had to go through the difficulties involved in trying to reduce the reinforcing value of non-communitarian activities. Anyway, I don't consider myself an ideal community member. There are still a lot of communitarian behaviors I need to learn.

DA: As a child growing up in Los Horcones, what was your attitude toward children who were growing up in traditional nuclear households? Was there anything about their lives that you might have envied or pitied?

JRB: The terms "envy" or "pity" don't describe what I feel for those who didn't grow up here. To me it was not and still is not reinforcing to see children who enjoyed spending time here and who wanted to live here being prevented from doing so by their parents. It's not reinforcing to see how parents reinforce some of their children's behaviors that they later punish.

To me, it's inhumane, mechanistic, and anti-democratic not to apply behavior principles to educate and care for children. I don't like that in mainstream society, people, especially the young, aren't doing what they would really like to do; where young people spend half their lives studying in order to spend the other half working in an office. I think that Western culture doesn't teach its members to be free. Instead, it teaches them to be slaves—of possessions, money, prestige, knowledge, and social approval. I don't like the control that Western society has over its members, especially over the young. I think it teaches them behaviors incompatible with a communitarian society.

Now, it is reinforcing to see that some of the children I met in my childhood, especially those who remained friends over the years, are now thinking about joining Los Horcones.

DA: Many scholars who study community living have noted that the second generation is often less committed to this lifestyle than their parents. Is this true for you and your siblings?

JRB: We are as committed to the community as our parents, and we all want to live here. I'm as optimistic as my parents about the advantages of using the science of behavior to design a better culture.

DA: So you see yourself living at Los Horcones for the rest of your life?

JRB: To me, living in a Walden Two culture is a lifetime project. I am strongly convinced,

as grandfather Skinner was, that only by applying the science of behavior to cultural design, as we do it in Los Horcones, can we live happy and productive lives.

We do encourage older children to go out and experience other lifestyles. It is important to decide to choose our way of life after studying various alternatives instead of merely accepting the society where we were born. A Walden Two community doesn't keep children inside a crystal dome; it doesn't protect them to the degree that it takes away their freedom.

DA: Do you think the way of life at Los Horcones will spread elsewhere?

JRB: It would be very reinforcing to see a network of Walden Twos around this beautiful planet! Small communities where people cooperate with one another without quarreling or fighting over stupid things like money, power, or prestige. Where children are not neglected or mistreated; where people are not considered sources of income by schools, religions, banks, and governments.

Small Walden Two villages in different countries where young people can live and study. Villages without drugs, economic hardship, or people who take advantage of others. Places where studying becomes a reinforcing activity. Where we peacefully communicate with our parents and siblings. Where we can become better people,

A Walden Two community doesn't keep children inside a crystal dome; it doesn't protect them to the degree that it takes away their freedom.

and not just people with material possessions that they spend their lives accumulating and defending.

A world with no boundaries. A world where science and technology are applied to the benefit of all species and the environment. Places where genuine human relationships are possible because we are applying the science of behavior to human matters. I think that few people could possibly be against this lifestyle. Even though "Walden Two" apparently exists now only in Los Horcones, I think that the Walden Two movement will some day flourish around the world. Ω

Juan Robinson-Bustamente, now 29, lives at Los Horcones with his family, biological and behavioral.

Deborah Altus is one of the Guest Editors of this issue.

Occidental Arts & Ecology Center



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Vision, Values in California's Rolling Hills

WICE EACH YEAR FELLOWSHIP for Intentional Community (FIC) board members, staff, and friends gather from all over the country to check in on projects and to make decisions about Fellowship work and priorities. While much work is accomplished in the interim via email and phone, there is

nothing like being in the same room together to renew our connections.

We've been working for over a year now on refining our vision, and that effort continued at the November '98 meeting at Christ's Church of the Golden Rule community in Willits, California, with a particular focus on internal values. By internal values we mean those principles that guide how

we do our work together as an organization. These aren't necessarily the same values we choose to promote outwardly. For example, while the Fellowship welcomes communities with many different decision-making structures, when we need to decide how to move forward within our organization, we are committed to consensus. More specifically, we talked at length about the influence of money on how we do our work. Some members of our circle are concerned about choices that exclude people at the lower end of financial accessibility, while others point to choices that, culturally if not financially, tend to exclude those with higher incomes. What

are the results if we hold a conference at a facility where most attendees must camp out? What does it mean if our next event is at the Hyatt Hotel?

Another theme related to internal values was the issue of centralization/authority. What kind of management do we want? As our new organizational structure comes into its own, some committees are moving forward very effec-

tively. But how do we fill in when pieces fall through the cracks?

These themes came together as we discussed what level of compensation is appropriate for FIC jobs. Should market value of work done be a factor in setting salaries? Should there be a limit to the range of wages we pay? Although right now we don't have enough money to pay



Tree Bressen, whose passion is facilitating consensus-based groups, has been active in both the Fellowship for Intentional Community and the Federation of Egalitarian Communities. A former Acorn member, she recently moved to Bandon, Oregon.

anyone very much, these are the kinds of issues we'll need to settle as the organization financially matures.

While we raised more questions than answers, there was a sense that the issues that we grappled with were important. Some believe that diverse populations within the communities movement would be better served by multiple organizations, while others want FIC to continue its attempts to be a big tent under which all are welcome to gather.

In addition to the vision and values issues, we also dealt with practical business, such as extending the popular Community Dialog project through 1999. After reviewing the input from approximately 200 attendees of our pilot sessions, we enthusiastically noted the many advantages of this program for keeping us in touch with the needs of those we are trying to serve. I am continuing on as coordinator, so please contact me if you are interested in hosting a salon on how to get more community in your life (PO Box 436, Bandon, OR 97411; 541-347-9614; tree@ic.org).

We were also pleased to discover that our efforts to turn our finances around are bearing fruit—the end-of-year numbers are expected to look even better than we had hoped. The income from our regional Art of Community conferences, along with stronger showings from the *Communities Directory* and *Communities* magazine, are enabling us to speed up payments on the loan from the Federation of Egalitarian Communities' PEACH fund, our largest debt.

Our organizational meeting and Art of Community gathering was hosted once again with incredible graciousness by the Christ's Church of the Golden Rule, who also hosted us in 1995. Then as now, we were deeply impressed at the earnest efforts of these folks to serve us and the communities movement. Observing the exciting changes of the past few years, seeing old friends again and meeting new ones, allows us to live out the very spirit of community. Christ's Church of the Golden Rule's 50-plus years of communal living experience are an inspiration to us! Ω

Compost College

Life on a Counter-culture Commune

By Richard B. Seymour

Founded in the early 1970s in California's rugged north coast, Compost College was a unique community made up of college students, educators and drifters who dreamed about a better way of life. Their experience on the road to community was often painful but also filled with moments of joy and beauty.

Rick Seymour, one of the commune's original members, tells the story of these counter-culture visionaries, providing a prologue and epilogue to put the Compost experiment in perspective.



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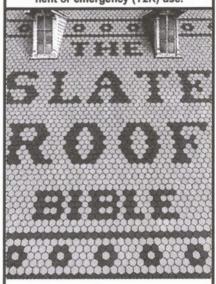
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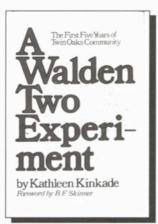
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REVIEWS





A Walden Two Experiment: The First Five Years of Twin Oaks Community

by Kat Kinkade

Quill (1973) Pb., 271 pp. \$10 Available from: Twin Oaks 138 Twin Oaks Rd. Louisa, VA 23093

Reviewed by Diana Leafe Christian

FORTUNATELY FOR US, TWIN OAKS cofounder Kat Kinkade likes to share her experiences in print. If you laughed and learned from *Is It Utopia Yet? An Insider's View of Twin Oaks Community In It's 26th Year* (Twin Oaks, 1994), you'll do the same with her earlier account.

Kinkade covers everything you wanted to know about how Twin Oaks formed and how it grew in the first five years: How she was transfixed and transformed by reading *Walden Two*; how she and a handful of other B.F. Skinner/*Walden Two* enthusiasts bought rural farmland and formed the community in 1967; the back-to-the-land communal context of

those days and how Twin Oaks differed from other communes. She offers a fascinating, detailed account of the first two years—the personalities, issues, and challenges of a bunch of idealistic, organizationally naive city folk learning how to chop wood and carry water, as well as stop conflict and carry decisions. Kinkade leaves no stone unturned: their rural homesteading, their return to city jobs, cooking and eating, building and construction, inventing their now-famous labor-credit system, member selection and turnover, health and illness, neighbors, cars, pets, visitors, members' parents, recurrent debates, governance and its regular overthrow, recreation, and love life. Here it is, folks—a compendium of issues that can face newly forming communities. Read it and weep ... and laugh, and smile, and ponder, and whip out your pen and take notes.

My favorite parts have to do with interpersonal relations and attempts to apply the science of Behaviorism to themselves. The chapter on raising children behaviorally was especially poignant, as these Brave New Communitarians attempted to apply multi-adult parenting and a system of reinforcements to their tiny, often uncooperative, charges. Also, their elaborate methods to apportion tasks fairly and to create economic equality didn't guarantee happiness. "Our systems did not touch the problems of loneliness, rejection, and unrequited love. We had no way of dealing with envy caused by superior social talents or disgruntlements over appointments to public office. We were continually plagued by dissatisfactions over the failure of members to agree on standards of workmanship, cleanliness, or courtesy. In short, there were problems in human behavior that our institutions just didn't reach."

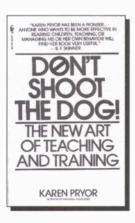
As a remedy, they instituted various forms of behavioral engineering—establishing rules, a Bitch Box for dropping off "venting" notes and Bitch Manager to deliver the message more diplomatically to the person involved, and group criticism feedback sessions. Some members even charted the number of times they did an undesirable behavior other members had pointed out to them. Using a wrist counter to note the number of times one did the behavior was the negative reinforcement; watching the number of

60 Communities Number 103

times decrease as one became more aware of the behavior was the positive reinforcement. And they certainly had peer pressure. "The biggest bulwark against jealousy is our heavy communal disapproval of it. ... Nobody gets group reinforcement for feeling or expressing jealousy. A surprising amount of it is wiped out by that fact alone."

As much as I enjoyed the content—believing that aspiring communitarians can't know too much about community—I enjoyed Kinkade's wry humor even more. It's one thing to learn more about the stuff of community living; it's another to do it and chuckle and grin along the way. A great book for people forming new communities, Twin Oaks fans, Behaviorism buffs, communities movement scholars—and anyone who just wants a stimulating, funny look at our (all too) human nature.

Diana Leafe Christian is editor of Communities magazine and cofounder of a small community in western North Carolina.



Don't Shoot the Dog: The New Art of Teaching and Training

by Karen Pryor Bantam (1985) Pb., 188 pp. \$6.50

Reviewed by Tom Welsh

KAREN PRYOR IS A DOLPHIN TRAINER, businesswoman, and mother. In *Don't Shoot the Dog* she explains the principles of Behavioral Science that she has found essential for working with trainees—cetacean, co-worker, or child. These are

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The Farm Midwifery Workshops 48 The Farm, Summertown, TN 38483 • 931-964-2472 e-mail: brthgzt@usit.net the same principles that psychologist B.F. Skinner used to design the utopian community in his novel *Walden Two*. Some have argued that the principles of behavior are little more than common sense, but Pryor points out that if people actually understood the principles, "they would not behave so badly toward the people around them."

As a practicing trainer, Pryor is less formal in her use of technical language than many academics would like, so the book received lukewarm reviews in academic circles. However, this feature makes the book especially useful for those of us more interested in putting the principles to work than learning to talk carefully about them.

Pryor opens the book with an explanation of positive reinforcement—wherein desired behavior is immediately rewarded—the cornerstone of the principles of behavior. She explains how to use positive reinforcement, its beneficial side effects, and why trainers prefer it over alternative training strategies. She describes more involved techniques for encouraging new behaviors, such as "shaping"—a way to encourage new behaviors; "fading"—a way to get behaviors to occur at the desired time; and "untraining"—strategies for reducing behaviors that interfere with optimal performance.

Throughout the book Pryor offers a range of examples from zoo animals to spouses, from performing a difficult trick to writing thank-you notes. She is clearly making a case for the applicability of the principles across species (she was trained as a biologist), but her multidimensional presentation also reveals the ingenuity required to apply the principles in a variety of contexts. Merely giving someone who does something you like a bunch of M&Ms won't work. In fact, it misses the point of the principles entirely.

In the final chapter Pryor uses specific examples to describe how the principles of behavior have been used to improve sports skills, business relationships, pet behavior, and societal relations. She explains how positive reinforcement communicates, how it empowers the recipient, and how it helps the "trainer"—which could be anyone in a community setting—become more sensitive and aware of those around her.

If you want to learn to use the principles of behavior to enrich your life and benefit those around you, this interesting little book will take you a long way in the right direction. While it is clear from Pryor's descriptions that developing expertise in the use of these principles probably takes a substantial investment of time and a lot of creative input, she also makes the process look fun—even reinforcing.



SOS: Help for Parents by Lynn Clark

Parent Press (1996) Pb., 246 pp. \$12.00

Reviewed by Sue Carpenter and Tom Welsh

SOS: HELP FOR PARENTS IS A PRACTIcal guide for dealing constructively with children's behavior problems. Like Don't Shoot the Dog, above, it is grounded in the principles of behavior, specifically on the behavioral training procedure called "time-out." Time-out is based on the premise that both constructive and destructive behaviors are learned. Informed by Dr. Clark's experience as a parent and parent trainer, he offers nearly foolproof, step-by-step instructions for implementing this commonly misunderstood and often misused parenting procedure.

After explaining how children develop problem behaviors and describing several things parents can do to encourage constructive behaviors, Clark explains that time-out involves a brief suspension of some relatively rewarding activity. Herein lie two common misconceptions. First, when used effectively, time-out is always brief (the author recommends one minute

for each year of the child's age). Second, effective time-out places the child in an environment that is noticeably less rewarding than the environment he or she is currently in or will return to when the time-out period ends. Locking a child in his room for half the morning is not time-out and is not likely to reduce the problem behavior. The time period is too long and the child's room too rewarding.

As an example of the effective use of time-out. Clark tells the story of threeyear-old Jimmy who wanted his mother to play with him. When she asked Jimmy to wait until she finished her conversation with a neighbor he yelled, "No, play now!" and hit her with his toy truck. Jimmy's mother carried him to a chair in the corner of the dining room, said, "Time-out for hitting," set the kitchen timer for three minutes, and returned to her conversation. When the timer rang, Jimmy's mother had finished her conversation. She helped Jimmy down from the chair and played with him and his cars and trucks for several minutes until his interest turned to something else.

Later Clark describes a number of difficult situations (temper tantrums in the grocery store, rowdy play in the car, and so on) and offers practical solutions. For example, simply stopping the car and waiting until the fighting in the back seat ends works especially well if the children are being driven to a fun activity. The book also contains an index of common behavior problems, a number of helpful summary charts, and a list of useful resources for parents.

Dealing effectively with disruptive behavior can make our lives at home more pleasant and our children happier and more enjoyable to be around. In an ideal world we might be able to use only positive reinforcement to raise our children. But if your community or family is occasionally compromised by children behaving poorly, Clark's excellent introduction to the relatively mild negative reinforcement of time out just might help.

Sue Carpenter worked as a parent trainer for 10 years in eastern Kansas while living at the 30-member cooperative, Sunflower House.

Tom Welsh has studied and taught the principles of behavior for 25 years and is co-Guest Editor of this issue.

Summer 1999

Untouched: The Need for Genuine Affection in an Impersonal World

by Mariana Caplan

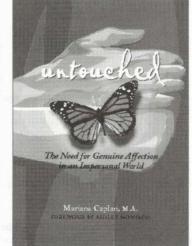
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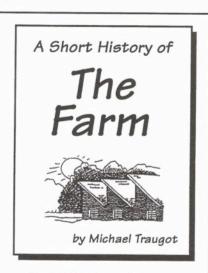
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Compost College: Life on a Counter-culture Commune

by Richard Seymour

Devil Mountain Books (1997) Pb., 167 pp. \$15.95

Reviewed by Laird Sandhill

ELTON JOHN'S LYRICS, "LOVE IS THE opening door, love is what we came here for ..." are those that sprang to mind for a small group in September 1971 when they found the land that would be the site for Compost College, an erstwhile student-centered educational community in the hills of Mendocino County.

In this rambling, readable collection of diary entries from 1971–1972, Richard Seymour takes us on a personal and poignant odyssey through the vicissitudes of Compost College, a prototypical '60s-era commune. While the book offers more insight into the charm of "being there then" rather than "being here now," it gives the reader an unmistakable feel for the hope and magic of the time—when communes sprung up like mushrooms after a spring rain ... and disappeared almost as quickly.

Seymour aims high in his introduction: "What we experienced may offer some solutions for the desperate straits many homeless and otherwise disenfranchised people find themselves in today. The story of our fits and starts may yet prove useful to others."

While the "fits and starts" come through clearly in the narrative, making the connection between hippies in the hills to helping the homeless is a bridge too far. For these communards, choice was a defining feature of the community experience. While the author and other pioneers of Compost College chose their primitive conditions, today's homeless are rarely under bridges by choice.

Still, the story of Compost College offers a measure of how far intentional communities have come in learning the skills of cooperative living. Back in 1971, practitioners knew far more about what they were against than how to build an alternative that worked. Regarding decision making, Seymour wrote: All issues were discussed in a group meeting and then decided by consensus. Our definition of consensus was not a majority vote but a unanimous vote. Anyone can register disapproval in a decision by simply abstaining from voting, and he or she can veto any action by voting against it. ... There was and is another way of dealing with policy at Compost College; that's simply by not carrying out those things that we have decided to do when they seem unnecessary.

It's clear that Compost College members were in confusion about the distinction between voting and consensus, and passive resistance was considered an acceptable way to register disapproval. Today we know much more about how to do consensus well, and it's sobering to reflect on the staggering number of ponderous, ineffectual meetings during which these valuable nuggets of cooperation were painstakingly mined. We owe a lot to our forebears who survived those early years of trial by meeting.

Compost College is a real-life allegory of the grasshoppers and the ants; about the challenges of blending those who create manifestos with those who manifest—all the while showcasing that competitive human tendency to sort people into camps. How much are we fed by our dreams, and how much should we focus on making money so that the food can be bought? These questions are timeless and no less relevant today.

While there is a disarming charm in the personalized accounts which comprise this book, I found that the author's self-absorption detracted from a fuller examination of deeper questions. In the end, it would be far more powerful to know what was learned about how to cooperate than what the author did to search for peace of mind and a piece of action.

Finally, Compost College is a testament to the stubbornness of the dream of a better way; about how communities endure beyond reason, sustained by visions of a world where everything works. Though the author seems to have little knowledge of the experiences of other intentional communities then or since, Compost College was not alone, and the path ahead is a little brighter for the story this chronicle brings to light.

Laird Sandhill is a consensus trainer and executive secretary of the Fellowship for Intentional Community.

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COMMUNITY CALENDAR



This is a calendar of:

- events organized or hosted by intentional communities;
 - 2) events specifically focusing on community living;
- 3) major events with significant participation by members of the communities "movement."

Most of these events occur with some regularity, so this calendar is a fairly accurate template for what to expect next year. Events listed as "hosted" are generally scheduled at a new site for each meeting.

Please send us suggestions about what we might include in future calendars: Community Calendar, 290 McEntire Rd, Tryon, NC 28782. Also note that the Fellowship publishes a quarterly newsletter (free to FIC members) that includes announcements of and reports about similar events. Information about joining the FIC can be found on p. 78.

Ongoing • Internships & Apprenticeships in Sustainable Living

Dexter, OR. Lost Valley Educational Center. Intensive community experiences focusing on organic gardening, permaculture, appropriate technology, ecological living skills, personal growth, community living, and more. LVEC, 81868 Lost Valley Lane, Dexter, OR 97431; 541-937-3351; LVEC@aol.com; www.efn.org/~lvec.

Ongoing • Community Work Exchange Weekend at Sirius

Shutesbury, MA. Sirius Community. Experience community life with work projects, evening sing-alongs or dance celebrations, Sunday Service, meditations, vegetarian food. 72 Baker Rd., Shutesbury, MA 01072; 413-259-1254; fax, 413-259-1255; sirius@siriuscommunity.org; www.siriuscommunity.org.

Ongoing • Internships at WindTree Ranch

Douglas, AZ. Through July '99. Internships in permaculture-style alternative building with renewable energy, organic market gardening, becoming Y2K- prepared. WindTree Ranch, RR 2 Box 1, Douglas, AZ 85607; windtreerh@aol.com.

Jun 25–27 • The Nuts and Bolts of Community: Creating Models That Work

Shutesbury, MA. Sirius Community. Drawing on 20 years of community building, Sirius offers a participatory format on forming community or creating one where you are: vision, fund raising & manifestation, governance & consensus, cooperative food systems, conflict resolution, housing & resource sharing, and more. \$90. 72 Baker Rd, Shutesbury, MA 01072; 413-259-1254; fax, 413-259-1255; sirius@siriuscommunity.org; www.siriuscommunity.org.

Jul 3-10 • Co-op Camp Sierra

Northern California. Family camp in mountains for all ages, including singles and single parents, on co-op issues such as decision making, networking, dealing with problem members, ecology and recycling, co-op history and education, and more. Childcare, outdoor events, majestic mountain setting. 510-595-0873; coopcamp@pacbell.net; www.angelfire.com/ca/coopcamp.

Jul 7–Aug 18 • Permaculture Work Study Program

Black Mountain, NC. Earthaven Village. Six-week immersion experience in building permaculture systems from the ground up, w/Mollie Curry, Peter Bane, Chuck Marsh, Patricia Allison, Andrew Goodheart Brown, Keith Johnson. \$1800 incl. meals & camping. Culture's Edge, 1025 Camp Elliott Rd., Black Mountain, NC 28711; 828-298-2399; culturesedge@mindspring.com.

Jul 9-11 • Organic Gardening Intensive

Occidental, CA. Occidental Arts & Ecology Center. Comprehensive, hands-on introductory course, "Planting Your Winter Garden," with Doug Gosling and Brock Dolman. Fall and winter gardening, focusing on brassicas, salad greens, herbs, alliums, root crops and flowers. \$275–\$225 s/s. OAEC, 15290 Coleman Valley Rd., Occidental, CA 95465: 707-874-1557.

Jul 9–17 • Fundamentals of Permaculture: Village Design Practicum

Black Mountain, NC. Earthaven Village. Peter Bane, Chuck Marsh, Patricia Allison, Andrew Goodheart Brown, Keith Johnson. \$800–\$550, incl. meals & camping. Culture's Edge, 1025 Camp Elliott Rd., Black Mountain, NC 28711; 828-298-2399; culturesedge@mindspring.com.

Jul 9-11 • Organic Gardening Intensive

Occidental, CA. Occidental Arts & Ecology Center. "Planting Your Fall Garden," comprehensive, hands-on introductory course with Doug Gosling and Brock Dolman. Garden design and planning, bio-intensive techniques,

crop selection, soil fertility management and enhancement, sheet mulching, composting, vermiculture, greenhouse management, seed saving principles, and harvesting and cooking from the garden. \$275–\$225 s/s. OAEC, 15290 Coleman Valley Rd., Occidental, CA 95465: 707-874-1557.

Jul 10-Aug 6 • Permaculture Skills Intensive

Orcas Island, WA. Bullock Brothers' Homestead. Monthlong hands-on ecological design & sustainable living apprenticeship and certification course, w/Douglas, Joseph, & Samuel Bullock, Michael Lockman, others. Mapping, water systems, greenhouse operation, plant propagation, food forests and orchards, wetland restoration, wildcrafting, natural building, solar water heating, solar electricity, ecovillage design. \$1,750 includes tent space & meals. Bullock Workshops, c/o WE-Design, PO Box 45472, Seattle, WA 98145; michaellockman@juno.com.

Jul 12-15 • Natural Floors and Plasters

Occidental, CA. Occidental Arts & Ecology Center. Handson workshop with Michael Smith and Janine Björnson. Apply clay-based scratch coats, finish plasters and colorful washes for natural, breathable walls, using cheap or free non-toxic ingredients. Install a beautiful, durable poured adobe floor. \$400-\$500 s/s. OAEC, 15290 Coleman Valley Rd., Occidental, CA 95465; 707-874-1557.

Jul 12-Aug 8 • Spirit, Art, & Nature

Nevada City, CA. Ananda Village. Annual summer camp for children 8–12 in community setting. Yoga, affirmations, fine arts classes (drawing, painting, clay, collage), guided nature experiences, swimming, sports, and games. Ananda Village, 14618 Tyler Foote Rd., Nevada City, CA 95959; 530-478-7500; www.ananda.org/AnandaVillage.

Jul 14–18 • Arthur Morgan's Educational Ideas at the Millennium

Celo, North Carolina. Conference sponsored by Community Service, Inc. and the Arthur Morgan School, focuses on education in community settings, with Ernest Morgan of Celo Community, and Vishwanathan of Mitraniketan in Kerala, India. Arthur Morgan School, 1901 Hannah Branch Rd., Burnsville, NC 28714; 828-675-4555.

Jul 23–25 • Rethinking the Corporation, Rethinking Democracy

Occidental, CA. Occidental Arts & Ecology Center. With Dave Henson and others. Draw upon the experiences of activist participants to assess why, despite decades of struggle for social, economic and environmental justice, corporations are today increasing their control of our governments, our economy and our cultures. Cost: \$125–\$225 s/s. OAEC, 15290 Coleman Valley Rd., Occidental, CA 95465; 707-874-1557.

Northwest Intentional Communities Association



Communities networking WA, OR, ID
Intentional Communities and Cohousing.

Newsletter and gatherings Huge web resource library at http://www.infoteam.com/nonprofit/

For sample newsletter send \$1 or SASE to:NICA 22020 East Lost Lake Rd. Snohomish, WA 98296 Email floriferous@msn.com



Jul 23–25 • Energy and Water for Y2K and Beyond

Shutesbury, MA. Sirius Community. Jeff Clearwater, Jeff Doff, and others, explore off-grid ways to ensure shortand long-term access to water and energy for heating, cooking, light, hot water, refrigeration, and communications. \$90. Sirius Community, 72 Baker Rd., Shutesbury, MA 01072; 413-259-1254; fax, 413-259-1255; sirius@siriuscommunity.org, www.siriuscommunity.org.

Jul 23-Aug 8 • ZEGG Summer Camp 1999

Belzig, Germany. ZEGG (Center for Experimental Culture Design) Community. Festival for personal development, exploring worldviews, personal and planetary healing. Children & youth camp, women's day, men's day, parents' forum, meditation, ecological workshops, dance, music, swimming. ZEGG, Rosa-Luxemburg-Strasse 89, D-14806 Belzig; +49-(0)33841/595-10; fax +49-(0)33841/595-12; infopost@zegg.dinoco.de; www.ecovillages.org/germany/zegg.

Jul 29–Aug 1 • Global Change Through Ascension Science

Sedona, AZ. Aquarian Concepts Community. Successful community living, based on Fifth and Continuing Fifth Epochal Revelation w/Gabriel of Sedona. Aquarian Concepts Community, PO Box 3946, Sedona, AZ 86340; 520-204-1206; aquarianconcepts@sedona.net; www.aquarianconcepts.com.

Jul 30-Aug 1 • Queer in Community Gathering

Pitman, PA. The Hermitage. Community networking, celebration. \$30 room & board, Advanced registration required. Bro. Johannes, The Hermitage, Pitman, PA 17964; BroJoh@Yahoo.com.

Aug 8–14 • Level I Midwifery Assistant Workshop

Summertown, TN. The Farm. Birth Gazette staff and others teach the skills and knowledge needed to assist a midwife and help women and babies at the time of birth. \$525, incl. housing and two meals daily. The Farm Midwifery Workshops, PO Box 217, Summertown, TN 38483; 931-964-3798; brthgzt@usit.net; www.BirthGazette.com.

Aug 13–15 • Creating Intentional Communities

Occidental, CA. Occidental Arts & Ecology Center. With OAEC co-founder Dave Henson. Finding & financing land, legal structures for holding land, decision making, finding people, financial organization, insurance, zoning, long-term planning. \$275–\$225 sliding scale. OAEC, 15290 Coleman Valley Rd., Occidental, CA 95465; 707-874-1557.

Aug 14-15 • Wild Edibles

Shutesbury, MA. Sirius Community. Herb walks, lecture, discussion, and kitchen preparation of wild foods, herbs,

and medicinal plants native to this region. Sirius Community, 72 Baker Rd., Shutesbury, MA 01072; 413-259-1254; fax, 413-259-1255; sirius@siriuscommunity.org; www.siriuscommunity.org.

Aug 14-20 • Human Relations Laboratory

Seabeck, WA. The Goodenough Community's 1999 week-long unique experiential laboratory learning event at an idyllic retreat setting, offers large and small group interaction, time for experimentation, and opportunities for collaboration, creative expression, reflection and play. Designed to support the development needs of individuals, couples, and families, including children and teenagers. The Goodenough Community, 2007 33rd Avenue South, Seattle, WA 98144; 206-323-4653; goodenuf@wolfenet.com.

Aug 15 • Y2K Preparedness

Summertown, TN. EcoVillage Training Center at The Farm. Authors of *The Y2K Survival Guide and Cookbook*, Dorothy Bates & Albert Bates, on getting your home and community ready. \$50. PO *Box 90, Summertown, TN 38483; 931-964-4324; fax, 931-964-2200; ecovillage@thefarm.org.*

Aug 22–28 • Level I Midwifery Assistant Workshop

Summertown, TN. (See Aug 8-14)

Aug 27–29 • Seed Saving: From Seed to Seed Occidental, CA. Occidental Arts & Ecology Center. With

Occidental, CA. Occidental Arts & Ecology Center. With Doug Gosling. \$275–\$225 s/s. OAEC, 15290 Coleman Valley Rd., Occidental, CA 95465; 707-874-1557.

Aug 27-29 • Twin Oaks Women's Gathering

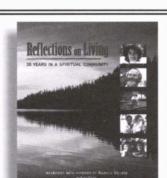
Louisa, VA. Twin Oaks. Dance, movement, drumming, swimming, creative activities, workshops, sweats, mud pit, ritual, singing, games. \$40–\$140, sliding scale, incl. meals, camping. 138 Twin Oaks Rd., Louisa VA 23093; 540–894-5126; conference@twinoaks.org.

Sep 3-5 • Twin Oaks Communities Conference

Louisa, VA. Twin Oaks' annual networking and leaming opportunity. Group decision making, community economics, appropriate technology, collective child raising, sustainable agriculture, dancing, shared meals, slideshows, campfires. \$50-\$150, sliding scale, incl. meals, camping. 138 Twin Oaks Rd., Louisa VA 23093; 540-894-5126; conference@twinoaks.org.

Sep 12 • "Y2K-Friendly" Cook Stove Workshop

Shutesbury, MA. Sirius Community. Build your own rocket stove and finishing (haybox) oven: two easy-to-construct, environmentally friendly cook stoves ideal for times of no grid and low fuel. 72 Baker Rd., Shutesbury, MA 01072; 413-259-1254; fax, 413-259-1255; sirius@siriuscommunity.org, www.siriuscommunity.org.



Reflections on Living

30 Years in a Spiritual Community

304 pages with photographs * \$16.95

Filled with colorful and inspiring stories about the search for enlightenment. A close-up look at life in the early days of creating America's first spiritual community dedicated to yoga and the search for the Divine. Long-time members of Ananda Village discuss monastic living; householders; children and education; relationships; and living one's life for God.

Crystal Clarity, Publishers (800) 424-1055 • (530) 478-7600



Sep 12–18 • Level II Midwifery Assistant Workshop

Summertown, TN. (See Aug 8-14)

Sep 17-20 • Water Harvesting

Bullock Brothers' Homestead, Orcas Island, WA. Harvesting and storing rainwater, including roof and landscape catchment, with Douglas, Joseph & Samuel Bullock, Michael Lockman, & others. Garden, landscape and orchard design, swales, gabions, French drains, cisterns, filters, managing greywater, drip and other irrigation, more. \$350 (\$335 before 7/15) includes tent space & home cooked meals. Bullock Workshops, c/o WE-Design, PO Box 45472, Seattle, WA 98145; michaellockman@juno.com.

Sep 18–19 • Root Cellars, Canning, & Food Preservation

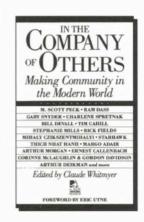
Shutesbury, MA. Sirius Community. Safe and efficient methods of canning, drying (incl. solar drying), and storing fruits and vegetables in root cellars. Sirius Community, 72 Baker Rd, Shutesbury, MA 01072; 413-259-1254; fax, 413-259-1255; sirius@siriuscommunity.org; www.siriuscommunity.org.

Sep 18-Oct 1 • Permaculture Design Intensive

Occidental, CA. Occidental Arts & Ecology Center. With Penny Livingston, Brock Dolman. \$850–\$950. OAEC, 15290 Coleman Valley Rd., Occidental, CA 95465; 707-874-1557.

Sep 23–26 • Global Change Through Ascension Science

Sedona, AZ. Aquarian Concepts Community. Successful community living, based on Fifth and Continuing Fifth Epochal Revelation w/Gabriel of Sedona. Aquarian Concepts Community, PO Box 3946, Sedona, AZ 86340; 520-204-1206; aquarianconcepts@sedona.net; www.aquarianconcepts.com.



In the Company of Others: Making Community in the Modern World

Claude Whitmyer, Editor

Contributions by M. Scott Peck, Ram Dass, Thich Nhat Hanh, Arthur Morgan, Geoph Kozeny, Kathryn McCamant & Charles Durrett, Corinne McLaughlin & Gordon Davidson, and more...

\$14 postpaid. FIC, Rt. 1, Box 155, Rutledge, MO 63563; 660-883-5545.

CLASSIFIEDS



Communities classified ads reach almost 5,000 people who are seriously interested in community. They include:

- any service, product, workshop or publication that is useful to people living in, or interested in living in, communities;
- products produced by people living in community;
- land for sale which may be of interest to people forming communities;
- employment opportunities;
- · personal ads.

Please note that the CLASSIFIED DEADLINE FOR THE FALL 1999 ISSUE (OUT IN SEPTEMBER) IS JULY 15.

The Classified rate is \$.50 per word. We appreciate your payment on ordering. Make check or money order out to Communities. Send it, your typed or clearly printed copy with a specified word count, how many times you wish the ad to appear and under which category (you may suggest a new category!) to: Patricia Greene, 31 School St., Shelburne Falls, MA 01370; phone or fax: 413-625-0077; email: peagreen@javanet.com. If you are emailing me an ad, please include the copy within the body of the letter, rather than as an attachment and be sure to send the check snail mail at the same time.

All other listings can be found in the Reach and Calendar columns.

BOOKS, VIDEOS, AUDIOTAPES

"LOOKING FOR IT" is a two-hour video diary/ documentary on communities and the communities movement. Patch Adams says, "I was glued for two hours. You've done a great service for the communities movement. I think your goal of wanting people to come away from their viewing wanting more, has more than been met. This videotape deserves a wide viewership." C 1995 Sally Mendzela. Two-hour VHS. To order, send check or money order to: Sally Mendzela, 36 North Center St., Bellingham, MA 02019; 508-883-8424.

CLASSES, WORKSHOPS, CONFERENCES

GLOBAL CHANGE THROUGH ASCENSION SCIENCE. July 29-August 1 and September 23-26. Four-day seminars. A relationship with the Universal Father a must. Community based on

Fifth and Continuing Fifth Epochal Revelation. Gabriel of Sedona/Aquarian Concepts Community, POB 3946, Sedona, AZ 86340; 520-204-1206; aquarianconcepts@sedona.net; www.aquarianconcepts.com.

KIDS IN COMMUNITY CONFERENCE. Raising Families in Community. Sunday, Aug. 29 to Wednesday, Sep. 1, \$75; CREATING A COMMUNITY OF HOMESCHOOLING FAMILIES, Wednesday, Sept. 1 to Saturday, Sept. 4, \$50; \$100 to attend both. Held at Sophia House in Virginia (right next to Twin Oaks). For details contact Keenan at 540-894-5126; keenan@twinoaks.org.

COMMUNITY DIALOGS across North America, sponsored by the Fellowship for Intentional Community (FIC), publisher of this magazine. What does "community" mean to you? What would help you create more community in your life? And how can the FIC help? Community Dialogs are occurring in many towns and cities across the continent; your area could be next. People come together for a discussion to explore these and other topics, visioning what kind of world we are dedicated to creating and how to get from here to there. For more information, contact the FIC's project coordinator *Tree Bresson, POB 436, Bandon, OR 97411; 541-347-9614; tree@ic.org.*

COMMUNITY OPENINGS, LIVE-IN EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

SEEKING CO-WORKERS: Camphill Special Schools—Beaver Run is a community and residential school for children with developmental disabilities, seeking co-workers, houseparents, craft masters, and teachers who will receive Camphill Curative Education Seminar training, room, board, medical insurance, and a monthly stipend. Ideal for young people seeking a different experience in a beautiful, 77-acre woodland community with music, art, drama, festivals. Camphill Special School, Re: Co-Workers, 1784 Fairview Road, Glenmoore, PA 19343; 610-469-9236; fax: 610-469-9758; BrvRn@aol.com.

MOTHER TONGUE, INK, publisher of the We'Moon calendar, has possible job opening(s) for We'Moonager apprentice—live and work in an intentional womyn's land community. Send SASE for job description to: We'Moonager Job, MT Ink, Box 1395, Estacada, OR 97023.

CONSULTANTS

VASTU VEDIC RESEARCH FOUNDATION. Offering building design services aligned with ancient, Indian architectural traditions. *515-427-2157*.



LAND FOR SALE

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA. 235 beautiful acres. Rolling hills, oak trees, year-round south fork of Elder Creek, excellent garden soil, wild animals, silence, awesome views, business potentials for self-reliance (recycled lumber available for structures). Two parcels, could share with ambitious, skilled person or sell all. 530-833-0119.

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA. Prime community property with eco-tourism potential. 80 acres, 2,000 ft. elevation NE of Chico. Creek through length, spring water, two-bedroom home. Will share all or sell part. 530-833-0119.

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA. ABC Organic Farm. 25 acres loam soil, 12 acres prunes in full production with established market, 13 acres pasture, all flood irrigated, foundations for structure and lumber. 530-833-0119.

MAGAZINES, NEWSLETTERS

WHY PAY RENT OR MAKE MORTGAGE PAY-MENTS, when you can live rent free? The Caretaker Gazette contains property caretaking/housesitting openings, advice and information for property caretakers, housesitters and landowners. Published since 1983. Subscribers receive 600+ property caretaking opportunities each year, worldwide. Some estate management positions start at \$50,000/yr. Plus benefits. Subscriptions; \$27/yr. The Caretaker Gazette, POB 5887-I, Carefree, AZ 85377; 602-488-1970; www.angelfire.com/wa/caretaker.

PERSONALS

CONCERNED SINGLES links compatible, socially conscious singles who care about peace, social justice, racism, gender equality, the environment, personal growth. Nationwide/International. All ages. Since 1984. Free sample: Box 444-CO, Lenoxdale, MA 01242; 413-445-6309; www.concernedsingles.com.

DWM, 51, N/S, degreed, eclectic, romantic, honest, humorous, interested in travel, walking, nature, contra dancing, chocolate. Seeks friendsfirst, marriage-minded woman. *Rich*, 424 Little Lake Dr. #22, Ann Arbor, MI 48103.

SUSTAINABLE PRODUCTS

COMPACT SOLAR "Y2KABIN" florescent area light, sufficient to study/cook. 3"x6"x11". Internal battery. Package includes wire and solar panel. \$294 (\$9.95 US S/H). Solar-powered LED flashlight, 6"x3"x1". Sturdy, sealed, all-weather design. \$29.95 (\$5.95 US S/H). Startronics Solar Lighting, 63065-D Sherman Rd., Bend, OR 97701; 800-811-1985; 541-317-1271; www.Startronics-Solar.com.



COMMUNITY
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REACH THOUSANDS
OF COMMUNITY ENTHUSIASTS . . .
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"We've gotten good results! Your readers are looking for what we offer."

-Westwood Cohousing, Ashville, N. Carolina

"We advertise in Communities because we get a lot of calls from just the people we're looking for."

-Living Shelter Crafts, Sedona, Arizona

You can afford to advertise in Communities magazine. Display ads start as low as \$30, and a full page is \$250. Classifieds are just 50¢ a word. For information on how to advertise—in the magazine and on our Intentional Communities Web Site—call/fax 828-863-4425. Or write Communities Advertising, 290 McEntire Rd., Tryon, NC 28782; email: communities@ic.org

REACH



Reach is a regular feature intended to help match people looking for communities with communities looking for people. As the most up-to-date and widely read clearinghouse available to you, Reach reaches those who are seriously interested in community.

You may use the form on the last page of Reach to place an ad. Note: THE REACH DEADLINE FOR THE FALL 1999 ISSUE (OUT IN SEPTEMBER) IS JULY 15!

The special Reach rate is only \$.25 per word (up to 100 words, \$.50 per word thereafter) so why not use this opportunity to network with others interested in community? We offer discounts for multiple insertions as well: \$.23 per word for two times and \$.20 per word for four times (and you can even make changes!) If you are an FIC member, you can take off an additional five percent.

Please make check or money order payable to Communities, and send it, plus your ad copy, word count, number of insertions and category to: Patricia Greene, 31 School St, Shelburne Falls, MA 01370; phone and fax, 413-625-0077; email: peagreen@javanet.com. (If you email an ad, please include it in the body of your letter, rather than as an attachment, and be sure to send the check snail mail at the same time and note that you've done so.)

Now for only \$10 more per quarter, you can have your Reach ad appear on our Communities Web site. Please mark this clearly on your order.

Suggestions to advertisers: get a larger response by including both address and phone/fax, plus email, if you have it. If you require a financial investment, target your ad to people with financial resources by letting readers know what's required. Caveat to readers: never, but never, drop in on any community unannounced!

Listings for workshops, land, books, products, etc. including personals, belong in the Classified Dept. and are charged at a .50/wd. rate. Please see that column for instructions.



COMMUNITIES WITH OPENINGS

ginia. Our home is 90 acres of beautiful, diverse land, nestled in a bend of a river in the Blue Ridge Mountains. We envision a community of several mostly autonomous subcommunities or 'pods' (like the small groups dolphins travel in). Each pod decides its own membership, financial, and housing arrangements, within the community's standards of ecologically sound practices and democratic decision making. Pods cluster their homes on one-to-three acres each, leaving much of the land habitable for wildlife. While we have no unified spiritual path, we do make time regularly for sharing deeply with one another and for bringing interpersonal issues to light. We are living in (fairly civilized) temporary homes, finishing our land plan, and preparing to build our dream. Membership is open to singles, couples, and both traditional and non-traditional families. We also welcome the possibility of an already-formed group joining us and becoming another pod. To learn more: POB 433, Floyd, VA 24091; abundantdawn@ic.org.

ACORN, Mineral, Virginia. We are a young consensus community creating an egalitarian culture that values fun, children, relationships and varied, fulfilling work. We share income from selling crafts, organic farming and occasional outside jobs and work together to build and maintain our home on 72 acres. Acorn, 1259-CM11 Indian Creek Rd., Mineral, VA 23117; 540-894-0595; acorn@ic.org.

AQUARIAN CONCEPTS, Sedona, Arizona. Founded by Gabriel of Sedona and Niann Emerson Chase in 1986. Currently 100 members full-time. We love children. International flavor. New Millennium Destiny Reservists Administration. Godcentered community based on teachings of The URANTIA Book and Continuing Fifth Epochal Revelation-The Cosmic Family Volumes as received by Gabriel of Sedona. Clean air, pure water, organic gardens. Starseed Schools of Melchizedek (all ages) and healing environment which includes morontian counseling and other alternative practices. Gabriel of Sedona and the Bright and Morning Star Band with the vocal CD "Holy City," and Future Studios with art, acting and video productions. Planetary Family Services, including light construction, stone masonry, landscaping, cleaning and maintenance, teepees and yurts, computer services, elder home care. Serious spiritual commitment required to be part of the religious order. Student commitment also available. POB 3946, Sedona, AZ 86340; 520-204-1206; aguarianconcepts@sedona.net.

AQUARIUS, Vail, Arizona. Visit unspoiled mountain wilderness with great views, weather, safety. Self-sufficient. Ideal for homesteader. Idyllic cooperative, textile-free setting. Weddings, workshops, quests. SASE. POB 69, Vail, AZ 85641.

APEX BELLTOWN COOP, Seattle, Washington. Seek new member to own and maintain 100-year-

old building with 22 others in urban community. Diversity and tolerance essential for harmony. Rooms available now. 206-956-0275.

BREITENBUSH HOT SPRINGS, Detroit, Oregon. We are a wilderness retreat and conference center owned and operated by an intentional community, organized as a worker-owned cooperative. Breitenbush is surrounded by old growth temperate rain forest, one of the last of its kind on Earth, and possesses the highest concentration of thermal springs in the Oregon Cascades. We have a variety of hot tubs, natural hot spring pools, a steam sauna and all buildings are heated geothermally. The work and business ethic is one of stewardship; caring for the land while insuring accessibility of the healing waters to all who respect them. Breitenbush hosts events involving human potential: meditation, yoga, theater, dance... It provides housing and a variety of benefits for its staff of 40 to 60 people. We are looking for talented, dedicated people in the areas of housekeeping, cooking, office (reservations, registration and administration), maintenance, construction and massage therapy (Oregon LMT required). Breitenbush's mission is to provide a safe and potent environment for social and personal growth. Breitenbush Hot Springs, Personnel Director, POB 578, Detroit, OR 97342: 503-854-3320.

COMMONGROUND, Killaloe, Ontario. Our 115acre farm is ideal for permaculture, ecovillage development with clearings surrounded by forest, small pond, organic garden, restored log farm house, barns. Currently three adults living on the land with six others nearby. As a diverse, fun-loving group of visionaries, artists and healers, we share a commitment to inspiring creative healing. We offer workshops and retreats integrating mainstream and natural medicine with earth-based spirituality and creative expression. We have built a "healing space" including sauna, hot tub, bodywork/counseling room and art studio for our use and income source. Looking for enthusiastic, motivated, responsible, queer friendly, serviceoriented members with skills, experience and resources to contribute to our collective sustainability. RR 4, Killaloe, Ontario, Canada KOJ 2AO; 613-757-2174; healing@web.net.

DANCING RABBIT, Rutledge, Missouri. Highly motivated, community and ecologically minded, and experienced group is looking for individuals, families, and communities to help create the ideal rural ecovillage. We're starting construction on our 280 beautiful, rolling acres in northeast Missouri. Dancing Rabbit will be a large community with many different subcommunities that interact socially and economically. Our goal is to build a small town that is truly sustainable and socially responsible. DR's first subcommunity, Skyhouse (an FEC community of five adults and one child) has a close working relationship with Sandhill Farm, a 23-yearold egalitarian community nearby. We are especially interested in existing community groups joining us. We've got the ideas, the energy and the land, all we need is you! Contact us now to arrange a visit. 1 Dancing Rabbit Lane, Rutledge, MO 63563; 660-883-5511; dancingrabbit@ic.org; www.dancingrabbit.org.

orientations are welcome. Rural location, but not isolated. We are working to build a community where we can work and live together in a fulfilling and sane manner. Write or call: Luc Reid, 100 Park Blvd. #72-D, Cherry Hill, NJ 08034; 609-616-8340; community@accessdatabase.com; www.accessdatabase.com/meadowdance.

MORIAH, NEW YORK. We've found 180 accessible acres for \$200/acre (not a misprint!) on Lake Champlain near Adirondack High Peaks, one hour from Burlington, VT. Couple with multiple practical and community skills seeks eco-partners for bank-free purchase, development, stewardship and community. Three-season, off-grid, loose recreational community to begin with, camping, yurts, cabins, simple kitchen/bath/laundry pavilion; eventually possible year-round homesteading plus retreat center. Views over lake to Green Mountains, 150' frontage on cove, streams, waterfalls with good hydro-potential, large caves, hiking trails, 25acre-field, good woods and soil, on paved road, lake-view building sites. Total initial outlay for land, closing, tractor, pole barn, open pavilion, well, outhouse, improving roads, approximately \$60,000. Harmony with spirit, land, water and each other. (Fun, too! Have sailboat, other sailors welcome!) Patricia Greene/John Charamella, 31 School St., Shelburne Falls, MA 01370; 413-625-0077; peagreen@javanet.com.

NESS, Hermon, New York. 100 acres forested Adirondack foothills. Currently four individuals with varied interests who are gaining clarity on guiding principles. We strive to be good stewards of the land and relate well to each other. A broad, extended community of friends and aquaintances offers many opportunities and is the real foundation of our life together. Long-term guest space sometimes available, especially to those dedicated to simplicity and awareness as spiritual disciplines. Write: Ed Goldstein, 381 Hewlett Rd., Hermon, NY 13652.

NEW ENGLAND. Family interested in starting FEC community in New England. *Bob 413-528-5414*.

NOAH'S ARK 2, Texas. One hour east of Austin. Establishing open-hearted, earth-sheltered, "survival/escape" center for friendly, progressive folks since 1995. 4001 Oakridge, Houston, TX 77009; 713-863-0433; Quddusc@aol.com.

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA. Homeschool family developing our homestead with organic fruit and nut tree orchard on Mattole River. Worked extensively on land/stream restoration, sustainable logging for building and firewood. Developed solar/hydro energy systems. Would like community of families sharing gardens, homesteading, etc. Many possibilities. Our vision is to share our place with people interested in learning to live sustainably, developing interdependence on each other and the land. Two-bedroom cottage available for homeschool family with future hope of buying into homestead site. Robie and Gil, 1901 Dutyville Rd., Garberville, CA 95542; 707-986-7787.

SACRED MOUNTAIN RANCH, White Mountain Lake, Arizona. Off the grid community whose

members value spirituality and healthy living and have a "live and let live attitude" allowing for diversity in lifestyle and ages. Our mission is to create a Spirit Camp. Seeking eight financially self-sufficient and emotionally mature individuals who wish to rent or buy shares in a community with options for lving quarters in or out of communal house. Sacred Mountain Ranch, POB 90763, White Mountain Lake, AZ 85912; le@cybertrails.com.

PRIORITIES INSTITUTE, Pine, Colorado. Rustic, intellectual camping retreat, 60 miles SW of Denver. Eleven gorgeous Rocky Mountain acres surrounded by thousands of acres of national forest at 7,500'. Buffalo Creek in back yard. No neighbors within miles. Eventually we'd like to join/create community of like-minded, compassionate, creative life lovers hoping to make a positive difference while enjoying life's mystery. Foci include: sustainable regional planning, auto-less city design (model making), the compassionate purpose of life, 21st century constitutions, spiritual pursuits, ethics in evolution, philosophy and epistemology, holistic indexing, current events, the value of a social life, humor, silliness, micro-beer and light partying. Our 3,000 sq. ft. lodge is great for social and intellectual work, music-making/listening. Mostly camping options for prearranged stays for individuals/groups, well-behaved pets and kids. Opportunity for deep woods experience with hiking, mountain biking, meditation, star-gazing, brain expansion! Small camping lodge fee or exchange for computer, accounting, massage, yard/ carpentry work or other services. The Priorities Institute, POB 89, Pine, CO 80470-0089; 303-838-8105; LivableCities@Priorities.org.

REJENNERATION, Jenner, California. Forming on five knoll-top acres in an ecologically diverse coastal canyon with stunning views about one hour from Santa Rosa, CA. One house, some outbuildings and a garden have been built. We are looking for partners (\$10,000 min. down) to build (sweat equity) and live in the second, larger co-op household. Values include earth stewardship, earnest work, simplicity, and a respect for diversity. Shared meals. Call or write including some personal history and a SASE for date of next open house: Box 42, Jenner, CA 95450; 707-632-5458.

RISING STAR RANCH, Austin, Texas. Group forming to buy land (target area 100 miles NW of Austin,) for urban refugees, recreation, spiritual restoration, and gatherings. Children included. Nature loving, mutual support group, cabin raisings, and Y2K refuge contingency. Also possible: retreat center, sustainability demonstration project, resident homesteaders. Individual and common ownership. (Name of project may change.) Contact: Susan Lippman, 8901 Chisholm Lane, Austin, TX 78748; 512-291-9838.

SOUTHWEST FLORIDA. If you are interested in sustainability and community, join a core group of committed visionaries who are in the process of designing a permaculture-based community and who believe that we need to seek alternative ways of relating to the planet and each other. Sharon Boots, 414 Meadowlark Lane, Naples, FL 34105; phone/fax 941-261-9157; sboots@compuserve.com.

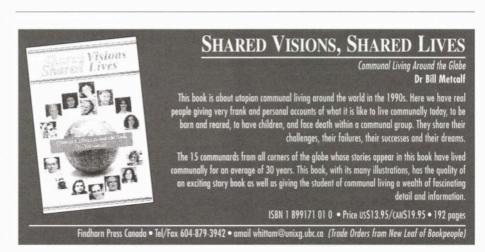
WALDEN TWO, California. Seeking fellow Walden Two enthusiasts. Mike Ray, 40 Vienna St., San Francisco, CA 94112; 415-585-6079.

WYOMING. We need a few emotionally mature pioneers to join with us to help build our dream of ecovillage on 11 acres of beautiful wilderness mountain property. We are spiritually focused with universal, wholistic outlook, earth-friendly, believing in unconditional brotherly-sisterly love with supportive atmosphere in an extended family living situation. Please let us hear from you! R. Kelly, 311 Center St., Douglas, WY 82633.

PEOPLE LOOKING

SPIRITUAL COMMUNITY SOUGHT by mature woman with Tibetan Buddhist practice. I welcome responses from all sincere, compassionate people living in intentional communities where spiritual values are of primary importance in daily life. Very experienced in cooperative living. *Joy Vronsky*, *517 Moraga*, *Piedmont*, *CA 94611*.

FRIENDSHIP FOOTPATHS: Family (kids 7 and 3) researching co-creation of caring community in relatively rural setting. Organic gardening, orcharding, sustainable building and energy,



Communities

permaculture, creative, alternative child-education, sharing and learning with friends. Two locations of interest: riparean AZ/NM, NC mountains. Heather Watrous/Michael Fishbach, 1318 Keith Lane, Chapel Hill, NC 27516; 919-967-8621; fishdaya@aol.com.

WE HAVE A FANTASY—to escape the madding crowd. Nature, music and fun-loving N.J. couple with infant desperately seeking simpler life somewhere in rural America. Would like to match our enthusiasm with that of a few other creative, thoughtful, spiritual but non-religious, non-conventional, passionate, fun-loving, friendly folks. He, 46; she 36. Occupations: piano-tuning/repair, massage, swim instructor. Interests/hobbies: creative sewing, cooking, music/dance, mushrooming, skinny dipping, violin-making, vegetarianism. Looking for: self-sufficiency, growing food, raising son with nature, peace of mind. Want to be involved in promoting sustainable use of earth; to live simply working and playing with others. Location open. Will help form community or join one established. Call or write with possibilities: Matt and Sharon, 605 State Rd., Princeton, NJ 08540; 609-497-0729.

PRIMITIVE TECHNOLOGIST/creation loving naturalist, Y2K concerned, seeks low-tech community in Minnesota, Wisconsin area. Focus on health, happiness, respect for life, development of skills for living in harmony with Mother Earth. Steven McCullum, 622 Robinwood Lane, Apt. 3, Hopkins, MN 55305; 612-912-8533.

MALE NEW AGER, 42. I'm into seeking a spiritual community. Also seeking a brother and/or sister companion on the path to Light, who is interested in travelling to communities and sacred sites (someone who has a car). I'm into Celestine Prophecy, channelled writings, and star-people networking. Tim Kepner, 2841 N. Front St #2, Harrisburg, PA 17110; 717-234-4721.

WOMAN, 52, returning to Phoenix, Arizona in August (currently in Japan) interested in finding (or building) friendships and community with com-

patible people. Currently a teacher, but want to own a retail shop, maybe selling handmade crafts, but open to other ideas. Would love to share this with others. Value inner healing, spirituality, meditation, kindness, adventures, nature and naturism, community, creativity, laughter, tears, play. Am considering polyamory, but friendship highest priority. I want to help raise child(ren). Barbara: barbaradia@hotmail.com.

INTERNS AND WORK OPPORTUNITIES

ANANDA VILLAGE, Nevada City, California. Internships in Spiritual Community. Now in its 31st year of existence, Ananda Village has successfully applied the principles of spiritual cooperative living to every aspect of life. Join with us in this unique opportunity to experience life at Ananda. Summer program offerings include internships for collegeage students, summer youth camps, family camps and work exchange programs. Participants receive instruction in yoga and meditation, participate in nature outings, service projects and many other community activities. For more information, contact: Patricia Hall, 530-478-7503 or visit our Website at ananda.org/AnandaVillage.

MOTHER TONGUE INK, publisher of the WE'MOON calendar, has possible job opening(s) for We'Moonager apprentice—live and work in an intentional womyn's land community. Send SASE for job description to: We'Moonager Job, MT Ink, Box 1395, Estacada, OR 97023.

OZARK RETREAT CENTER, Arkansas. Work exchange position developing Ozark Retreat Center. Three months to one year commitment. Emphasis on organic gardening and bodywork. Call or email: *River Spirit 870-446-5642; river@oztech.com.*

CAMPHILL SPECIAL SCHOOLS, Glenmore, Pennsylvania. The Beaver Run community and school for children with developmental disabilities seeks house parents and young people for childcare (who

will receive Camphill Curative Education Seminar training). Ideal for young people seeking a different experience in a beautiful 77-acre woodland community with music, art, drama and festivals. 1784 Fairview Rd., Glenmore, PA 19343; 610-469-9236; camphill@compuserve.com.

SEEKING HANDYMAN. Seeking someone with handyman skills who wants to learn about community by participating in building projects, solar installation, organic gardening, community processes, and a personal course (tailored to your needs/interests), regarding community living, choosing a community to join, and/or forming your own community, offered by editor of Communities magazine, who gives workshops nationally on these topics. We're creating a small, sustainable food and energy self-reliant community on 10+ rural acres, seeking open-hearted, responsible, spiritually oriented people. 290 McEntire Rd., Tryon, NC 28782; diana@ic.org.

RESOURCES

ALTERNATIVE EGALITARIAN COMMUNITIES. NO MONEY DOWN! We invite you to join our existing businesses and housing—all we ask for is a cooperative attitude and willingness to work hard. Live with others who value equality, ecology and pacifism. For our booklet, send \$3 to: Federation of Egalitarian Communities, HC-3, Box 3370-CM98, Tecumseh, MO 65760; 417-679-4682; fec@ic.org.

INTENTIONAL COMMUNITY SEEKERS' NET-WORK of New England records "Seeker-to-Seeker" contact information. Active networking will resume shortly. 15 Marcus Rd., Sharon, MA 02067; 617-784-4297; DonBr@att.net.

INTERESTED IN JOINING A BRUDERHOF COM-MUNITY? We'll put you in touch with former members of the Hutterian Brethren/Bruderhof. Peregrine Foundation, PO Box 460141, San Francisco, CA 94146; 415-821-2090.

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76 Communities Number 103

COMMUNITIES MAGAZINE RECENT BACK ISSUES



All issues are \$6 each.

#95 Sustainable Building & Design

Building with Nature Earth, & Magic; Whole-Systems Design for Earthaven Village; Zuni Mountain Sanctuary: From Habit to Habitat; Sirius: Becoming a Spiritual Ecovillage; How Not To Build Your Cmty Home (Sum '97)

#96 Breaking Bread in Community

Food Fight!: Dinners at the Sharingwood Cafe; Wildcrafting in Our Yard; Kashrut & Compromise at Ofek Sahlom; Growing Your Own & Selling It, Too; Tastes of Short Mtn.; Dining in Cohousing (Fall '97)

#97 25th Anniversary Issue!

Lessons from the Communes: "No Bad Vibes"; 25 Years of Communities: The "Shadow Side" of Community, Denial and the Demise of Kerista; What Price Community? UFA-Fabrik: Berlin's Arts & Activist Commune. (Win '97)

#98 Values, Vision, and Money

Manifesting Our Dreams; Money as "Shadow" Issue at Findhorn; Mega-Bucks Money Pressures in

Community; Identity & Money at Shenoa; How Much is Enough? Special Feature: Confronting the Petty Tyrant. (Spr '98)

#99 Sustainable Communities

Living the Permaculture Dream; Building Design That Fosters Community; Building With Mud!: Salvaging Building Materials: Baubiologie; Special Feature: Using the Internet to Find Your Community (Sum '98)

#100 Political Activism in Community

Risking Jail, Creating Community; Health Care as Politics in Ecuador: Following the Lord ... Into Chicago Politics: Organic Growing, Activism, & the Good Life; "Meta-Politics" at Bright Morning Star (Fall '98)

#101 Communities, the Millennium, and Y2K

Patch Adams on the Movie "Patch Adams." The Year 2000: Social Chaos or Social Transformation, Taking Y2K Siriusly, Where Were You When the Grid Went Down?, Covenant for the New Millennium. (Win '98)

#102 Health and Healing in Community

Community Is Healing, Patch Adams on Health and Healing, Loving to the End, The Hope Street Gang Forever, When Your Community is Criticized on National TV (Spr '99)

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Fellowship for Intentional Community (FIC) Memberships!

The FIC is a network of communitarians promoting communication and understanding about and among intentional communities across North America. The Fellowship:

- publishes Communities magazine and the best-selling Communities Directory.
- built and maintains the Intentional Communities site on the World Wide Web

<www.ic.org>

- hosts gatherings and events about community.
- · builds bridges between communities and the wider culture.
- · serves as an information clearinghouse for all aspects of community-for individuals, groups, and the media.

FIC membership supports these efforts and offers the following benefits:

- our quarterly newsletter
- · discounts on selected products and services.
- advertising discounts in our publications.
- invitations to board meetings and other activities.
 - · first notice on whatever we're doing, and the opportunity to get in early!

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#103

PERIPATETIC COMMUNITARIAN

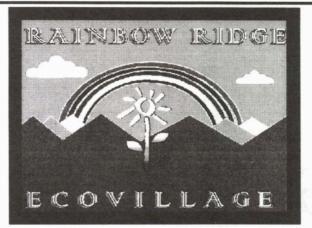
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and offer feedback, in non-inflammatory language, to help each faction understand its part in the dynamic. While nothing is new or revolutionary about this idea, nor is it unique to intentional communities, in the spirit of social pioneering, much attention is given to experimenting with techniques for making such clarity and perspective happen sooner and more effectively. Some community groups even make giving and receiving feedback a primary focus of their internal process: for example, Ganas in New York City, Goodenough in Seattle, and ZEGG in Germany. Of course publicly offered personal growth workshops also focus intensely on feedback, but they differ from intentional communities in that such workshops usually package the experience into a weekend or a series of evening classes, while the communities work with it over time, on an ongoing basis.

Whether a community explores interpersonal dynamics on a daily basis or intermittently, sooner or later it will need to deal with these dynamics, and the challenges are immense. The needed work is not restricted to just one area of individual or group dynamics-it spans the whole spectrum, from decision making, communication skills, and relationships to parenting, stewarding the land, and sharing the work ... to just about anything you can imagine. In the end, the need to look at what's not working and to try out new options is what makes living in intentional communities so exciting, so promising. Since we don't already know how to put all the pieces together-fairly, efficiently, sustainably, inspirationally-we're going to need to keep experimenting until we find something that gets the job done.

And now, back to the drawing board. ...

Geoph Kozeny has lived in various kinds of communities for 26 years, and has been on the road for 11 years visiting communities: asking about their visions and realities, taking photos, and giving slide shows about the diversity and vitality of the communities movement. Presently, he is producing a fulllength video documentary on intentional communities. He's constantly amazed and inspired by the lessons he learns about himself in the process of visiting folks living in test tubes.



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66 O, HOW'S LIFE IN THE TEST TUBE?" Lighthearted yet to the point, this is usually an appropriate question to ask of someone living in an intentional community. After all, intentional communities are groups of people sharing a vision of a better life ... and, in attempting to live up to that elusive vision, we run smack into our growing-edge issues. In the quest to walk our talk, it's often necessary to invent

new social norms and unlearn some of the anti-cooperative behaviors that we picked up along the way in our sometimes overly individualistic society.

Inevitably, all intentional communities are faced with difficult and trying periods, and most of the groups that survive and thrive are the ones that manage to affirm and update their shared vision, stay optimistic, and maintain a sense of humor about it all. One very helpful skill for making it through the times of heavy stress is the ability to keep things in perspective, appreciating the experimental nature of such an idealistic undertaking as living in community. It's not uncommon for a community's original vision to prove unworkable or unsustainable—or at least for the members to get discouraged enough to give up on it. Often, their vision gets replaced by another set of ideals and goals more suited to the people and the circumstances. In many cases the founding vision is naively idealistic, and the version that replaces it is considerably more practical, revised to include sobering lessons learned in the community's pioneer phase.

Unfortunately, there's also a pendulumswing overreaction (of the throw-out-the-baby-with-thebath-water variety) that many communitarians must contend with. In such cases we start with unrealistically high expectations, then fall short because we lack the skills needed to live up to our own ambitious standards. We finally return to the status quo we grew up withlamenting that our original inspiration had been unrealistic and that the idea behind it was impossibly cumbersome or misguided. For example, many people set out to adopt what they call consensus decision making. Then they'll run into a strong-willed person or two who perpetually exercise the "block," get frustrated, and go back to majority-rule voting, saying that "Consensus just doesn't work—it's too slow, too cumbersome, gives too much power to the individual." The reality is that con-

sensus requires a lot of preparation and skill, and it can be amazingly effective and efficient if folks get trained in how to make it work. Most generalizations of that sort are based on frustration rather than fact, and we give ourselves an illusion of security by returning to old and familiar ways-we find comfort in them even though they hinder our efforts to live up to our most visionary ideals.

Fortunately, many communitarians persist through the challenges, knowing full well that they're bucking the odds in trying to unlearn deeply programmed habits and substitute behaviors more compatible with their imagined better life. It's through the efforts of these impromptu social scientists (voluntary "guinea pigs") that most of the breakthroughs related to shared living are made.

One of the most common causes of discord and frustration in a cooperative setting is that most of us are blind to our own shortcomings (while, ironically, we can see such flaws quite clearly in other community members and in the broader society). When any party in a dispute has trouble seeing—and admitting—that his or her

attitudes and actions are contributing to the problem, it is especially difficult to work through the stuck places. When each side blames the other for causing the problem, no good solution is possible until they find a neutral middle ground. In many community settings, nonpartisan third parties can bring in a wider perspective

BY GEOPH KOZENY

Most communties that survive and thrive are those that affirm and update their shared vision, stay optimistic, and maintain a sense of humor.

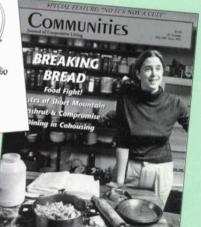
(continued on p. 79)

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With the heyday of behaviorism and of communal living coinciding, it is perhaps not astonishing that there were groups who set out to "do" Walden Two.

— Hilke Kuhlmann



Communities, Journal of Cooperative Living Rt 1 Box 155 Rutledge MO 63563