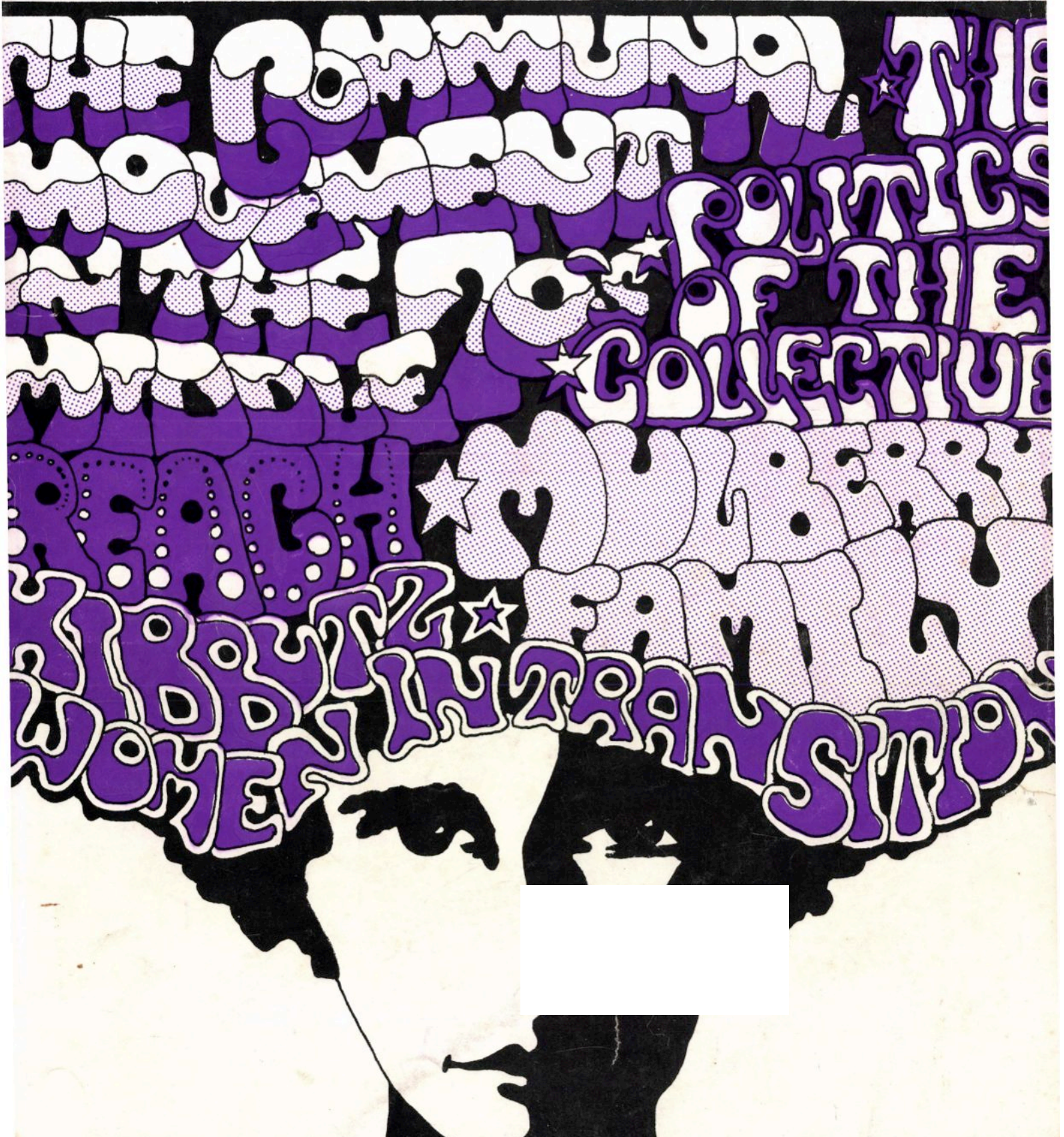


COMMUNITIES

a journal of cooperative living

no. 23

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COMMUNITIES

ABOUT OURSELVES:

Our vision of the job of editing this magazine is to function as a clearinghouse: to collect material, select what's most relevant for the folks who read **Communities**, and take charge of the production and distribution tasks. This means we don't want to be writing all the articles, taking all the photos, and preparing all the graphics for each issue. We hope this material will come from the people who see this publication as a tool or resource which is available to them, especially those living cooperatively. The following are suggestions for readers who have material to contribute:

NEWS FROM READERS: Three sections of each issue are set aside for short letters from our readers: Readback, Reach, and Grapevine. **READBACK** is "letters to the editors"—write and tell us your reactions to the magazine any time! **REACH** is our contact section—you can let others know you are organizing a new community, looking for a place to live, planning a conference, or offering a service. **GRAPEVINE** consists of letters or newsletter excerpts from existing communities—we like getting your up-to-date news, musings, analyses, and chatty letters.

GRAPHICS: We like to publish a magazine which is attractive as well as informative. We always need photographs (black & white prints), drawings, and cartoons.

RATES & DATES: The magazine's finances continue to hover near the break-even point, so the only pay we offer contributors is a free subscription. Occasional paid ads are accepted, but announcements in Reach are printed without charge. Due to editing, printing, and mailing schedules, there is usually a five-to-eight-week lag between our submission deadline and the distribution date, so send us your material as early as possible. Thanks for your help—we're counting on you to make this a better journal.

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PRODUCTION

OUR NEXT ISSUE will include 1977 Directory of Communities. Paul Freundlich of Training for Urban Alternatives in New Haven—who brought you issue 19 on urban community—will be editing and designing the feature articles portion of issue 24. Material gathered thus far range from the networking activities of **Common-unity** in New England to an account of the demise of the Austin Community Project.

ARTICLES should run between 1000 and 5000 words. We are particularly interested in material on CHILDREN: ACCESS TO COMMUNITY: TURN-OVER: WOMEN IN COMMUNITY. Please send articles, along with graphics, to Communities/East, Box 426, Louisa VA 23093. Deadline for the next issue is January 1st.

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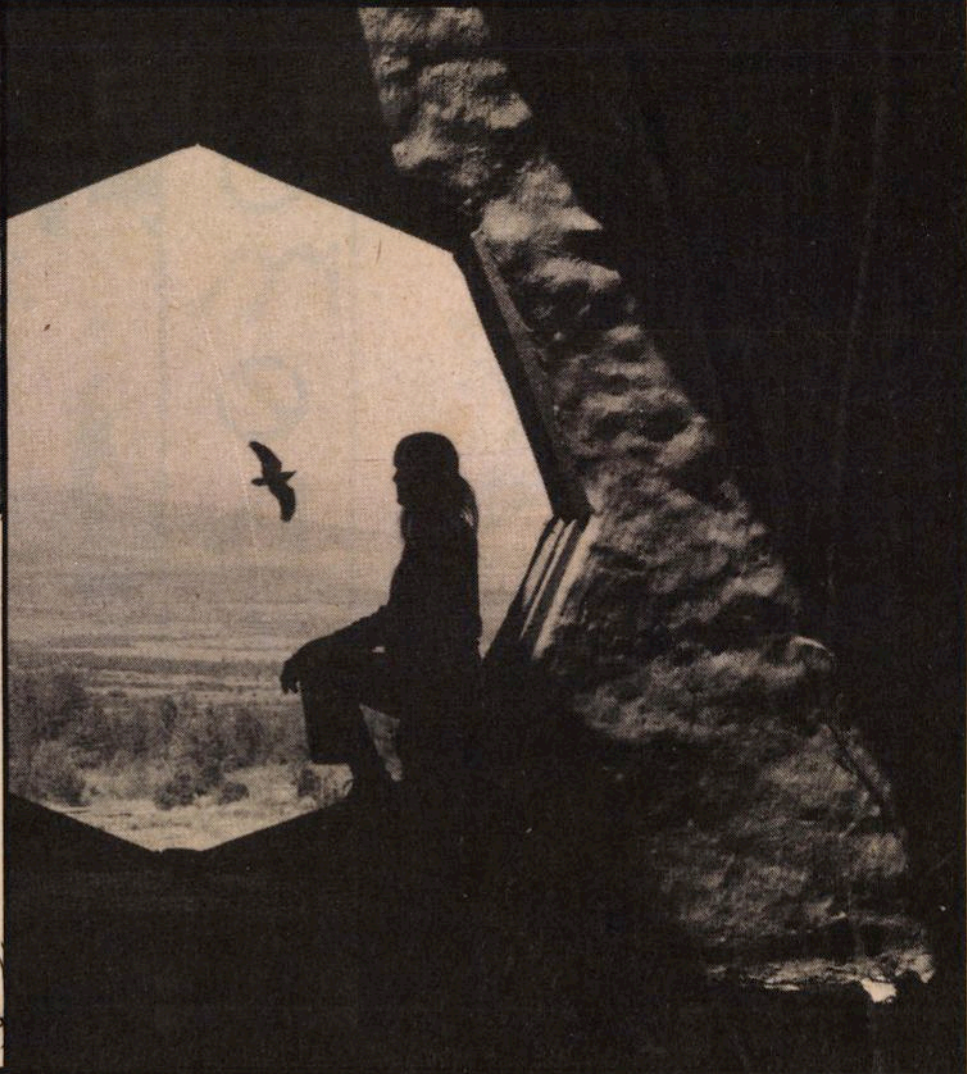
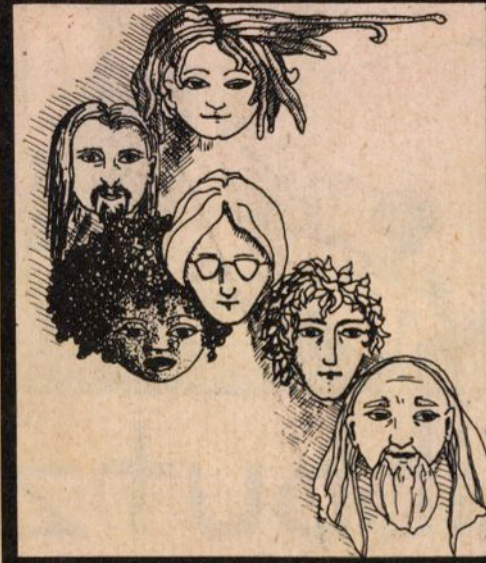
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work in the kibbutz

The kibbutz has often been looked to as a working model of a communal society. Basic to its structure has been the value of equality in all areas. How the implementation of these ideas has changed over the past 60 years, and how the consciousness with which the issues of women and work have been dealt with is of particular interest to those of us in the communal movement. One question we might ask ourselves is—will women in the communal movement in North America follow the trend of her Israel counterpart?—or will she be able to maintain and stabilize her present position of equality?—if indeed that equality does exist. Hoping that we can learn from the efforts, successes, and failures of our Israeli sisters we look to these articles with much excitement.

Both Joseph Blasi and Muki Tzur offer accurate and detailed background information regarding the issues of both women and work. Elaine Solomay gives us a women's perspective as to how work in the kibbutz is for women today, 1976, and speaks in depth to the issues that she feels moved women to a more traditional role model.

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women and family in the kibbutz

by muki tzur

The issue of women and their role in society has been cropping up more and more in worldwide literature. Muki Tzur of Kibbutz Ein Gers offers a historical perspective to the situation of women living in a kibbutz environment.

The period which saw the establishment of the kibbutz was a time of the disintegration of the Jewish family. Mass immigration, the pogroms, and especially the First World War were part of the background of the Jewish family in Europe and the estrangement of fathers and sons. Secularization and emancipation brought with them a waning of tradition and new ideological stances which combined to shatter the Jewish father's authority. The struggle came to a head in the generation which matured before the foundation of the kibbutz and during its development.

The sons were members of revolutionary movements which demanded of them the severing of relations with their families; it was not unusual for parents to sit the seven days of mourning for their son's demise. It was against parental wishes that sons created groups of self-defense during the time of the pogroms. Parents considered themselves part of a continuous and complete tradition, while sons saw themselves living only in a chaotic and changing present.

Berl Katzenelson, one of the early leaders of the Zionist movement, confessed that he accepted the death of his father with a sense of relief. He knew his father to be of great strength and foresaw inevitable conflict between them, yet at the same time he realized that his father's influence would be with him all his life.

This ambivalence symbolized the crisis of the Jewish family. The customary way of life, with its traditional ties between parents and children, was brought into question by the dual process of secularization and emancipation. Economic dependence between fathers and sons was challenged by the destroyed economy of the Jews and the subsequent emigration of thousands of people from Europe.

THE JEWISH DAUGHTER AS REVOLUTIONARY

The disintegrating Jewish home was not the only reason for the change in values of Jewish women. The daughter was seeking a new spiritual home in the Russian Revolution. Her ideal heroine was the young Russian woman revolutionary who severed relations with her middle-class home and values in order to dedicate herself to changing society and woman's condition. She, Jewish daughter, no longer identified herself with her mother the homemaker, but with the woman who chose prison, was exiled, or was condemned to death in her struggle as a nurse in the villages, helping the peasants, preparing herself and others for the new world which would be born in the victory of the Revolution.

In some ways, the Jewish daughter was more greatly exposed to the revolutionary ideas and values than

was the Jewish son. Young men in the Jewish community were required to study Talmud, which was forbidden to women. Thus, the women were granted the possibility of entering the secular universities and studying night courses. It was here that they had intimate contact with the Russian intelligentsia. In revolutionary circles many spoke of women's liberation from the yoke of man. Criticism of the traditional family was in vogue. Literary characters considered the family a bourgeois institution, and recommended its abolition. Marriage was seen not as an expression of love, but merely as an economic institution which destroyed genuine feeling. These young revolutionaries wanted to see relations between men and women as free expression of feelings between equals. They felt it unnecessary to preserve the sanctity of marriage when the feeling was missing. These ideas had a tremendous impact on the Jewish girl, who wanted to realize them in actuality. Jewish girls were not like the daughters of Russian aristocracy and bourgeoisie. Often they came from families who knew poverty and whose very existence was threatened. The Jewish mother influenced her daughter by virtue of her suffering. The witnessing of this suffering often added to the tension in the home. The revolt of the girl was not simply a question of changing patterns (as was the case for the wealthy or middle-class) as

much as it was a revolt against a destiny which commanded a life of suffering.

The revolution of the male was directed against the duties tradition demanded of him. He remained faithful, however, to the concept of the responsibility of each individual towards his community. The female had to change the basic concepts of traditional society as well as fight for the right of direct participation on the life of the community, not merely through her husband. Young women refused to be responsible for caring for the family. They refused to simply cook while the world sought redemption.

FROM REVOLUTIONARY to "COLLECTIVE HOUSEKEEPER"

Few women came to Israel in the early days of the Yishuv. The society of Jewish workers was primarily a society of men. Consequently, the near-monasticism of the society created new tensions. Those who wished to marry had to return to Eastern Europe to find brides. The young women who came played a major role in the life of the young workers. The life of these small communities depended on them, but not, unfortunately, in the ideal revolutionary sense the girls sought. The one or two girls who joined each group of men became the homemakers, the mother figures and the love objects of the entire community. The majority of men were in love with the few young girls, at times resulting in such great pressure that the girls could not withstand it and would finally leave the commune.

In the Third Aliyah, the intimate kibbutzim were created. The position of young women here was more complex as a result of the influence of Freud on these groups. Some believed that the sexual instincts must be given freedom. Freedom in sexuality would then bring about a free and just society. (One wonders whether Freud would have accepted such an interpretation.) One kibbutznik wrote in his diary:

"Our life in the group was different than in any other group. No one was supposed to conceal his

emotions or intimate relations from the group. Only two of the four girls were the center of our lives. Two young men had more personal and involved relations with them. The sexual problem encompassing the relations between the two young men and these two girls became a problem for the entire kibbutz. The young girls did not escape to a private corner. Every individual lived the life of the whole group, giving it its very soul and character. Those young women did not live the intensive spiritual life as did the men, but being the center of their sexual feelings, they were educated by them without intention of formal plan."

It's not difficult to imagine the ambiguities and tensions of the situation. How must those women who were not the center of "erotic relations" have felt? How were the two young men viewed by the other members of the community? The complexity of the problem was tremendous because it arose before any stable regulations for relations between the sexes were established. The couples did not know exactly where their relations were supposed to lead. If they assumed that a lasting relationship was to be the end result, this would alienate them from the life of the community. Yet, the community believed in "love" or "eros" and recognized the importance of these relations.

Economically the situation of the girls was no better. They had never been prepared or taught to work for an entire group in bad economic conditions. Cooking had to be done for the whole commune. The day began at dawn and ended in the late evening hours. A book about the Third Aliya describes it:

"In Hadera there were one hundred and fifty men and only six women--without any experience in cooking, baking bread or even in cleaning pots. Upon entering the kitchen, the girls had no experienced person to guide them. Culinary knowledge passed from girl to girl with all its attendant errors and mistakes. Bread usually turned out burnt or half baked, often without salt. As a result of its bad quality, much of the bread was inedible. All ovens were

sold to feed the cows. Piles of uneaten bread drew mice, which filled the kitchens. They ran freely on the shelves, walked on the ceilings, and ate everything."

PROTEST and ORGANIZATION

It appeared that the experience of the revolutionary woman was doomed to failure. She had been returned to her original woman's role as housekeeper, but under much more difficult conditions. The only victory for her was that her work as a housekeeper did not separate her from participation in the life of the community. She played a role in the society not through her husband, but as a result of her one work and individuality. The women fought for this right.

However, many women were not satisfied with their role. They realized that if they accepted their role of "collective housekeepers", few other women would be attracted to the kibbutzim, which had so few needs for these kinds of services. Women of the kibbutz saw this role into which they had been placed as a betrayal of the idea of the liberation of women. They wanted to perform the work which was considered masculine.

Some young women did not live permanently in one collective, but moved around looking for work, aided by the character of Israeli society. Men who came to the country were no less uprooted than women from manual labor. They too had to pass through a similar revolutionary stage. The change in women was parallel to the change among young Jews in general. Knowledge of the problems faced by them in their new role helped them to understand women's struggle to achieve their liberation--the situation of young Jew's, many of them former students, now trying to work in agriculture, was no less paradoxical than that of women beginning to work.

Men's opposition was sufficient to compel women to organize themselves in kvutzot (groups of women or agricultural school for women). In the Third Aliya there was a group of women construction workers. These groups disintegrated when families

were formed and women entered the community as agricultural workers. Former kvutzot became agricultural schools for women.

Tensions between men and women were great. There was a case of a "woman's strike" in the Hashomer organization, a revolutionary group of settlers. Slowly, women created their own instruments for struggle and discussion, forming organizations in which problems of women were debated, meeting at conventions which were closed to men.

THE FAMILY GOES "UNDERGROUND"

The foundation of the family was a very difficult process. These young girls were not emotionally prepared to form families or to have children. A woman who served as the titular "mother" of a community and decided to marry one of its members dramatically changed her role. In some societies, a decision not to marry was made, in order to avoid many serious problems concerning the life of the community and the education of children. In Degania, the first kvutza, marriage was not allowed for five years. This policy, however, was violated by the man who proposed it. The fact that his mother lived in Israel near the kvutza may have had something to do with the decision to have a wedding ceremony.

The creation of families was a special paradox in the intimate communities of the twenties since these groups considered themselves as the new form of family. Some saw the formation of families as a betrayal of their ideas. Others viewed the conflict between kibbutz and family as a reason for their rejection of the kibbutz.

Life conditions for families were extremely difficult. Women had to hold back emotionally in the way in which they expressed their feeling toward their husbands. Unmarried men were highly critical of the tendencies of families to live their own lives. The concept of family was influenced by a world view which opposed the repression of one's emotions. The society refused to be



alienated from nature and be satisfied only with work and intellectual activity. It revolted against social hierarchy, which emphasized "civilization" over the "natural", the institution over the feeling. Such a society had to reconsider the family. The ideas of psychology, which spoke of the return to the irrational, motivated people to reconsider their attitudes toward sex. The positive role of sexual life was emphasized.

But the critique of the family and the emphasis on freedom of love as a source of redemption, gave a new element of seriousness to sex. Love had to be the most profound relation, containing the deepest feeling. There was a complete absence of the "chase" or "game" element in love with a decline in flirting and confusion during courtship. Couples in those kibbutzim went "underground". The community knew about the formation of the couples, but the ceremonies, name changes, and titles of "husband-wife" were abolished. Many discussions about the degrees of privacy permitted by the commu-

nity to its families ensued.

CHILD REARING: NEW TENSIONS and ANXIETIES

The birth of children was connected with guilt feelings. This event emphasized the differences between men and women. In giving birth, women were giving up some of their ideals, even temporarily. They had to stop working. A new baby created a new center of feeling. The mother was obliged to, and wanted to, care for and love the child. A new dimension was added to the life of the woman, and she did not know how to relate to it.

Some men returned to their former position about women and their role. The mother did not know if her emotional reaction was legitimate.

Parents did not know what to expect from the community. Was the education and care of the child the responsibility of the parents or of the whole community? In one of the general assemblies there was a dis-

cussion as to the purchase of a bed for a new baby. The education committee demanded it, while the major objection came from the father!

There was no one to guide the young mother through her first paces. Sometimes she suffered from disease and malnourishment. There were no older people to ask for guidance; grandmothers were far away in body as well as spirit. The young mother, exposed to fear and misunderstanding, felt guilty, and these feelings were directed toward the child and community.

Relations between the society and mother and baby were complex. The infant was the symbol of the connection between the past, parents, and home. Yet the baby also symbolized the future and hope of building a home, a place free of present anxieties. Perhaps he who was born in the new society would become the "new man."

Before the birth of the first baby at Degania, there was a discussion as to what name it should be given: Adam was suggested because he was supposed to open a new era in human history. The first children were cared for by the whole community. In Degania, everyone was allowed to awaken the child, bring him to the dining room, and play with him. The children had a special place in the community.

The mother struggled between her wish to make her child a center of love and security for the whole community, a center which was very important to her as a kibbutz member, and her tendency to affirm the special relations between the child and herself. The decision was not easy.



*Slowly, women created
their own instruments for
struggle and discussion.*

Many mothers took extreme stands. Miriam Branatz, the first mother, decided to fight for the community's responsibility of educating her baby. She "went on strike" until the community decided to care for the baby. Within a few hours, she had won. Dvora Dayan, the second mother, refused to give her son to the community nurse. Josef Busel, a member of the first kibbutz movement, considered it essential to create a system of education which would give freedom to women, would not consider children as possessions, and would not allow parents too much power over their children's lives. Communal education was conceived by Manya Shochet and Josef Busel in the Second Aliya. It was first used in Degania, Tel Adash and Kfar Giladi.

The DEVELOPMENT of COMMUNAL EDUCATION

The Third Aliya saw a dramatic change in education. While the Second Aliya conceived of education as a means whereby youth could be shaped in the image of a new man, the Third Aliya reconsidered education as a system by itself. The ideology of "youth-culture" conceived in Central Europe, was a very important motivation in the creation of kibbutzim in Israel. Youth movements stressed the natural tensions between parents and children. This idea

motivated many to combine the idea of socialization of education with the idea of the "community of children". This was to be an independent society which would not surrender to the compromise of values and ideals exacted by adult visions of reality occurring in a society such as the kibbutz. The community of children, which is free of economic pressures, would become the true representation of the ideal.

Education in the kibbutz was based on varying assumptions in different kibbutzim. Some believed that the revolutionary stage in the life of the parents had to be transformed into a system of socialization in which the children would "absorb" the kibbutz by living in it. Others felt that the kibbutz was a "permanent revolution" in which youth must defend its values against the tendencies of stagnation and compromise. The kibbutz, they felt, must stress tension between ideas and daily life. Still, there were those who felt that the kibbutz must provide only general humanistic education without returning to the inner needs of the young. Each of these ideologies created special forms and institutions of education. With the passing of time, the limitation of each system was revealed and some of the differences between them have now been blurred.

The system of communal education was a result of ideological and political problems. The ideological roots were connected with the idea of liberation of women and the "youth culture". The practical roots were connected with the economic and psychologically critical conditions existing at the time among the founders of the movement.

A RETURN to CONVENTIONAL SEX-ROLES

With the passage of time, the situation has changed drastically. The sundered Jewish family has been

Marriage was seen not as an expression of love, but merely as an economic institution which destroyed genuine feeling.

recreated. The modern kibbutz family is no longer a primary unit of consumption, but has some of the functions of consumption required for the reaffirmation of the family as a unit of solidarity and intimacy. The kibbutz family is stable. If, in the beginning, the kibbutz rejected the notion of the concept of the traditional family, it has evolved into an acceptance and creation of the extended family: twenty-five to thirty people from the same family in one kibbutz is not uncommon on the oldest kibbutzim. The uniqueness of this situation lies in the fact that it occurs in a highly developed, technological society.

Nonetheless, the family has still not been freed from the ambiguity of modern society towards women. The generation which built the kibbutz is very sensitive to the importance of the family within the framework of the kibbutz. On the other hand, the veterans are surprised that the second generation accepts the family as a fact, not as a challenge.

A number of changes have also taken place. The second generation does not know the anxiety of the young immigrant mother. It lives in close contact with its parents. This occurs even in the new kibbutzim whose founders come from the city. A generation of grandparents has grown up who were educated during the time of transition. All these phenomena give confidence to the young mother. She has become more critical of "scientific" methods of education (methods by which she has been educated). Many of the guilt feelings of the first generation were expressed in the revolt against the authority of the metapelet* (mother-substitute in the children's house) as a representative of the values and "objective" methods of education.

Paradoxically, it is unknown to many women that the special system of education was devised by women. A gradual change in the situation of women created this historical misunderstanding. Originally, women had a choice between working in agriculture or education. There were so few children that women really could choose between working in the field and working with the children. As the

children's community grew larger, women had to take all the responsibility and found themselves working in the service of the community. These factors led to the general decline in the role and authority of the metapelet. The pressure for women to work in the area of child care is great. The division of work between women and men exists in the kibbutz, although it is not connected with status in society. The sector of education is very powerful and women are very active in other areas as well. Nevertheless, women know that if they do not prepare themselves to enter some profession, they can end up by being a nonprofessional metapelet. This motivates many to reorient the job of metapelet toward a professional direction, or to consider this job as only temporary on the way to acquiring a new profession.

Another factor in the change of the kibbutz woman's roles is that the distinction between "productive work and "service" has been blurred. The choice is no longer simply between that of working in the field of caring for children. Women have new perspectives. The relative growth of the importance of the family as a unit of consumption, even in a limited sense, puts a new burden on women. This is true despite the fact that the kibbutz father's role is far more active than the traditional one in child and home care.

Family life of the second generation is more stable than the first generation's. The return of women to some of the traditional feminine functions is not complete in structural forms of the kibbutz. Many of the second generation inherited the fear that perhaps the kibbutz is not able to become a home for its members. But there are just as many second generation women who are willing to sacrifice much in order to prove that a

kibbutz can affirm the values of motherhood and a stable family life while maintaining women's intellectual and economic liberation. The kibbutz mother faces a situation in which her child has two emotional centers: that of the children's house and the parents' home. She, too, has two centers consisting of work and home. It is difficult to predict that the future situation of women in the kibbutz will be--but, certainly, the situation will be changed not less dramatically in the future than it was in the past. □

BOOKS & ARTICLES DEALING WITH THE ISSUE OF WOMEN IN KIBBUTZ

Lionel Tiger and Joseph Shepher. *Women of the Kibbutz*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovic, 1975).

R.L. Blumberg. "Women of the Kibbutz", *Center Magazine*, 1974 (May) Vol. 7: 70-72.

Ménachem Gerser. "Women in the Kibbutz", *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 1971, Vol. 4(4): 566-573.

Martha Mednick. *Social Change and Sex Role Inertia: The Case of the Kibbutz*. Howard University, 1975.

Menachem Rosner. "Women in the Kibbutz: changing status and concepts" (*Asian and African Studies*, Vol. 3, 1967).

kibbutz women: in transition



by elaine solomay

Elaine Solomay of Kibbutz Ketura presents her reasons as to why women on the Kibbutz have returned to the traditional roles of child care and domestic services. She takes the stand that much of the problem appears to have its roots in the attitudes of the kibbutz men and in particular their refusal to take on "Women's work". Elaine offers her article to us as a reflection of the opinions of the upcoming generation of kibbutz women.

If I was to try to give a single reason for the failure of women to obtain equal status on the kibbutzim, I would say that it is because of the attitudes of the men. I do not say that all men on the kibbutzim actively opposed the drive for equality. I am more concerned with what the men did not do rather than what they did do. And what men did not do was take over any of the work that was considered women's work.

Many men refuse to do housework as a matter of principle on many of the kibbutzim. Few men work in the kitchen, the children's houses or

the light service branches. It is usually considered the women's duty of the day, to take them to the doctor or dentist if they need care or to sit with them if they are sick. This makes it difficult for a woman to work off of the kibbutz or in the fields.

There is definitely a division of labor along lines of sex in almost all kibbutzim. Strangely enough what is considered man's work on one kibbutz is women's work on another. For instance, work in the dairy is considered women's work by some kibbutzim. In others women are not allowed to work with cows because it is too dangerous. One sort of work is always the work of the women, anything to do with child care.

I have never understood why so few men are interested in working with children. Many people say it is because it is not socially acceptable for a man to work in a children's house. But the majority of teachers, even on high school level, are also women. There is certainly nothing to prevent a man from being a teacher if he has the talent and intelligence.

Perhaps the problem is a more

subtle one. I notice in my own community a certain prejudice against the service branches. Kitchen, maintenance, children's house, laundry, and dining room are low status branches. They are not considered good or important places to work. The high status branches are intensive field crops, management and livestock. My own field, orchards and plantations, is a rather neglected area. We are not producing fruit yet so we cannot be considered important.

It seems that many men have the feeling that they must be breadwinners. Performing vital functions for the community is not as important to them as producing something that can be sold. I believe it is necessary to educate a kibbutznik to see the community as a whole.

Many men believe that the less important jobs (as if food and clothing and the care of other human beings are not important!) can be left to the women. Besides, they say, you know how to do these things naturally. I can only speak for myself, but it was easier for me to learn to drive a tractor than it was for me to

care for my infant son. A tractor is a simple hardy machine, easy to repair. A baby is a delicate complicated creature. A baby must be handled with great care and thoughtfulness. This knowledge is not inborn. It must be acquired. There is a lot less to learn about a tractor.

I notice on kibbutzim where women work in crafts, industries and field crops, that the women seem happier and more sure of themselves. There are not as many kibbutzim with that sort of labor distribution as there used to be. As the first generation of hardy, assertive women got older, they gradually retired from field and industry. Often their daughters are not allowed to work in the orchards that they planted or in the fields that they once plowed. There was a great deal of pressure on the first generation of kibbutz women. They were not only mothers and wives and domestics, they were farmers, guards, managers, heavy laborers. The man stayed mostly in the last categories. They were not concerned or liberated enough to share the women's work the way the women shared the men's work.

In a situation like this it is very easy to slip back into the woman's

world. Where nothing has to be proved and where no one says that one can't do such-and-such because one is a woman. It is easy, it is comfortable. The second generation of kibbutz women lost most of what their mothers had gained.

"You see," say many men, "women do not want to be liberated."

No, my brothers. It is you who do not want to be liberated. We can only help you by helping ourselves.

A lot has been said about the position of women on kibbutzim. Most people agree that equality was never reached. Few people can explain why the equalization process was never completed, why women went back to what was traditionally women's work after such a good start on the road to equality in labor. I think that I can explain this. I believe that many women went voluntarily back to work in the kitchens and children's houses because they were tired.

There are many kinds of weariness. I am twenty three years of age, female and a mother. I also run the date and mango plantations. I believe

that I am beginning to understand why my sisters on other kibbutzim gave up the struggle. I have lived on kibbutz five years and every day has brought me closer to this understanding.

Women in kibbutzim did not exchange their traditional jobs for work in the fields in the early days of the movement. They did field work, organizational work, and shared the burden of the community defense in addition to their traditional jobs. Men were never integrated into the domestic service branches or the educational system. A good many refused to do any personal house-keeping after work. A woman had many responsibilities. She was a wife, a mother, a guard, she took her turn in the community dirty work, she practised her own profession, she sat on committees. After twenty or thirty years of this many women were too exhausted to continue the struggle to fill all the roles and fight against the prejudice of their male comrades at the same time.

I know from experience how easy it is to slip into the world of children's houses, kitchen, dairy and garden. There is always someone to talk about the babies with, someone to drink a cup of tea with. No one hints that one can't do such and such because one is a woman. There is nothing to be proved.

But I am also a professional. I was trained to graft, prune, weed and plant. I have to prove my competence over and over to advisors, buyers, government officials. I am tired of it.

I know a woman who lives on a kibbutz in the Galilee who planted a grove of orange trees. Her daughter cannot work in the same grove; it is not a place for women. Now, that is. It was twenty years ago.

I would not like to see something like this happen in my community.

I will admit that my kibbutz has a good record so far. Also that roles on kibbutzim are changing again, that the third generation of women are not as passive as the second and less likely to let the male comrades define their roles for them. This seems to me a very encouraging development. When equality in labor is achieved I believe that true social equality will follow. □



Joseph Blasi is coordinator for the Harvard Research Project on the kibbutz.

In this article he gives a detailed accounting of "work" as it was and is on the kibbutz—specifically Kibbutz Vatik. Of particular interest is his account of the sexual division of labor on the kibbutz.

work in the kibbutz - historical perspective

by joseph blasi

Work is the most important *public* activity in the community. In the early days of the kibbutzim work was the most significant objective behavior which showed that one was building the community. Work would be self-sponsored. It would be in a local setting fit to the needs of the population and "the people" concrete and involved in real felt needs—anti-intellectualism was common—and close to nature. Today much of this spirit remains although parts of it have changed.

The kibbutznik (hebrew for a community member) pays deference, verbal or non-verbal to no one. A uniform working class dress prevails even among white and blue collar workers. Members however live comfortable lives, although they do work very hard, eight hours a day plus public activity.

Work today is still according to the central ideal if independant labor, although the problem of hired labor while somewhat negligible in the largest federation of 80 kibbutzim of Vatik, is a serious problem for a few communities and the issue of much ideological conflict.

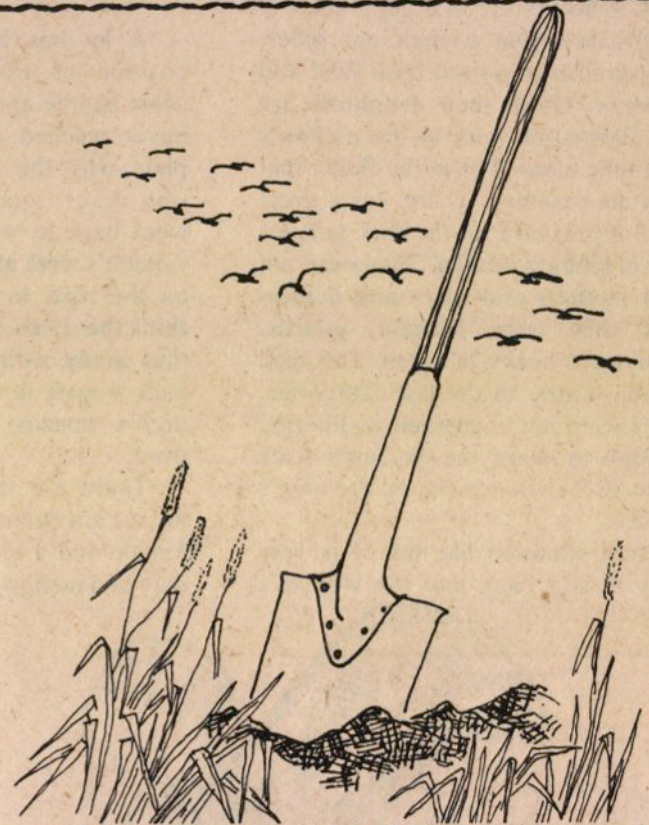
Work is also an important norm in kibbutz life because the more the community has become a village and less a commune, and the more everyone is not directly intimately related, some form of behavior that is clearly observable and can be easily evaluated without "looking inside the other" needs to emerge as the mediator of public acceptance and prestige.

COMPONENTS OF THE WORK FORCE IN VATIK

Kibbutz work is *collective*. The members fully own and in many cases fully operate the means of production and

WORK IN KIBBUTZ VATIK: THE WORK FORCE

	Male	Female	Total
Agriculture	38	3	41
Industry	68	24	92
TOTAL PRODUCTIVE			113
Support Services*	27	8	35
Community Services**	14	130	144
University Study	9	12	21
Kibbutz Federation***	9	4	13
Missl.			24
TOTAL NON-PRODUCTIVE			223
TOTAL WORKERS			380



consumption. No group in the kibbutz holds control of production: distribution is based on general assembly decisions of all members (and our research indicates these meetings are very well attended). The community has no unemployment compensation programs. Fitting work is a right guarded by the collective. In Vatik, for example, 113 members handle the 11 major productive branches of the community. In fact, as an index of adaptation, those branches that produce the most income for the community have only 14 workers. They are the fish ponds and the poultry branches, both highly mechanized. When we include all workers not actively involved in the productive branches, we find that 223 persons, almost 60% of the community, maintain the community through the community services (kitchen, children's education, laundry) and support services (carpentry, plumbing...), advanced educational preparation, and involvement in supporting the Federation's inter-kibbutz cooperative and political activities. Labor in the kibbutz has a clear social and collective meaning, not mainly one that is economic. It is easy to understand how a blend of the importance of

work, the absolute right to work, the ownership of means of production, and a social vs. financial definition of labor gives kibbutz labor a special normative quality.

The fact that a branch manager, a university professor, a children's nurse, or the community's farm manager do not get different rewards ties work to a social and cooperative definition of profit, a radical departure from the way the rest of the world operates.

Kibbutz work is mixed with *public activity*. As noted, in Vatik 70-150 people can be involved in the diffuse policy and decision-making and management bodies of the kibbutz outside of the general assembly itself. Work in the services itself is actually public activity also since community services, like the kitchen, are often strictly looked over as one looks over the community economic manager. Some participation in public activity (committee, kibbutz office) is necessary every year for a member to maintain a high degree of status and prestige. While sanctions such as complaints, gossiping, snubbing and ultimately expulsion will result from laziness or extremely poor work, non-participation in public activity would more likely lead to a lower amount of esteem.

Outside work can be a solution for certain problems involving members with family difficulties, senior age and experience who are beyond physical work, or special skills. Nevertheless, much role conflict and difficulty is experienced by such workers. In Vatik, there are 35 outside workers, mostly women including teachers and a deputy minister. Some must live outside the kibbutz temporarily most of the time. Most return everyday and try to be a member in good standing of the community, thereby reducing criticism which may accrue from his or her use of a car or position on the outside. Salaries however do go directly to the kibbutz treasurer.

The fact that a branch manager, a university professor, a children's nurse, or the community's farm manager do not get different rewards ties work to a social and cooperative definition of profit—a radical departure from the way the rest of the world operates.

Specialization is a larger part of the work scene than before. In the early days of most kibbutzim the branches were agricultural and tasks were interchangeable. It was hoped in the beginning that this "simplicity of training" would also reduce inequality. As occurred with the kibbutz attempt to have a more unstructured family and to have mostly direct intimate relationships, the demands of continuity and the construction of a complex efficient cooperative organization, the resistance to specialization did not remain. Today, many members and branch managers (including household services, and education

and the kibbutz accounting office) require special training. In Vatik's industry the metal factory requires an engineer. Specialization is now attempted but an array of "safety valves" have evolved to prevent it from threatening the community. The majority of branch managers are still rotated (some few blatant exceptions exist for good and bad reasons); rewards economically speaking still do not vary with training; a specialist finds that the critical community's questioning and ultimate vote goes along with his or her prestige and dampens it. On a branch level a specialist is not allowed to "dictate" the branch policies either because of the branch members or the diffuse interests of different parts of the decision-making structure in his or her activity (the budget committee, the members committee, the planning committee...), or the fact that another member is probably completing training and planning to replace him or her.

In spite of this, specialists and technicians are listened to more (although they try to explain and not mystify members with details of technical decisions) and do yield special power. An ultimate test of kibbutz life will be to see if they gain undue power.

The community *plans* its work. Work committee makes up a detailed plan of probable needs and resources and regularly evaluates efficiency of the planning process. A work organizer handles daily work assignments. Most members have regular jobs, but usually some temporary switching of the regulars and the assignment of the "floaters" must occur daily. This takes place after dinner and usually involves extended discussions, arguments, and compromises between the organizer and branch managers and individual members. Even temporary volunteers from abroad in the kibbutz spirit haggle and argue with the poor work coordinator. It is as one might guess a very unpopular and often rotated job.

Value is placed on the *social motivation* behind employment. The relational and social rewards become more emphasized in the kibbutz since economic rewards are granted in complete equality and are not given to variance. This quality of kibbutz labor has always puzzled the Western entrepreneur: Why should people work unless they knew their exact pay per hour and took a check home? One would respectively point out that in the U.S. now 40% of that paycheck goes for taxes to support poor social programs to pick up the pieces of a disintegrating mass society! The gossip and prestige process whereby a members abilities and dedication are recognized and reacted to accounts for the normative importance of work. The ability to cooperate and function on a team (as most community work is organized) is also important here. If anything, kibbutz research has unveiled many of the subtle factors that account for small cooperative community success.

This is not to say that the "group" and the cooperative nature of the community determines all components of motivation and prestige. Although it is mentioned infrequently, the kibbutz, via the work organizer, the work committee, the social manager and many others especially individual members, continually scans the experience of work as is and asks, "Is it intrinsically related to the person's needs?" In Vatik, the social manager may spend

weeks helping a member to find a new work area. Many kibbutzim will create a branch for the gifted member or enterprising members. But, education and training programs sponsored by the Federation in almost all jobs, are central in creating prestige, quality, and professional concern in each member regarding his or her job whether it be kitchen cook, high school teacher, or a Phd. in botany who raises cotton. Almost everyone is encouraged to get involved in such activities. Finally, all children who are old enough have daily responsibilities, and no senior citizen need worry that the community will not find and value a task for him or her. Many members feel that this accommodating attitude towards work flexibility is necessary to satisfy the present level of individual expectation in the kibbutz, given the temporary demands on every member to fill given critical community needs.

Congruent with the inter-dependence of collective life, work has an important *democratic* quality. All work branch teams are expected to meet regularly to discuss decisions. In practice, this varies from team to team and is usually replaced by the open-ended leadership view of many managers or (and) the real sense each member has that they do not work *for* the branch coordinator. Despite the tendency to institutionalize and formalize decision-making (which the greater decision-making responsibility of the manager seems to represent), the kibbutz is still anti-bureaucratic in character, utilizes general meetings as the main agent of democracy, and is one of the few organizations in modern society which embraces so many decisive aspects of its members' lives. In a comparative study, the kibbutz outshined even the worker participatory Yugoslavian factories in being less hierarchical, less alienating, more participatory, more contributing to psychological adjustment, and offering members most possibility for advancement.

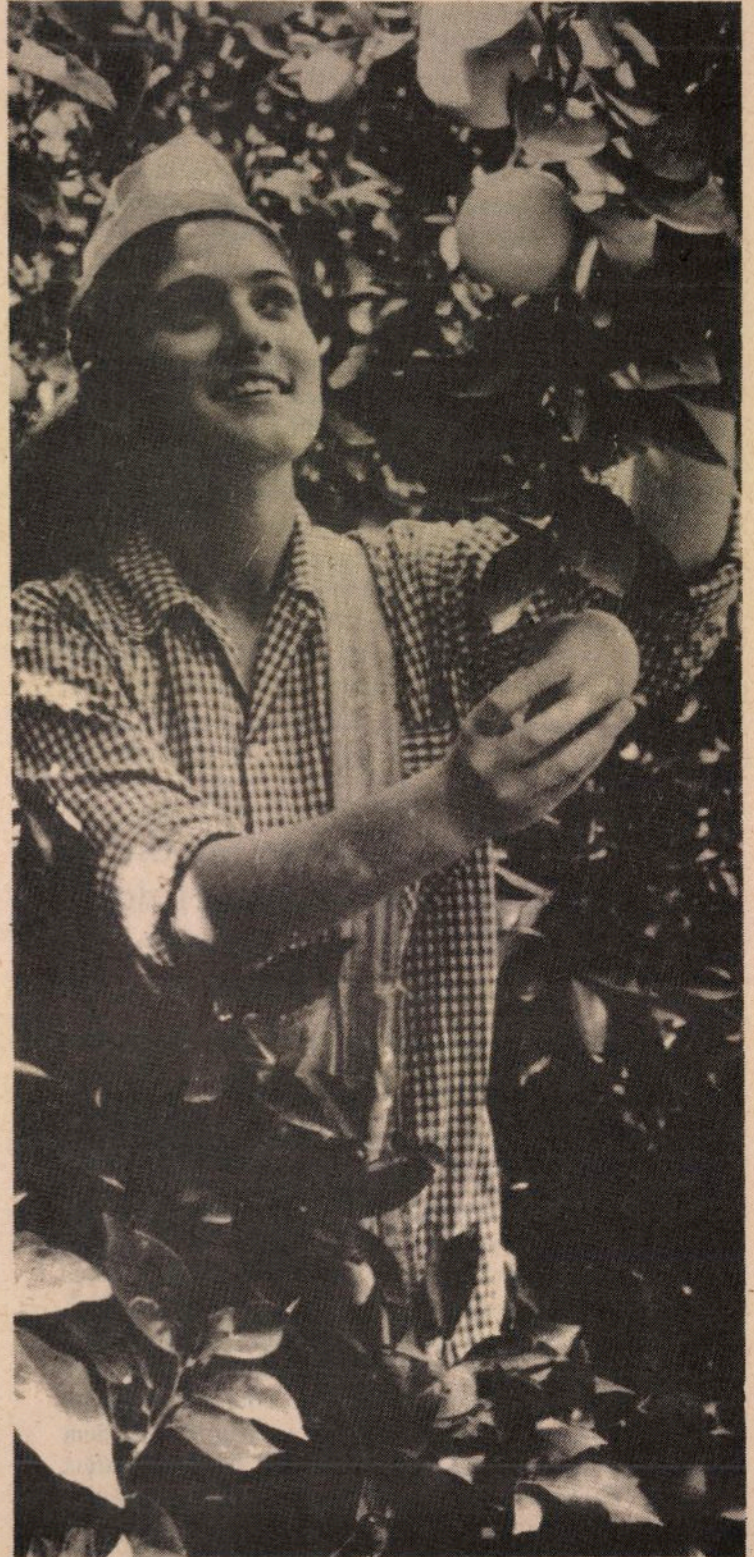
Rotation of management and public service jobs (farm and social manager, committee members...) is however the mainstay of kibbutz democracy. Although rotation no longer occurs yearly or bi-annually in managerial positions, the main full-time public offices are rotated bi-annually along with committee members since limitations on the pool of possible coordinators are less tight for these positions.

The gossip and prestige process, whereby a member's abilities and dedication are recognized and reacted to, accounts for the normative importance of work.

It is significant that the basic preservation of the kibbutz's diffuse and fellowship-oriented decision-making system seriously undercuts the possibilities of wholesale "takeovers" of power prevalent in many other cooperative ventures.

Of the seven important aspects of work under discus-

sion *the sexual division of labor* has undergone the most dramatic changes and it was in fact quite central to the normative ideology of early members who regarded it as one of their most important aims. Critics of the kibbutz's obvious failure in this area unfortunately do not emphasize the very radical and comprehensive steps the kibbutz took to eradicate sexism. Formal equality was established but they do not stop there. All ties were disconnected between sex and economic remuneration. In addition the economic security of women like men was associated with their



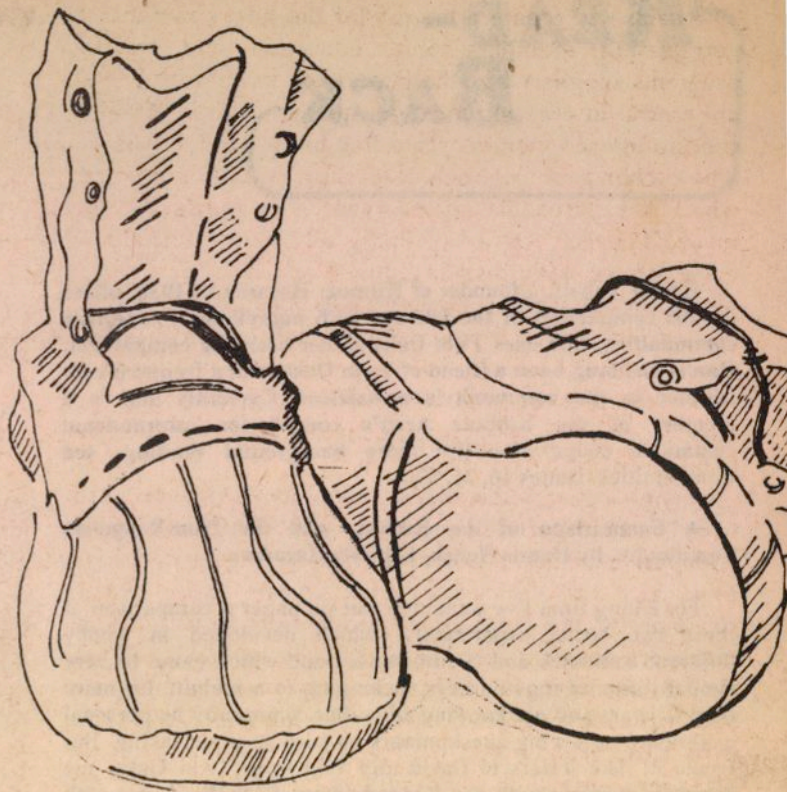
membership *not* their marital status or number of children...there was complete formal political equality and opportunity and actual chances to hold central offices and seek educational advancement. All the usual work of the housewife was carried out by educational institutions. Nevertheless, as Shepher's recent book *Women in the Kibbutz* documents exhaustively that after embracing these changes in the early years, women progressively chose not to take advantage of this situation and today are almost totally involved in community services (the kitchen, laundry, education) and almost totally passive in political decision-making except for a few young women and old-timers and defending in most areas of the kibbutz family-centered values. Thus, in Vatik, there are 130 women in community services and only 14 men; 3 women in agriculture and 38 men. Except in service branches there are no women branch managers. The fact that in Vatik and other kibbutzim women serve as social managers, chairpeople of important committees, and important community spokespeople does not evidence a negative feeling in the community towards their abilities. If anything, the absence of such "inferiority typing" reward discrimination, and the egalitarian and non-sexist nature of the kibbutz economic structure are parts of the revolution that have made it.

Rosner, whose research on the changing status of kibbutz women showed an egalitarian attitude with regards to which traits members felt were characteristic of the sexes, found also that the changing status of women was but an aspect of familistic tendencies at large in the kibbutz and was connected to what is here called the tendency towards the communal kibbutz (less sex-differentiated) and the tendency towards the communal village (more sex-differentiated).

...the changing status of women was but an aspect of familistic tendencies at large in the kibbutz...

The situation, however, is not static. While no vocal women's movement exists in the kibbutz (possibly because most of the organizational goals have been achieved), women in Vatik, for example, are very uneasy about their service-oriented jobs. They are seeking greater opportunities for training, personal fulfillment, and work outside the community. The situation is clearly very complex.

In conclusion, work in the kibbutz can be most clearly defined as community effort. It involves options for individual development quite comparable to mass society, and in some respects, because of the unoppressive and flexible nature of the kibbutz organization, probably greater. On a day-to-day basis many small problems arise in each of these seven aspects of work. Because this is not a fanatic organization nor a total utopia, that seems natural. There is, however, a high degree of acceptance of the community values and that makes work the collective experience it is.



Thus it represents one of the most significant learning situations. The problems can be more fully understood by an examination of the dilemmas and structure of the cooperative economy and the normative force of cooperation. □

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NORTH COUNTRY
ANVIL

READ- BACK

Hanna Nehab, a founder of Kibbutz Hozorea in 1936, offers us this comparison of the kibbutz with nonreligious American communities. She uses Twin Oaks as her basis for comparison. Hanna has long been a friend of Twin Oaks, and a frequent contributor to the community's newsletter. Currently she is a member of the Kibbutz Artzi's council for international communal cooperation [for more background reading, see *Communities*, issues 16, 21, 22].

A Comparison of the Kibbutz and the Non Religious Community, by Hanna Nehab, Kibbutz Hazorea.

For a long time I've wanted to put on paper a comparison of these two social experiments, which developed in wholly different countries and circumstances and which came to very similar forms of togetherness. Belonging to a kibbutz for more than 40 years and not knowing any other community by personal experience puts a big questionmark on such an undertaking. But I take it! The letters of David and Will from Twin Oaks, my personal meeting with Kat Kindade from East-Wind and with Vince Zager from the editorial staff of *Communities* and my careful reading of "Leaves from Twin Oaks" and *Communities* give me enough background. If I put things too wrongly, I shall be only glad to be set on the right track.

Therefore, I shall be very grateful to whoever may answer me, because I really do believe that there are a lot of possibilities to exchange good experiences and to amend errors which one of us made and regretted.

To begin with I want to point out the issues which are common to both Kibbutz and Commune:

Material and social equality, justice, common property of income and of basic means of production.

Active protest against the surrounding society not only by lecturing, writing, demonstrating, but by building an alternative society inside the big one or beside it.

Realization of such an attitude by everyone him/herself, not by sending other people or inciting other people, but by doing, by giving up the former way of life by yourself. (No kind of philanthropy or educational help, social aid or governmental subsidized rehabilitation of others.)

Complete voluntariness of membership.

The importance and the high esteem of the single person and the right of the single person to equal and just treatment.

An attitude of sincere responsibility.

However, regarding responsibility, differences exist already. Whereas the Kibbutz considers itself responsible for the State of Israel, for the existence of the Jewish people, for the kibbutz movement as a whole and mostly for the political party to which the kibbutz belongs, the commune considers itself responsible for "humanity" in general, with no special commitment to the State; responsible sometimes for the surroundings, environment and for the needy, retarded or deprived, but this responsibility is not felt by everyone in the community nor by all the communes, and not as an obligation of the communes.

Another difference is, as I came to believe, only temporary: the commune, being only at the beginning of its way, is radically opposed to the "stronghold" of the small family, whereas the kibbutz, being much more sure of its achievements (and sometimes too sure!), is much in favor of the existing familiar bonds. But as I said above, that seems to be only a temporary difference. Both have in common: the complete abolition of

material, monetary, authoritarian or all other kind of power investment in the family. Education, decisions about all practical sides of the life of the grownups or of the children, are with the community and only with the community. And in this commune and kibbutz agree.

Some differences are very obvious, but perhaps also only temporary differences. The kibbutz arrived at a fairly high standard of living and even if there is from time to time some criticism, it is not opposed to such standard and does neither in words nor in fact do anything to reduce it considerably. Thereby, the kibbutz offers its members a very high degree of social and economic security and assures itself of a certain degree of stability; people seldom leave for a materially better life in the outside. They may have all kinds of other reasons, but no reason of economic hardship!

This stability of the kibbutz is still greater because of the fact that the different kibbutzim sustain, and are sustained by, an organizational network. In these large kibbutz-organizations, the kibbutzim are mutually responsible for one another and derive great advantages from this fact, advantages which, again, add to the general security.

Another difference shows itself in the place and the role which are ascribed to the personality of the members. Please, don't misunderstand me. I wrote before, that both of us give priority to the individual, priority over all other values, without any consideration of the wealth or status of this particular person. But the member co-self: How does co consider cos personality? How much are they "open" or "secluded"? Which kind of expression and which kind of personal relationships do they prefer? Here seems to be a major difference in the styles of our living.

During the first years of the kibbutz and the first groups of children, the movement, the issue and the commitment to them was considered prior to everything and to everyone. Even life itself could be a sacrifice for the society (dying from malaria, from assaults, giving up personal talent and the hope for achieving a cherished profession, like artist, doctor, et. al.) Life could be a sacrifice and thereby completely fulfilled--a completely justified sacrifice. Out of such attitude came a great reluctance to make much of personal feelings, inclinations, aversions and so on. If somebody had to insist on something very private, like leaving because of a love affair, or demanding non-physical work because of poor health, or asking for money to sustain old parents, people were **ashamed of having a personal demand!** Everyone considered coself as being mainly a part of something great and all personal worthiness was considered with this greater being, the kibbutz. Out of such attitude, prevailing in the first, founding years, in the years of hardship and uncertainty, developed two things: a general contempt for individualism and a reluctance to show one's inner self.

Again I must stress the fact that the kibbutz, in its assembly and in its institutions recognized the value of the person as supreme, but the person coself thought otherwise. Today this attitude nearly disappeared, but the attitude of the commune, as far as I understand from reading about these matters, is so much the opposite, that still it is a far cry between the "support" the commune members long for and the self reliance of which the average kibbutz member is proud. Even today, we could say that the private happiness is thought of in the kibbutz as luck or luxury, whereas it seems to be the very goal of the commune. Am I right in this?

PREFERENCE VERSUS ASSIGNMENT

In other cases, it seems the attitude of the kibbutz is very different from that of the Walden-Two experiment communes: the appointment of planners and managers and the free choice of daily work or even daily work schedule. In both cases the inclination and the skills, proven and manifest, are the decisive factor. The commune is reduced to the role of opportunity.

I believe that in both cases you deprive yourself of the very great and satisfying role the community can play in investing

confidence in its members by assigning to them tasks or work. Let us say, somebody who would prefer to be left alone, is asked to be planner. Reluctantly co accepts, co begins to see the importance of co doing and suddenly co discovers that co is able to do the thing, co is able to fulfill the acute need for a good planner--and at the end of the term, co becomes a different person. The same is true for work assignment. There will always be kinds of work (not dishwashing, which should be evenly rotated), which are unknown, new, unwanted. A person who gets such an assignment without any enthusiasm may discover something very likeable **and** satisfying in a double way--the new technique in itself and the gratitude of the community. In your system you have not many chances to be confronted with challenges not born in yourself, and this is as I believe from the experiences of the kibbutz a real loss.

Looking at the February issue of the "Leaves of Twin Oaks" and reading about the doings of Susan or Henry or Gerry, I get the feeling that they are wasting a lot of the day by changing from one place to the other, from one outfit to the other, from one crew or team.... Why? Is that giving you any real satisfaction? Doing a bigger "chunk" of work could be perhaps tiring or hard, but this is the only way to get experience, skill, and high productivity, things which will be appreciated by the community and satisfying to yourself!

I believe I must sound like the despicable overseer of a capitalist enterprise, but believe me, I am no capitalist and have no intention to be. But your communes must become stable and happy before you are tired of them. As long as "playing" is an essential part of your day, you are not a real part of this new society-in-the-making, you are not committed to it. A community whose members are not really committed has little chance to survive.

The commune and the kibbutz are trying to build an alternative style of modern life, good in itself as a very interesting and promising experiment and good for modern man in general, as testing ground for a new society. We started from opposite sides. You as a group of youngsters, searching for your own selves and for simple happiness; the kibbutz as a movement of politically and philosophically totally committed youngsters, with no high esteem for individual inclinations or wishes. Both of us found the framework of communal life as the most promising starting ground, and both of us, so it seems to me, are coming nearer and nearer. That is something very good and promising and I am looking forward to seeing more of this progress of your communes and of intercommunal ties.

[Ed. note--This letter is in response to El Uriel's readback article in *Communities* #20.
Dear El Uriel,

I was happy to see you working out the issue of over-reaction to technology in such a readable way. After four years of involvement in the alternative movement, during which my head was not always screwed on right, I have been thinking much along the lines you have in your letter. As a matter of fact, the issue of going to extremes pervades almost every aspect of the movement. It appears that rather than trying to implement differently modulated wholistic concepts of living, the alternative pioneers, me included, have tended toward a concentration on very specific problems. Needless to say, they may be creating valuable showcases for others to study, but sooner or later some of us need to concentrate on putting all of their experiences to work in a wholistic mutually balanced matrix.

It has come as a kind of a gray awakening to me, but perhaps the most balanced, most complete, most successful example of that is the existing model of society. Can we personally accept this view? It has taken me four years. Sociologists know the details of the mechanism that keeps us locked in on a decision, once made. Coming to the decision in the first place, that the current model of living is quite a poor one, ties in very much with the tendency toward narrow-spectrum problem-solving that I mentioned above. By the large, the alternatives seeker is a

person who has a specific discontent. So co seeks rather specific solutions. Co may even have hit on one of the recognized failings of the existing model. Co is also falling prey to the baby-with-the-bathwater syndrome. Co makes a generalized subconscious association; part is bad--whole is bad.

What can we do about the bad elements of the current system? (Notice I've switched to the word "system".) One solution is to define and implement a new one. Others are welcome to it. Experience with system's analysis makes me turn from that with a hearty **No thanks**. It is an incredibly complex task to design any fair sized system at all. As that design enters the detail stages it takes the collective effort of many specialized minds. And, despite much planning, when it gets to the testing stage, these systems almost always have "bugs" in them that need further work. The most common solution in the real world of system's planning is to take an existing model(s) and make desired adaptations to it.

Just how many of the defects we try to tackle at once, just how radical a solution we seek for each of them depends on one factor, the people who are to be involved in living this altered model. The more radical the changes, the fewer people will be interested. The less radical, the more will be. It is significant that TORI, for example, a continuing association of weekend extended families in Michigan has around 1,000 people involved in it, whereas Twin Oaks has under 100.

Again, it is likely that the most workable solution to the numbers question (quality vs. quantity) lies in finding a balance between the two extremes, incorporating elements of both.

One subject that is important to me is successful implementation. At the Midwest Homesteading and Community Conference held this year at U&I Ranch, I had the opportunity to ask someone from Twin Oaks how Skinner envisioned the initial creations of Walden Two. He felt, according to this person, that it would take 5 million dollars. These funds coming either from some institution, perhaps a foundation, or from individuals. An effort was actually made, apparently, to generate the money; or, at least, some planning was done. Faced with the prospects of long and hard years spent primarily on fund-raising, a number of the people involved opted instead for immediate action. This resulted in Twin Oaks and similar groups. Why did this happen?

I can tell you from personal experience. Fools rush in where angels fear to tread. And the proverb is quite specific. It's either a rush, or no action at all.

So where's the golden mean? Where are the people who have the vision and commitment to action but also the patience and discipline to work out a successful implementation of their vision? In my recent contacts with people who are concerned with social change I'm becoming more impressed with the reality that there may be none, at best a few. What a predicament.

Yet, there may be an obvious solution. Harness the fast horse with the slow one. There is a definite interest among professionals, I have found, in improving society in a wholistic way. These are the people who are used to seeing years go by as their projects are planned, financed, actuated, improved. These people also know the correct mechanics of doing this, having had experience. It is up to us activists to form some kind of alliance with such people, as much as it pains us. Let's face it. On the whole we have not been very efficient or effective.

Harnesses are usually put on, not by the horses, but by the driver. That makes it hard. We need to put the harness on ourselves. Not only that, but the harness must also be strong enough to keep us together when one side wants to run while the other wants to walk. Whether peer pressure, financial commitment can serve the purpose of holding a planning group together is an open question. Threat of survival is a great unifier. This is my personal motivator to collaboration. I am very much tied to my ideals, and we are very much concerned about the threat to our survival--impatience and lack of expertise.

Rolf
Children of Kansas
Florence, Ks. 66851

Rainbow Family

Gathering

by Michael More



"Permit to gather together [according to U.S. law] 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment or religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof...or the RIGHT of the people peaceably to assemble' [--from the first amendment to the constitution of the United States]

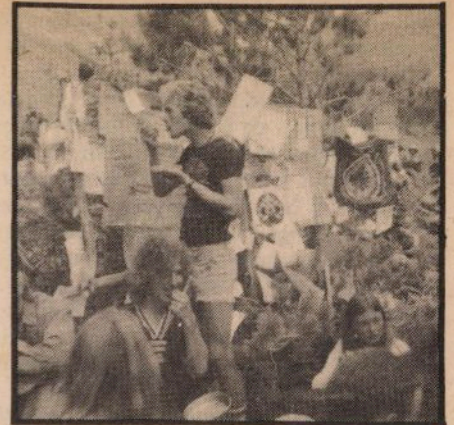
A freedom ain't a freedom unless the people are allowed to exercise it.

We are simply brothers and sisters bound together by our love for each other and by our desire to live in peace. We hope that this gathering will be an example of paradise; & that we will be able to learn amid the cathedral of nature how to spread this energy to the benefit of our beloved home."

[from the Rainbow People to advertise this event.]

The Event: Rainbow Festival of '76. Many people doubted its happening after all the adverse publicity and hassles with the park officials at the original site (Glacier International Peace Park). However, around June 15, officials of Lewis & Clark National forest gave a permit for the gathering to be held in a remote valley west of Choteau, Montana, a few miles from where the Great Plains erupt suddenly into large lumps of rock that are the Rocky Mountains.

In a valley twice devastated by fire and once by flood this century, where forest officials had given up planting, underneath the craggy granite peaks lay an immense tribal village, resembling a reservation village at the turn of the century. Eight or nine tipis and innumerable tents and more organic structures scattered around the hillside. At night the fires burned and the tipis glowed



like stars as above so below; and all day music wafted up the hillside.

This was Carnival Camp, one of two Rainbow villages separated by a mile walk over the ridge to the other fork of the creek.

The creative energy manifested itself in accoustical music, healing, singin, chanting, ritualizing, sweating & merrymaking galore, stretching & dancing bodies, classes, meditations, healing circles & councils, all trademarks of similar family folk gatherings all over the U.S. especially along the west coast for the last 4 or 5 years.

This gathering differed from most others that I've visited in that it was free and there was no coercion to donate energy, but also it was larger (from two to five thousand people total at both camps) and more embracing in terms of lifestyles represented & size & scope & vision of tribal living generated.

After a fifteen-mile drive along a dirt road, a two-mile hike in along a dry creek bed & woods brought people to a choice of trails, each one leading Home. I walked in along the upper trails, and approached Carnival Camp, named after the Carnival Cafe in Boulder (its folks staffed the communal kitchen). I heard flute music and the primal beat of drums filling the valley with haronious sounds and rhythms. "Welcome Home, brother!" & as three naked beings put their arms around me, we embraced in a hippie sandwich hug. I was nervous and eager to park my pack, set up camp, and look around, yet my heart expanded in leaps & bounds to adoring brothers & sisters along the way.

The minimal physical community structures were pretty similar at both

camps. Both camps had built a communal kitchen, a bakery, a children's tipi, a holistic healing tipi, and sweat lodges. All these structures were temporary; and cooperatively disassembled after the festival.

Carnival kitchen was a grand funk affair, partially enclosed and accessible only to helpers—a rule more acknowledged around mealtimes. Food and herb teas were donated directly and indirectly with green energy. It was staffed by joyful workers; there were usually enough helpers chopping vegetables for salad and soup, singing & chanting & being joined by one or two musicians as they worked. This freed the cooks to get on with the serious business of creating and estimating quantities of food for wholesome, tasty meals to feed up to 2000 hungry people in one sitting. The food was brought in by convoys of volunteers who hauled 25, 50 & 100 pound bags of food up the two-mile trail to the kitchen. That was really hard work, joyful too, and it got done simply because every single piece of food had to be hauled.

The childrens' tipi provided a playful environment for games, story telling, facepainting, puppet shows & musical games; it was a popular spot with children and adults.

For many kids this was their first experience in dealing with multiple mothers & fathers, and discipline & advice from unexpected sources. For many others this was fundamentally their way of relating to people, and they opened their hearts readily. Kids who became lost & terror-stricken were easily reunited by word of mouth or the grapevine. Some kids were into massage & spine walking & were very in touch with their bodies—very agile, graceful & seductive. Being around their pure energy was an intense learning & teaching experience; like facing an inscrutable mirror.

The wholistic healing center was also a tipi. It was a peaceful comfortable atmosphere where people could get healed by herbs, touch, massage, and energy channelling; also chiropractory adjustments, fasting and dietary instructions as well as sound advice. People suffering from sunburn were given aloe vera;

licorice root and raspberry leaves were recommended to women with menstrual troubles; polarity and acupuncture treatments were given frequently.

A lot of healing was happening everywhere; whether chanting, singing, sweating or eating. A major focus, however, were the healing circles. July 4 was a day of thanksgiving for the Land and our Life. There was a healing circle on that day (one of several) in which people who felt their healing urge intensely were invited into the center of the circle of OM-ing people. Channelling of awareness with concentration by chanting and opening of hearts gave many people in the center such an atmosphere of bliss & trust that they were able to go through traumas that they would normally be afraid & unable to experience in our everyday (hostile?) world. In loving hands, surrender was for some divine and with surrender, the fleeing of pain; along with screaming, crying, roaring, laughing, singing, prayer, or whatever emerged in the rebirth process. Brothers and sisters would get in the center to channel energy to absent friends, sick fathers, starving nations, fascist regimes, and the Constitution of the United States, in the name of the healing Light. At one point, on another day, a man broke a few bones collecting an eagle's nest in the mountains. The pilot found the injured brother with the help of hundreds of people below cheering the rescue and forming a human arrow pointing the way.

The many excellent acoustic musicians, sitarists, guitarists, flute and recorder players, bluegrass bands, kalimba players and drummers, to name some) echoing the valleys from sunup to sunup seemed to mirror the brightness indigenous to Rainbow Gatherings. "Anyone who's here is one of us" is the family ideal. It was an acid high that didn't need acid. Drugs, of course, were happening for some, but as a friend said, "I took some acid and it hardly affected me—I was already in the land of Oz." However, the commitment and ability to stay open depended ultimately on co's head space; it didn't matter whether co was a love

bird, hardworker, or musician.

Once I got into the habit of looking others in the eye, the short walk from my campsite to the central fire became a series of hugs, kisses, nonverbal communication, rapping, hanging out, shoulder rubbing or locating a lost kids' mothers. Or even exploring the woods & ridges. It was a slow, graceful musical space where everything is a distraction—yet the distraction is what's really happening, what we don't have time for very often in daily routines. Everything was done slowly & deeply and it seemed very hard to get into keeping the festival running. Yet supplies were always brought up from the parking lot and wood was fetched. There was always enough money to feed everyone and to give to those in need of gasoline for the ride home; classes would get organized & people would attend.

Meanwhile, three rainbows appeared around the sun in the space of four days.

A few criticisms of the festival: there were too few classes. Not enough communications of organizational plans through the inadequate notice board. Announcements at mealtime lost a lot of their communicating power because of impatience to eat and the difficulty of one person addressing 2000 without a microphone. There was not enough

DECLARATION of INTER DEPENDENCE

The Rainbow Family of Living Life
July 4, 1976

We preceive a divine heritage and gift, that heritage being the resurrection of our home, the planet Earth. We preceive an inherent power and duty to do this with Life from our Lord's heavenly city of peace. Our city is one city, now and to come, here and above, with one God, one spirit of Charity and one way of Love. We declare our government to be sovereign and free. In public lands we shall live without interference from the U.S. Government by virtue of the truth, love and natural kindness in our midst. We will not engage in the present form of democratic

awareness of passive systems of alternative energy; solar collectors or wood-efficient ovens.

The Rainbow Family councils are ragged affairs; the group process is competitive speaking to make oneself heard & is only slightly improved with the council stick. This is like everything else, and will evolve as people's heads evolve towards organization of their thoughts, which happens at different rates. The collective synergy really was the festival, so we have to relate to spaced-out process; and as the change & commitment to grow increases, and when joy & love is the work ethic, not wages, so will future festivals mirror this.

For some, this was a dope party, and no amount of atmospheric highs would change that. However, there was very little alcohol to be seen. People of like kinds gravitated together, and the festival embraced them all. I'm sure many people experienced tension being around lifestyles that they sometimes put down, but that was part of the whole meditation of being there.

Certainly, the Light carried out to the forest rangers, who thought us very mellow, and shared their horses at times. Helicopters came over several evenings and we were in the papers and on T.V. We were coming over as those weird hippies, but some

representation, but will respect the right of public disclosure and consensus. We preserve the right to trade with individuals and cooperative business. We preserve the right to gather in public places peaceably and to inform Americans of our nation. We preserve the right to pray and to observe the ways of our religion, and the right to pray openly together. We declare our rule to be the law, grace and vision of God, and our energy to be yours. We will heal with this nation all nations and gather all nations into one nation, with one God and one spirit.

of the news reports used in the words "peaceful" & "loving" & "minding their manners".

Out of Oz...and into the local town of Choteau. The locals were giving away beers, and one lady put it like this; "What I like about you Rainbow People is you're very well-mannered."

Fanning out on the road...hitchhikers getting friendliness & generosity; sort of like a light beam diffusing out from it's source to the world at large.

Looking down on the Gathering after I'd spent some time alone getting clear, I felt the similarity of the Rainbow & American Indian cultures. Some of our tribe were Native Americans and also whites who had lived & experienced Oneness with them. We were learning much compassion, non-attachment, & also the sometimes hard practicalities of living away from home comforts and centrally heated winters. There is a willingness for each to get closer to the other in an understanding mesh...

We'd space out a lot and miss some of the totality of living together as a tribe, but it didn't seem to matter whether I was massaging, singing, sweating, playing music, or eating, I was opening up inside to the force of us together. It may be a long road to Rainbow world Oneness, but most people were at that gathering because they are on that road at one stage or another, travelling forward, looking to include all people in the realization of the deepest sense of brother and sister hood.

"We are simply brothers & sisters bound together by our love for each other and by our desire to live in peace."

The Rainbow Family can be reached at: P.O. Box 5577, Eugene, Oregon 97405.

See you at our next festival. For details write to the above address.

...This has been an Ecotopian BioCentennial Event.

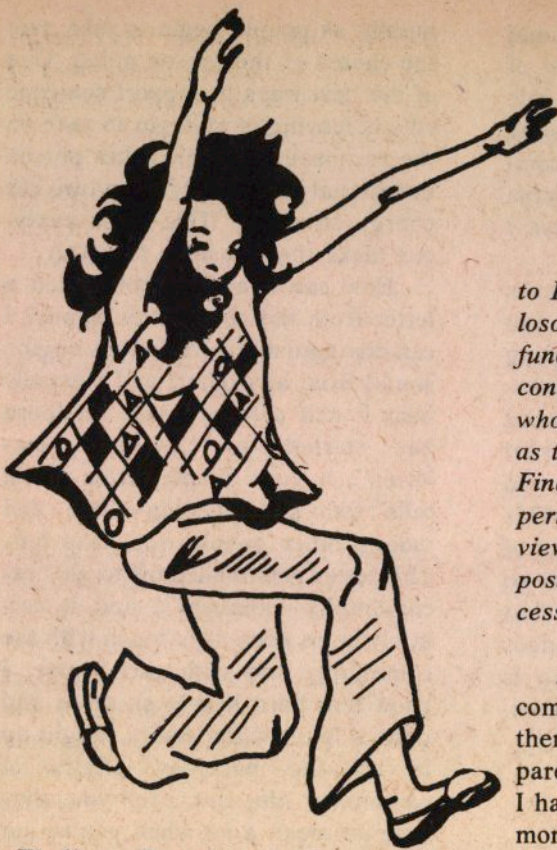
M.J.G.H. [otherwise known as Michael John, of the Rainbow

Healing Council], offers this description of the auidial/musical texture of the Gathering; along with the Rainbow Council's Declaration.

Music was everywhere. Flutes were on the path and in the kitchens making sweet sounds for the people preparing the meals. Guitars were around the fires where cooking and conversation was going on. Dolcimers and autoharps moved about the camp entertaining with the sounds of innere mystery. Drums kept the beat for the Krishna enthusiasts, the dancers, and were the background accompaniment. From morning light to evening dusk, long into the night and to dawn again the music never stopped. As music in one camp would end the music in another would start up and this went on even as people walked out playing their instruments as they walked....

Oming at family gatherings is about the single most phenomenal tradition that occurs. Some of us have experienced group Oming and we know that it can be harmonious or discordant. This gathering had perfect Oms. The harmonics developed early in the Chant—Women took the higher scales and the men took the lower so that the full range of voice produced a spine tingling, awe inspiring, single vibration. Time after time the beautiful music cascaded over the hill tops and down into the campsites, and if you happened to be near the center of the circle, the gentle waves of harmonious sound seemed to move back and forth across the heads of the people like waves on still waters. Many times the energies so increased that cheers releasing the energies lasted many minutes followed after the chanting. Then on the third day the energies began to be channelled to a creative purpose. A brother suggested that we could use the energies present to increase our awareness to the point of being able to perceive the presence of the heavenly city above us. Then the Om was perfect. The harmonies rang of the sweet music, then as each wave moved back across, it became stiller, and the amplitude decreased until we stood together in reverence for the moment and the silence.□

on reentering "the outside"



Findhorn: Transition in Community

Transition into and out of community is an important process. All of us in community have experienced the changes, surprises, and frequently the disillusionment of those first few months of membership. Here at Twin Oaks, it's called the New Member Blues, and is very akin to what Roger Doudna of Findhorn meant in saying, "The honeymoon was over".

Even more difficult is the other side of transition; members leaving. Many of us, whether we're an urban communal household, or a rural spiritual group, like to think that we're part of a durable, stable unit. Unless the group is explicitly a transitional, educational organization [as Findhorn is, to some extent], it's hard for us to feel good about folks leaving. We tend to ascribe it to a shortcoming of the community [e.g., "what aren't we providing, that this person must go elsewhere to find?], rather than interpreting the change in a positive way.

In the following excerpts from Findhorn lit, and in Rebecca Morgan's article, "On Re-entering the 'Outside World'", we find one positive interpretation. This is due partly

to Findhorn's holistic, spiritual philosophy; partly to its educative function; partly to its emphasis on continued communication with folks who've left ("Extended members", as they're called). The result is that Findhorn, while maintaining a core of permanent members, manages to view transition out of community as a positive aspect of community process, rather than as failure.

About two months ago i left a community called Findhorn in Northern Scotland and returned to my parents house in a suburb of Seattle. I had been at Findhorn for nineteen months. I did not really know why i was leaving this place that had felt more like home than any other home i had experienced. But the feeling deep inside that i should go was persistent. So i began to complete my current cycle at Findhorn and prepart myself to re-enter the "outside world".

There were several of us leaving the community at that time, most of us returning to the states. Although we have now scattered around the country, we are still closely linked to each other. We are each experiencing our own challenges and joys, yet our experiences are often amazingly similar. From these experiences i would like to draw out some basic guidelines that may help others embarking on a similar transition.

Before leaving try to make sure your departure will not leave a gap in the community where you have lived. If you leave something undone which you feel you should have completed, it will probably keep coming back to you after you go. I like the image of a community being like a circle of people holding hands. If someone leaves then there is a gap in the circle. If co draws together the hands co is holding as co goes, then there is no gap and the circle remains whole. Even leaving a community needs to

be an act of co-operation since those left behind need to stretch to fill the place of one going. If this is done at the right time it is a growing process for everyone involved.

Give yourself plenty of time for your whole being to make the transition. It is very helpful if you can find some sort of situation where you don't have to immediately throw yourself into a job, especially if you did not have an outside job while you were in the community. I was very thankful that my parents took care of my physical needs while i just spent a few weeks re-orienting myself. During that time i occasionally would start to chide myself for being so lazy, but now i feel that the time really was necessary because i was going through a lot of inner adjustments which weren't clear to me at the time. Going home to mom and dad certainly isn't the answer for everyone, but perhaps some understanding old friends are still around. Another helpful situation is to be with someone else who has left your community earlier or someone who has had a similar experience. At any rate, some sort of half-way house can certainly be helpful.

If you are returning to a familiar situation, try to keep in mind that you are not going back but going forward. The image of progress as a spiral can help. Here you are back at the same place, but at a higher point on the spiral. I found myself confronting a lot of old patterns that i thought i had left behind. Yet i found that i did not HAVE TO FALL BACK INTO OLD PATTERNS. In fact being away for some time has helped me to see some patterns that had been largely unconscious before. Here is an opportunity to recognize, accept, and transform the patterns which are simply aspects of myself.

Perhaps the most valuable lesson many of us have been learning recently is to "shut up and listen". If

one has recently been through a very meaningful and beautiful experience it's very tempting and very natural to want to tell everyone about it. Yet just doing and being are much more effective than talking in the long run and less likely to bore people or turn them off. You may feel you have something very precious to give people, and that may be true, but don't let that enthusiasm close you off to what others have to give you.

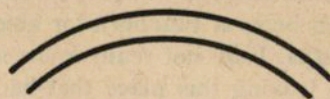
Be open to the world around you, yet be yourself. If you find yourself feeling low, just look around you. Look at the world without letting preconceived judgements get in the way. You may find it revealing itself in the most unexpected places. Call it whatever you like, beauty, God, harmony, oneness; you never know when it may smile at you from the midst of a busy shopping centre.

To those still in the community: I'd like to add a few thoughts for the people who are staying in their community while a friend leaves.

First, see their leaving as a positive step. Leaving the community may be the last thing *you* would want to do, but don't project those thoughts onto a person who has decided to go; know instead that we are each unique. Also, don't assume that someone's departure is necessarily a negative reflection on the community. It may be good to do a bit of self searching to see if the community has in some way failed to meet the needs of the person leaving. Be aware, though, that there are many other reasons for a person to leave, and that someone's leaving does not necessarily imply a short-

coming of the community. I found myself having to put quite a bit of energy into reassuring some people in the community that i was not going because of any fault in the community. In fact, i left at a very satisfying time. I left simply because i knew it was right.

Realize that when someone leaves their energy will be turning more and more towards where they are going during their last few days in the community. They will probably need more time to themselves than usual so they can pack, make plans, and talk to people before they go. This must be done in a balanced way of course; it's not good to get so involved in where you are going that you forget where you are. But it does usually mean a bit of stretching is necessary on the part of the com-

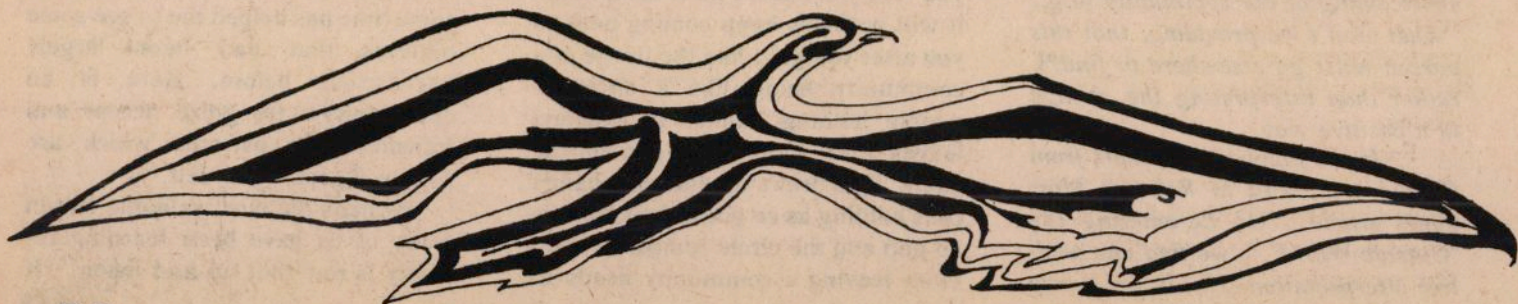


munity as people begin to take over the chores of the person going. One of the best ways to support someone who is leaving is to begin to take on the responsibility which that person had so that co can feel free to turn cos energy outwards. This helps everyone make the transition smoothly.

How can i tell you how much a letter from the community means? I can distinguish the mailman's engine sound from any other, and i usually hear it half a block away. Findhorn has started an "internal news letter", a very simple letter which tells what's happening there and among other people who have left. This letter gets mailed off to all "ex-community members", and it certainly helps keep us in touch with the community and with each other. I know how hard it is to sit down and write a letter when you're caught up in all the everyday affairs of community life. But, i tell you, they sure do mean a lot when you're out there facing the world, sometimes feeling pretty alone after the warm companionship of community life.

Actually, i'm not sure one every does really leave the community. I'm not there physically at the moment, but being away has just made me even more aware of the strength of our inner oneness. At the same time i am being brought to an awareness of an even more encompassing oneness with this whole crazy amazing world. There are hard times and challenges galore, to be sure, but what an exciting drama to be playing in. "Ain't life grand!"† □

†Clyde Barrow (*Bonnie and Clyde*)



THE COMMUNE MOVEMENT IN THE MIDDLE 1970'S



The following was the basis of a presentation David gave at a symposium on alternative life-styles in New London, Connecticut in the fall of 1975. It is scheduled to be published soon as part of a compilation resulting from that symposium.

History

In order to understand the contemporary communal movement, it is necessary, I think, to look first at some of its roots in the social environment of young people in the second half of the 1960s. Those years saw the full blooming of the Vietnam war, of demonstrations, police riots, urban race riots and 'campus unrest'. In those years also there arose the 'hippie' movement, the human potential movement, a new ecological consciousness, and the first flowering of Eastern religions in the United States.

For many of us the first twinges of doubt about the American political/economic system had come with the assassination of President Kennedy. The strength of those twinges was

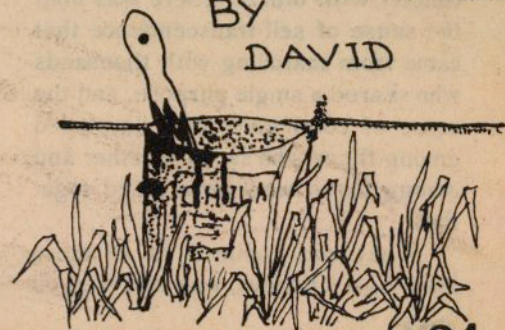
increased by the Warren Report and the 'credibility gap' of the Johnson years; and, by the late sixties, the doubts became full blown urges to revolution. As we became more sophisticated in analyzing the position of the United States in the world, we began to believe that wars like that in Vietnam were an inevitable cost of our living so well. We began to understand the relationship of our own riches to the starvation of those whose lands we ravaged. At the same time we were beginning to believe that the U.S.'s inability to solve its own social problems, problems such as poverty in the ghettos, was an inevitable result of our political/economic system. And finally, we began to believe the dictum that "if you're not a part of the solution, then you are part of the problem."

Toward the end of the sixties the rise of ecological consciousness was making many of us aware that not only was our luxurious living a result of exploiting other people, but it also depended upon our systematic exploitation of the earth. We saw that

we were quickly using up the fuel reserves that had taken millions of years to form. Furthermore, we were using those fuels and other resources in ways that were ruining our soil, water and atmosphere. Here, too, our own life-styles were 'part of the problem.'

Not all of our attention was focussed outward, however. We were also learning hard lessons about our own psychological make-up. We were learning how difficult it was to really live the hippie philosophy of being open, loving, peaceful, and unattached to jealousies and material possessions. Anger and resentments, though we tried to bury them, would come out in strange ways. In our po-

BY
DAVID



litical activities, especially, it sometimes became difficult to discern how our 'loving natures' really made us different from those in power.

The Human Potential Movement (T-groups, encounters, marathons) began equipping some of us with the tools to help each other grow. We were learning both to recognize our own patterns of self-deception and to express our emotions to each other in non-threatening ways. The emotional changes we often went through merely as a result of trying to give and take accurate feedback within group settings were marvelous and exciting. It seemed that we were really learning better how to be loving and caring toward others.

The Spiritual Movement was giving others of us different tools toward many of the same ends. Ram Dass (formerly Richard Alpert of Alpert and Leary fame) and other teachers, both Eastern and Western, were helping us look inward to find personal happiness. Learning to experience bliss both in meditation and in surrender to God, made our attachments to material and non-material possessions just so much ego-baggage. It seemed that with a cosmic perspective it would be possible to choose whether or not to pay attention to envy, angry feelings or other stumbling blocks to interpersonal peace.

We left the sixties, then, with a firmer understanding of the nature of the U.S. political/economic system (as well as the futility of trying to change it through direct political action), with the beginnings of an understanding of our place in the world ecology, and with psychological and spiritual tools for growing in our ability to love one another. In addition, our experiences in demonstrations and sit-ins had taught us how exhilarating it could be to act in concert with others. There was both the sense of self-transcendence that came from marching with thousands who shared a single purpose, and the sense of community that developed among those who sat-in together and among those who were jailed together.

What was common to all these learnings, I believe, was that they all

related in one way or another to the concept of sharing. In taking more than an equal per-capita portion of the world's resources, the U.S. had to devise elaborate strategies (including covert CIA activities and wars as well as the more subtle 'development' of the exploited nations) to keep the world's deprived from demanding what many were beginning to see as their just share. Within the U.S.'s own political boundaries, those who profitted from the remendous disparities in wealth were faced with similar problems in appeasing the poor. And by refusing to share the earth both with existing people, animals and plants and with future generations of people, animals and plants, we were already experiencing degradation in the quality of our lives.

On the positive side, we learned how the sharing of our emotions and the sharing of truthful feedback in groups could help in generating loving feelings. We learned the exhilaration of sharing and acting together upon common ideological beliefs, be they spiritual or political. And finally, we learned how peacefully secure it could feel to share with others a sense of community.

This was heady learning indeed for the sons and daughters of an increasingly fragmented middle-class. Most of us had grown up in nuclear families almost entirely removed from extended-family ties. We'd lived in suburbs where both the design of the environment and the transience of the residents mitigated against the development of any real sense of community. And we, ourselves, were on the road to careers which could insure that our own lives would be similarly unconnected to the lives of others.

Given then both our despair over the social injustices endemic to our political/economic systems, and our optimism about our own ability to come together and create better environments in which to live, it now seems inevitable that so many of us would try to form communes in the late sixties and early seventies.

These communes were radical attempts to re-structure our own lives around the principles of sharing we'd

learned. They were attempts to implement our ideas about social justice and ecological consciousness and to incorporate into our daily lives the loving feelings of the encounter group and the exciting feelings of acting together with ideological fervor.

Most of the communes that resulted, I'll argue, emphasized one of those aspects of sharing over the others. The different events and movements outlined above touched the lives of different people in varying degrees. Out of those various experiences there arose at least four distinct visions of the communal alternative. Having a sense of what these visions were will help us to understand the present state of the movement and where it is going.

Communal Alternatives

The first vision is that of the commune as a small (i.e., 50-100 member) communistic society, an egalitarian solution to the problems of social injustice. The dominant motif in this dream is the idea of economic sharing. This sharing is to be done within a group small enough to allow the generation of a sense of community. The vision is often accompanied by ideas of eventually building an integrated but decentralized network of communities. The Israeli kibbutzim and the kibbutz federations come closest to being models for this communal ideal. [1]

The second vision recalls the early pioneer spirit of our forebears; it is of the commune as a relatively self-sufficient agrarian community in which independent individuals or families live close to nature, steeped in ecological consciousness. Members of these communes try to stay continually aware both of their interdependence with each other and of their relationship with the land. They want to develop and use a level of technology appropriate to maintaining their own, and the earth's health. [2]

Third is the vision of the warm, voluntary, extended-family, with all members sharing a common house and taking care of each other's emotional needs. This vision is that of the commune as a nest, a nurturant en-

vironment within which to raise healthy children. It may or may not extend the idea of emotional sharing to include sexual sharing. [3]

Finally, there are those communes in which the sharing of a common ideology is all important. These take two different forms, the political and the spiritual. The former center around some theory of political action ranging from Gandhian non-violence to Maoist revolutionary thinking. The vision is that of the support-group performing together significant political activities. [4]

For the spiritual groups the vision is that of the peaceful, centered life in a spiritual community. Under the guidance of a benevolent and wise guru, or a firmly established and widely shared set of spiritual teachings, such a commune's members hope to create a heaven-like oasis of peace. [5] The sense of self-transcendence that comes from these extreme forms of ideological sharing often serves as a source of sustenance from which members can gather strength for active service in the world.

Thus far I've identified four different ideal types of communes, each with a particular mode of sharing as its dominant motif. For each particular type of commune there is, however, a wide variation in the amount of commitment to the three other modes of sharing. The amount of economic sharing, for example, that occurs in the spiritual, pioneer and extended-family communes varies greatly from complete income sharing to the minimal economic bond of holding land in common. Similarly, the amount of emotional sharing varies from the extreme of complete sexual sharing and constant encountering to the other of the work-oriented, rationalistic, or spiritual communes which barely recognize the existence of emotions. One of the reasons that many communities appear unique is that each has its own peculiar blend of commitment to the four types of sharing. In looking at the data that follows, however, it will simplify things to pay attention primarily to the four main types, ignoring the differences among communes on the non-dominant variables.

The Present State of the Movement

An accurate appraisal of the communal movement is nearly impossible to make. There's certainly no hard data available. Because Twin Oaks, in its early years, sought and gained a lot of publicity, and because we help publish the major communication tools in the movement, [6] a lot of information filters through us. We have on file about 650 communities, 320 of which write us occasionally. In addition, we correspond with a number of communal clearinghouses as well as with social scientists interested in the movement, and we hold discussions with college and high school classes at schools in the eastern U.S. What follows are impressions based on all those inputs.

It appears that the initial euphoric wave of enthusiasm for group living, an enthusiasm that saw communes as a panacea for loneliness and alienation, crested a couple of years ago, and by now has all but passed completely. High school and college-age people especially seem to be relatively uninterested. When we give lectures and hold discussions at colleges we often find that enthusiastic associate professors have fared rather poorly in communicating their excitement about communal living to the students. A number of observers on college campuses have said that they hear very little spontaneous talk about communal living. New Community Projects, a former communal clearinghouse in Boston, reports that not only has the number of people using its facilities declined over the past few years, but the people who do come are older (28 years plus), many with children.

Communities magazine's roving reporter, Allan Solares, observed recently (private communication) that few people in the Ithaca, New York area, once a promising center of communal activity, seem to be intentionally starting new communities. (Though the communes that have made it into 1975 seem much more stable than they were during the earlier period.) When he visited communes in the New Hampshire/Vermont area he saw the same thing happening there, an observation that

agrees with Bob Houriet's report in a letter last spring. [7] Both Hy Levy of Family Synergy [8] and Dennis Jaffe (a therapist who works with communal groups) [9] report very little activity in the Los Angeles area. We hear similar observations from people in northern California, Eugene, Oregon, Cincinnati, Ohio, and the Ozarks. All these reports, as well as the relative stability of our files now compared to previous years, seem to indicate that few people, especially younger people, are now starting communes.

Why Did it Happen?

What seems to have happened is that many people rushed into communal living in the late sixties and early seventies with a combination of high expectations and little preparation, hoping that good intentions and a lot of enthusiasm would allow them to form warm, intentional families and/or get back to the land with a group of pioneers. The dashed expectations that resulted from these experiments formed the basis of cautionary tales that have been circulated among would-be communards for the last few years. The inevitable dreamers no longer find audiences willing to feed upon and feed back their fantasies. Instead they hear horror stories about communes which had become emotional snakepits or economic disasters.

It will be helpful, I think, to look at the reasons for all those dashed expectations within the ideal-typical framework developed earlier. Many of the difficulties we encounter in trying to adjust to communal life are related to just which aspects of sharing are emphasized and which are neglected.

In the kibbutz-like communistic societies, with their emphasis on the egalitarian distribution of economic resources, many members find it difficult to relinquish the freedoms which individual ownership and individual incomes can give. Within a community it becomes quite evident that if I drive away with a car, others may not be able to make the trip they've been planning. Or, on a different scale, if we as a community decide to buy enough cars so that we

Many people rushed into communal living in the late sixties and early seventies with a combination of high expectations and little preparation.

all have access to our own vehicles, then we can't spend that money on new housing. In the larger society we don't have to see the connections between our own ability to drive away in an automobile and the inability of some to even afford the subway. Similarly, we are rarely forced to realize that our society's choosing to provide most of us with automobiles was directly related to its neglect of mass transportation and indirectly related to its failure to provide adequate housing for the poor. The kibbutz-like communities, however, refuse to allow the development of economic freedoms for some at the expense of others. This is almost inevitably experienced by the sons and daughters of the privileged middle-class as a loss in personal freedom.

Now, those pioneers who ventured back to the land often encountered a related but slightly different set of problems. Their ecological consciousness pre-disposed them both to try to make do with the minimum use of material resources, as well as to believe that if the individuals in a group use only that which they really need, then the group will function well. All members, they thought, would find their niches in the group ecology. Such communes, therefore, put little energy into making agreements that would insure equal access to economic resources. Many of the problems that arose did so primarily because so many of these groups found mere economic survival very difficult. They found both their desires to do with very little, and their determination to share what they did have, severely tested.

What they learned was that when people's basic needs are being satisfied, it is possible to share freely without resentment if they are deter-

mined to do so. It becomes very difficult, however, when the resources are so meager that even basic need satisfaction is in jeopardy. At that point differences in how individuals define their basic needs (e.g., some see drug use as a basic need), and differences in access to economic resources (as when some receive money from parents or the State) become very volatile issues. At times when such resentments are really flaring, the prospect of individual homesteads becomes very appealing.

It will be worthwhile, I think, to make a few points about why these groups have had such difficult times economically. The most obvious reason is that many of them settled where land prices were cheapest, that is, in the most economically depressed areas. In those places jobs were scarce and the market for any goods produced was nearly nonexistent. In addition, such groups were often not acceptable to the local people, so they were initially denied access to the equipment, skill and labor sharing that made survival possible for the native populace. Most important, however, is the fact that many of the back-to-the-land pioneers wanted to do things in an energy-conserving, labor-intensive way. Because, from an ecological point of view, fossil-fuel energy is vastly underpriced, the pioneer communities found it difficult to compete within the larger system for even the few economic resources they needed. [10]

Turning now to the extended-family communes, we encounter problems of an entirely different nature. Operating on the idea that a warm feeling of family would arise from honestly confronting their feelings about each other, members of these groups tried to abandon the larger society's norms of (1) saying only that

which others want to hear, and/or (2) veiling feelings in rational talk about ideas and issues. They were often confident that in such a way they would be able to handle even the potentially explosive issues involved in sexual sharing.

What actually happened was that many extended-family groups found that the energy required to continually "work things through", when added to the energy drain of their jobs & other involvements outside the commune, was just too much. Many members discovered, too, that their own progress in becoming open and truthful was not as great as they'd thought. The demons of jealousy and defensiveness were still firmly entrenched in many of their lives (tied as they are to feelings of self-esteem, feelings that are often independent of the immediate environment.) For many, these group experiences were times of intense growth. Though the communes may no longer be in existence, many of their former members would never consider the communal experiments failures. Nonetheless, the illusion of instant utopia was shattered.

About the fourth type of communal group, that type which has a high degree of ideological sharing as its primary focus, I must confess ignorance. We have some contact with a few of the spiritual groups and almost none at all with political groups. What we do know about the spiritual groups seems to suggest that they, like their 19th Century counterparts, are quite stable and are still growing in popularity. Some people seem to wander from group to group and discipline to discipline, but the little we've heard suggests that, overall, the turnover rates for these groups are quite low. Previous experiences with members of my generation would suggest, however, that many will go through further intellectual and emotional changes. To the extent that the ideologies of the groups are not flexible enough to incorporate such changes, then I would expect members to move on.

Finally, one overarching reason why people become dissatisfied with any of the above types of communes, including the spiritual groups, is that

members begin taking for granted the progress that has been made in the dominant sharing area, and the focus shifts to the group's failure to share in the other areas. At Twin Oaks, for example (the 75 member kibbutz-like group in which I live), we have no private possessions other than those we keep in our rooms and we spend about \$3.00/person/week of private income, most of that while on vacation off the farm. The remainder of our \$300,000.00 gross income is spent according to community priorities. In addition, we've broken almost completely the correlation between work and privileges. Doing one type of work does not gain one more rights and privileges than doing another.

After awhile, though, we tend to lose sight of these accomplishments and focus instead on the extent to which we do not approach our other ideals. We notice the ways we are not being ecologically conscious, or developing family-like feelings, and we lament our not having a firm ideological sense of what we're doing. Furthermore, because we do not have a widely shared ideology, we disagree among ourselves as to how important each of the areas of sharing are.

Now, with the exception of my quite unknowledgeable speculations about the ideological communities, all of this sounds pretty dismal for the community movement. It is, however, only one side of the story. It's the side that highlights many of the reasons why so many approach the idea of communal living with extreme caution, why it's not fashionable to daydream in public about the bliss awaiting us in some rural utopia. The other side of the story is that most of the pressures that drove so many of us to try communal alternatives in the late sixties are still present: fragmented nuclear families, impersonal bureaucratic relationships, meaningless jobs which often require moving from place to place, a felt lack of any sense of community, a political/-

Many now approach the idea of communal living with extreme caution.

economic system that renders us powerless to solve basic social problems, the deterioration of the cities, services, material goods and food. All of these are still causing many people, once they leave the haven of school and begin discovering the patterns their lives are taking, to begin questioning.

The New England Conference on Communities, sponsored by an inter-group network centered at Another Place Community, apparently generated a lot of interest last summer, as have the annual Twin Oaks Conferences and the New Haven conferences sponsored by Training for Urban Alternatives. [11] These events are attended, for the most part, by people who are out of school and are becoming disillusioned with what they're finding in the world.

What's missing, though, is the apocalyptic sense of urgency that prevailed in the late sixties. With the passing of the horrors of the Vietnam War, police and race riots, and with the illusory demise of the Nixon administration, a semblance of order and stability can now be maintained. Since the established order now seems likely to go on for some time, people are naturally less willing to take the kinds of risks that many of us took three to six years ago. I would maintain, though, that many are moving, but they are moving in directions that entail less risk. Many people are taking partial steps toward the kinds of sharing which take place in communal groups. Rather than plunging headlong into some vision of utopia, they test their capacity to share, they learn new methods of sharing, in various less drastic ways.

Partial Steps

It appears that many whose longing for justice and community would formerly have attracted them to kibbutz-like communistic groups are attempting instead to push 'worker-control' projects. They hope that by building work-places controlled democratically by the wor-

kers, they will be bringing some of their egalitarian ideals into their own and other's lives. [12] The same could be said about those who work to establish food co-ops, housing co-ops and neighborhood governments. [13]

Instead of forming pioneer communities, many move to the land separately, and then slowly begin sharing equipment, food and whatever with others whom they often persuade to move nearby. They may even share the purchase of land, but they are careful to keep their own land-use legally separate. (Interestingly enough, both Houriet and Solares have written us that commune members are themselves reaching out more and more to the surrounding community, seeking to situate themselves more securely in the local communities by participating in local affairs. This same development is occurring at Twin Oaks.) [14]

Instead of forming extended-family-like communes, many are participating in programs like the Unitarian sponsored extended family programs, where members try to care for each other without actually moving in together. [15] Others try to organize their neighborhoods into a caring community; still others move to small towns in search of a sense of community stability, or they participate again and again in encounter groups and other group methods of personal growth.

There are those for whom the sexual aspect of the emotional mode of sharing is the most important avenue toward significant involvement with others.

Finally, those who would otherwise seek the peace of spiritual communities immerse themselves in yoga classes, fellowships and other spiritual activities, often engaging in economic sharing to the extent of paying substantial tithes. [16]

The Future

What does the future hold? My personal belief is that only an extensive federation of communal workplaces, a federation of groups characterized by a moderate to high amount of emotional, ecological and ideological sharing, constitutes an

adequate solution to the injustice, alienation, impersonality and lack of transcendent meaning that's a natural part of living in present day society. The ideal communal group would be, I think, a spiritually coherent, communistic, ecologically sound, relatively self-sufficient commune, one that allows for familylike groupings. Anything short of that, including Twin Oaks, is only a partial solution, a reform of sorts. And reforms, many would argue, are palliatives which merely serve to delay truly revolutionary change.

It is certainly probable that the sexual sharing of Family Synergy members, the economic sharing of the worker in a worker-controlled factory, or the emotional sharing of a Unitarian extended-family would satisfy some of the longing for connectedness and social justice. I think, though, that it is equally probable that after some time, the successes that people have in one area will begin to throw into relief the other aspects of their lives which remain unconnected to those more integrated parts. A rewarding emotional and sexual life punctuated by

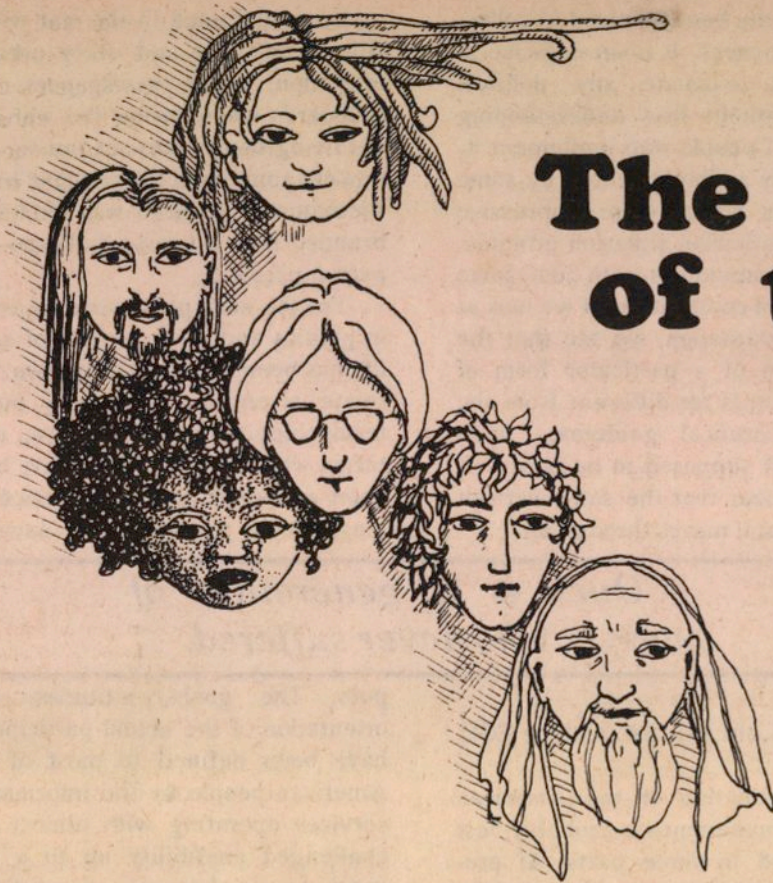
stultifying hours in a traditional work-place might eventually make one long to change the work-place also. The probability of such a chain-reaction occurring will be enhanced to the extent that we who are now experimenting are able to build models of coherent life-styles, and to the extent that we make our successes and failures known.

Sharing, I think, is the key. And many of us are working on ways to increase the amount of sharing in our lives. I hope that we can keep each other informed of the ways in which we are making progress. □

1. See Shimon Shur's *Kibbutz Bibliography* for an extensively indexed listing of some 1288 publications about the kibbutzim (revised 1972). It is available for \$2.50 from the High-education and Research Authority of the Federation of Kibbutz Movements, P.O.B. 303, Tel Aviv, 62-098, Israel. For information on the U.S. groups of this type, see articles on Twin Oaks, East Wind, Julian Woods, Dandelion, Aloe, North Mountain and Shannon Farm in various issues of *Communities* magazine, especially issues #16 and #18, available for \$1.25 each from *Communities*, Box 426, Louisa, VA. 23093. The Newsletters of three of the groups can be quite informative: *Leaves of Twin Oaks*, Rt. 4, Box 17, Louisa, VA. 23093; *Dandelion Newsletter*, RR1, Enterprise, Ontario, KOK CORRECTION RR1, Enterprise, Ontario, KOK 170; *North Mountain Community Newsletter*, Rt. 2, Box 207, Lexington, VA. 24450. Each is available for \$3/yr. In addition, Kat Kinkade's *A Walden Two Experiment* (NY: Morrow, 1972) gives a detailed picture of Twin Oak's early years.
2. I've seen no good studies of serious back-to-the-land groups. Robert Whitehurst's 1971 reports of groups in Ontario were a good start, but no follow-up studies were done. Whitehurst's "Back to the Land: The Search for Freedom and Utopia in Ontario" and "Return to the Land in Ontario" are mimeographed papers, available while the supply lasts from Robert N. Whitehurst, Dept. of Sociology, University of Windsor, Windsor, Ontario, Canada N9B 3P4.
3. There is a good deal of literature on both urban and rural groups of this type. For information on the rural groups see: Jud Jerome's *Families of Eden* (NY: Seabury, 1974); Elaine Sundancer's *Celery Wine* (Yellow Springs, OH: Community Publications Cooperative, 1973); *January Thaw* by the people at Blue Mountain Ranch (NY: Times Change Press, 1974). On urban groups, see: Michael Weiss's *Living Together: a year in the life of a city community* (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1974); Andrew Kopkind's review of Weiss's book in *Ramparts*, Oct. 1974; Kanter, Jaffe & Weisberg's "Coupling, Parenting and the presence of others: Intimate relationships in communal households in *The Family Coordinator* 24(4), Oct. 1975; and Dennis Jaffe's "The First Four Long Years of a Family Commune", a 36 page unpublished

- paper available for \$1.00 from Dennis at 11967 Walnut Lane, Los Angeles, CA. 90025..
4. The work of the more peaceful groups are exemplified by *Win* magazine (Box 547, Rifton, NY. 12471); *Workforce* (Vocations for Social Change, 5951 Canning St., Oakland, CA. 94609); and *Fellowship* (Box 271, Nyack, NY. 10960). I don't know of the work of the more militant groups.
5. For a fairly complete listing of material available on spiritual communities, see the RESOURCES section of *Communities* #13 and the SOCIAL SCIENCE COLUMN in *Communities* #18. (\$1.25 each from Box 426, Louisa, VA. 23093).
6. *Communities* magazine, *News From Communities* (an occasional newsletter sent free to some 350 groups), the *Intercommunities Newsletter* (circulated among the 40 or so groups in the Virginia area), the *Leaves of Twin Oaks*, and *Openings* (a pamphlet describing groups who are looking for members.)
7. Robert Houriet is the author of one of the most popular of the communal 'travel' books. In *Getting Back Together* (NY: Coward, McCann and Geohagen, 1971), Houriet tells about his commune-hopping trip across the continent. He has since been living in a group in Vermont and editing the *New England Food Co-op Newsletter*. He's presently working on a book about the alternate culture in New England.
8. Family Synergy seems to be one of the most successful of the groups intended to help sexually open people come together in meaningful ways. For information write them at P.O. Box 30103, Terminal Annex, Los Angeles, CA. 90030.
10. The pioneers were trying to live now as they imagine all of us will have to live when gas, oil, & coal become very scarce. At that time, unless nuclear fusion becomes an economic reality, it will be very costly to fuel a tractor, even to build a tractor in the first place. At the present time, however, the fossil fuels are priced according to their present supply, so food and other goods produced with a high petroleum input can undersell food and goods produced by the pioneers. See my article, "Visions and Re-Visions" in *Communities* #16 for a more detailed development of this argument.
11. For information on these conferences write: Another Place Farm, Merriam Hill Rd., Greenville, NH 03048; Twin Oaks Conference, Rt. 4, Box 169, Louisa, VA 23093; and T.U.A.

12. A number of good articles on worker-controlled industries can be found in various issues of *Working Papers for a New Society* (123 Mt. Auburn St., Cambridge, MA 02138). See especially Michael Maccoby's account of the Bolivar Project in Tennessee (Summer 1975), David Tornquist's "Strikes in Yugoslavia" (Spring, 1975) and David Jenkins' "Workplace Democracy in Europe" (Winter 1975).
13. I found Morris & Hess's book on their efforts to organize the Adams-Morgan neighborhood in Washington, D.C. to be very inspiring. *Neighborhood Power: the new localism* by David Morris and Karl Hess (Boston: Beacon Press, 1975).
14. See Will Merion's "Making a Contribution to the County" in the October 1975 issue of the *Leaves of Twin Oaks*.
15. See *Developing an Extended Family Program*, available for \$1.00 from the Unitarian Church, 1535 Santa Barbara St., Santa Barbara, CA. 93101.
16. See *Awakening: Ways to Psycho-Spiritual Growth* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1975) for an extensive listing of programs, including their costs.



The Politics of the Collective

Larry Katz offers us a biting critique of what he perceives as the media-oriented, individualistic protest movement of a few years ago. He further asserts that the egoism and intellectualism inherent in our culture often impede our collective living endeavors, as well as our efforts toward significant social change. The experiences of the Karum Collective [a small, rural group intensely involved with young people in trouble; see Communities #12] suggest that politics should be generated from the inside out: that is, starting from within the collective experience and gradually embracing the larger society.

The collective is a highly isolated social aberration. Its philosophy and social posture are defined by legions of individuals and institutions which have little or no relevance to those collective efforts which they so pretentiously describe.

In almost every major or minor university or college there are at least one or two courses devoted to the discussion alternative living modes.

Tremendous interest is encouraged, and the rank and file of young American adults are given to believe that there is some sort of alternative movement going on in the United States. This is an erroneous assumption. This illusion suggests that there are numerous collective endeavors redefining the frontiers of American lifestyle. The reality is, that in spite of the fact that dozens of collectives have functioned in this country for decades, they have had little or no effort on the mainstream of American life. A very small percentage of the people in the United States are actually engaged in a truly collective lifestyle. The classes given and time devoted by academic institutions to examining collective lifestyles is more or less an apology for the basic hypocrisy which underscores academic institutions. The collective becomes a sociological zoo with cages defined by the academic, mumbo jumbo frame of reference of people trained to articulate things outside their own experience.

The overwhelming mass of America is in lock-step with the mass

media. That infinitesimally small element of American society engaged in collective endeavors relates to, and is defined by, the mass--not the other way around. The process of collective experience is negated by the ignorant, but dominant, mass who are far more vocal in articulating half-truths, second-hand knowledge, and textbook data than the very small fragment of individuals actually involved in collective endeavors are in articulating the truth. A million people may say a stupid thing and it is still a stupid thing. Unfortunately, we live in a society which is inundated by stupidity.

Given this state of affairs, it is not hard to understand that the policies of many collectives, their decision-making processes, job allocation schedule, and interpersonal interactions are defined by a prescribed formula. The answer, the formula, is dispensed in colleges and universities, and many collective endeavors are started by individuals who begin with a basic plan or ideal. This is particularly evident in religious collectives but is just as blatantly true in

collectives defined by a particular philosophy or psychological school of thought. This mode of operation can be seen as the "Heath-Kit" method of collectives. Unfortunately, people and the way they get along may not be confined to specific ingredients and fixed modes of operation. That is perhaps why most collectives fail during their first year of operation. The collective is not a Heath-Kit. One cannot engage in the process of the collective with a fixed idea--a fixed set of directions--a perceived set of tools and components--and expect the spirit of collectivity to flow automatically from these ingredients.

GENERATING POLITICS

Politics may be very simply defined as the process by which people in a group get along with one another and attempt to effect change. Applying this rather simple definition to the concept of collective, we find that genuine collective politics can only be generated by an evolution within the collective and not by an external political climate that fostered the development of Heath-Kit model collectives.

Individual participants in the collective experience can be expected to bring to the new situation the excess baggage which is their previous acculturation--beginning with language and going further to attitudes, values, and modes of dress. It would appear obvious that merely isolating the collective physically in remote rural settings will not detach the individuals from their cultural roots. Yet it is just as erroneous to assume that a collective is completely culturally dependent as it is to assume that any collective can be totally self-reliant and independent. How much of what a collective does was learned by its members before they became involved in the collective experience? How much was learned as a direct result of the collective experience? How much could not be learned as the direct result of experience before living collectively? How much could only be learned due to acculturation before living collectively?

I think the following point will be

well taken by those individuals who have actually been involved in collective experiences. It is an exercise in futility to evaluate any political system without first understanding the type of people who implement it. Democracy as implemented by some individuals is far more oppressive than a totalitarian situation administered by individuals with just some modicum of compassion. If we look at the world situation, we see that the application of a particular form of government is far different from the pure, theoretical guidelines upon which it is supposed to be based. It would appear that the same corrupt guiding hand moves through all.

*Ours is a generation of
martyrs who never suffered.*

POLITICS, the MEDIA, and the EGO

The evolution of the American collective experience is probably best understood in three parts: 1) pre-technological evolution, 2) post-technological evolution, 3) post-mass-media evolution. Without going into a detailed explanation of each of these three phases, it is perhaps most constructive to concentrate our energies on evaluating this last phase--as those of us under 35 years of age fall into this era, at least chronologically.

I'm sure those of us in our late 20's and early 30's are aware of the vast communication differences between us and the liberal hipsters of the previous generation, particularly with regard to sexual, social, and political attitudes. I'm sure many women in their late 20's have had experiences with men in their late 30's or early 40's who have gotten involved in collective efforts merely to "score". The same kind of consciousness seems to permeate the collective process at every juncture. It is not that individuals of the previous generation are not good people--it is simply that they have come away from their childhood, adolescent, and early adult experiences far differently. That generation heard about the war in Korea or heard about World War II; we, on the other hand, were involved in

Southeast Asia whether or not we actually participated in the war with a rifle. Every day and every evening television, radio, newspapers, and billboards would bring the war into our livingrooms, into our minds, and into our souls until the image of burnt Vietnamese babies was indelibly branded into our consciousness--impact unparalleled.

For the most part, our experience in politics and most aspects of adult life has been media participation. We relate as entities defined by media terms (hippies, radicals, leftists, etc.) terms which for the most part have been generated and popularized by mass media television and newspa-

pers. The goals, attitudes, and orientation of the actual participants have been defined to most of the American people by the information services operating with almost unchallenged credibility up to a few years ago. Looking at political movements which have had the most impact in our generation, we can look to individuals like Rennie Davis, Abbie Hoffman, and Jerry Rubin, whose primary abilities seem to have been to capture the attention of a television camera and a couple of newspaper and magazine correspondents. By addressing themselves to common causes within the general scene of American political life, they acted almost exclusively as a diversionary tactic which single-handedly caused thousands of people physical hardship and incarceration, and allowed for the development of huge secret and overt law enforcement apparatuses. But perhaps most depressing of all, they created the apathy which is today's norm. Knowing that so many individuals participated in and observed the organized political activity that earmarked the late 60's and early 70's, we can now reflect upon what little actual positive change came down as a result of that activity and see that the prospect of trying to effect positive political change at all has become very distasteful to most people.

What went down in the late 60's was not altogether unimportant. It did make many people aware of certain problems. There were indeed people suffering in this country. There was indeed a very exploitive imperialist policy exercised by this country toward most other nations. This attitude had instigated and maintained our war policy in Southeast Asia. The apparatus of government through which individuals could express grievances was dying out through lack of use.

Bringing us up to date, however, very little has actually changed--except for the fact that very few people appear to be getting all that pissed off about it any more. A few of the reasons why there has been so little change are: 1) poor leadership, 2) addressing general problems, 3) approaching change externally with masses of people, 4) expecting to effect change solely through manipulation of the conservative-owned mass media.

THE HOLY GENERATION

Let's get real visceral for a bit here and lay it on the line. Most of our generation has sold out. I have met several individuals who, by their refusal to go to Southeast Asia, were subsequently imprisoned and now come off like they are holier-than-thous and, like Billy Graham, have some kind of direct line to God. They are a cut above those of us who got busted for dope and ended up in the pokey. Ours is a generation of martyrs who never suffered. The people who suffered are the men and boys who went to Southeast Asia and either came back with parts missing or in a plastic bag. Things are not OK now, and we are not OK now. We seem to feel that we have done our stint for radical change and are therefore finished--or that because we have been involved in efforts to effect radical change that we are now somehow sanctified, and all things that we do as a generation are somehow blessed.

As a generation, we seem to maintain an almost holy kind of accountability to the media and almost no accountability to one another--and that is the source of our problem. We

Succinctly put, the Movement was the ultimate ego trip...the collective experience, on the other hand, is the "un-ego" trip.

think we have been deified by the media. However, we don't hold one another in that same light. That is perhaps the reason there is such a lack of good interpersonal relationships among people involved in the Movement. That is perhaps the reason that almost all "political" collectives failed. Isn't it somewhat ironic that the people who were "heavy" into politics held Ph.D.'s, M.A.'s and had tremendous knowledge in the subject could not manage to hold it together with 5 or 6 other people? Meanwhile, people not nearly so sophisticated--who knew hardly any of the answers to the Great Political Questions (some had nary a B.A. in English)--managed to put together collective efforts that have stayed solvent for years? Shit too, there are people who only had God in their hearts and a little bit of moxie who have managed to put together some of the most successful collective efforts in this country. Even though we are not into a heavy God trip, it would appear evident that God works a little better to keep it together than politics or dope. Obviously religion is not the opiate of the people--politics is the opiate of the people and opium is the politics of the people.

Ironically, although thousands of individuals were willing to be inconvenienced, hassled, jailed, and put through hell during one point in our mass political history, very few of these individuals were willing to sit down, discuss their personal lives, evaluate and change their values, put away their egos, learn how to cooperate and share, plant a seed in the ground and watch it grow. Succinctly put, the Movement was the ultimate ego trip--the next step for high school presidents and boys voted most likely to succeed. The collective experience, on the other hand, is the "un-ego" trip. One can participate effectively for five years in a super collective endeavor and never

make one front page of the *Los Angeles Times*--certainly not the cover of *Rolling Stone*.

An individual can work for 18-20 hours a day with friends--sweating, toiling, building, changing, working for 5 years trying to help the soil grow food, trying to develop alternative ways of living in harmony with one another, and all other inhabitants of the planet, and yet remain unknown to even their closest neighbors. Yet on the other hand, if they were to defecate into paper bags and drop those paper bags from 3-story buildings just once on a particular afternoon, their names would become household words, forever associated with radical politics and "heavy" social change. Let this be a lesson to all those people who are currently using their animal wastes for compost piles and fertilizer--if you ever expect to make it big in the political scene, save it up, put it in a paper bag, take it to New York City, and drop it from 3-story windows during the Democratic convention to be held in 1976. It would appear that shit is a lot like money--unless it reaches the proper politician you cannot effect change.

BRINGING IT ALL BACK HOME

Those of us who have been whiling our time away for the past five or six years in the Karum Collective have thus far only managed to make it into the local newspaper--and even then we didn't make the front page. In fact, the only semi-national coverage that we have comes through magazines like *Communities* and other underground periodicals. Fortunately, we don't have to worry about fame and power corrupting us as it doesn't appear likely we are ever going to get any. Surprisingly enough, however, most of the questions that we are asked usually deal with that fame and power level;

i.e., "what if everyone did it this way," or "that might work now, but if you get big, then...." As a matter of fact, we receive such an abundance of these kinds of insights and suggestions we don't know quite what to do with them all. We are strongly considering saving them, putting them in paper bags, and dropping them on local politicians--probably in Sumas or Concrete, as we are relatively rural in our approach.

I'm sure anyone who has lived in a collective is familiar with this type of commentary. It would seem that almost every guest and visitor has suggestions on how it could be done better, who has done it before and better, and how it is not being done right. Putting it in perspective, it does seem very odd. After all, I don't go to an individual's home who does not live in a collective and say, "You know, I was reading a book on how you could better organize your household and raise your kids," or "How much money do you make a year, how do you use it and are you really a radical," or "Prove to me that you are not a fascist or else...." I know a lot of people in other collectives are so disgusted with it that they don't even want guests to visit them any more.

We are in a rather sensitive position on this score because we operate a boarding school for delinquent kids. It seems, by the way, that we are more effective in keeping them out of institutions and jails than anyone else around. This causes many people in the court system much mental anguish. Numerous problems arise behind having kids like this in our environment. A lot of times our guests and visitors are crazier than the kids and put trips on their heads which are pure nonsense. Somehow, people who know or should know that they don't have their shit together in relationship to their peers feel they've got some kind of right to run down all kinds of crap to kids younger than themselves. This automatically gives rise to a protection mechanism which we have to implement in our collective environment to insulate these youngsters from the crazies that we can handle, but who have a tendency to blow the kids' minds.

The heavy thing is, I don't really think we as a generation are hep to that self-righteousness at all. I mean, we have been identifying the bad guy as someone else for so long that we have lost all perspective on ourselves. So, oftentimes when we discuss the shitty things that go down, we fail to realize that we are not only the source of the cure, but, in many cases, the source of the problem. It is this self-righteous attitude--that we as a generation seem to embody, and that was characterized by the Movement--which alienates the workers of previous generations, alienates professional individuals of all generations, but most blatantly alienates us from one another.

When we begin to test our ideas and attempt to implement our dreams, we begin to push the boundaries of convention.

Taking this one step further, we begin to realize that we become involved in what I would call "self-righteous transference". In other words, if the man with short hair, forty years old, runs a grocery store, he's a fascist, capitalist pig. If we run a grocery store, keep it frumpy, have long hair, and are under 30, it's an organic store and we're beautiful. Thus we enter the realm of organic cocktail waitresses, organic auto mechanics, organic prostitutes, and organic insurance salesmen, etc. When THEY do it, THEY are "decadent, fascist pigs". When WE do it, it is "organic, free, beautiful, and groovy". Is it any wonder that the over-forty's affect under-thirty mannerisms so that they can do the same things they were doing anyway but be hep about it?

THE KARUM COLLECTIVE EXPERIENCE

To define or describe the politics of our collective is an arduous task. The way things are done now and how things were done five years ago are vastly different, but in many respects the same. Legally speaking,

our political apparatus has not evolved at all. We have been a non-profit, tax-exempt corporation for almost five years, and in this respect our decision-making apparatus from the Board of Directors to members, our guidelines, purpose for being, and method of accountability have been very clearly delineated for years, virtually unchanged. What bearing all this has had on our day-to-day lives has varied a great deal, however. Sometimes being a legitimate legal entity has had definite advantages. Sometimes it has had definite disadvantages. The disadvantages are that sometimes we cannot reach certain individuals because of the stigma attached to being

a corporation. Sometimes we cannot relate effectively with other people because of their bias toward what they interpret to be regimentation. Being a corporation has made us in some people's eyes one of THEM--that "corporations" by definition are evil and extensions of the Establishment and, that by being one, we are of course evil.

From the other perspective, we feel that the positive advantages of being a corporation far outweigh the negative ones. From the beginning we had a label and a definition that people in power, for better or worse, could relate to and that institutions in power could relate to favorably. Being a non-profit corporation with specific guidelines also offered assurances to individuals with regard to their personal possessions. The whole frame of reference of a corporation directs itself to the realm of material things, and we have had no situation where certain individuals in the collective rip off other members. Material things are relegated to nice little legal boxes and categories where they rightfully belong. This leaves the interpersonal aspect of administering a collective in the hands



of people involved in the collective--where it rightfully belongs. The advantages of this is obvious. A new resident in the collective knows well in advance what the disposition of his or hers possessions will be so that we can all engage in the business at hand--our lives and learning how to live with one another.

Those people who have visited our collective are astounded at our level of material success. This has come about because we are non-profit, tax-exempt (and therefore eligible to receive donations from individuals or businesses who want to help us) and also through honest, effective business management. Fortunately, our collective attracts and generates people who are hard-working, honest, and relatively humble.

Our neighbors and many of the people in the community like us and support our efforts. We are not self-righteous; we are not holier-than-anybody and can use all the help we can get from anyone who is sincerely capable of extending it. We have managed this far to discern between what we can use and what we can't. Usually, if we need something we ask. Interestingly enough, this method seems to have worked for us pretty well to this point. Considering the fact that we live in a round house, have some people who are bra-less, bearded, and in some cases of the Jewish persuasion, and that we own and operate a lot of enterprises on 63 acres of rural land, it might seem odd that our Dutch Reformed rural neighbors like us anyway. It would appear that there is some sort of delicate thread that cuts through all the surface bullshit and allows for people who are vastly different in many respects to learn to live with and respect

one another. We feel this is a good thing.

Although the essential differences are numerous, we are still far more in harmony with our rural neighbors than we are with our peers who live in the city. Our attitudes and lifestyles have been modified and affected greatly by living in the country, but our urban friends seem to have achieved a relative stalemate. We have just about come to the conclusion that Woody Guthrie was right and that the farmer is definitely the backbone of the nation. Individuals involved in rural collective experiences learn very rapidly that farmers and people in rural trips are anything but bumpkins. They are less isolated and far more technically advanced and self-reliant than most individuals who dwell in urban centers. The image of the old Hayseed chewing on straw and shooting the bull with the boys around the pork barrel in the country store is extremely misleading.

The popular notion is that to live the rural life is to be somewhat isolated and somewhat out of it in terms of the political mainstream of American life. This is pure bullshit. At the Karum Collective we have never been so deeply involved in politics and in effecting political change as we have been during the last year.

When we first set out as a collective, we had lots of guests and lots of people involved in our collective and various collective ventures. We taught classes, we ran interaction groups for residents and non-residents alike. Many of us were college students, and we spent almost all our time dialoguing about the "Great Issues." We lived in a home just a couple blocks away from the college campus, and on many nights our home would buzz with activity. We were involved with most of the local service groups and were continuously talking politics, social change, etc. Surprisingly, in spite of the fact that we moved in several new residents during this time period and interacted with dozens of individuals on a non-resident basis, this was an extremely stagnant period with regard to political growth in our collective. In retrospect, it would appear that talking about it to the extent that we

did had two most decisive effects: 1) We diverted energies to discussing the Great Issues that could have been better spent solving more immediate and practical problems, and 2) We encouraged a situation where an individual's ability to articulate the problem took precedence over the ability to resolve the problem. The net result was that we began to become a collective of talkers instead of doers.

When we actually began to implement some of the ideas generated during our urban phase (which lasted approximately three years), we lost more than half of our membership during the first 6 months of implementation, and the number of people who dropped in also decreased considerably. We have evaluated the situation as being the result of the fact that once we began to implement change we were no longer psychologically accessible to our urban peers. In the realm of comparing ideas and bullshitting about changes we are each of us more or less equal. However, when we begin to test our ideas and attempt to implement our dreams, we begin to push the boundaries of convention. We then became not only the "evil corporation", but we also became labeled as "elitist", as we began to discriminate among our potential collective members as to who are talkers and who are doers. How laying bricks, digging in the mud, and working 16 hours a day at menial tasks is elite remains a mystery to us.

Once we engaged in our rural phase, we actually became involved in political change. We soon discovered that the two most politically loaded areas in the state of Washington (and for that matter, in the entire country) are agriculture and child care. (For those people who don't believe agriculture is, recall the 1930's depression era and investigate how that came about. Then reflect back just one or two years to the wheat deals that our country made and the effect that it has had on the American economy.)

Most people are pretty hep to the fact that child care and juvenile justice is a very loaded and controversial issue, as it receives its fair share of media coverage. Many people seem to be aware of the fact that through

one means or another kids in trouble get the shaft and that there appear to be more and more kids from all walks of life who are getting in trouble. What most people don't know is how gross the problem really is and how much money and energy and power is exerted to retain the status quo. A system nothing short of extortion is used by the court and law enforcement agencies against parents and citizens; and the rap works quite effectively: "Unless you pay more money in taxes, you will experience more pain." People who have kids of their own or who have worked with kids before know what a bummer it is when someone as vulnerable as a youngster starts getting handled by an institution as insensitive and demonic as the juvenile justice system. Those of us who got busted as juvenile offenders have some empathy. Being handled by the juvenile court acts effectively to prepare an individual for a life of perpetual incarceration. It is a very tough system to beat.

When we first started farming and working with kids, we knew there would be hard times ahead. We had no idea, however, that the difficulties would arise from far different quarters from those we could ever have imagined. Our problems have nothing to do with our ability to help kids or our success in doing so. Neither can our problems be ascribed to the fact that we are a collective effort that is highly successful in dealing with this problem area. Our problems stem from the fact that the status quo is antagonistic toward ANY method other than the court and punishment that can effectively help youngsters. The fact that we are a collective simply puts icing on the cake.

In the area of agriculture, for those who thought Watergate was a scandal, or what's going down with the CIA is heavy business, your minds are being fiddled with. All that was just a side show attraction to divert people's attention from the homogeneous graft, collusion, and treachery that is going on in American agriculture. America's power as a nation is not derived from our industrial ability, but rather from agriculture and farming. We are the most productive farming nation in the

world. Our expertise in the area of growing things is unsurpassed. The economy of the nation and the stability of American society is completely contingent on the state of our yearly harvest of food stuffs. As agribusiness becomes more and more the modus operandi for agricultural production, the small farmer becomes more and more a thing of the past. Adopting a perspective of economic determinism, the people who control the means of production, control. In the cases of farming, even if it were 10,000 conservative Mid-Western farmers controlling our farming production we would still function more or less like a democracy in that there would be inputs from 10,000 people. Agribusiness is effectively doing away with all that, and huge oligopolies like Bank of America buy up hundreds of farmers in one fell swoop and administer the intire operation from their downtown offices in Los Angeles or San Francisco. Those people who have been to these downtown offices and had the displeasure of interacting with the individuals who administer them have some idea of how scary this picture really is.

Which brings us up to date. We initially thought that working with kids was a matter of helping kids get better and that farming was a matter of growing things as safely and effectively as possible. Funny that we now spend almost every working day talking to legislators, senators, county commissioners, high-ranking bureaucrats, superintendents and the like--people we had little or nothing to do with in our urban phase we now interact with on a first name basis almost daily.

What is the politics of our collective? What decision-making processes do we use to get things done? That is a very relative question. It is determined solely by our work schedule and what other activities are going on. We can hardly be expected to implement a Middle Management meeting when three of our members are subpoenaed 150 miles away to testify in a juvenile proceeding on the same day. When this kind of situation becomes the rule rather than the exception, a relatively calm life out in the country becomes continuously

disrupted by the activities of the world around us--activities which have been going on for years but in which we just never participated before because we were too busy discussing the Great Issues, demonstrating against fictitious phantoms and involved in the mass joinerism of trying to effect change in areas completely outside our control.

We have had to visit the state capital twice in the last month or so and will probably be doing so again in the very near future. We are suddenly no longer just bitching about what goes on with kids, but are actually being sucked into drafting legislation for a new juvenile justice code. We are not at all into this kind of shit. Our problem is that those people who are into this shit are not very into people, really, or kids, or doing things collectively. It is a very strange state of affairs.

We still have a Board of Directors meeting once a week, and we still meet with all our collective members once a day to discuss things, and we still have a meeting with all the kids once a day to determine what we will do during the day. Jobs within the group are still delegated on the basis of ability and the desire of individuals to do them. We do not vote, as that's very ridiculous with so few people, but we still rely very heavily on consensus opinion.

Yet, in a strange sort of way, these structures have a less decisive effect than they once had. It would appear that by becoming involved with one another, we gradually became involved with helping kids in trouble, and then became involved with our neighbors, and are now involved in a much larger sense with what goes on with kids and people. We are more responsive to outside influences now, than we were a year ago--but are far less vulnerable than we were before. Perhaps this is a general rule; we don't know. We still have no master plan, philosophy, or aim. We are becoming more and more a collection of friends trying to live our lives together, and less and less a group of young people trying to effect social change.

Curiouser and curiouser. □

Mulberry

Family

Scrapbook

By Stephen

In the spring of 1974 I wrote a number of Virginia communities listed in Communities no. 7. The most enthusiastic response came from Stephen and Susan of Mulberry—the personal letters I received from these people made quite a contrast to the mimeographed material [with notes dashed off at the bottom] sent by rural groups already inundated with visitors. Once I arrived there in the summer, Mulberry struck me as a unique experiment in city living. At a glance the group is simply a venture in cooperative housing, as each member must derive his own personal income and retain personal resources beyond "rent". Yet, there is a feeling of "Family" at Mulberry, a commitment to personal growth, emotional expression, and experimentation with the process of learning cooperation with others.

This learning process is intimately connected with the work of Stephen and other Mulberries at Virginia Commonwealth University, in the form of one of the largest personal growth departments of its kind in the country. The Mulberry Family Scrapbook, written by Stephen to fulfill requirements for his PhD, is a record of this group's development, its constant adaptation to change, the only constant. Although I lived with Stephen at Mulberry Family for only a week and saw him for only a few hours several years later, his open-





ness and interest in my life has made our contact a very deep experience. In the Scrapbook Stephen describes himself as: "Frustrated middle child, produce of a broken home, son of a convive, child of alcoholics, culturally disadvantaged youth, bus boy, woodshop worker, farmer, hood, high school honor student, MR. Disposition, Berkeley student, peddler, campus radical in the early 60's, Peace Corps Volunteer, elementary school teacher in the Philipines, teacher-trainer, Foreign Service Reserve Officer, semi-expatriate, Washington bureaucrat, returning college student, residence hall advisor, college graduate, freak, the most affective person I know, human relations laboratory trainer, counselor, carpet-bagger, gay activist, dean..."

As the title suggests, Stephen presents the living environment at Mulberry Family through a number of different formats or perceptual

models. Much of the information is presented as factual data about organization and structure at Mulberry. The short excerpt from the chapter "History and Focus", provides a summary of this information.

Yet the real experiment taking place at Mulberry deals with the development of a supportive group which has established personal growth and emotional expression as a high priority. In the "Preface" Stephen presents the Scrapbook as a recordation of experience, of the magic, the feeling of "Family" at Mulberry. He also introduces the section on "Membership and Management", which best describes the "sea of vicarious experience" that is community in its constant ebb and flow. The excerpt from this section, including the portrait of Lee and Chuck, will hopefully "convene experiences for you which may prove growthful."

Mulberry Family Scrapbook

1. How did the commune come to be? Was it formed around a particular focus?

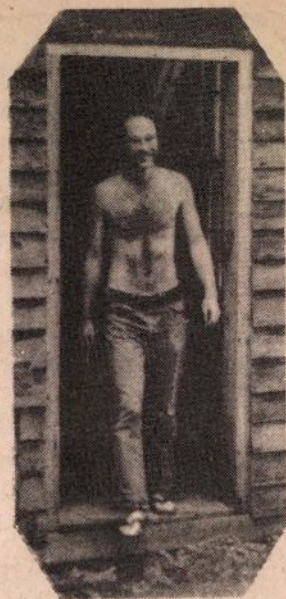
Briefly, Mulberry was formed by a group of individuals who were all living in one duplex at the same time. The basic ideas were to save money and live growthfully as members of a group.

2. How long has the commune been in existence?

Since September 17, 1972.

3. What do folks generally want from living at Mulberry?

Generally, reasons for any one person wanting to live here are a combination of Maslow's needs: a) an inexpensive place for shelter and food; b) safety, physical and psychological; c) to receive and give love; d) to increase self-esteem as in increased confidence, competence, mastery, adequacy, achievement,



independence and freedom, and respect from others, such as prestige, recognition, acceptance, attention, status, reputation and appreciation; e) self actualization (included here are wholeness, perfection, completion, justice, aliveness, richness, simplicity, beauty, goodness, uniqueness, effortlessness, playfulness, truth and self-sufficiency). Some members provide ecologically based reasons.

4. What's your definition of a commune?

Judson Jerome, in *Families of Eden: Communes and New Anarchism*, says: "Our guess as to the

statistically typical commune today is one which is urban, internally-oriented, pluralistic, noncreedal, private, poor, closed, organic, omnivorous, unincorporated, without industry or business, in a rented house, with partial economic sharing, both sexes, non-monogamous, nonacademic, composed of six to eight peers with one or two children under six...most are highly resistant to questionnaires.

Mulberry Family, also *Mulberry House*, *Mulberry*; n. an urban commune, internally oriented, pluralistic, noncreedal, private, middle-class, open, organic, primarily vegetarian, unincorporated, without industry or

business, in two long-term financed townhouses, with partial economic sharing, all sexes and affectional preference, semi-monogamous, semi-academic, composed of eighteen to twenty-four peers covering a breadth of some sixteen years in age, no children, fairly open to being studied. Jerome and his colleagues discovered they could be surprisingly specific about what is regarded as a typical rural group. While not statistically accurate as a description, comparing *Mulberry* to it helps give more information.

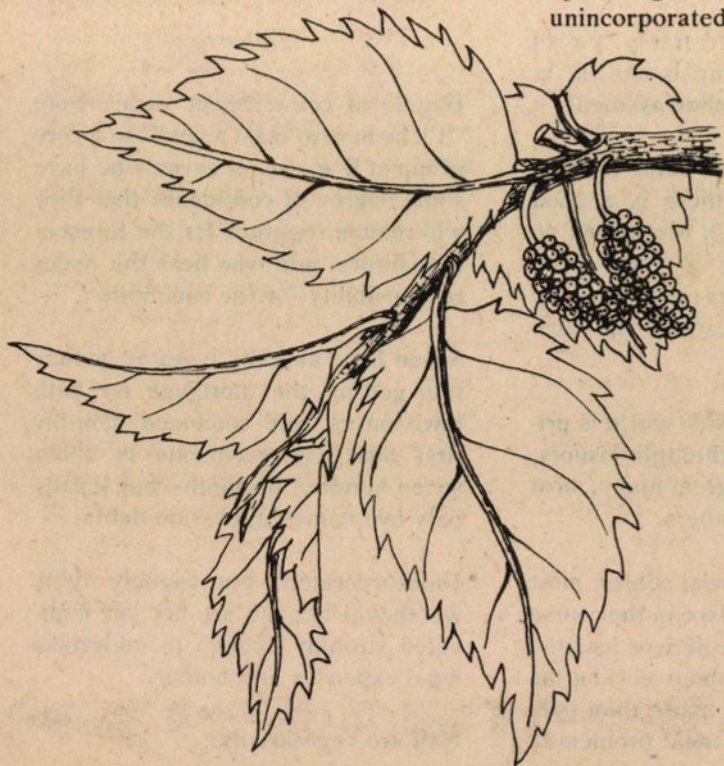
The Great Commune in the Sky

Degree of commitment of the adults varies from mere visiting, trying, exploring, through a kind of provisional membership status, to a core group of four or five who have some confidence that they will remain together in the foreseeable future, and who bear the major responsibility for the commune

Usually one or several of the core group are buying the farm, and there are probably mortgage payments of something like a hundred dollars a month.

Probably unincorporated, but think vaguely that they should be; they are not yet motivated strongly enough to undertake the legal expense and bother.

Maybe half are vegetarians.



Garden is organic.

Little homogeneity of political or religious belief, though many tend to be disenchanted with political action, and most are tolerant of a wide range of religious concerns of other members—from astrology to devotion to Jesus.

One or more couples in the group may be married, but most are not.

A few have college degrees (perhaps even advanced degrees), and one or two have abandoned professional careers; others did not complete high school.

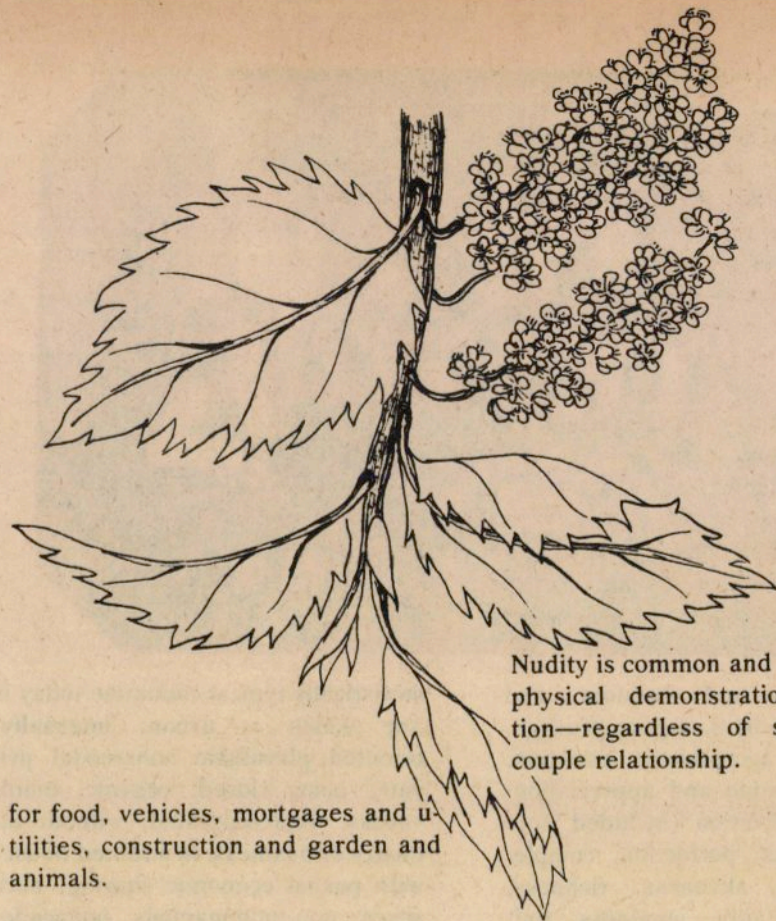
Some may receive Unemployment Assistance.

Most are white, from solid middle-class backgrounds, although occasionally there are Blacks, Chicanos, or American Indians in the membership.

In many there are something like encounter meetings to work out group problems, and group decisions are made by consensus, though there is little emphasis upon governing structure.

There may be some kind of rotating schedule for chores (in which all participate: there is little distinction of sex roles, and people consciously try to pick up skills they do not have), and there may be amorphous areas of individual responsibility (based on knowledge and interest); but for the most part people participate in the work of the commune without assigned tasks or expectations, as they feel like it.

Expenses are generally shared (e.g.,



Nudity is common and casual, as are physical demonstrations of affection—regardless of sex, age, or couple relationship.

for food, vehicles, mortgages and utilities, construction and garden and animals.

Sometimes income is pooled; more commonly, however, a dual system is maintained in which individuals have their own savings and income aside from what they put into the group budget, and they buy certain things (e.g., cigarettes, liquor, gifts, gas for personal trips, clothes) out of their own money.

Bathrooms are shared freely, for all functions, for as many as can fit, at all times, without embarrassment.

Individuals or couples tend to have private rooms, but there is a good deal of traffic through them, and no one minds sharing a room with others, even strangers (and rarely are there sexual implications in such sharing).

Contact with the outside world is primarily maintained through visitors, of which there are a great many, most often friends of members.

The kitchen is the social center; most conversations take place in the course of snacking, or with coffee or tea, and is most likely to be about getting the hay in or the yogurt made than politics or poetry or personal problems.

Bickering is usually over chores—e.g., cleaning up after snacks. Pets are another source of interpersonal tension (a number of seasoned communes have absolute rules against them), and cars are another sensitive issue (the approach to most country communes is cluttered with disabled or abandoned vehicles).

Mulberry

Degree of commitment varies from "I'll be here at least a year" to a core group of five, six, or seven who have some degree of confidence that they will remain together for the foreseeable future, and who bear the major responsibility for the commune.

Seven have actually invested money into getting the mortgage for both townhouses, and combined monthly first mortgage payments is about seven hundred a month—but legally only two names appear on debts.

* Unincorporated, but vaguely think we should be; we are not yet motivated strongly enough to undertake legal expenses and bother.

Half are vegetarians.

Garden is organic (and small).

Little homogeneity of political or religious belief; predominantly disenchanting liberals, the uninvolved and oral radicals, with a tolerance of a wide range of religious concerns of other members—from atheism to Buddha and Jesus and a little pantheism.

Currently three couples (the most ever) and none of the couples have been married.

All (40) completed high school, 30 have some college; 11 have or are working on advanced degrees—three doctorates; 4 have abandoned promising professional careers.

One is on VA and welfare.

Most are white, from solid middle-class backgrounds, with one Black.

We meet once a week, Sunday evenings for three or four hours generally to work through family and interpersonal problems; our decisions are by consensus and, while lazy, many members are process aware.

There was once a rotating schedule for chores (in which all participated: there is little distinction of sex roles, and people try some to pick up skills they do not have), and there are amorphous areas of individual responsibility (David, Lee and Stephen-finances; Joe-electricity) and clear areas of responsibility (Michael and Steve F.-phone bills; Breeze-food manager); but, for the most part, we participate without assigned tasks and there is an expectation that we break sex role behavior and do our fair share.

Shared expenses are: food, house loans, mortgages, utilities, basic phone charges, redecorating and refurbishing, newspaper and Consumer Reports, farm saving fund, etc. Unshared expenses: vehicles, T.V.s,

sound systems, bikes, long distance calls, etc.

Everyone pays \$40 per month for food and at least \$80 per month for expenses identifies above. A dual system exists and individuals purchase their own more-than-basic toiletries, cigarettes, liquor, gifts, gas, personal things, clothes, records, etc. The wealthier are subtle in the numerous ways in which they pay more, invest and entertain others.



Bathrooms are shared freely, for all functions, for as many as can fit, almost always with joy and good humor and little embarrassment; "company" is given more privacy generally, depending on the "function"...

With rare exceptions individuals tend to have private rooms which are usually trafficked, some much more than others, and most of Family is into sharing with company, even strangers, although we also have and use a guest loft, living room and

playroom; rarely are there sexual implications in such sharing.

Contact with the outside world is direct and daily for most of us. We are forever having new and old friends and hitchhikers to dinner, often for the night or a week or more.

The kitchen is the social center; most conversations take place in the course of snacking, or with coffee or tea, and is most likely to be about work, Family problems, funny daily events, bitches about undone chores, personal problems, personal risks, sex, health, national politics, campus politics, biological family, lovers, and diets.

Nudity is common and casual, and people seem to usually be touching each other and most frequently kiss hello or goodbye—regardless of sex, age, or couple relationship.

Bickering is usually over messes in the kitchen, chores, smoking, the amount of "junk food" we'll pay for, borrowed tools, collecting the phone bill, cooking your fair share, "making milk", use of the sound systems, lack of directedness. Pets are a huge hassle for a wide variety of reasons and values plus the traffic deaths of several cats and dogs. Currently we have only cats. Most of us can walk or hitch or bike to wherever we want, generally, or a group will go somewhere and one of us will own a car. Currently, we have eight cars and one "parked" one.

From the section "Membership and Management"

In a world of falling apart relationships I have chosen to examine my experience within the context of "intentional community": to write about how I experience a unique living arrangement: Mulberry Family. What is in the pages ahead is not the Answer; you will find no corner on the Truth. I write to share





Mulberry so that there may be some recordation of our existence in a world which desperately needs new explorations and experiments in establishing human community.

And at this time it seems fitting that after much delay I should begin this written analysis of my life, this recordation of my existence, this education of self. I am aware that my world as I know it may fall apart—it has before and come together again in a new integration, unlikely though it seemed at the time—and yet, what I want to communicate is that living on the edge, that line between the collective was-is and what is becoming, is really where we all live, especially when we choose to make awareness life's daily purpose-process. And I am writing to share my conception of my life, and thus become more aware of its flow...

...I know of magic. I believe we have some here in Mulberry. Magic we make happen. Magic that evidences itself in an alternativeliving situation—we say Family—which demands personal growth and actualization without making such a rule. From this writing I want you to know an alternative existed, and may still, what the salient features of this alternative seem to be, and what features seem possible in and applicable to your life. I do not want this to be *about* Mulberry Family, 'cause Mulberry Family is an experience, a total, constantly changing and stable whole experiential alternative. What I want to do is to do some of my own magic. I believe I have some magic with words, and with words I want to convene experiences for you which may prove

growthful.

From the Preface, Mulberry Family Scrapbook, by Stephen Lentin

Our membership and management often seem one long interruption before an orderly, stable, constant, predictable, familiar future. This section is a visual presentation, via individual portraits, of all Family members while convened in one place at one time. We have never had such a meeting...

Sunday evening, Family meeting time, and folks are arranged in a roughly shaped circle, sitting, lying and reclining. It's around 8 p.m. Some sit quietly waiting for others to arrive. Some are waiting to be called. Some exchange banter, laughter, stories and simple informational questions. Someone volunteers to keep journal, a process whereby one member records, at a minimum, decisions, "understandings" that we reach. The journal is not written by everybody. At any one meeting one person will volunteer, and different people week to week. Thus our story is only roughly accurate. A story kept by everyone guarantees diversity. Our collective story is the story of each person's experience and thus, remains uncollected. What is collected is a kinda oral story based on who is here and what's said and how often...what's said at Family, in the kitchen, on the kitchen door or bulletin board, at the dining room table, in the bathrooms, and in our rooms. From the unique combination of members and our random and purposeful conversations comes the implicit structure of decision making.

Lee, often called the perfect Mulberry, begins to move, adjusting his position, changing from a laid-back sit to a slightly hunched, cross-legged sitting position. The meeting is starting. Perhaps it is merely the light reflecting off Lee's prematurely balding dome...whatever the reason, there is an aura about his head, a soft yellow—white irregular halo framing longish, thick wavy brunette hair and full brown beard. The brunette hair in turn frames a white-pink complexion and wire rimmed glasses. Lee's large brown myopic eyes are made slightly larger through his lenses, and to this he adds a certain staring quality of unspoken direct questioning.

Lee, like sister Jane, has a magic face—a face at once one and a thousand faces: Methuselah, Trotsky's brother Herman, mountain hermit, miner-49er, mad bomber, Amish farmer, gentle sorcerer, vaudevillian comic, country carpenter, Russian immigrant novelist, hippie, revolutionist, beat-me-down grad student, the student of the hero with a thousand faces.

Lee sits upright and begins to survey the group, he browses. He has learned that there is no easy way to understand communal living as it is in Mulberry. You can't read about it and expect to understand it. You can't meet each member once and understand who they are and how they individually connect now or in the historic past. Digesting the communal living experience is hard even as a member. Every member who is intimately connected has difficulty digesting all the data and processing all the feelings. Lee knows that he can't have close, intimate, re-

lations with every one equally at the same time. The consequence of trying is generally to get lost in the moving mosaic of emotion; even if your own personal life is currently stable, there is the sea of vicarious experience around you: people indelicately confronting concerns with their body, personality, work or studies, money, tastes and interests, attitudes and opinions. Lee browses around the group, a metaphor for how to study the intimate details of membership and management. He appreciates the irony of what at times is an amazing roller coaster ride of interpersonal adventure and unique experience and what at other times is a boring repetition of lives and hassles without any seeming emergent meaning. There is a point of temporary satiation for each communitarian, and, in time, students of communal living like Lee learn to ebb and flow within a group, accepting contact and withdrawal, action and rest, involvement and disengagement, as mutually important processes in developing a rhythm to the risk of living in a group which values emotional expression.

Lee has a list of projects to add to the agenda. In his own life he is struggling for definition of work, at times painfully aware of how society links masculinity, wholeness as a man, with hours of work spent in the gathering of money for protecting, providing and procreating. Aware of how his mid-twenty contemporaries invest in work as the major avenue of fulfillment, Lee feels successful when he labels a day a play day and promises not to hassle himself with all the things he "should" be doing. A personal struggle, for Lee, how much work to do remains a constant question also within a responsible group; working out "fair shares" is a complex problem in lives full of individual interests, differing personal awarenesses of household needs, different values and definitions of "clean", "orderly", and "sanitary", and a wide range of skill levels and motivations. What needs done and how remains a constant communal agenda and a dangerous potential source of antagonism, guilt, blame and resentment—feelings

which can destroy membership and management. Strength, continuity, actualization depend on appreciation of diversity and change and a constantly emerging unknowing.

"I've just never spoken to such a large group."

"You cut me off."

"I'm real hesitant to speak 'cause others are so articulate."

"My confusion results from the rapid flow and diversity of topics, the quick switches."

"I get lost in so many people with so many ideas."

"Really, I mean, can't you speak English. I don't understand all those big words."

"I fear attack."

"At least you're heard."

"All this awareness-speak inhibits me. Remembering to say 'I' instead of 'you' and all."

"I feel heard here."

"Why is it when someone talks about money they look at Stephen?"

"Let's get done with business and get back to feelings."

"Not everyone has something to say but everyone talks."

Next to Karyn sits Chuck, nestled comfortably in the carpenter arms of Gregory. Gregory, the quiet Apollo figure who without a word just never activated membership. Chick, once the "baby" of the Family, and still the Family teenager in many ways, once seemed on a perpetual boom and bust cycle. Frantic preparation for an art show, manic all night dancing and making love days on end, speed trips to Buffalo, New York, Florida or someplace else, each adventure ending in days of sleep or collapse with illness. Chuck, once a quiet, dumpy, plump, assistant carpenter with dreams of being a famous artist, has grown here into a "hot" blonde with year round tan and an

invaluable confidant for Stephen, Nesbit and J.J. Chuck, part quick rainbow, part polite seeker of decadence, part gentle, caring young man, is at times a bubble, full and bursting into sudden colors, shapes, and perspectives of creativity. When Chuck, the independent, free spending, do it now, genuine Leo, heard Family decide that the renovations in his "illegal" attic room would have to meet building codes—he chaffed under receipt requirements, codes, rules, laws, legalities, permits, licenses, and the "smother" love of Stephen. Chuck, the free and laughing Chuck, objects to restrictions and while living here has, like every successful communitarian, found temporary balance between individual freedom and community concern. When asked the difference between home and Mulberry Family, Chuck, pausing to pull in and quietly suck his lips, that mischievous blend of humor and truth on his quick smiling bearded face says, "At home we had chores, meat, Hi-C, a fuzzy poodle, no sister, and little communication: here, there are chores, sisters, open communication marked by a concern for other's feelings and not meta, poodles or Hi-C. I look at Chuck, nestled safely and sexlessly in Gregory's arms, and recall in a flash the full range of emotional experiences I have had with Chuck, and our shared journey into gay pride, made possible by the support of Mulberry Family, especially the implicit decision of the men not to be afraid of one another. Chuck is a borrower when poor, dreamer of a sugar daddy or great art patron. When with money Chuck is the generous, lavish spender. Chuck knows what it is to be fired for hugging a "faggot", the feelings when your lover fears kissing you in public, the feelings of societal requirement not to be oneself. Chuck knows that the most pinching poverty in the world is of acceptance, recognition, love, respect and status—things he has in communal living and plans to keep.

"Quiet, Dee's back from just having found her grandmother dead."

"Oops, Hazelhoff is on his way over

The promotional literature for the Rural Communities Conference at Ananda was indeed compelling, quite a contrast to the Twin Oaks conferences of past years or the U & I conference held this spring. With a limit of 40 members from rural communities, the gathering could serve as a "think-tank", where ideas and the experience of diverse communal groups might be shared. When reports reached us about the Ananda fire (see Grapevine, Communities no. 22), there was some question about the conference happening. Despite these setbacks, the conference was held at the conference center, which we shared with participants in Ananda's Summer Apprentice program (thanks to these folks for helping with the food preparation and making room for us).

The foci of the conference were seven topic areas which served to focalize discussions; each session began with a short presentation prepared in advance by one of the facilitators or participants with some experience on the subject, followed by a discussion of the whole group, which sometimes broke into smaller groups of 5-20 people. Many of these sessions were recorded, and much of this report gives a distilled version of the information and energy that was shared. Nitai, Anandi, and Keshava of Ananda and Paul, Caroline, and Judy of Alpha Farm acted as facilitators for the conference; their energy was an essential element in bringing us together in such a short time.



Ananda's

Rural

All day August 12, people were arriving through the winding back roads to Ananda Cooperative Village, high in California's Sierra Nevadas, for the Rural Communities Conference. Forty representatives came from communities across the United States and Canada (plus one from West Germany), representing 26 communal groups of various types, some in the early stages of development. The gathering had been conceived more than a year ago by three people sitting around a table at Ananda, representing Twin Oaks, Ananda, and Alpha Farm. During interim periods, Ananda and Alpha nursed the idea and coordinated it, with help from **Communities** through its publications and mailing list. The conference was intended to be small and intense—forty was a full house, and the agenda was similarly packed, with really not enough time to do everything.

By dinner time most of the participants had arrived. Few of us had met before, so it started from the beginning—introductions, tentative conversations, the first shared joke, the gradual melting of strangeness. After dinner we viewed a film about Ananda, and then wended our way to bed, up a beautiful hill to the meadow where we were all to stay in tents and campers. The following morning found the weather brilliant and warm; after breakfast we assembled in a lovely glen, took a few minutes to describe briefly our communities, and then began discussing the first of seven topic areas which served as a focus for our sharing of information and ideas.

I-Group Identity

The initial stage of a community's life can be seen as the "honeymoon" phase, when the burst of enthusiasm for creating an alternative lifestyle and the novelty experienced in learning new skills is enough to keep a member's interest. As the newness fades, however, it is replaced by the awareness that a great amount of hard work is required to overcome the obstacles stemming from a slackening of individual commitment and the resultant low level of group cohesion. The remedy for this situation seems to lie in establishing a dynamic sense of group identity, a process which occurs when there exists a clear focus for the group's energy. In this way members of a group are provided with a means for judging their degree of commitment to the basic group's ideals—a low level of agreement provides a solid basis for choosing to leave the community, while those sharing a high level of commitment are freed to

direct their energies into productive channels. Three main approaches to defining group identity were discussed: 1) agreement to a definite set of principles or procedures; 2) loyalty to a leader or leadership group) and 3) choice of specific projects or goals. Most communities seemed to use a combination of these approaches.

This discussion then broke into two sub-groups, the first dealing with the problem of factionalism and alienation. Factionalism was seen to proceed from an underlying disagreement with the basic values of the group, or with the group's direction in realizing these values. In this situation the community as a whole must decide how much diversity is desirable and practical.

Loneliness and frustration were identified as two other possible sources of alienation. In the first instance it may be necessary to direct more community energy towards meeting individual needs and setting appropriate channels for personal problem solving. Frustration was felt to be a result of personal and/or community shortcomings in making discernable progress in implementing the group's ideals. In solving all of these problems the suggested procedure was to dwell initially on areas of commonality, seeking to broaden and deepen the basis of agreement. In dealing with difference, stress was placed on the value of constructive criticism as opposed to that of unproductive complaining and negativity.

The second subgroup focused on the challenge of creating a sense of community among people from diverse spiritual paths. The three prerequisites identified for this development were: 1) a sincere recognition by everyone of the universality of truth underlying all paths; 2) a deep commitment by the individual to his particular path, thus minimizing defensive reactions to the practices of others; 3) achievement of an appropriate balance which includes sufficient opportunities for personal practices along with participation in group rituals that make all feel comfortable: such as, group chanting and meditation, as practiced at Harmony, and group study and silent holding of hands at meetings and meals as done at Alpha.

II-Legal

Mussawir Spiegel, from the Abode of the Message Community in New York, shared with us his findings, as a lawyer, about the different ways that communities can hold land and other property. The ways that communities at the conference shared resources varied widely, but the main legal entities were as follows: 1)

Property and land held by one person for the use of all, 2) property held by several people with joint tenancy on the part of several, 3) Property held by several people—Tenancy in common, 4) Partnership—property held by all in proportion to what they put into the partnership, 5) Non-profit corporation, and 6) Cooperative corporation.

The first three means of holding property seem to have many built-in flaws and problems. In (1) the person holding the land could legally throw anyone off if they so decided. Both (2) and (3) require a change of legal instruments each time people join or leave. The partnership holding of land seems to have some advantages to those

members of the community together have all the power. Many communities combine some of the three.

One of the major questions which came out of the session was "What does the system of governance do to us that we may not be aware of? How do we consider its influence?" This prompted considerable introspection, and remains an unfinished question (see also **Communities #18** for ideas along these lines). Also closely related to governance are such questions as: How does the work get done? How is the planning done? By whom? Some communities reported virtually no planning by anyone; on the other extreme, Alpha is thoroughly planned by everyone.



Communities

Conference

groups which are not organized along religious, educational, scientific or charitable lines. For taxes, a partnership return is filed and the profits or losses are divided pro-rata among the partners. Then, each partner submits an individual return for the amount of his share. However, the same problem arises when membership changes—all papers must be redrawn.

If a community is going to be primarily an educational, religious, scientific, or charitable community, they should try to obtain a **non-profit corporate status**. This is advantageous for taxes as well, in that a corporation is a legal entity of its own. Members may come and go without a major shift in the corporate structure. A **cooperative corporation** has the same advantages of being a corporation, but does not qualify for the non-profit exemption for taxes. Laws on cooperative corporations vary from state to state, so this needs to be checked. There was extensive discussion of corporations and taxes under IRS Statutes 501, 501C, and 501D. A separate article on the subject will be published later.

The economic operations of the communities represented varied from almost completely communal to nearly free enterprise. One community found that inequality in economics leads to resentment; communal equality avoids this. In other communities monetary questions were incidental because the basic reason for being together was spiritual, and there was no need for a common purse. Descriptions in detail were given by Alpha, where everything is held in common, and by Ananda, where everyone makes his own money, paying a fixed amount to the community (which owns the land) each month, not to mention a fixed membership fee. The question of individual initiative does not have to be worked with as closely in this situation as in the communal setting. If a person wishes, for example, to take a vacation they can earn enough and go. In the communal situation there is a need for a group decision on vacation time.

III-Government and Decision-Making

Governance is a process that grows out of the various values and assumptions, and so, various are the ways in which decision-making occurs. The three types discussed were: 1) agreement upon a leader, one member of the community who makes the major decisions; 2) a manager-planner government where members are chosen to manage the various aspects of the community life (wherein planners are a kind of executive committee over the managers—e.g., Twin Oaks and East Wind); 3) a group consensus method, where all

Regardless of the degree of decision-making exercised by the individual or the group, it seems that a successful rural community requires a total commitment based on trust. Thus in the more tightly structured communities the members trust that the group will do everything possible to meet the individual's needs. Similarly, there is an implicit trust at communities like Ananda that no one is going to take advantage of the community to accumulate unnecessary private wealth or take unwarranted vacations.

Both the session on consensus decision-making and the workshop on planning elicited enthusiasm and many questions; both topics will be the subject of articles in future issues.

Melting Together

As everyone knows, it never rains in California in the summertime; Friday night a howling storm came from the ocean and drenched us all. It continued for two days, so we moved inside, sent sleeping bags to the dryers in Grass Valley, and proceeded. The second rainy night the hardy souls who camped out had the big army tents collapse on them! Nature helped us melt together and overcome separations.

IV-Work/Supporting Ourselves

The philosophical question of when work is "work" and when it is leisure brought forth new thinking on how we look at our daily lives. This workshop evolved into a nuts and bolts session on different ways in which communities were supporting themselves, and the necessity for careful cost accounting to be done before and during any project.

V-Relationships in Community

Perhaps the most universal and obvious aspect of life in an intentional community is that it involves in a wider variety of interpersonal contacts than is found in more traditional lifestyles. Communities differ in the patterns of interaction they value. Through consensus deliberation a group can organize itself to reflect the principles upon which it was founded. For example, a community based on meditation and privacy such as Ananda would choose a more dispersed form of housing than would Alpha, where the emphasis is on group problem solving.

Children

The presence of children introduces another type of relationship that is all too often neglected in the initial concern of the adults to set up the community's survival systems. The highly visible manner that children have of expressing their needs, however, quickly bring any shortcomings in this area to the attention of the adults.

In this workshop several conferees described problems with unruly youngsters. It was agreed that the misbehavior was in part the result of the children's demands for their share of the adult energy—positive energy being desired, but negative energy being preferable to no energy at all. The solution to this problem seems to lie in the one-to-one contact a child enjoys while sharing some project or experience with an adult. Older children also require special consideration; one possibility is giving them duties and responsibilities suited to their maturity levels. At Ananda, this means a special group living situation. Once the pattern of integration into the community has been established, most of the major misbehavior problems disappear.

Lonliness

Lonliness in the midst of a group may seem ironic, but it is a real phenomena for many communitarians. Some join a community hoping to overcome a sense of loneliness only to discover that this situation can be accentuated in a group. Community is not necessarily a cure for loneliness, but the group experience points up more clearly some of the causes and ways to alleviate it.

Several participants at the conference made the point that monogamy can offer a strong, solid base for related to others. Still we all acknowledged that monogamous partners successfully functioning within a community have learned to allow space and other people to become an integral part of their relationship.

Polygamy, or multiple relationships, were discussed as another mode to consider. The nature of polygamy, some felt, presents problems such as jealousy and possessiveness to most who experiment with it. One proposal was the formation of a community around the agreement that polygamy would be the acceptable mode of relating. The community could then discourage those old habit patterns that interfere with its members pursuing multiple relationships.

A third alternative discussed was celibacy. Celibacy offers itself as a simply solution to some. Celibacy can be seen as a simplification because it allows one to extricate oneself from the complexities of sexual and intimate romantic relationships. Both monogamy and polygamy require the focus of a great deal of energy that would otherwise be available for use in the individual's and the group's growth and development. For others, celibacy is an integral part of a spiritual search.

These alternatives may provide answers to some individuals within a community. For others, especially people who come into a community uninvolved in any form of intimate relationship, the community itself can offer another antidote to loneliness. The atmosphere of caring provided by a group helps to diffuse the urgency for contact or mating seen in American society. Together we can provide a real sense of supportive community within which individuals can grow and choose whatever kinds of relationships are most productive for them.

VI-Spirituality

By their very nature communities call forth a response from their members which leads them away from ego-centeredness and into the realms of selflessness and compassion. It is in this context that the teachings and dogmas commonly associated with the term spirituality take on meaning for the communities movement. When one person was asked how *cos* community was spiritual, *co* answered that the group simply tried to live their principles all the time. Another participant described *cos* initial attraction to a spiritual group as being almost independent of their particular beliefs, focusing instead upon an attitude or way of doing things that he first comprehended as concentrated effort, later as channelled energy,

and subtler still, as an expression of joy. The question was raised but left unanswered as to whether this evolution of community attitudes and values would lead to an established spiritual path or to the creation of a new one.

VII-Interpersonal Problem Solving

If the representation at the conference is any kind of accurate measure, evolving a process for interpersonal problem solving is both a crucial and yet bewildering prospect for most communities at present. Due to the tremendous importance of this issue to communities, a lengthier report is presented by Judy Lazarus, the session's facilitator:

Communities are a concentrated focus of human energy. Harmonized, the energy is beautiful and fulfilling; unharmonized, it can easily destroy a communal group. Interpersonal problems are community problems because they drain community energy. These problems take a multitude of forms, including 1) problems with individual responsibility (e.g., a member forgetting to put tools away or habitually leaving jobs unfinished), 2) problems with an individual's sense of security or self-image, 3) role problems (the anxiety of being asked to play an undesirable role in the group, or on the other hand assuming a role uncomfortable to the group), 4) problems with power distribution, 5) problems with relationships in the group.

If a community creates a norm for itself or close contact between its members, then it will experience these situations sooner than a group which leaves personal contact up to the choice of its members. But even communities living and working less closely together will discover eventually that avoiding the reality of interpersonal problems dissipates and blocks much of the productive energy of its members.

Before a community sets out to solve interpersonal hassles, there are some preliminary steps it must take: 1) Acknowledge the situation! This implies a willingness on the part of the individual members to examine themselves and to recognize their imperfections; 2) Problems will reveal themselves more easily if the group has clarified certain agreed upon norms of behavior; 3) Commitment is essential. There is no way to force someone to become involved in working on interpersonal problem solving. The commitment should be taken deliberately and verbally, and the choice for those that don't desire to commit themselves to the process should be made clear. At Alpha, for instance, the choice is an extreme one; membership in the community is contingent on one's willingness to work on the personal growth of oneself and others in the group; 4) Continuity of the group is important. Many attempted solutions have proven ineffective because the work could not be continued in a group where participation varied. At Alpha, everyone attends meetings every other week. The regularity helps to insure increased involvement as people become more familiar and comfortable with the process; 5) Active participation does not seem to come naturally in many cases—few people are trained to analyze themselves and face up to needed changes—but it is essential. Frequently the most reluctant to participate are those who need it the most. (Alpha arrived at a partial solution, after about 2½ years, by agreeing that each member will bring a problem needing work to each meeting.) Some previously committed participants may loose their enthusiasm for pursuing problems caused by habit patterns that are dear and deep-seated, but this is the very point where the group must lovingly push on; here is where the greatest benefits are to be gained.

If a community wishes to engage in interpersonal problem solving, it must be done right. Even using the best of processes, participants will at times experience pain and fear. Positive, energizing, and growthful experiences can happen for individuals and the community may be drawn together providing several basic elements are present.

The first element is trust. A group will not be able to grow very far together without the trust that individuals within the group come to work with each other in a loving way. The second element is compassion. Learning to place oneself in another's shoes will add to ones understanding and effectiveness in helping that individual grow. A sense of supportive community is the third element. The community must provide a crucial sense of a loving and supportive group to its members. They become increasingly open and vulnerable with each other.

A clear goal is the fourth element. The purpose of the sessions

to provide members with an opportunity to release their feelings? Release, as a goal, is not conducive to the development of trust and compassion, and it tends to set into motion a cycle of release—tension—release without necessarily including a process for positive pattern change. Or is it to help each other grow and develop? Although it is more difficult, the effects of work towards this goal are deeper, more profound, and long-term.

The final element is follow-through. Attention on interpersonal problem solving may be focused in special meetings, but the process is always. This involves openness of communication, positive reinforcement for changing unproductive habits, and expressing of caring for each other. Sometime small groups will meet to offer more intimate support and work for someone with a problem.

Within whatever structure a group chooses, several basic techniques are available. Three that Alpha has found valuable for their work are the following: 1) Constructive Criticism: the process of sharing criticism and feedback in such a way as to stimulate an individual to perceive oneself differently while also supporting and caring for the individual. Destructive criticism usually involves a release of feelings without a sense of caring. 2) Iceberg concept: We have learned that problems or disturbances are often not as small as they appear to be at first glance. When the goal is personal growth and development, it is necessary to search for a cause rather than address merely symptoms. Group understanding gained through living and working closely helps people to know when a root cause for the problem has been reached; 3) Moderator: Whether problem solving is done in a large group or in smaller individual sessions, moderation, or facilitation, by less involved parties is an aid to more effective communicating.

All these things considered, the next step would be to choose a structure for the problem solving process. Options are numerous, and some groups may feel the need to invent others that more directly meet their needs or fit their situations. Some of the more widely practiced ones that we are aware of are: 1) Encounter Groups. Alpha uses a group structure that has elements of encounter in it. Group sessions may be used to work on group problems as well as interpersonal ones. In other communities, administrative or planning bodies may have the responsibility for outlining group goals or direction, while at Alpha the group uses its meeting time to address those questions as well. Alpha also uses the group to solve problems such as feelings of alienation or the blocks to a general atmosphere of increased closeness; 2) spontaneous meetings—individuals focus on interpersonal problem solving work immediately

when a situation pointing out the need for it arises; 3) using a leader. Ananda has Swami Kriananda as its spiritual guide, and at time he serves as a personal advisor as well. Anandi shared with us that Swami Kriananda will wait as long as possible before interfering, waiting until requested, at the last moment, to share his wisdom; 4) meditation. Meditation can be a means of solving interpersonal problems in that it provides a method for disengaging oneself from the emotional aspects of a conflict situation. Having achieved the calm, meditative state, a person is able to analyze the problem more clearly. This involves a shift in perspective so that the approach to problems and trials becomes one of valuing them as opportunities for growth, instead of attempting to avoid them as unfortunate obstacles to the flow of life.

Each community must evolve a process of interpersonal and group problem solving that is consistent with its goals, priorities, and style. What is critical is that the process be evolved and practiced clearly and carefully for the benefit of the particular living situation.

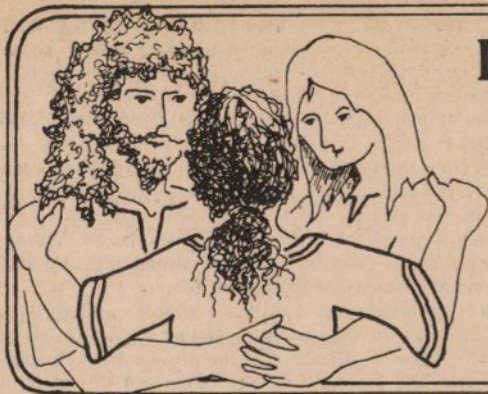
Conclusion

For the forty of us this time, the conference was an intensely packed three days of sharing, learning, and loving. Now we have all scattered back to our respective place on the earth, each to continue to do our parts in the evolution of our individual communities and the community movement as a whole. We are scattered, yet we are together, for the connection remains. What next? Possibly another conference next summer? Let's stay in communication throughout the year and see what develops. We are interested in contributing to the process of sharing that was started. We would also like to broaden our basis for dialogue and sharing by issuing an open invitation to all communities that didn't or couldn't attend the conference to get in touch with us. Interested communities with ideas and input can write to:

Alpha Farm
PO Box 465
Mapleton OR 97453

For now, thanks to all who made the conference the experience it was. The support and help we can all give each other as evolving communities are invaluable. Let's remember to do it in whatever ways we can.





Feature Community:

PROJECT AMERICA

by Richard Goering

The community I've lived in for the past eight months has travelled 4,000 miles during that time, and has existed in places as diverse as Louisville, Kentucky and Great Bend, Kansas. Project America 1976, as our community is called, consists of about ten Americans and Japanese who are bicycling across country, and a propane-powered resource bus stocked with information on alternative energy, simple living, nutrition, and co-operative lifestyles. We are a community in that we're living and working together towards a common end; sharing this information with people we meet, and learning what we can about the country. We've experienced many of the problems and joys of fixed communities, but the fact that we're travelling, and doing what we're doing, has created some special difficulties, rewards, and solutions to problems.

Project America 1976 has been on the road since February, when ten bicyclers started across country from a windy and rainy beach in Santa Barbara, California. The project was scheduled to disband in October in Philadelphia, making us a limited-duration community. We are also a community with a "mission," because our intention is to share information about ecological and co-operative lifestyles with people across country. One of our goals was to bring information about alternatives to Middle America, and present counterculture ideas in a non-threatening way. We had mixed success with this goal, but we easily fulfilled others; learning about the people of this land, learning about alternatives in many places, and learning about co-operation in a group with diverse interests and personal goals.

We never did have a specific purpose or cause, and lack of focus is something we've struggled with for much of the journey. Project members have interests ranging from yoga to political organizing, and we've offered a variety of workshops related to interests of members. We had information and books to sell on energy, organic gardening, nutrition, co-operatives, and low-impact technology. We show films on nutrition, alternative energy, and pollution in Japan. It all fits into this amorphous movement we call the "Counterculture," but that's an awfully broad movement, and the fact that we're representing much of it makes Project America 1976 hard to explain to outsiders.

The project is not sponsored by any organization; it is the product of an idea that was pursued by one person until it became a reality. Norie Huddle, an American woman, was studying pollution in Japan when she came up with the idea of cross-country bicycling and walking tour to promote ecological living and international understanding. She recruited several Japanese members, and came to San Francisco in late 1975 to find American participants. "I was providing a stage," she said, "for people to do what they

wanted." One of Norie's interests on the trip is writing a book about the project. An advance has already been received, and that money helped get the project going.

As other participants joined, they brought their own interests and goals to the project, and the scope broadened to include everyone. My interests included handling media publicity, writing about the project, and sharing information about French Intensive/Biodynamic gardening. Scott joined with the intention of teaching yoga, massage, and creative dynamics. Lynn wanted to offer psycho-synthesis workshops, teach breadmaking, and share information about aging and nutrition. Duane was interested in community networking and values clarification. Steve, who didn't stay with us very long, was into alternative energy. Warren, another short-term participant, was a student at an alternative high school. Kim maintained our bus, and drove it for half of the journey.

The Japanese participants joined us in January for a month-long preparation and training session near San Francisco. Yukio had been active in the non-violent social change movement in American and Japan, and he wanted to give workshops in non-violence training. Hiroshi planned to teach Japanese children's toys and games, including origami. Masako, a dance teacher from Tokyo, wanted to teach dance and Tai Chi.

Norie and another woman, Eleanor, conducted an advance tour along the route in late 1975. In Phoenix, Arizona they met Terry, who was working with Paolo Soleri's Arcosanti, a solar city in the Arizona desert. Terry's interests included co-operatives, bicycling, and political organizing.

Warren, Steve and Masako left the project soon after it started, and Scott, Lynn, and Duane were gone for much of the time. However, we picked up new members as we went along. Mike, an experienced bicyclist and folk dancer, joined us in Santa Barbara. We met Debbie as she was bicycling down a highway in New Mexico. Bob, a friend of several members, came out from California to join us in Albuquerque, and another Steve, who met Norie in Japan, travelled with us for several months. We had several short-term Japanese participants in the summer, including a lively three-year-old named Taku. From six to twelve people were travelling with the Project America 1976 bus at any time.

As we stood upon the beach in Santa Barbara February 6, we weren't quite sure what to expect. Some of us had expectations of well-attended workshops, crowds greeting us on our arrival, and widespread media recognition. We had the vague hope that the project would work out to be self-supporting. Most of us had our own personal goals, but we hadn't worked out a 25-words-or-less "purpose" or

specific project goal. We got on our bicycles and headed for America, first-time actors on a stage waiting for an unknown audience.

Changing Expectations

The murky area of expectations, goals, and purpose was our first big problem area, and it continued to be a problem for quite some time. People join communities with sometimes unmet expectations and goals, but our expectations depended largely on an outside response beyond our control. Our goals were not yet united enough to promote a strong sense of group commitment and identity. Other communities struggle to define themselves, but our lack of unified purpose was made more acute by the perceived need to explain ourselves concisely and constantly to the outside world.

Many expectations were jolted by our first encounters with Middle America. The first place we offered workshops was Palm Springs, and hardly anyone came. We then sat outside Gemco in Indio all day and sold three books. Inadequate advertising was part of the problem, but so was the whole idea of "us" teaching "them." Middle America doesn't react well to that kind of "teaching."

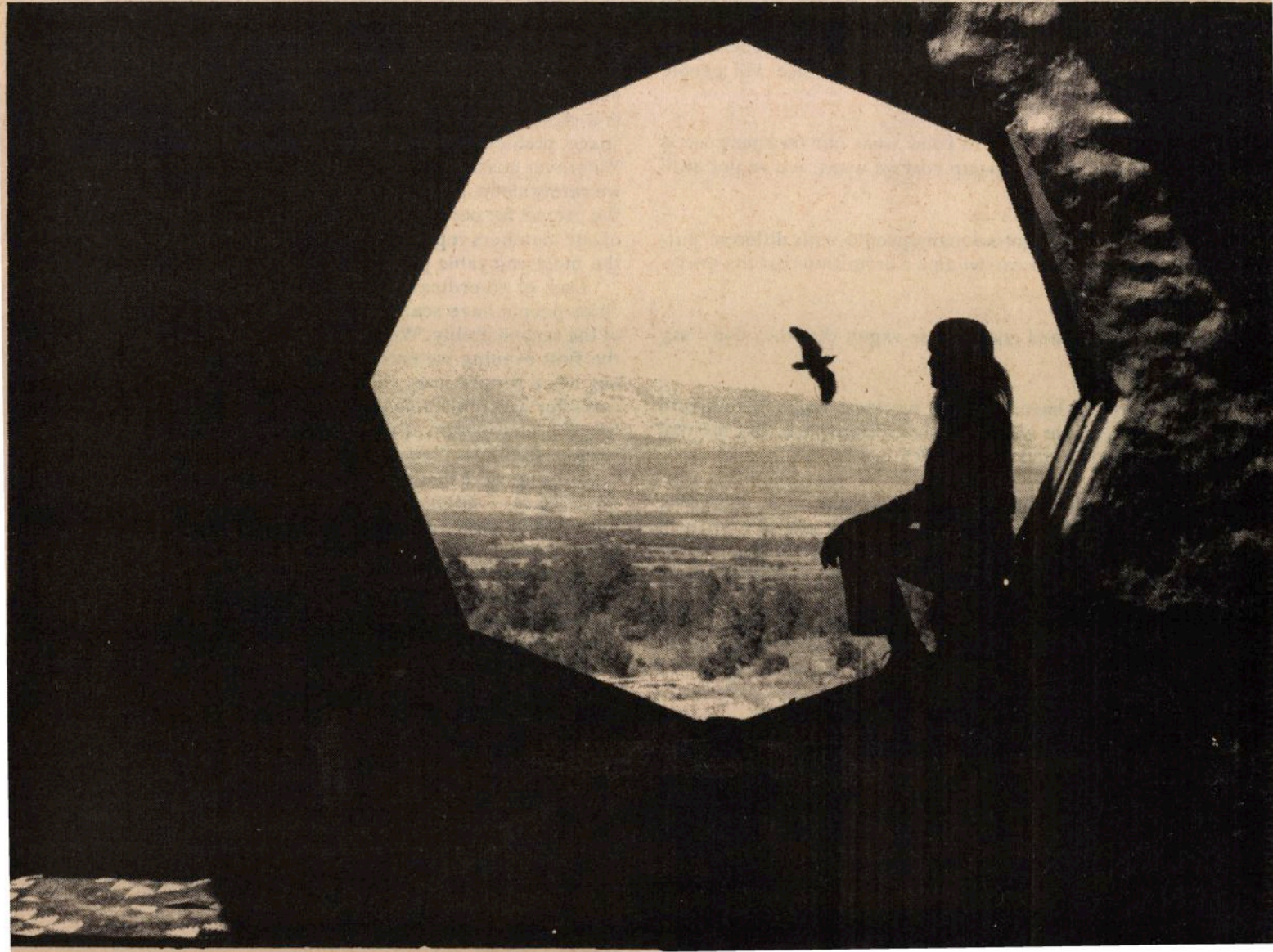
Right away, however, good things started to happen on a personal level. In Indio we sold books on alternative energy, nuclear power, and organic gardening to the City Planner, who thanked us for "expanding my mind." By going out and talking to people, we had a successful folk dance and

community potluck that evening. We began to discover that in every community, we could find interesting people to learn from, and interested people to share information with.

Workshops and programs have worked in some cities, especially when we could plug into some existing organization or happening. In St. Louis, for example, we offered workshops to employees of the Park and Recreation department as part of their in-service training. In most places, however, an emphasis on meeting and talking with people informally has developed. In so doing, we've done a lot of "networking"—putting people in touch with others who share similar interests, and supplying hard-to-find information.

We've come to see the project as more of a learning experience than a teaching experience. We've expanded our knowledge of alternatives by meeting people like Paolo Soleri in Arizona, staying in communes in New Mexico, and touring a successful chain of food co-operatives in the Louisville ghetto. We've learned about the views and concerns of ordinary Americans in dozens of communities, because we question and learn instead of preach. It often happens that they have something to teach us. Not long ago, two of our members visited an elderly lady in an Appalachian home and learned how to make soap.

This shift in focus cut into some peoples' expectations, and not everyone stayed with the project. The determining factor was the **flexibility** of peoples expectations. Masako is a professional dance teacher, and she expected to run profit-



able, well-attended dance workshops. That didn't happen, and she left the project in Phoenix. Norie cancelled her lifestyle discussion workshops, and went out to talk to people personally. By now she has hundreds of interviews, which she'll use in her book.

At times, falling expectations caused us to come down on ourselves or on one another. I blamed the spotty response on our lack of organization and co-ordination, and others felt we were "unprofessional." Several people felt Norie has misled them as to expectations, to which she replied; "the trip is what you make it, that's all I said". I think the expectation hassle is over now, and that those who have remained with the project are gaining something of value, even if original expectations were not met. And that includes the expectation of becoming self-supporting, because project members are still paying for the project from outside work or savings.

A Unified Purpose

How to merge individual goals into a unified project goal or purpose—one that can be explained to the average American, and understood? Our original literature says our purpose is "to meet Americans from all walks of life, and explore ideas for more joyful, ecological, self-aware lifestyles." That's not very specific, and as early as Palm Springs we were searching for a more precise definition. We had a meeting there that went like this:

Yukio: "We must have a purpose, or there's no group feeling. We have to have a definition as a group. We need a purpose like... 'we're here to stop the B-1 Bomber.' Or 'we're here to stop nuclear energy. 'How else will people know if they want to join us?'"

Norie: "We each have to know what our own purpose is for joining first. If it's a group goal we want, we've got until Philadelphia."

Richard: "We've got so many people with different purposes and goals—how can we find a definition that fits everybody?"

Scott: "Our stated goals are so vague that they don't say a thing!"

Kim: "We do have to have a precise **image**. For outward appearances, maybe we need to state a purpose. But the real purpose, the goal, the why, makes itself."

Richard: "Our real purpose, I suppose, is spreading counterculture ideas in terminology that doesn't alienate people. But we can't put that into a brochure. That's why we say all this stuff about 'learning and sharing.' What else can we say?"

Five months later, we sat around a living room in St. Louis dealing with the same problem. We had all written down our personal goals for the remaining part of the project. Also our suggestions for a project purpose. We couldn't merge what was written into one purpose. Bob and Debbie were mainly interested in travelling and meeting people, and so was I, in addition to writing. Norie pointed out that networking should be a Project America priority. Yukio and Terry felt we should have a definite focus, preferably political. Yukio wanted to plug into specific causes, like stopping

the B-1 Bomber or supporting farmworkers, and Terry wanted to relate much of what we were discussing to the need for a socialist reconstruction of America.

We didn't come up with a unified purpose then or at any other time, and since St. Louis we just haven't worried about it as much. Terry would have preferred a more focused, political orientation, and he feels we haven't lived up to all the claims in our literature. But he's done a lot of work on the project of value to him personally, like showing films and talking about political issues. Everyone who has stayed with the project feels they have had a valuable experience, and to me, that's justification enough for its existence—even if we don't have a concise, unified purpose.

Are we reaching Middle America? This was one of our unstated purposes, and it's hard to say how much it's been fulfilled. Most of the people we spend time with are already interested in alternatives. We meet people who are not, and we're not trying to proselytize our lifestyle; we're hoping to demonstrate it in a quiet way, and we get lots of interest, but not much immediate feedback. Radio talk shows and newspaper articles reach lots of people we've never met, and we don't know how we're affecting them. We're probably making inroads into somebody's consciousness. Norie observed once, "we're living out a lot of peoples' fantasies. The simple fact that we're doing what we're doing could have an impact on a lot of people."

A Travelling Community

Aside from conflicts over expectations and goals, we've had to deal with the problems of a travelling community. One problem is lack of personal space. We all live in our propane-powered bus, and it is large, but with six to twelve people it is a crowded space indeed. We've dealt with the personal space problem by maximizing opportunities to get away. Wherever possible, we find homestays with people we meet; we rarely sleep on the bus, in any case. Most people have left the project for periods ranging from a week to a month. Some of our members report that bicycling on their own was one of the most enjoyable part of the trip.

Lack of co-ordination has been a problem, and in some cities people have scattered, leaving a few others with most of the responsibility. We decided to have a planning meeting the first evening we enter a town. At this meeting, we find out what people want to do, and divide up the necessary tasks for accomplishing our purpose. This may include calling the newspapers, finding sympathetic organizations and people, finding a place to stay, setting up to sell books, and organizing workshops, films, or an evening potluck. We don't have a commitment to setting up programs if the energy isn't there, and we try to give people a free day in any given place.

Logistically, we haven't been able to do sufficient advance work in communities we visit. All too often we've gone in on too short notice or no notice, and it's hard to set up programs. The successful workshops and programs have been the result of some advance planning, preferably by a good contact in the community. The small town of Elkhart, Kansas, is a case in point. In this one place, everything happened according to the most optimistic expectations; a police escort down the city streets, a good day selling books at City Hall, and a well-attended community potluck with folk dancing, yoga, and a slide show on Arcosanti. Our program working in Elkhart because a dynamic woman knew about us in advance, and made arrangements the day before we came.

One reason we can't do sufficient advance work is that familiar problem, money. The project never did become self-supporting, and most members have been putting in \$100 a month to cover expenses. Some of our most diverse arguments have been over money. At one point, it appeared that some members were running out of money. Other members felt that those who didn't have savings should work or borrow money, and put in \$100 a month or leave the project. The "have-nots" resisted, saying that fundraising should be a communal effort, and that a hardworking participant shouldn't have to leave if she or he couldn't raise \$100.

"What a microcosm we have here," said Norie. "Just like the world outside, we have the 'haves' and the 'have-nots.' We're struggling with the same kinds of solutions as the outside world. Do we have a welfare state, a communal effort, or does everyone pull their own weight?"

We had hoped earlier that the project would become self-supporting through book sales, workshops and donations, and we didn't have a clear plan of action if it didn't. Anyone who is starting a project or community, take heed; make sure financial agreements are clear **before** you start! In the end, we decided that those who don't have \$100 a month are expected to make a sincere effort to raise it, but they're not thrown out if they can't. At the start of a new month, we go around the circle and see what each member can put in, and determine if the total meets our needs. We've always had enough, although usually by a thin margin.

On a personal level, our group has had its conflicts, but we've been a close group for most of the journey. Most of us didn't know most other people when we started. We introduced ourselves during the first two months by taking an evening each to tell our life's story. This turned out to be quite an experience, and even people who had been friends before found out much they didn't know. Later in the trip, we felt the need to have "bitch" sessions, and each person was given uninterrupted talking time to air personal or group-related "bitches." (If personal, the other person involved was allowed to respond later.) We have also had personal sharing times, where each person tells about accomplishments of the past day or two.

Our Japanese participants, particularly those here for the summer, had a hard time understanding our conflicts about money, individual responsibility, individual vs. group goals, etc. In Japan, people learn to co-operate from an early age,

not to compete. The Japanese were much more used to working together as a group, while we've worked often as individuals pursuing **our** interests first.

I think we've learned to work better as a group, and put energy into the group effort at the expense, sometimes, of personal plans. But we haven't felt the need to sacrifice individual goals and interests to the demands of the group. In my opinion, a "group" is a collection of individuals who have come together because it is in their mutual self-interest to do so. The group is a vehicle for individuals to develop their goals and interests. Our group is a kind of "stage" where people can travel across country doing what they want, within philosophical limits. Group effort is necessary to set up the stage, but individual goals and interests are the reason the stage exists in the first place.

Our Accomplishments

We don't appear to have thousands of converts in Middle America, we didn't become a self-supporting, sustained community, and we didn't meet everyone's expectations and goals. So what **did** we accomplish? Here's a partial list:

We have seen America in a way few people have, listened to its people, and learned about their concerns and ideas. (I'm kind of discouraged, personally; people seem most concerned about their economic self-interest.)

We've met people working with alternatives in all parts of the country, from Kannapolis, Kansas to Phoenix, Arizona, and we've often been of help with our books, files and information.

We've learned to work better as a group, while maintaining personal identities, goals and desires. We've learned to be flexible in our expectations.

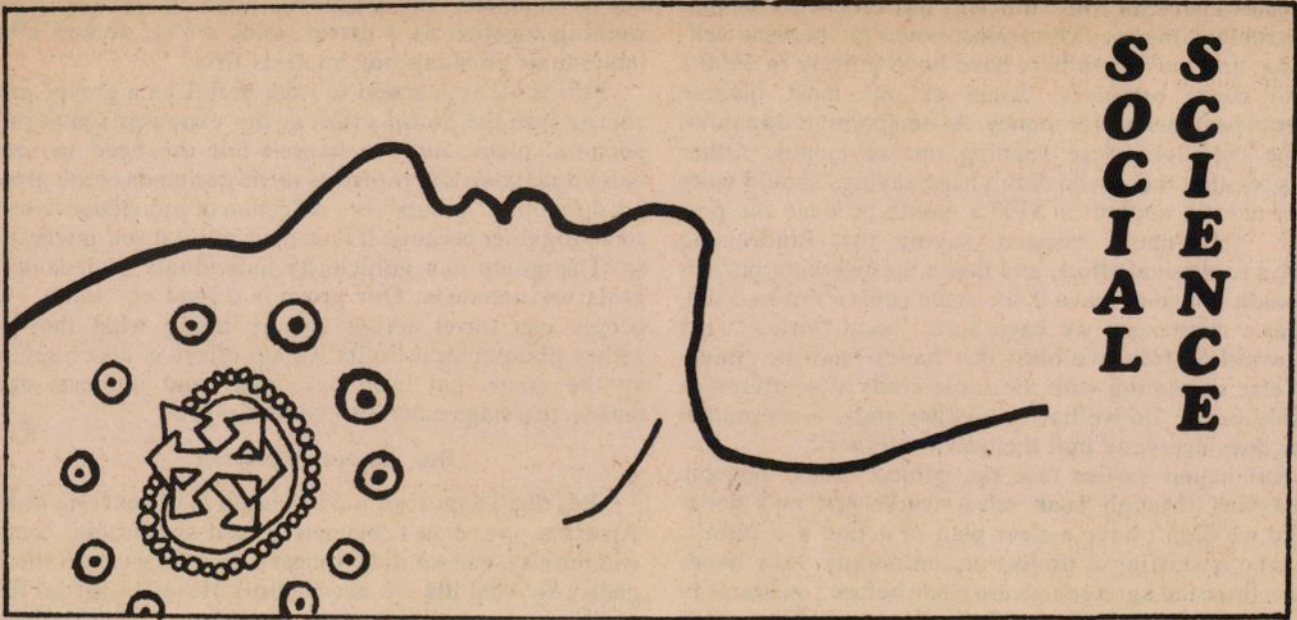
Most of us have discovered new areas of the country, and new opportunities for things to do after the project. We've come to appreciate bicycling as an enjoyable and ecological means of transportation.

We've planted seeds somewhere, and exposed a lot of "Middle Americans" to alternative ways of thinking. I think we've probably raised some consciousness out there, and raised some of our own, besides.

And most important of all, we made it to the East Coast with this experimental community—this project with no model or precedent to refer to. We did it ourselves, in spite of all doubts, and I have not heard many regrets. □



S S O C I A L S C I E N C E



The past two issues of COMMUNITIES have been without a Social Science Column because no one was sending me any material. Then this last month I was deluged with unpublished manuscripts and reprints. What follows are reviews of the papers I found most valuable. I don't think I've really done them justice in this short space, but I hope you'll be able to get an idea about which one to send for yourselves.

Despite the recent deluge I'm always looking for more material. If you know of any research bearing on our attempts to live more cooperatively, please write me, David, Social Science Editor, COMMUNITIES, Box 426, Louisa VA 23093.

John Hall (Dept. of Sociology, University of Missouri, Columbia MO 65201) sent me a copy of his recently completed doctoral dissertation. Since it's data-base is a combination of short visits to about 25 communities in 1972-73 and Hall's experiences in his own commune, I expected a rather shallow treatment of most of the groups (and, possibly, an extended apologetic for his own living situation). I was extremely surprised, therefore, when I found myself gaining new understanding both about the place where I've lived for 4 years (Twin Oaks) and about The Farm, the 880 member 'beatnik' community which has had a great influence on my thinking about community. The power of Hall's work comes both from his acute observational abilities and from his theoretical/methodological approach. In his own words that approach is to "reconcile Weber's interpretive typifications of the subjective meanings with Schutz's mundane phenomenology of the lifeworld." He constructs a set of ideal types based on the intersection of the two phenomenological dimensions, the experience of time and the enactment of social life.

Groups tend to experience time, he argues, in one of three ways, diachronically, synchronically or apocalyptically. The diachronic experience of time is the normal way of experiencing time in the industrialized world; each moment bears a linear relationship to each preceding and succeeding moment, so clock-time can be used as an organizing tool. Past precedents, what's happening now, and future plans can each be the focus of attention when people are working things out with each other. In the synchronic experience of time, however, "time is experienced as *duree*, or consciousness of the moment, and the intersubjective moment serves as an organizing principle." Thus, at The Farm, much of the work is organized at morning meetings where strict attention is paid to having everyone present really be there. Members learn to recognize and deal with the tendency to 'space out' of the moment into private worlds of fantasy, resentment, past or future tripping, the idea being that if everyone is clearly experiencing the present moment together, than what should be done can be clearly negotiated. Now, Hall's descriptions of the diachronic and synchronic modes are much richer than I can convey in a few sentences. His explication of the third mode, on the other hand, I found much less stimulating. Groups which experience time apocalyptically Hall says, see themselves as living in the last days of a collapsing order which is giving way to a new

epoch. Since it turns out that the 'new epoch' is synchronic and the old, diachronic, and since some of these groups see the apocalypse in the future and some see it as having occurred already, this third mode seems but special cases of the first two. (In the introductory chapters Hall maintains that all communal groups share, to some extent, an apocalyptic vision—so even the 'special case' nature of the third mode tends to disappear.)

Hall's second phenomenological dimension, the group's mode of enacting its social world, also contains three categories, the natural, the produced, and the transcendental modes. In the natural mode "ultimate personal and collective commitments are not clearly specified and the character of everyday life if taken for granted." In the produced mode the group tries to "live out a coherent, unified and comprehensive system of belief." In the transcendental mode the group attempts to experience the world 'mystically,' that is "Through a suspension of the world-taken-for-granted and immersion in phenomena prior to meaningful interpretation or belief." The first mode is what happens when a group of people come together without any systematically worked out ideological framework within which to communicate with each other about what is important. The second describes a group of 'true believers' who share a common vision. The third can be thought of as a group of Carlos Castenedas learning how to 'stop the world' and 'see'. (Those familiar with Husserl's phenomenological inquiries might liken it to Husserl's eidetic intuition, the result of performing the phenomenological reduction.)

As I mentioned earlier, Hall uses the intersection of these two phenomenological dimensions to come up with nine logically possible ideal types. Of the six types that Hall describes in detail, I found three to be the most instructive for understanding my own experience at Twin Oaks. These were the "natural synchronic," the "Produced diachronic," and the "produced synchronic." The first might be typified by groups like Downhill Farm (see Jud Jerome's article in *Communities* #22) where people share not a consistent belief system, but an orientation toward the 'now', a legacy of the human potential movement. The second, the produced diachronic, Hall sees as exemplified by Twin Oaks.

"Ultimately, Twin Oaks does not abandon the prevailing time orientation of the established order. Instead, it proclaims an advancement along the same lines. The old order suffers not from too much rationalization, but from too little. For through total rationalization of time and other elements of group life, inefficiencies and inequities can be eliminated, and individual preferences about expenditure of time can be maximized."

At Twin Oaks this diachronism is 'produced' to the extent that members share the belief that Twin Oaks can be a viable example of a place in which "All action comes to be analyzed in terms of its benefits to the community, its sensitivity to individual rights, and its implications for other broadly established humanitarian norms."

Hall sees The Farm as approaching the third ideal type, the produced synchronic. At The Farm Stephen is the teacher who is

the ultimate source of the 'tripping instructions' whereby members learn how to stay in the vivid present together. Stephen's teachings provide directions both on what to attend to as important and how to help each other stay clearly in the now.

"Farm life consists of a processional synchronicity. The individual passes daily through a series of episodes with others in which both the business of the 'material plane' and social relations are 'sorted out.' In this process, 'getting straight' with each other represents a relevance of the highest priority. For it is felt that 'if the spiritual plane is together, the material plane will get taken care of.' Any hint that the 'vibes' are not 'clear' provides grounds for stepping back from the episode and 'getting straight'."

Now, one usefulness of ideal types is that they can provide a framework within which to identify sources of tension in group life. They can do this in two ways; the first is to look at the sources of strain within a given type. For example, members of natural synchronic groups may experience as a burden the constant necessity to negotiate and renegotiate both the nature of reality and the ways in which things get done in everyday life. Members of produced diachronic groups may experience both the alienating characteristics of 'clock-time' living and the feeling of being imprisoned in an ideological straightjacket. Members of produced synchronic groups may feel the straightjacket as well as the loss of groundedness in history that attending only to the present can give.

The second way of using ideal types to understand sources of tension springs from the fact that no actually existing groups are pure examples of the ideal types. One can hypothesize that to the extent that members of one type of group subscribe to notions inherent in another type there will be strain in the group. And further, one can look at the institutional structures in the group which inhibit or facilitate the group being of one predominate type. At Twin Oaks, for example, Hall notes (correctly, I think) that the 'produced' nature is somewhat undermined by the relatively open nature of Twin Oaks membership-selection policy; and the diachronic experience of time was being somewhat challenged in 1973 by the introduction of 'crews' which would take over some of the functions of the highly rationalized labor-credit system.

In his dissertation Hall is primarily concerned with the first task, that of constructing (and justifying the construction methodologically and theoretically) of the ideal typical categories. He makes some use of the categories in comparing various groups with each other, but it's left for further research to systematically apply Hall's framework. Unfortunately the dissertation is written in the typically turgid style of phenomenological writings and will thus be inaccessible to all those communal researchers unwilling to wade through such sentences as:

"The social vivid present in which we act may involve various degrees of bounded personal time or simultaneity of experience, and the weaving of episodes and interludes may similarly comprise a world social time of either interpersonal intersections of autonomous individuals or a general social simultaneity."

Hopefully Hall will be able to condense some of his insights into journal-length articles written less densely.

†
Roger Ulrich (Psychology Dept., Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo MI 49001), a prominent behavioral psychologist and member of Lake Village Community, sent us three papers. The first, "Operant Conditioning of Social Behavior and Society," is both an extensive review of writings relating behaviorism to social behavior and an discussion of the value and limitations of using behavioral principles in designing and undertaking communities. The paper will appear in *The Psychology of the 20th Century, Vol IV: Paw Low Und Die Folgen. From Classical Conditioning to Behavioral Therapy*. I hope to do a review of this paper in a later column.

The second paper, "The Nature of Man and His Control," was originally presented at a pre-convention workshop, "Humanism/Behaviorism Revisited," at the annual meeting of the California State Psychological Association in March, 1976. The paper is a remarkably personal account of a successful behaviorist's career. It tells of his metamorphosis from a rather brash theoretician who could loudly proclaim the slogan "Better living Through Behaviorism" to a much humbler observer of the cosmos. It tells of his experiences in setting up a "learning village" and a "Walden N+1" community, of how his immersion in

the actual process of creating a community taught him about the political nature of life. "There is some irony," he says, "in the fact that the major problem we encountered as a group of people involved in behavioral engineering was, in fact, a question of self-control and a basic distrust of the motives of our fellow behavioral engineers." He notes that they found it "far easier to accept the role of controller than it is to accept the role of the controlled." And the community they created, Ulrich claims, is not all that different in its daily life from the various communities around the world, Skinnerian or not.

In addition to the humbling attempt to create a Walden N+1 community, a second catalyst in changing Ulrich's world view was his experiences with non-ordinary realities through the use of psychedelics. Ulrich discovered that "I didn't really know who I was. How could I than remain so totally committed to changing the lives of my brothers and sisters in certain specified ways when I still had so much to learn concerning what managed the life of the thing called Roger Ulrich."

The third paper sent by Ulrich, a paper written by **Richard Farson** and presented at the same "Humanism/Behaviorism workshop, is a perfect complement to Ulrich's paper. It is a self-examination of the limitations of humanistic psychology, of that loosely organized body of theory and techniques which has spawned countless communal experiments. He maintains that over time those who use the techniques of the human potential movement to 'fix' others gradually lose respect for people. In talking about therapeutic communities based on humanistic techniques, Farson says, "It seems to happen to all such utopian efforts over time—lowered regard for entering members, greater reliance on hierarchy, increasing distance between the lowest and highest members, greater centralization of authority and militaristic organization." Here Farson was specifically talking about such organizations as Synanon, but he was pointing to a more universal danger, that those who think they've found techniques to make themselves and others more 'healthy' begin to think of themselves as better. The structure of communities based on such principles will have strong tendency to reflect that higher self-regard of the more 'advanced' members.


Farson's second point is that "the more we apply the technology we have developed in humanistic psychology, the more problems we create." He explains that in the simple act of learning to improve relationships we have made them more difficult. "By raising expectations, we have produced the national epidemic of iscontent which may have brought some change, but surely also brought calamity to countless individuals, families, and organizations." Discontent comes, he believes from the disparity between what we have and what we think we **should have**. The human potential movement has led us to believe that we can have perfectly happy relationships. Farson suggests a more sobering view: "Most of the affairs of life, particularly the most intimate and important ones such as marriage, work, and child-rearing are permanent, inescapable predicaments. We cannot solve them because they are not problems in the first place."

†
IN BRIEF:

John Bennett (Dept. of Anthropology, Washington University, St. Louis MO 63130) advises us of a book to be published by the University of Wisconsin Press. The book does not yet have a definite title, but will be called something like "Cooperative and Commune: Group Farming and Agrarian Development," and it'll be edited by Peter Derner. It's a transcript of an international conference on cooperation and communalism in agricultural development held in 1975 in Madison. Bennett's contribution is on the Hutterian Brethren.

Bennett also sent a rough draft of a paper, "Social Order and Social Theory in the Hutterian Community," which he was to deliver at the Sept., 1976, American Sociological Association meetings. The paper contains an interesting challenge to Kanter's use of "Commitment mechanisms" as an explanatory concept. I hope to review this paper, along with Bennett's article on "Communes and Communitarians" [*Theory and Society*, 2(1975) 63-94], after I receive a copy of the final draft. At this point let me just say that I highly recommend the **Theory and Society** article.

†
Frank Friedlander (Dept. of Organizational Behavior, School of Management, Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland OH 44106) sent us an interesting paper on the establishment of self-



reach

I'm an 18-year-old guy who's done a lot of centering in the past 6 years. I lived until recently at Open House Community, and I am at this time completing my formal conversion to Judaism..

I am looking for: a community or individuals, in a rural scene; lower technology-consumption; more efficient use of indoor space—less private space—more public space; balanced community economy, no heavy work trip—each individual plan cos time as co chooses.

I also get uptight about locks, restrictions, alarms, insurance. A land-trust is the grooviest thing I can think of.

Shalom. **Raymond Besse, PO Box 216, McNeese State U., Lake Charles LA 70601.**

†

Fire At Ananda Village

One of the worst natural disasters ever to strike a community came to Ananda Cooperative Village on June 28, when a forest fire swept over 400 of its 650 acres, destroying all the homes of its 125 members. Although the fire was detected early, and every effort made by scores of volunteers, airplanes and other firefighting equipment, the fire spread rapidly and was virtually uncontrollable. Several key community buildings such as the publications center and the school were barely saved, along with the monestary and meditation retreat.

The most notable aspect of the situation is the incredible yogic calm and determination of the Ananda members. Faced with the loss of nearly all their personal possessions, and the prospect of many months' grueling work to rebuild, they are still able to find the positive aspect of their crisis. "It was a blessing", said Keshava, "for it has brought us closer together". Ananda members are living communally now, pooling their money earned on outside jobs, and will be rebuilding in more shared facilities.

Ananda has received generous donations of clothing, food, and temporary shelter. The community still has a critical need for money and for building materials and tools, in order to be able to provide shelter for the cold Sierra winter. The financial situation is doubly acute, as not

only does Anandfa have no fire insurance, but their major industry, macrame, has recently come to a near standstill.

See the Grapevine section of the most recent issue of **Communities** (#22) for more details.

Ananda, 900 Alleghany Star Route, Nevada City CA 95959.

†

NEW RESIDENTS WANTED: Come join us on our 55 acres of woods, our own lake and an island of good people. We're one year old, situated midway between Chicago, Madison and Milwaukee. We want persons interested in working for more humanistic education, innovative mental health services and all forms of social change. We grow our own vegetables and emphasize natural foods. Share expenses. We need hardy workers. Commitment to working on effective communication skills essential. No pets & we get high without drugs. **Box 130, 1562 Valley View Rd., HoneyCreek WI 53138.**

†

We are a hard-working Recycling Cooperative Community located in Berkeley, Cal. We dismantle structures and reclaim building materials. Our work energies make possible a comfortable living space, shared meals, and the opening of our living/performing space to local artists, poets, and musicians.

We are considering enlarging our family (now 7 people). Mechanical abilities are especially appreciated. **Ohmega Salvage, PO Box 4222, Berkeley CA 94704, or 415 843-7368.**

†

Ben Panky, 136527, Box 57, Marion OH 43302, is a prisoner looking for a communal family atlarge to communicate for acquaintance and to learn if it is feasible for me to become a **family** member. In fact when I am paroled in 1981. I need a sincere communal affiliation (sponser). I am 32 years, single, good health, and am highly motivated towards the communal/natural lifestyle. Please write.

†

We are looking for a dentist interested

in working 3 days a week and in assuming (eventually) half the responsibility for a newly established dental practice in Alderson WVa. Our staff presently includes one dentist and 2 assistants who are finding it difficult to meet the increasing demands of the patient work-load and overhead.

Our goals are not financial but quality dental care at less cost and to promote preventive dentistry.

We are located in the Southeastern part of the state, directly across from the Greenbrier River amid rolling mountains and friendly people. If you are looking for a place to settle in, contact: **Tooth Hollow Dental Office, PO Box 615, Alderson WV 24910.**

†

Ananda Cooperative Village

A documentary on its founding, functioning, and growth. One hour long, 546 slides with sync. sounds track.

SALE: \$375 from Bryan Hammond c/o 420 Whytefold Rd., Winnepeg, Manitoba, Canada R3J 2W7.

RENTAL: \$40—Institutions, \$25—New Age Groups from Leslie Graf, 1970 Fell St. #2, San Francisco CA 94117.

†

Aliya Community is a group of people working together to build a cooperative community with a school of rural skills and a home and school for teenagers in trouble. Right now (8/26/76) we are nine adults and two children, living in our house in town and pooling our resources through our construction business and other jobs. We have some money saved, and are looking for land. We're open to new people with compatible interests. Money isn't necessary or skills—just the desire. **Aliya Community, PO Box 2087, Bellingham WA 98225, 206 733-4713.**

†

Woman with 2 boys (ages 7 & 8) looking for communal or cooperative living situation to diffuse nuclear family structure. Experienced in making & selling own jewelry; sewing for self and customers; secretarial work; working 1/2 acre garden; helping create a small business; and open-

ing a day care center. I like to work with my hands and be physically active. Resourceful, intelligent, and willing to learn more. **Carol Odarty, 160 W. Kingsbridge Rd., Apt. 6B, Bronx NY 10463.**

†

We are a small rural community nestled in the hills of N. New England. Our property includes a house and about 80 acres of woods, fields, and gardens, located at the end of a quiet country road.

Our aim is a healthy, happy, and ecologically sound lifestyle. We devote most of our time to agricultural work, and make most of our income growing and selling organic vegetables. We also raise farm animals.

We would like more members and have plenty of room and potential for growth. Contact: **Wooden Shoe, Canaan NH 03741.**

†

Artopia is not like other intentional communities. If it were, you could join one of them, and there'd be no need to build something new. It is based on the premise that God (or some power) gave us these human bodies, this planet, and these talents; and irregardless if we use them for their intended purpose, they're just as surely going to be taken away.

Artopians know how to meditate, but do not wish to follow any religion or leader, because they realize they were born with perfectly good genius of their own. We wish to build and maintain a place for these "known-to-themselves" artists who wish to pursue an individual dream.

Artopians govern themselves by the Golden Rule and contribute skills to the community when not involved in reaching their goal. Anyone creating unrest who has discovered all the treasures within the community, may visit the nearby prayer

and fasting, or wildlife and wild food areas. If he is still unhappy, he may go to the nearby mountains, forest, or ocean to find whatever he needs to about himself. There are no demand to express his outside experience other than through his own art or through the exchange center.

Artists will come here because they've realized that contemporary demands of money-making takes the joy from their life-work, that living spreadout saps creative energy, that living with uninspired people does not allow them the freedom to follow their own spirit. They realize the value of using what is on hand or finding a more natural way to accomplish a goal, the value of meditating, the value of a vegetarian diet, the value of respecting his individuality, the value of observing the Golden Rule, and the value of concentrating on a dream that contemporary society may laugh at.

This is not a therapy oriented community. It is for human beings who know they are alive and want to thank God for it by furthering themselves, by encouraging their contemporary men through exchange, and by inspiring future generations by the preserved treasures we create.

Please address serious inquiries and exchange of information to: **Artopia, Box 75, Pacific University, Forest Grove OR 97116.**

†

Agricultural Collective now forming, seeks well-motivated, dependable people. Collective purposes are to produce food, provide homes, establish self-sufficient & more liveable-efficient alternative to nuclear family homesteading. Collective will feature individual ownership of home, collective ownership/responsibility of working land, stock, buildings, and equipment. Present plans for goat dairy, organic crops, wide use of alternative technology, devel-

opment in arts, crafts & subsistence skills. If interested, send resume, including aspirations, skills, strengths/weaknesses, experiences, etc.--appreciated. All letters answered. **Red Star Express, Box 73, Strafford, Vt. 05072.**

†

The World Symposium on Humanity is a unique opportunity for many of us to put out a conscious effort to create a better future for all of us on the planet. A thousand public participants will be able to interact with twelve unusual beings, who are using the energy of their sincere, sensitive minds and lives to implement their daring dreams for a beautiful future. These people will gather over an eight-day period in late 1976 (November 27-December 4) in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada. The ideal of the Symposium is best summed up on the simple phrase: Come, let us build the ship of the future in an ancient pattern that journeys far... A 24 hours a day meditation room will be open and special classes will be held in yoga, dance shatsu, etc. Tapes, transcripts, and photographs will be available along with display booths for educational purposes or advertising. Press representatives are invited to apply for accreditation.

This project is sponsored by a Vancouver-based branch of a group known as the 3HO Foundation, a non-profit group incorporated for religious, scientific and educational purposes.

For further information about this unique event, you can write or call the **World Symposium on Humanity, 1962 West 4th Ave., Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada [604] 738-9815.**

†

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Leaves of Twin Oaks

a bi-monthly newsletter of our struggles and growth as a nine year old Walden Two style community

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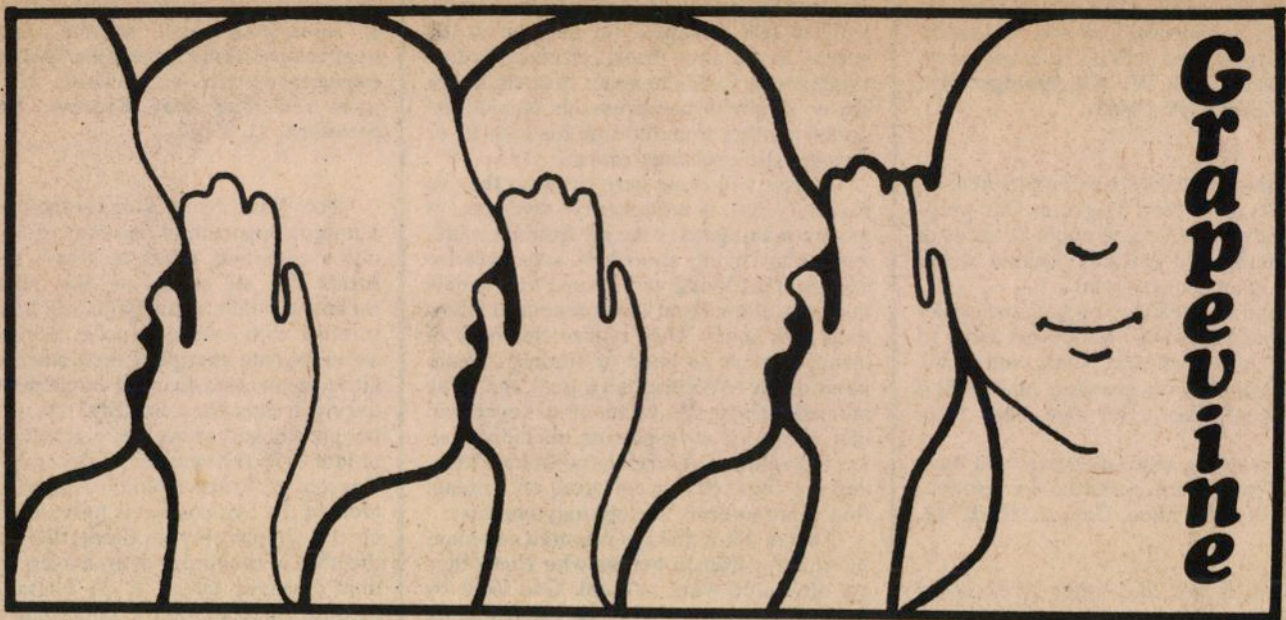
Getting Back Our Lives

... means recovering our historical roots, controlling our means of making a living, regaining our schools, learning how to build homes and communities again.

The NORTH COUNTRY ANVIL is a bimonthly magazine edited and printed by a group of workers in a rural Minnesota shop. We report on the ideas and activities of plain people, in our region and everywhere, who are struggling to get back their lives.

Subscriptions: \$6 for 6 issues; sample 50¢ from: North Country Anvil, Box 37, Millville, Minnesota 55957.

NORTH COUNTRY
ANVIL



Aliya is a community in Washington state which now (8/26/76) consists of nine adults and two children who are working together to build a cooperative community which provides people with opportunities to do meaningful work, to develop close relationships, and to lead healthy lives.

Some things are moving right along, and others are going slower than we had hoped. After a lot of research and help from the Farm and Twin Oaks, we have finally been incorporated as a nonprofit organization; now we are working on our bylaws. We've become licensed building contractors, and the bank is financing the second house in our business. With the help of new members and visitors, we're almost ready for the interior walls after five weeks. Our first house is taking longer than anticipated, and we haven't found a piece of land yet, so we're still in town; but then, we're still looking. Not moving as fast as we had hoped has made us look more closely at the value in our relationships right where we are. It also helps to remember how far we have come, when we see how far we have to go.

The steady flow of letters and visitors also reminds us that we are into something that touches a lot of people's hearts. **In friendship and community, Henry, for Aliya.**

†

A favorite idea of mine for the future of Dandelion is the contribution I think we could make in helping some of the people the outside society tends to leave behind.

In many cases where society labels people as "problems" (the old, the delinquent, the retarded or handicapped), the real problem is that society is unwilling or unable to provide the environment which best accommodates these individuals. For example, old age was not considered such a social problem when it was the duty of children to care for their parents in their old age. This norm has changed and now older people are considered burdens as old age makes them more dependent and there is no one to care for them.

I think a small, self-contained, structured community would be an excellent place to try to create better environments for various people who aren't provided for on the outside:

--Older folks would not only be physically cared for but would also receive more love and attention, remain more active (and thus healthier), and have more opportunities to feel important and wanted as they would continue to contribute to the group.

--Retarded or handicapped individuals could receive more atten-

tion and help in a community than in most families or institutions, and in turn, learn to make a real contribution to the community.

--Young people in trouble with authority might be happier and more productive in a community environment where they are treated as equals and given respect and affection, where they can find more meaningful knowledge and skills than in schools and where they can live in a well-defined but personal and human-oriented system

However, it's much easier to imagine these developments than it is to realize them. I have no illusions that we will be in a position to try any of these ambitious proposals for some years. We have a commitment first to ensuring the survival and stability of the group, then to growing and "spreading the word" about the advantages of community life. Having assured these things the best we can, we may then be able to turn our attention to social concerns such as those discussed above. I only hope we won't have too long to wait. **Gordon.**

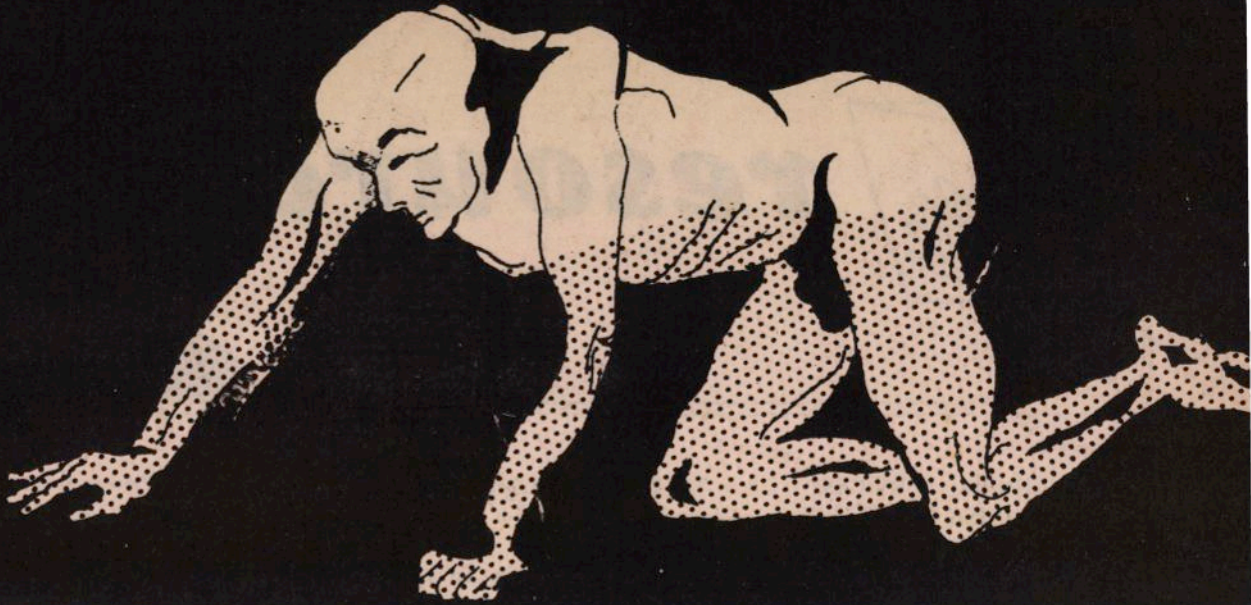
†

The Credit Union's second year has been filled with challenge and promise. Many of you know of our staff and committee re-organization last July. Since that time, we have had to grow and mature collectively, sharing knowledge and building skills. We have worked consistently on building financial and managerial stability: developing efficient office procedures, training new committee members and controlling delinquencies. We have grown in other ways as well. Last summer, we opened a branch office in Hartford; in February we computerized our financial records. Since last fiscal year, we have nearly doubled in membership size and increased our loans to over \$160,000.

In our third year, we look forward to growing in new directions. As our current operations continue to stabilize, we plan to turn more energy toward outreach and community work. Through the work and credit union members and VISTA employees, we will seek to enlarge the number of payroll deductions, strengthen relationships with membership organizations and educate women in issues of credit and economic independence. We intend to intensify our outreach efforts among black and Spanish speaking women. We hope to publish our brochures bilingually, in Spanish and English. We believe the third year holds great promise for growth and collective change. From the **Situation, a newsletter of Training for Urban Alternatives [TUA].**

†

con't. on page 55



Our Vaguely Artistic Page

poem

If magic was mine
to wield and wave
I'd poof your blues
to the sky
And cast all those lonely moments
as far as the stars...

But it's not.

Oh, the magic is there,
but it is within you.
In your eyes and in your heart
it allows you to see your
own worth, and feel the
beauty that is ours.

Another cannot fill the empty spaces
you possess
But can only love what is you,
and I do.

Sasha

abstract horny blues

standing on the porch at dawn
watching people's lights go out
wondering who's in bed there
thinking why in hell should i care
they can go blow a fuse
i've got those abstract horny blues

some people first thing in the day
look down their belly and pray
some when they go out to piss
think what is all this
it's only meant to amuse
i've got those abstract horny blues

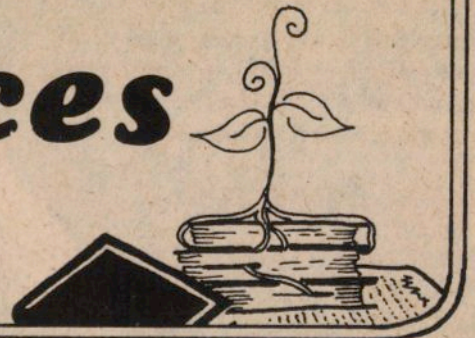
if i cared only for you
you'd be afraid i'd be true
but i don't care who you may be
so why should you care if it's me
i've got no self to abuse
i've got those abstract horny blues

i don't have the blues for fun
but when all is said and done
as long as you never go far
at least you know where you are
i've got a lot to loose
i've got those abstract horny blues

F



resources



COMMUNITY TECHNICAL SERVICES: A WORK COLLECTIVE

Offers assistance to alternative intentional communities requiring technical advice and design services in Civil Engineering, Sanitary & Structural Engineering, Alternative sources of Energy, and Environmental Chemistry. Arrangements are made individually between the community and the **CTS Associate**, with the objective of meeting the community's needs insofar as possible within the community's ability to pay.

Request for services should be sent to the coordinator.

ASSOCIATES

Rus Adams, P.E., Coordinator, Rt. 1, Box 39A, Uniontown WA 99179, 509 229-3831 (civil engineer, sanitary).

Ed Beattie, P.E., Civil Engineer.

Jim Caid, P.E., Civil Engineer (Structural).

Mike Corbin, Environmental Chemistry.

Lewis A. Elwood, Albion WA, Specialist in Solar Energy Systems.

Ralph Kratz, P.E., Civil Engineer (Structural).

Steve Ridenour, Alternate Energy sources

Glen Taylor, Civil Engineering.

Barry Welliver, Civil Engineering (Structural).

We encourage qualified technical people, particularly architects and planners to join us as Associates.

The **Emergency Librarian** is a Canadian Alternative Publication that looks like a useful resource guide with a few feature type articles thrown in. Several resource mistakes: Mother Earth News in Ohio, CoEvolution Quarterly sub. \$6, etc., but I guess mistakes do happen. Subscriptions are \$5 Canadian, \$7 American, \$8 Institution, \$2.50 student, from **Barbara Clubb, 697 Wellington Cres. Winnipeg, Manitoba R3M 0A7 Canada.**

†

The **Earthmind Newsletter** serves as a vehicle for technical information about wind and solar energy as well as being a newsletter about the people and events that surround Earthmind, Inc. Their newsletter no. 1 & 2 are \$2 apiece (26 pgs.) and can be ordered from **Earthmind, Boyer Rd., Mariposa CA 95338.**

†

The **Storefront Classroom, PO Box 1174, San Francisco CA 94101** has several publications and activities of interest to **Communities** readers. They publish the **Utopian Eyes**, a quarterly journal of utopian thought and struggles, the bi-monthly **Storefront Classroom Newspaper** featuring articles on ecology, nutrition, world citizenship, and alternative sources of energy. Their many activities include a networking/correspondance office, a utopian study group, etc. To find out more information about the above write the classroom.

†

The **Farallones Institute, 15290 Coleman Valley Road, Occidental CA 95465** has reprinted an agricultural experimental bulletin (1899) dealing with homemade windmills in Nebraska. Its usefulness looks limited and it cost a bit too (\$3, 78 pgs.).

†

The **Prison-Ashram Project** has just produced another fine issue of their book/magazine **Inside Out**. It contains all sorts of meditations, talks, poems, cartoons, etc. related to spiritual advancement. The prison-ashram project is an undertaking of the Hanuman Foundation, a non-profit, tax exempt organization dedicated to providing a "support system" to our prison friends. **Inside Out** is free to all inmates. Others are asked to send a contribution. All contributions are tax-deductible and can be sent to: **The Prison-Ashram Project, Box 345, Rt. 1, Bahama NC 27503.**

†

New Directions is an effort to describe and understand the growing alternatives movement in our society in a positive, encouraging way. It is a Canadian publication, reflecting Canadian viewpoints on national and international issues. They encourage reader participation, and will not editorialize, but present stories in a simple, uncluttered style. Edited transcripts and interviews are extensively used so that you can hear the leaders of the alternatives movement speak about what they are doing in their own words.

Canadian subs are \$5 for 6 mo. & \$10 for 1 yr. **New Directions, 1962 W. 4th Ave., Vancouver, B.C. Canada.**

†

Ears Catalog. EARS stands for the Environmental Action Reprint Service which is an organization whose purpose it is to support the Environmental Action of Colorado in their goal to stop nuclear power and develop solar energy. They provide financial support by selling information on solar-wind energy through their 12 page catalog which features over 30 sources of books and articles, primarily on solar and wind power. For a copy of the catalog write **EARS, 2239 East Colfax, Denver CO 80206.**

†

con't. from page 39

for a building inspection. Hide the basement. Hide the attic. Hide half the people!!"

"Sure, Stephen, you talk of government without coercion and then recommend a \$5.00 late fee on rent. Shit, man, where's your head.?"

"The word from Betty is 'not pregnant'."

"Gary, if that gay group meets here and you are afraid of being confronted in the bathroom, wow, well, all I can say is maybe you should join the group 'cause you don't know shit. I'm offended."

"The report is that there are terrific fire flies in the back yard presently."

"Let's get naked and stand on the roof in the midnight rain!"

"Finance Committee reports we are up shit creek, still, and still paddling."

"Whoever buried ppoor Tigger in the back, didn't dig deep enough...I can smell her."

"O.K...., are we dicided? We are decided to subscribe to *Communities Magazine* and *Consumer's Report*. Good. O.K."

"The woman in the attic is an old lover of Sephen's from the Philip-pines!!"

"Quiet, Kelly's trying to sleep."

"Individuals in the group, even when they know the commune intimately over long periods...can speak and interpret only for themselves. More-

over, communes change rapidly...- any journalistic account can provide only a snapshot in time."

Families of Eden:
Communes and the
New Anarchism
Judson Jerome
□

con't. from page 54

The Kibbutz Artzi Federation in Isreal has established an International Communes Desk (ICD) in order to collect information about, and to establish contacts with various movements throughout the world, which are engaged in attempts to establish communes as an alternative form of human society. Write **Kibbutz Artzi Federation, International Communes Desk, PO Box 1777, Tel Aviv, Isreal.**

†

con't. from page 52

Cottage Grove, Oregon may be small but it has one of the most inovative opportunities for "homestyle" births in the entire country.

Irene Nielson, certified nurse-midwife, and Tom Duncan, M.D., have put together a program called "Family Centered Maternity Care". They offer an environment much like your own home in which to deliver your baby. The opportunities are unlimited (unless it is medically unsafe) for couples who want the control of the environment for their birth experience. The Leboyer bath is available for those who desire it along with a high degree of emphasis on parental bonding in the immediate newborn period. Just ask Mary and Jim Hinman! They had the fortune to deliver their baby, Joshua, just three weeks ago. Let's hear it for a Birth Center on Cerro Gordo! Yeah!

Now down to the nickles and dimes (which is all most of us have anyway). The total cost of this fantastic program is only \$550.00. This includes: 1. all pre-natal care; 2. post-natal care; 3. well-child care up to the 18th week; 4. six Childbirth Education classes which encompass different breathing technique; 5. one home visit by a Community Health nurse; 7. four post-natal classes to discuss what it was like. Included in the package is a session with a registerd dietician who discusses pre-natal, post-natal and infant nutrition plus the how and why to get the new mother's physical and emotional condition back to optimum level. If interested, write or call **The Birth Center, 514 Adams St., Cottage Grove, Oregon, [503] 942-5544.**

†

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con't. from page 49

governance processes in condominium communities. Friedlander and his colleagues have attempted to help three communities establish "democratic and humanistic" governance processes. The paper is a first attempt to describe their efforts and report on their preliminary findings. One interesting finding was that "There is a priority of values among residents: the first is for privacy, the second of these is for social interaction, and the third of these is for community organization. Until a preceding value is satisfied a subsequent value is less relevant and less potent." Friedlander suggests that new residents are concerned at first with establishing their own space and their identities in the community. A similar process may go on for new members of communal groups.

†

Bookshelf



Here are brief descriptions of five books related to the intentional community movement. Our free brochure contains a complete listing of some 35 books on living and working cooperatively. Write: Community BOOKSHELF, Box 426, Louisa, VA 23093.

Working Communally: Patterns and Possibilities. by David French and Elena French. Hdbk., 269 pp. \$10.50.

Communal workplaces, in the Frenches' vision, are industrial and agrarian enterprises run on a human scale by people who live and work together cooperatively. The Frenches make plausible the argument that such organizations can be the basis of a decentralized society. They describe three contemporary communities which they see as partial successes in carrying out this vision.

This is an important book, the first to pull together in a coherent way the rational arguments for a communal society.

Communes: Creating and Managing the Collective Life. by Rosabeth Moss Kanter (ed.). Pbk., 544 pp. \$6.50.

The Social Science Editor of **Communities** magazine wrote, "This is the best single introduction to the issues involved in living communally that I've seen. Rosabeth's book is valuable because it articulates many of the problems of living in community, provides a framework for understanding those problems, and gives examples of how other communities have dealt with them."

Beyond Marriage and the Nuclear Family. by Robert Thamm. Pbk., 231 pp. \$3.95.

Thamm takes a social-psychological perspective in looking at problems in contemporary society and sees at their root an inability in most of us to deal with dependency, jealousies and self-involvement. He builds a strong case for the commune as the environment which will facilitate our transcending those interpersonal difficulties. Within such an environment, he argues, we can learn to develop strong ties of intimacy with a number of others, allowing us to be free of excessive dependency on any one person.

Families of Eden: Communes and the New Anarchism. by Judson Jerome. Hdbk., 171 pp. \$7.95.

Pat Conover, a sociologist and member of Shalom Community, says in his communal bibliography, "this is the most valuable book on the contemporary commune movement. It is wide ranging both in scope of direct research and in issues addressed."

The Social Science Editor of **Communities** magazine praises Jud's "...exceptional ability to capture the texture and meaning of communal life in well-chosen observations of actual communal events."

Neighborhood Power: The New Localism. by David Morris and Karl Hess. Pbk. \$3.45.

Morris and Hess have provided the beginnings of a handbook, one detailing the methods which intentional communities and other cooperative groups can use to expand the boundaries of their sharing to include more than their own memberships. Drawing upon their experiences in the Adams-Morgan neighborhood of Washington, D.C., the authors explain how, through demonstration experiments cooperative groups can persuade their neighbors to regain economic and political control of their own lives.



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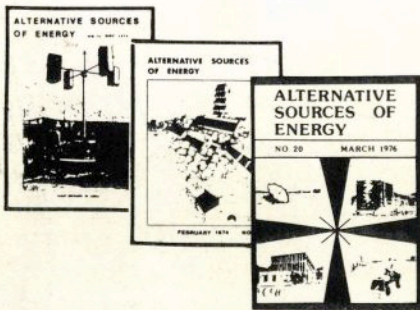
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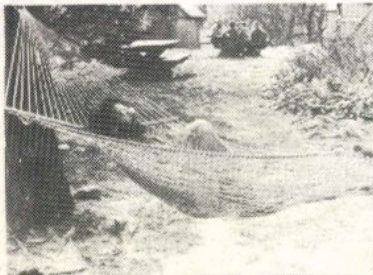
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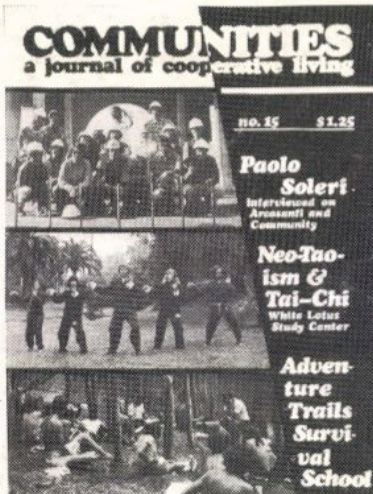
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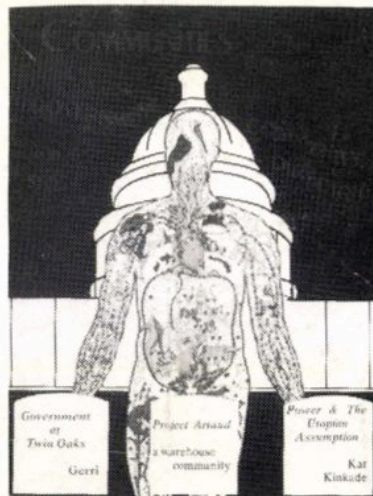


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