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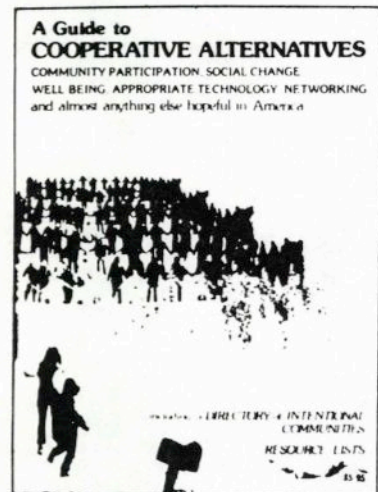
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Winter 83/84

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Louisa, VA 23063. Second Class postage paid at Louisa, VA with additional entry at New Haven, CT 06511. Send contributions of editorial material to: CPC, Box 426, Louisa, VA 23063. Communities is \$10.00 for one year, \$15 for institutions. Single copies \$2.00. Add \$2.00 for foreign subscriptions. Publication number: 006670

Introducing This Issue

The four of us sat around the living room table chatting and reminiscing. We had called a meeting of the members of the Communities Publications Cooperative publishers of *Communities*) and all were present— Chris Collins and Paul Freundlich from New Haven, Audrey Hirsch, representing Twin Oaks, and myself. We talked of our lives and our ever-changing roles in the production of the magazine.

Paul and I no longer have *Communities* as our primary work focus. We each have full-time jobs with Paul a Director of the Coop America Project and I as Public Relations Coordinator of Rockland Family Shelter and co-coordinator of their new rape crisis service. In addition, Chris has taken on production of another magazine and Audrey is now picking up editorial responsibility for one issue of *Communities* a year. Each of us has enlarged the scope of our work and yet we remain ever committed to this magazine, finding time somewhere, somehow to make it important in our lives.

We talked that day about our visions of *Communities*, our struggle to define our editorial policy. *Communities* is no longer exclusively dedicated to the growth of the rural commune. For that matter, arguments over whether to include articles about urban communes, not-so-communal urban

households or even collective or cooperative businesses have long disappeared from our agendas. We find more and more that we include articles about alternative community endeavors that promote values of cooperation and community participation and that work towards greater social justice in a country badly in need of it. And yet, we continue to struggle with the breadth of *Communities* and the inclusion or exclusion of particular groups. We question how politically correct we want to be and what is our definition of politically correct. We consider if democratic participation should not be our primary criteria for reporting what we consider most critical in the movement. In many ways this has been a primary tenet in our editorial policy. (unspoken)

We ask ourselves if we can afford to ignore those success stories of the woman's movement which have come through hierarchically and non-democratically run organizations. Do we turn our back on attempts made by women's groups to provide transitional housing for women even though the housing will be agency-owned and managed? Can we run an article about a peace group that leads the country in issues of non-violence, yet has oppressive pay structures and no means for recourse or staff participation in hiring and/or firing? Is it more important to focus

on strict cooperative examples of social change despite their degree of effectiveness? Is our only goal to write about collective or democratically managed or owned endeavors and examine the ways in which they succeed or fail?

Our feeling is that although we will continue to give full attention to those groups who focus on full democratic participation in all aspects of their organization, this is too narrow a focus for *Communities*. We cannot define an ideology that excludes the strides gained by so many groups working for social change because of their form of governance. This does not mean we will close our eyes to their political contradictions but we will not exclude them from our attention.

This is no radical policy change, but a recognition of a process that has been going on with the individuals and the group for a number of years. What seems most important is that we stop every now and then to catch up with our reflections. We want to be sure we know who we are and what we are saying—and that it fits our overall sense of what is good about, and what builds, cooperation and community.

Enjoy the issue and let us hear from you.

— Melissa

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Cover: graphic from Syracuse Cultural Workers Project
Photos: pg. 16, Co-operative Housing Federation of Toronto Annual Report; pg. 43, Twin Oaks Community; pgs. 30, 31, 32, 33, from Syracuse Cultural Workers Project

CONTINUITY

Community Publications Cooperative: Paul Freundlich, Melissa Wenig, and Chris Collins and Twin Oaks Community, represented by Audrey Hirsch

Shared Parenting/ Shared Providing



June Cotner Myrwang is a mother of two children (ages 3 and 5) and has her own part-time business (Cotner

Concerns) which is involved in creating and marketing health-related products and services.

by June Cotner Myrwang

FIVE YEARS AGO when our first child was born, my husband, Steve, and I gradually started noticing some changes in our relationship. In subtle ways, Steve was becoming more of an "authority" figure while I was feeling less confident in business-related situations. It felt as if our worlds were slowly growing apart—"his" world of work and my world of home. After the birth of our second child two years later, we decided to try and remedy this situation by moving towards a "Shared parenting/shared providing" arrangement. I would define this term as an intentional choice by both partners to work part-time so that they might both enjoy increased time at home with their children.

We are both now actively involved in the challenges of raising children and producing income for our family. These challenges keep life interesting for us, and I can't imagine us getting bored with one another. We have recaptured that feeling of mutual respect we shared when first married, and seem to be closer intellectual and spiritual companions. Many researchers agree that true companionship is the most important expressed aspect of marriage.

The pressure to earn money isn't all on one person's shoulders, and neither is the responsibility for the children and the myriad of details in running a home. The combination of having two wage-earners and a simple lifestyle gives us flexibility to change jobs or careers, return to school, or take time off for rest or self-improvement. The economic impact of an unforeseen long-term illness or death would not be as great or in our dual-income family

as in the traditional one wage-earner family.

A recent study funded by the National Science Foundation found that women who "have it all"—good jobs, marriage, and motherhood—are the happiest.

"Work has a profound effect on a woman's sense of self-worth, her feelings of being in charge of her life and her chances of avoiding depression and anxiety," said an article in the February issue of "Working Women."

In *Pathfinders*, Gail Sheehy has found through surveys that the personal characteristics most highly prized by both men and women are the same three: being honest, loving, and responsible. She goes on to say, "The happiest women are also ambitious, courageous, open to new experiences, playful, and they have a sense of humor. The most satisfied men are also comfortable with intimacy, courageous, open to new experiences, physically fit, and able to lead effectively. That says something significant about sex roles and the penalties of stereotyping. The optimally situated adult has incorporated the characteristics most closely associated with his or her sexual opposite—being comfortable with intimacy in the case of men; being ambitious in the case of women." This acceptance of opposite-sex-linked strengths was borne out in the biographies of pathfinders again and again, although sometimes not until the second half of their lives. I find this time lag a little unfortunate for the children involved because by this time they have usually left home, and have not experienced the direct benefit of having both parents actively involved in their upbringing.

My fondest memories of our "shared parenting/shared providing" arrangement often occurs when I perceive how our children are synthesizing all of this. When our son was four, he said how he looked forward to being a daddy. With a little apprehension and a lot of excitement, I asked

why, and he replied, "Well, daddies get to take care of children, they work, do dishes, babysit, and fix things." Just two weeks ago, my three year old daughter was sitting at the typewriter. As I entered the room, she said, "I'm working. Can't you see I'm concentrating?" And with that, she very studiously flipped through some papers.

Probably the greatest advantage that Steve and I have found in being home with the children is accelerated spiritual growth. This is not a tangible. It can't be measured, only sensed. How does staying at home help foster our spiritual growth? Here are three things I've noticed:



1) With the birth of a baby, it was our first opportunity to continuously give love selflessly because our baby's needs clearly came first. Babies are kind, wonderful beings who gently encourage us to give up selfish behavior patterns.

2) With a baby, we couldn't count on anything going according to schedule or plan. In order to feel less frustrated, we gradually learned to change our expectations to preferences. By applying this simple principle to other areas of our lives, wonderful happenings started to unfold.

3) Our children ask terrific questions—all of the time. In many ways, they are our teachers. Our children cause us to look at the outside world and deep within ourselves to find thoughtful answers to their important questions.

By being actively involved in the nurturing of our children, our focus started turning inward, and that's where we're finding the richness of life.

I have long been concerned with society's push to get women out in the work force without an *equal* emphasis to encourage men to consider working part-time (or not at all) while their children are young. What we have happening with our "dual-career" emphasis is a society where our children are often being raised in day-care centers. By that, I don't mean to criticize the day-care providers, but rather question how much of a child's time is spent in the care of someone other than the parents.

Many people say that nowadays two full-time incomes are needed in a family. I know that to be the case with some folks, but with many "dual-career" couples, I see a lot of discretionary spending money passing through their hands. I don't see that money buying contentment, peace of mind, or satisfaction with life; so I wonder, "What is the money buying them?" Ken Keyes notes in *Handbook to Higher Consciousness*, "It often happens that the more

successful a person becomes on the outside, the less successful he is on the inside. Anxiety, ulcers, and heart disease tend to increase with external success."

When people intentionally choose to work part-time, inevitably there is less spending money available. With less spending money available, fewer frivolous purchases are made, and more of our world's resources are left intact for future generations. I know that many of us choose to work full-time because we truly love our work. However, Warren Farrell notes in *The Liberated Male* that a major problem with executives making their way up the ladder (or with anyone working long hours) is that they are working at this heavy pace when their children are young and need them the most. I think it's important to examine the quality of our *whole* life in relation to our family, friends, and spiritual development. We need to think of our overall "career as a person" as opposed to just that portion of our life that earns us money.

People give many reasons why "shared parenting/shared providing" won't work for their particular situation. The most frequent reason I hear is, "I can't earn as much as my husband, so it doesn't make sense for me to be the one to work." Or as a friend of mine heard stated from a man, "If she had a job that paid as much as mine, I'd *let* her work, and I would stay home."

It seems to me that if finances are the primary factor for determining who works and how much, we might pay dearly in other areas of our lives. We must take time to clarify what we *personally* value in our lives, not what society has conditioned us to value. We must listen to our inner voice when we feel at peace with ourselves as our finest answers will come from within.

Eventually the "man earns more" syndrome may be eliminated as we encourage our daughters to choose careers that will financially support a family. Likewise, we need to let our sons know that it is perfectly okay to take time off from a career to take care of their children and their home.

While financial justification may be the most common arguments encountered for the impracticality of "shared parenting/shared providing," I think we need to take a look at some deeper-rooted psychological obstacles. Even though a woman may intellectually want a husband who chooses to participate equally in rearing their children, emotionally she may have trouble "giving up" what she perceives as some of the benefits.

The first benefit is being "queen of the home." If her husband controls the income-providing, then she often calls the shots on the homefront. She probably decides how to decorate the house, how to dress the children, and perhaps even her husband. She may also manage and orchestrate the couple's social engagements.

The second benefit women may perceive when the father is the sole-provider is that the children are typically more emotionally attached to the mother than the father. This is perfectly normal as children naturally attach themselves to the person who provides most of the nurturing and care-taking. There is a definite psychological benefit of

having another human being clearly in love with you, and preferring your presence. When I was working full-time, and Steve was responsible for the children, I saw our baby preferring her father and this presented an uncomfortable period of growth for me.

When a woman can clearly see that she wants to move beyond the above mentioned "benefits" of the traditional female role and create an equal parenting relationship with her husband, probably her biggest obstacle is overcoming the role models she saw throughout her own life. Many women have told me that they can still clearly visualize their dads relaxing with the newspaper after work, and their moms scurrying around making dinner (even if their mothers worked). My friends feel a twinge of guilt asking their husbands for help because that is something they never saw their moms do. Overcoming role limitations is a struggle, but the rewards are far greater than the pain.

Another obstacle sometimes encountered is that a woman is ready to move towards developing a more equitable parenting/providing relationship before her husband is ready. Warren Farrell states in *The Liberated Male*, "A man's willingness to change behavior is tied to his psychological security. Few men change without a woman who is similarly committed—and few women change without at least a partially cooperative man." Ideally, both partners will want to integrate positive changes in their relationship, but if your partner does not want to change, the best you can do is work on yourself and your own attitudes.

It's with this next point that I have my biggest concern. Many traditional families today are attempting to raise their children with feminist beliefs including trucks for girls, dolls for boys, career aspirations for girls, and encouraging the expression of feelings in boys—all of which is well and good. But if we aren't practicing our beliefs, the kids are getting mixed messages. Do as I say, but not as I'm doing. I agree that it's tough to change over to "shared parenting/shared providing," but we must realize that children will believe what they see, not what is said.

In order for both parents to be actively involved in parenting, we need to create more part-time work options.



It's evident that our present society isn't there yet, but "nothing is as powerful as an idea whose time has come." If we workers keep stating clearly what our needs are, the corporate edifice will eventually have to change. Otherwise, talented people will choose to leave the

corporate world and start their own businesses. Just as American automakers were slow in responding to the economical imports, they eventually did change to respond to the realities of what Americans were saying they wanted.

An individual has the best opportunity of creating a reduced work week when they already hold a responsible position. A wise company does not want to lose a good employee. From my experience in the corporate world, I fully believe that just as much work can be accomplished in four days as in five. It's incredible how much time is wasted during the work week, even with top-level managers. Work clearly does expand to fill the time available. If your boss doesn't believe it's possible, propose a three month experiment so that you can personally demonstrate this principle. Even though you would be producing the same amount of work, you should show your boss the added benefit of paying you 20% less.

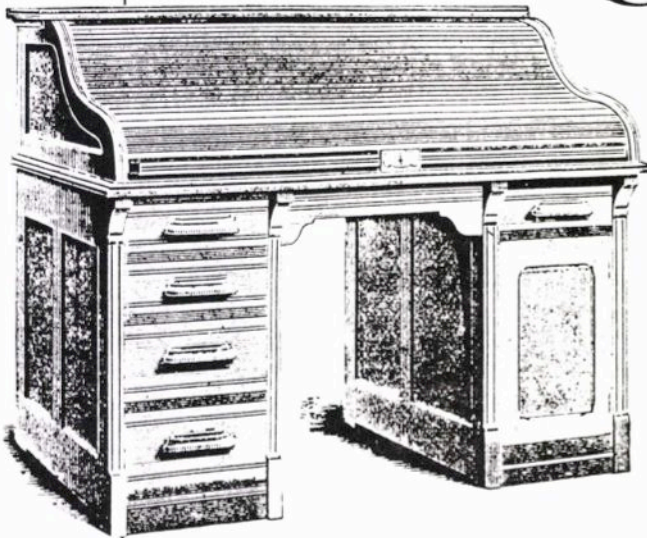
Another strategy is to find a co-worker who does the same work you do and who would also prefer to work half-time. The two of you can create a job-sharing position where you share one full-time job. Job-sharing has worked successfully in many parts of the country and for many companies and government agencies.

Another alternative is to go to work for yourself which Steve and I eventually did. It certainly isn't the easiest solution (primarily from a financial standpoint initially), but it has been extremely rewarding for both of us.

Since "shared parenting/shared providing" has no clear roles for the father or mother, much flexibility and negotiating is required to develop a mutually satisfying schedule. We have found meditation extremely valuable in this process. When both partners meditate regularly (ideally twice daily) and are connecting with a state of deeper consciousness and heightened awareness, solutions flow. We have found that meditation enables us to clearly sense what is fair and equitable for our family and for ourselves as individuals. We find that we start trusting our inner voice, and ignoring the loud voice of what others want for us. Another benefit of meditation seems to be increased flexibility and creativity which gives us added strength in working out the details of our family life.

While meditation has been helpful for us, I don't intend to imply that the journey towards "shared parenting/shared providing" is by any means easy. There is no doubt that the process of confronting problems head-on is painful. When our lives are giving us messages that we are not living to our full potential and are not feeling in harmony with ourselves (or our partner), it's time to dive in, experience the deep pain of growth and emerge a more fully integrated individual. Many times we fear this process, and will go to extraordinary efforts to avoid pain. But ultimately, the chronic avoidance of problems causes far more conflict and leaves us feeling less fulfilled than the intense pain of growth. Life is a series of problems to be solved. By directly showing our children that we can welcome problems as opportunities for growth, we will be giving our children one of the finest gifts that life has to offer. □

Peoples College of Law



People's College of Law is a dream and an ideal now realized. The idea was to form a school to train lawyers from disadvantaged communities who would be committed to social change: to combat unequal treatment of Third World and working class people and women. The realization of our ideal began in the Fall of 1974 when we enrolled our first class.

PCL was made possible by such notable organizations as the National Lawyers Guild, La Raza Law Students Association, The National Conference of Black Lawyers and The Asian Law Collective. These organizations combined their efforts to produce that "Unique Institution of Higher Learning," Peoples College of Law.

It has been almost 10 years since Peoples College of Law (PCL) became a reality, and most of the school's goals have been fulfilled. According to Professor Maria Vargas-Rodriguez, who was also one of the founders of the school, "Everything is falling into place just the way it was planned; we have fulfilled our goal of having two-thirds Third World students and 50 percent women."

Three good examples of PCL's commitment to produce peoples lawyers are Anna, Alfonso, and Gregg. Anna is 34 years old, a Native American and a recent graduate of PCL, who is currently waiting for the July Bar Exam results. Anna believes that society poses tremendous obstacles to reaching a professional level, especially if one is a minority person struggling to attain a visible social status in order to assist their people.

Anna left the reservation 7 years ago thinking that it would be easier to obtain an education once out of the reservation. "I was shocked at the amount of discrimination I confronted while seeking admission to an institution of higher learning. It is especially difficult for women, Native Americans and people of ethnic backgrounds," said Anna.

Alfonso is another example of PCL's commitment. His life experiences are somewhat different than Anna's. Alfonso is a high school dropout, a Chicano and a Vietnam vet. Traditionally, veterans of other wars, such as the Spanish Civil War, World War I, World War II, and the



"Everything is falling into place just the way it was planned; we have fulfilled our goal of having two-thirds Third World students and 50 percent women."

Korean conflict, were considered heroes. Those heroes were respected and assisted to find a place in society. After Vietnam veterans were relegated to the status of second class citizens or worse. For a lot of veterans the war has not ended. They continue to fight those whom they fought for; their war is against our own government for adequate medical care. Alfonso as well as other Vietnam vets feels the system has used them and discarded them.

Considering the problems Vietnam veterans face, whether they are financial, emotional or medical, very few of them can concern themselves with becoming attorneys. Alfonso however has managed. At age 36, and 10 years after leaving Vietnam, he has not only become an attorney but has also maintained his identification with the people by undertaking the role of a peoples' lawyer. He is currently the National and California's Legal Advisor and Director of the Veterans Services of the G.I. Forum. In his spare time he practices law out of his home, providing free legal representation for people charged with "petty crimes" as he calls it.

Anna and Alfonso and many more are the products of PCL. Peoples College of Law is located in the heart of Los Angeles. It is a student-run cooperative law school dedicated to training progressive attorneys. Alfonso and Anna feel that most traditional law schools would not have admitted them because of their academic limitations.

After spending two and a half years in a traditional law school, Gregg came to PCL. When he first applied to law school, PCL was among his first choices but financial considerations forced him to choose a law school that could offer financial aid. Gregg made the decision to transfer to Peoples College of Law because the traditional law school was not giving him the tools he needed to work in the community. PCL, however, is more interested in a person's demonstrated commitment to social change than in his academic accomplishments. According to Fidel Gomez, PCL's recruitment officer, "The advocacy of our applicants as community or

labor organizers is their most important asset. Learning the law is a complement to assist them better in their great endeavor to bring about social change through legal means or community organizing. In fact the admissions criteria give more weight and focus more on the applicant's political background than his/her academic qualifications."

PCL bought its building in 1979, and is in the process of seeking accreditation. Graduates from PCL are everywhere: in the Public Defenders Office, working in Legal Aid, in law collectives or managing their own law offices. PCL has its own Peoples Legal Clinic that serves the surrounding community, and, most importantly, it has been successful in educating people without using the Socratic method used in other law schools.

PCL, in its ever growing effort to extend assistance and develop strong ties with the community, has recently worked out a Lawyering Process program with the Community Services Organization (CSO). PCL students now have the opportunity, while learning the intricacies of the judicial system, to assist CSO in its effort to provide the working class of Los Angeles with sorely needed legal assistance.

Recently the College has become a member of the Community Based Education Clearinghouse, a national organization made up of numerous alternative educational institutions. This membership may mean more funding and recruitment for PCL as well as visibility at a national level.

The students at Peoples College of Law enjoy a consistently higher passage rate on the First Year Law Student's Examination (a test required of all first year students attending unaccredited law schools) than the State-wide average. One main reason for this success is another unique feature of the College: the first year students are all tutored individually or in study-groups on a weekly basis by fellow students. The high degree of cooperation and support that the new student receives plus the attention given to courses by the faculty help ease the pressure on new students. □

Peoples College of Law is at 600 South Bonnie Brae Street, Los Angeles, California 90057. Their phone number is (213) 483-0083.

Cooperative Housing

An alternative

*An Interview
with Alexandra Wilson*

Q.: I'm really quite impressed with the cooperative housing movement in Toronto. It seems like it really works. What do you attribute that to?

Alexandra: Well, I think it relates back to the history of cooperatives in Canada and I think it owes its wellbeing and endurance to amendments that were introduced onto the national Housing Act facilitating the development of non-profit cooperative housing.

Non-profit housing was seen as a desirable community alternative to public housing that would provide housing for a broader range of people. Many people at that time suddenly realized that their dream of owning their own home was not going to become a reality and this put more pressure on the government to come up with alternative possibilities to public housing.

Q.: Would you define the difference between non-profit housing and cooperative housing?

Alexandra: Well, initially the Canadian government saw little difference between cooperative housing and non-profit housing. But the differences are quite significant. I define non-profit as private charitable groups delegated by churches or service groups of local communities. These are fundamentally different from cooperative housing because the occupants of the building of a non-profit are tenants of the charitable organization and the organizations own the building. The tenants don't control the housing or the charitable corporation. Cooperative housing is both owned and controlled by the tenants.

Right now the private sector is very unhappy about our program. It is very actively lobbying the federal minister to do away with it. Nevertheless the liberals have seen fit to encourage our program and we have been able to rally a good deal of political support for it.

Q.: Were there housing co-ops before 1973?

Alexandra: Yes, there were but their development and expansion was limited. The most significant feature of the '73 amendments was the provision of 100% financing. Up to that point it was extremely hard to get a co-op off the ground because of the limited capital and the difficulty in raising the tremendous amount of capital needed above

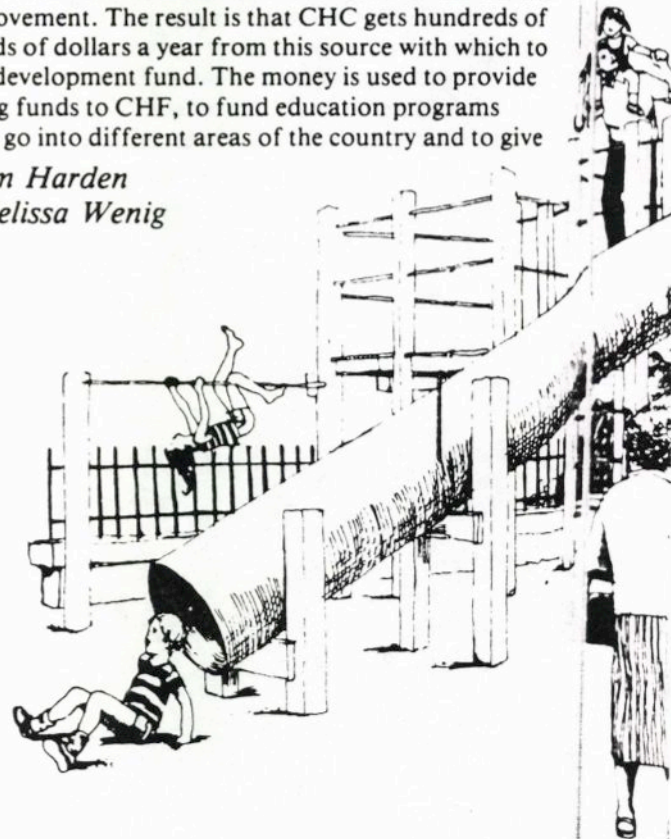
and beyond that. So the family of co-ops that were developed in that period were created on a very sound financial basis. The other significant element has been the development of resource groups like this one.

Initially groups of people came together and struggled for a number of years until they managed to get a co-op off the ground. Their professional resources didn't extend much beyond an architect in most parts of the country. Initiatives were taken to establish financially secure technical resource groups and wherever the groups sprang up co-op development activity went crazy.

Q.: When was this resource group started?

Alexandra: We came out of that same period of history. We were given funding assistance by CNHC which helped us a great deal. It's quite impossible to get an organization like this off the ground without some initial government assistance. And if your staff isn't really experienced enough in fundraising and technical assistance they simply can't earn enough money for the organization to keep it going. Learning on the job is very expensive. The other thing that's been significant in our recent development is our relationship with the co-op trust company owned by the national credit union and that acts as the lender for the co-op movement. The result is that CHC gets hundreds of thousands of dollars a year from this source with which to set up a development fund. The money is used to provide operating funds to CHF, to fund education programs when we go into different areas of the country and to give

*by Tom Harden
and Melissa Wenig*



training courses for housing co-ops. They make the money available for certain projects that would have been otherwise very difficult to do. And they also provide some funding for new resource groups and technical assistance to resource groups.

Q.: Has the housing cooperative movement been able to be a base for spawning horizontal expansion in other cooperative endeavors such as construction, food co-ops, etc.

Alexandra: There are some food co-ops but we find most of the leadership in the co-op movement goes into housing. Canada's construction industry is extremely efficient and it would be extremely difficult to compete with it.

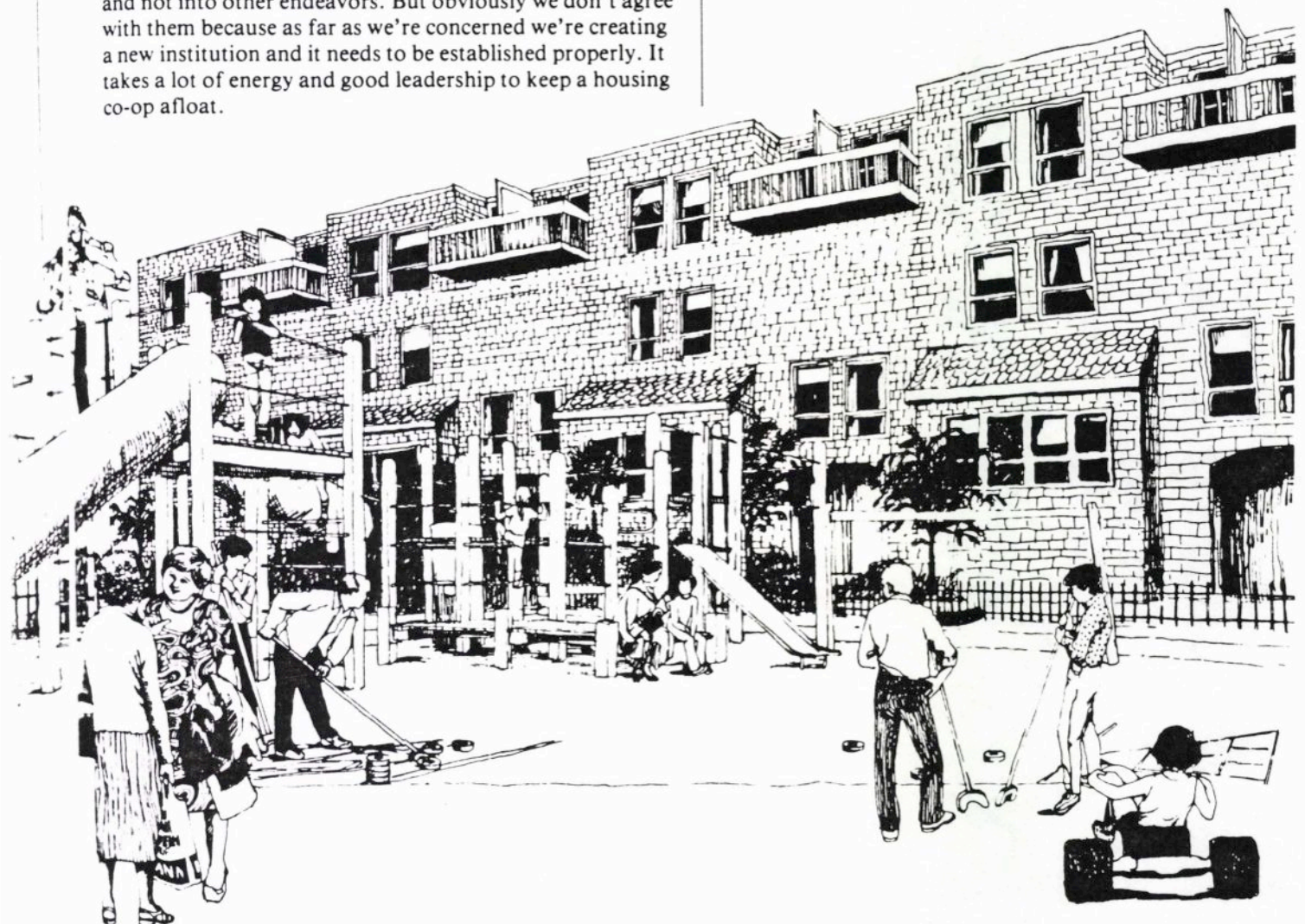
It's a criticism that some people have, however, that too much of the co-op leadership is being sucked into housing and not into other endeavors. But obviously we don't agree with them because as far as we're concerned we're creating a new institution and it needs to be established properly. It takes a lot of energy and good leadership to keep a housing co-op afloat.

Q.: What is the scope of CH activity?

Alexandra: When we got funding one of the stipulations was that we had to be developing cooperatives as well as providing services for existing co-ops. The development aspect of our organization has grown every year and now dominates the organization. It's the primary funding aspect of our agency. We build development costs right into the cost of the co-op.

Q.: What kind of population do you serve?

Alexandra: Well, we do a lot of building in the suburbs because the land is cheaper which means we are doing conventional townhouse projects serving suburban populations. We also have co-ops in the inner city and some co-ops have more low income people than others. Who we serve is not as important as the cooperative aspect



Cooperative Housing

of it but if there were no co-op programs for low income people, people like me wouldn't be working in this area. Serving a large number of people is also one of our objectives.

Q.: What do you find exciting and motivating about working in co-op housing?

Alexandra: Well, I like the fact that it's a movement—that there is such a thing as a cooperative philosophy and it all fits into a political framework. That really separates us from non-profits. I like seeing what happens to people when you put them together and get them involved in making decisions cooperatively. Most people have no experience with that. There is a community effort to manage the co-op which means that inevitably people have more and more contact with each other and out of that feelings of community grow. It's the whole question of local economic democracy. That's what the real attraction is.

Q.: What do you think attracts people to co-op housing?

Alexandra: Many people are initially attracted to the low rentals. And their involvement is a very interesting process to follow. You see people who didn't start out very concerned with an ideological commitment get involved in learning how to manage and make decisions and then becoming very vocal about co-op ideology and the importance of democratic participation.

Q.: How much commitment to a co-op must a member have?

Alexandra: All the co-ops have participation policies and trainings. Four hours a month is the average number of work hours a co-op member gives. We do have professional paid management who keep the buildings running efficiently. But the real reasons for getting people involved has to do with building a community and making sure people are committed to the success of the enterprise.

Q.: Does everyone participate and what happens if they don't?

Alexandra: Not everyone participates but most co-ops are not prepared to be heavy handed. Kicking someone out of their house is a little different from kicking someone out of a food co-op. Housing is such a limited commodity. But I do believe that pressure to work needs to be applied and that it's faulty thinking to believe otherwise. It really downplays peoples' sense of responsibility.

But most people do participate and the major factor probably is that previous to moving into a co-op everyone has to go to co-op housing meetings and participate on committees. People are so anxious to get into co-ops it's no trouble getting them out to meetings before they join. Our waiting lists are very long for downtown co-ops.

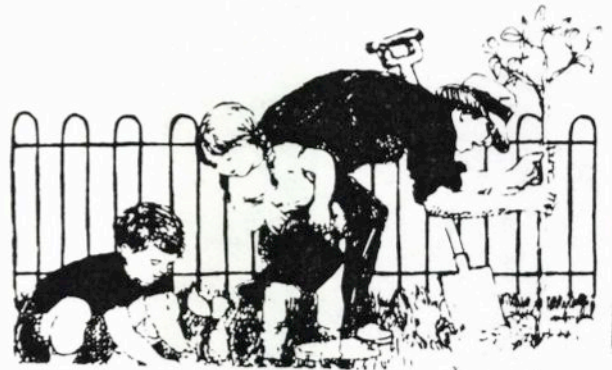
A significant difference in co-op participation seems to

be the amount of participation before actual moving in. Co-op conversion is harder if the education comes after the fact. We try to place a strong emphasis on participation when we are forming and developing a group as it seems to be the most significant factor in the success of a housing co-op.

Q.: You said that you have some paid positions. Why not have the members do all the work?

Alexandra: What we have chosen to do here in Toronto is to have a paid staff to do day-to-day administration. We feel strongly that there's a difference between governing a project and managing. That doesn't mean you don't have volunteers in management positions but the day-to-day administration is entrusted to the staff.

However, there is another philosophy of involvement — self-management, which is quite popular in Quebec and in the east. In Quebec, however, they say if it's going to be self managed it can't be more than 12 units. I can see that. In the west they have 50-70 units staffed by volunteers. I really don't know how they do it. What I think it means is that they are extracting a very large commitment from a fairly small number of people. To me that creates a kind of oligarchy. It seems to me that if you lean very heavily on volunteers, those people are going to end up with a tremendous amount of power relative to other members and that's very intimidating for people who just aren't ready to make that kind of commitment. And I think in



general you just don't get that good a job done from a volunteer. I think it's very important to leave certain management tasks for volunteers so the volunteers are involved with management, have appreciation for the problems of management and have a place to put their commitment to the co-op. Nothing creates a stronger commitment than participation. If people are putting in their own labor they will be fierce defenders of the co-op. That seems to be the glue that holds co-ops together and

keeps them alive. It is stronger than individual self interest.

Q.: Can you give an example of what you mean?

Alexandra: Well, one year we had to have a 17% housing charge increase to cover the deficit in the budget. We have four member meetings and it passed overwhelmingly. But



some people who were in disagreement decided to try to organize a rent strike and advocated that the government come in, take over and get the rent down. This simply did not appeal to the people of the co-op. I'm convinced it was that we had good leadership which behaved fairly responsibly and that people had just put too much into their co-op.

Q.: Are co-op housing units designed differently from other units in the city? Do they reflect cooperative philosophy in any way?

Alexandra: If we had the money we might like to try some innovative designs but we fall with governmental imposed price restraints and that's very limiting. We can build housing a little bit better than public housing but we're not able to put much into communal space. We do build a meeting room into the co-op and try to arrange some outdoor communal space so it's not entirely privatized outdoors. But people are fond of their individual backyards and fences. We do try to create cluster housing so that there are subgroups within the whole.

Q.: How does size affect the running of a co-op or its success?

Alexandra: Well, that's an interesting issue. Large co-ops offer one thing and small ones other things. We have one co-op with 380 units and it's quite successful. Our smallest has 5 units. It really depends on what you like. Some folks like very small co-ops so they can get to know everyone very intimately. But some people don't want that intensity. They're not interested in communal living. So you ultimately want a co-op small enough so that people can

know everyone at some level but large enough so that there is diversity in the people who live there. You also want to have it large enough so that within the participants you have the resources you need to run the co-op. In 100 people you would probably find enough leadership. If you only had 20 people you might not. For the most part, however, one needs to look at what's expedient. If someone comes along and offers a piece of land that's good for only 18 units we take it. There's no way to turn it down, especially downtown, because there is so little opportunity for affordable housing there. You can't afford to be a purist and hold out for 60-100 units.

Q.: Have there been any efforts of mixed use combining commercial and residential space?

Alexandra: There are some co-ops who do have commercial space within them but they are rare in Toronto. In most places there are strict limits of the amount of commercial space you can have. However, Quebec has some interesting examples.

Q.: If I wanted to form a co-op with 20 of my friends, would your resource group help us?

Alexandra: Oh, sure. About half of our purchases arise as a result of people seeking us out and the other half as a result of us finding development opportunities.

Q.: It sounds to me that you really enjoy your work.

Alexandra: I really do. It's a tremendous amount of work of administrative effort to pull off starting a co-op, getting the financing, finding the land, negotiating a price. But when you do. Ah . . .



Alexandra Wilson is the Managing Director of the Cooperative Federation of Toronto.

Cooperative Housing

Canada's co-op housing history

The Canadian cooperative movement has a long history of which we should be proud to be a part. In 1861, Canada's first cooperative store, on the Rochdale model, was established in Nova Scotia. North America's first successful credit union was founded in 1900 in Levis, Quebec by Aphonse Desjardins. Canadian credit unions and *caisse populaires* now have assets in the billions of dollars; there are approximately 1,000 credit unions in Ontario alone.

Around and after the turn of the century, there was rapid growth in agricultural cooperation. Farmers were organizing to purchase farm supplies and the United Cooperative of Ontario, started in 1914, was one such organization. The early 1920's saw the formation of cooperative creameries and, in the West, the start of the Wheat Pools.

Canadian cooperatives recognized early the need for mutual cooperation. The Cooperative Union of Canada was formed in 1909 to help cooperatives all across the country cooperate with each other, and to speak with one voice when necessary. It was the large farm co-ops, particularly in the West, that provided the main political thrust to the movement. For example, the cooperative Commonwealth Federation (C.C.F.) was the precursor of the New Democratic Party (N.D.P.).

Housing

Housing cooperatives first made their appearance in Canada in the 1930's, particularly in the Maritimes. The Antigonish Movement was flourishing with the aid of Fath-

er Jimmy Thompkins and Father Moses Coady. They initiated public meetings throughout the Atlantic provinces urging their countrymen to take control of their lives through cooperative ventures. Out of their many study groups came the building co-ops.

Building cooperatives are incorporated for the bulk purchasing of materials and construction services. Once the houses are built, the cooperative dissolves and the members own their homes individually. Building co-ops became very popular, especially in the Maritimes, Quebec, Ontario and Saskatchewan.



The 1930's also saw the first "continuing" housing cooperatives in Canada. In a continuing cooperative, the co-op not only builds or acquires the housing, but continues to own or lease it on an ongoing basis. Members of the co-op have occupancy rights but not individual ownership.

The first continuing co-op was

Campus Cooperative Residences in Toronto. It was started in 1936 by four students who were inspired by Toyohiko Kagawa, a scholarly co-op activist from Japan. Campus Co-op now owns 27 turn-of-the-century houses near the University of Toronto. In 1941, another student housing co-op formed in Kingston because of a housing shortage. Started by the Applied Science class of 1944, Science '44 Co-op now owns 21 houses near Queen's University.

Willow Park Co-op, built in Winnipeg in 1965, was the first non-student continuing co-op in Canada. Between 1965 and 1970, eight more family co-ops were formed. Development of new cooperatives was, however, slow. As the 1970's began, land and construction costs began to increase rapidly and it became more and more difficult to finance new cooperatives.

Without support of several groups, the growth of the so-called "third sector"—neither public nor private—would not have been possible. The major thrust came from the Canadian Labour Congress and the Cooperative Union of Canada. Their joint committee, the National Labour Cooperative Committee, worked very hard to get funding for housing co-ops from Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, as well as funding for its own work. In addition, the Committee worked to involve churches and credit unions in financing housing co-ops.

In 1968, the Committee was successful in setting up the Cooperative Housing Foundation of Canada (C.H.F.). This national resource

group and lobby for the co-op housing movement took over the work of the Committee. In 1970, C.H.F. persuaded the government to fund five pilot projects, in Vancouver, Calgary, Winnipeg, Toronto and London, through the "Innovative Housing Fund".

C.H.F.'s most significant contribution at that time was to organize a lobby for legislative changes which would facilitate the financing of non-profit housing cooperatives. Finally, in 1973, a number of amendments to the National Housing Act (N.H.A.) gave preferred rates of financing to housing co-ops incorporated as non-profit organizations. As well as promoting the development of housing co-ops and working for improvements to the federal funding program, C.H.F. encourages the development of regional resource groups to assist in developing housing co-ops at the local level. Since 1970, resource groups have been established, either independently or with C.H.F. assistance, across Canada.

By the end of 1982, close to 500 new co-ops will have become fully operational, representing more than 18,000 homes. There are at least 300 more non-profit housing co-ops in the planning or construction stages.

Toronto

Co-op Habitat Association of Toronto was one of this city's first local organizations formed to develop cooperatives and educate the public about cooperatives. Co-op Habitat Association helped initiate at least 3 new co-ops in the Toronto area.

The Cooperative Housing Federation of Toronto, formally founded in 1974, is a coalition of independent cooperative housing groups in the Metropolitan Toronto region. The groups formed this central body to solve common problems, to share experiences and to speak with a

unified voice to all levels of government. The Federation serves as a resource group to its own members and to other groups, either new or existing, who can use its services. As well as offering the skills needed to take a project from the mortgage application stage to completed housing, the Federation can assist groups in their ongoing operation through



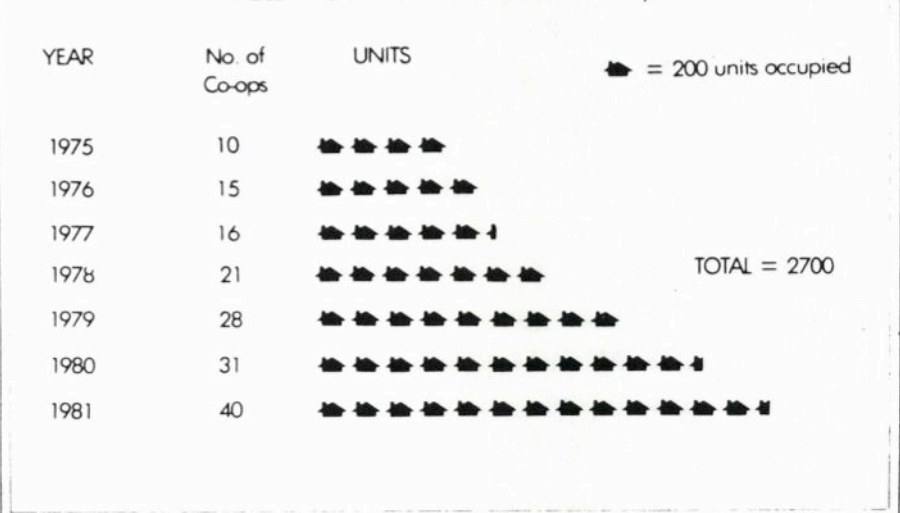
educational programs, manuals and consulting services.

Several other resource groups operate in the Toronto area as developers of new housing co-ops. The strength and diversity of the co-op housing movement in Toronto is quite exciting. The co-ops range in

size from 12 to 260 homes, with a mixture of new construction styles and rehabilitated older buildings. Most co-ops have a strong mixed community, with people from many backgrounds. This includes a variety of income levels, ranging from people needing government assistance to relatively well-off people who choose to live in a cooperative community.

As we begin the 1980's, the Canadian co-op housing sector is starting to mature. Housing cooperators have learned a great deal about land acquisition, construction and the pitfalls of rehabilitating old buildings. As expertise develops, new cooperatives are developed on a more secure foundation, benefiting from the experience of their fore-runners. This experience is shared between cooperatives and is stored and transmitted by third sector resource groups. Better systems are being developed for the ongoing management of housing cooperatives and the education of co-op members. The movement is also of beginning to take its place in the broader cooperative sector of the economy, developing ties with credit unions and other cooperative services. □

TABLE Growth in Federation Membership



Housing - Is there a better way?

Living in a co-op means no worries about rent hikes or mortgage rates

by Patricia Hluchy
Toronto Star

When mortgage interest rates were hovering in the stratosphere, Joanne and Gary Murphy, snug in their two-bedroom townhouse, observed the panic among homeowners with a mixture of sympathy and relief.

Nor do the Murphys have to contend with the frustrations or insecurity of renting.

What makes them immune to the vagaries of interest rates and rents?

The Scarborough couple have found a third alternative, one which combines many of the advantages of owning and renting, but avoids their disadvantages—a non-profit housing co-op.

"Looking at the incredible upheaval in the housing market in the last year, it was quite a relief to be here," says Gary Murphy, a 31-year old partner in a small business.

"You hear about Cadillac Fairview and the schmozzle going on down there and you really feel appreciative being where you are."

The Murphys are shareholders in the Neilson Creek Housing Co-op, a development of 104 townhouses straddling Neilson Creek in Scarborough.

They don't individually own their townhouse and wouldn't recoup any money if they moved out—just as they didn't have to make a down payment when they moved in—but as members of the non-profit corporation that owns the project, they have a say in how the co-op is run.

Have security

Like homeowners before the days of high interest rates, the Murphys have the security of being able to live in Neilson Creek forever. But like tenants, they can leave whenever they want as long as they give adequate notice.

Best of all, their monthly "housing charge"—the equivalent of rent—is below market value because co-ops receive a Canada Mortgage and Housing operating grant to lower the mortgage interest rate and because no one is taking a profit from the project.

The Murphys are among hundreds of thousands of Canadians who live in non-profit housing, 50,000 of them in 400 co-op projects across the country.

Although existing co-op and other non-profit projects have to turn people away, and though the demand for new non-profit housing is by all accounts overwhelming, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation—which provides start-up money and subsidies—isn't handing out nearly enough funds to keep pace.

(In fact, a recently-announced, drastic cut in federal funds to Toronto's non-profit housing company, Cityhome, means only 130 families on the city's waiting list of

4,000 will get into new municipal non-profit housing next year.)

Two-year delay

Debra Wright, the senior lending officer in the CMIC's Metro office says that co-op proposals made now, if accepted, wouldn't be able to go ahead for at least two years.

She says there are indications that next year's allocation for co-op units in Metro will be "considerably less" than this year's allotment.

That's frustrating to Noreen Dunphy, a development coordinator for the Co-op Housing Federation of Toronto.

Dunphy says the federation, one of four non-profit resource groups that help to launch co-ops in the Metro area, could have produced 40 per cent more units than it will have this year if the CMHC money had been there.

She says there are now 63 co-ops either occupied or under construction in Metro, plus another 14 in the planning stages. Mississauga has another dozen co-ops in completion or in various stages of production.

Metro's existing co-ops range from 12 to 265 units—the average size being 70 to 100 units. Most are apartment or row-houses, but a few, such as the West Humber Housing Cooperative in Rexdale, consist of detached houses. In addition to new developments, there are several co-ops in older buildings that were purchased and renovated with CMHC assistance.

Dunphy says the four resource groups together create about 1,000 co-op units every year, yet they still get about 500 calls a month from

Torontonians who want to live in a co-op.

Wave of future

Meanwhile, the Murphys are convinced that co-ops are "the thing of the future" as home-ownership becomes inaccessible to more and more families.

The couple, whose combined income is between \$30,000 and \$35,000 a year, pay \$403 a month for their townhouse—only \$8 more than what they paid when they moved in two years ago.

Their three-story home includes a garage, an unfinished basement and a small back-yard bordered by the creek. They say they have friends who live in a private townhouse development next door and pay \$575 for a smaller place.

But it's not just the low cost that appeals to the Murphys.

Several months before they moved in, the couple got involved with other co-op members in planning the \$5.7 million development. Once the co-op opened, they were actively involved in running the project. "We had a say in everything, the building, even the kind of tiles in the bathroom, the type of

stove and fridge," says Joanne Murphy, 26, who's on maternity leave from her job as a dispatch operator to look after their 6-week-old son, Devon.

"Our situation was that when the units were finally ready to move into, we knew all our neighbors the day we moved in," Gary says. "It's a tremendous feeling."

Now that they have a child, the Murphys are especially thankful they live in such a neighborly environment.

"I think this will be a great environment for raising a child," Gary says. "Especially having gone to the co-op Christmas party (in the co-op's small recreation centre) last Saturday and seeing all the kids together there. They all knew each other."

If builders and developers had their way, the Murphys wouldn't be living in such pleasant surroundings for so little.

The residential building industry bristles at the fact that non-profit housing projects benefit from interest rates as low as 2 per cent, with the CMHC subsidizing the difference between the reduced level and the going interest rate.

Under its non-profit housing program, the CMHC provides subsidies for three types of developments: co-ops, municipal non-profit—such as Cityhome—and private non-profit, usually sponsored by churches or charitable organizations and geared to seniors or special-needs groups.

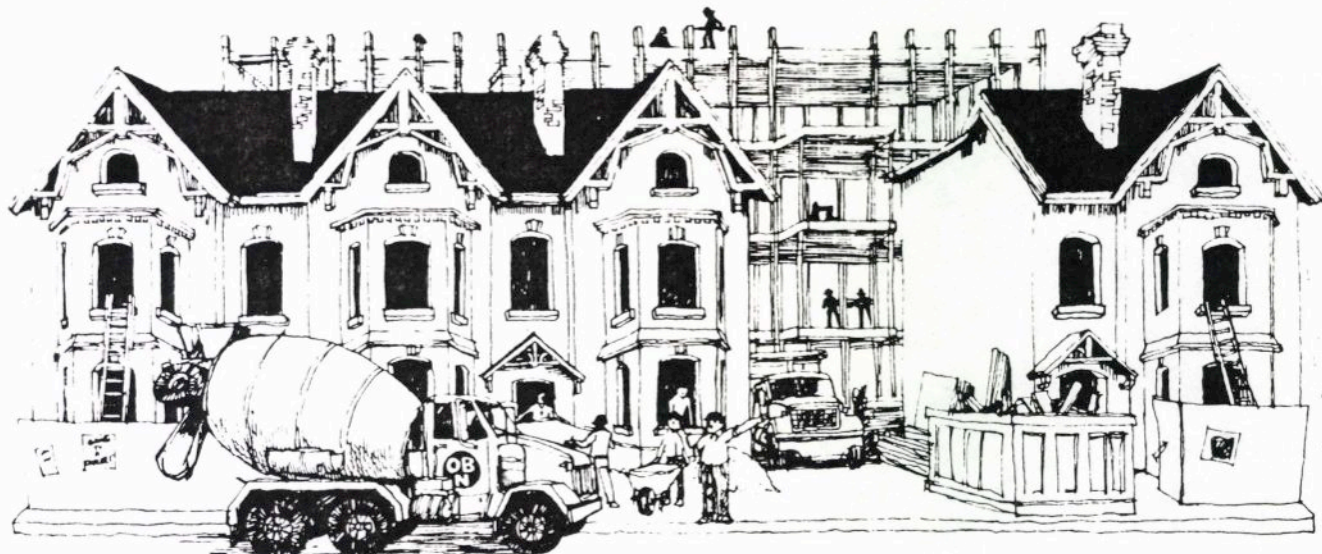
In addition to seed money for researching the proposal, the CMHC provides 100 per cent mortgage insurance, which removes the risks to private lenders.

And in order to keep rents in such housing projects at the low end of the market scale—thus making them attractive to moderate-income people—the CMHC provides the interest rate subsidy, on mortgages amortized over 35 years. That grant is gradually reduced after the first four years.

In 1980, the subsidy was \$23.6 million for the 3,699 co-op units approved that year.

The CMHC requires that at least 15 per cent of the units in co-ops be available to low-income families on a rent-geared-to-income basis.

In fact, most co-ops try to devote 25 per cent of their units to low-income families. Some co-ops also set



Cooperative Housing

aside units for seniors or the handicapped, and a few are aimed specifically at the elderly.

The provincial government makes contributions to some co-ops and to most non-profit developments, to help subsidize the rent-geared-to-income units. It's the 75 per cent of middle-income families in co-ops who bother the developers.

"My own feeling—and I think it's shared by most people in the industry—is that for the government to be funding these kinds of projects places a tremendous burden on the taxpayer," says Peter Langer, Jr., a vice-president for Markborough Properties, Ltd. and past president of the Toronto Home Builders Association.

"Three-quarters of these people have no legitimate claim to a subsidy, yet they're getting one through the CMHC money."

But David Hulchanski, an urban studies professor at the University of Toronto, says the builders forget that the CMHC's non-profit housing program was set up in the first place so that low-income families would no longer be ghettoized.

Average charge

Instead, the program was designed to integrate them with moderate income families, many of whom cannot themselves afford to buy a home or pay high rents.

A recent survey of most of the co-op households in Toronto found the almost 60 per cent had incomes less than \$20,000 in 1981. One-fifth of the households were earning less than \$9,400, while only 10 per cent had incomes higher than \$35,000.

According to the survey, almost two-thirds of the units in co-ops are occupied by families, of which 20 per cent are single-parent families.

The survey found that the average charge for a one-bedroom co-op apartment is \$301 a month, com-

pared with \$357 on the private market across Metro and \$377 in the city of Toronto (both increases of more than 10 per cent since a year ago).

The average charge for a two-bedroom co-op apartment is \$335, compared with \$420 on the private market in Metro (up about 12 per cent since a year ago) and \$482 in Toronto (up 16 per cent).

Developers say they'd prefer shelter allowances, whereby the government would kick-in part of a low-income family's rent.

But Hulchanski and others don't see the point of shelter allowances when co-op housing would take care of our long-term housing needs.

"I see the expansion of co-op housing as inevitable almost, because I don't see the private sector being able to meet the need for rental housing for moderate-income people. But it's got to be met."

Critical shortage

Keith Ward, coordinator of program planning for the city of Toronto's housing department, says the city's critical housing shortage will likely get worse because no one's building moderately-priced rental units, despite various incentives.

While the city's overall vacancy rate is .6 per cent, he says the vacancy rate for older buildings under rent control is "just about zero," as compared to a vacancy rate of as much as 10 per cent for newer buildings with exorbitant rents.

Hulchanski says the government is providing huge government subsidies—through direct grants, interest-free loans and tax breaks and deferrals—to the private housing industry, but only a very small portion of revenues are going to non-profit housing.

"And in the long run, who gains from that? The public is paying 20 to 30 per cent of the cost of a private investment. And 20 to 30 years down the road, are the tenants really gaining from that? The buildings could be refinanced like the Cadillac-Fairview buildings.

"But with co-op housing, the subsidies go directly to the occupants. The housing remains permanently in the public domain, and there's not refinancing of it. Developers argue that they're creating jobs—but so does co-op housing." □

Reprinted from the Toronto Star, Saturday, December 11, 1982.



Earthbridge CLT:

Ten Years After Incorporation

Reprinted from
Community Economics
Winter 1983

By Lisa Berger

The Earthbridge Community Land Trust (EBCLT) celebrated its tenth anniversary this year. With six parcels of land, totalling over 350 acres and providing homes for 50 leaseholders (adults and children), Earthbridge is one of the oldest and largest CLT's in the country. Its holdings are located in the countryside of southeastern Vermont. Scenic beauty, cultural attractions, and easy access to a number of cities (Boston—2.5 hours, New York City—4.5 hours) have attracted new people to the area and caused real estate prices to rise.

The people who organized this trust did so for two main reasons. They believed in the justice of the community land trust approach to land tenure, and they recognized that the land in their area was not readily accessible to people interested in getting on the land and making productive use of it.

Christel Holzer began to consider community land trusts when she allowed a young couple to tent on her land because they could not afford the rent on their apartment in Brattleboro. At that time she lived on an eight-acre piece of land on Windmill Hill in Putney and owned an adjacent 36 acres. Christel heard about land trusts through her volunteer work with the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), and she began to bring people together to form a local trust. Incorporated in August, 1973, the trust then purchased Christel's 36 acre piece for the price she had paid several years earlier. Charging no interest, she deferred payment until the land trust found lessees for the parcel's

three leaseholds. She is gradually being paid as EBCLT collects lease fees from these individuals. Christel then gave the remaining eight acres to the trust in exchange for a life-time paid-up leasehold.

Originally incorporated as the Abenaki Regional Land Trust, the group changed its name to Earthbridge in 1977, enabling some Abenaki Indians to use their tribal name for their own land trust. The Abenaki Tribal Land Trust, set up to provide a land base of the Indian people of Vermont, was assisted by Earthbridge in its early stages.

In February of 1974, AFSC funded a part-time position through its Economic Alternatives Committee and hired David McCauley to be an organizer for the land trust. David worked with Christel to establish the trust, until 1977 when AFSC felt that Earthbridge could make it on its own. Initially they focused on internal organizational development, gradually spending more time on community outreach. Although many native Vermonters were not open to this new idea, the trust did attract members who had been living in the area, as well as people who wanted to move there. EBCLT leaseholders include both people who had previously owned land or

had the means to acquire it and people without those resources. During the years of AFSC's involvement with Earthbridge, the land trust acquired and arranged to acquire all of its present holdings.

Earthbridge parcels range from 39 to 106 acres. They are located in the Vermont towns of Putney, Brattleboro, West Brattleboro and Westminster, and one parcel is in Westmoreland, NH, across the Connecticut River from Putney. All are within about 30 miles of each other. Five of the parcels each have three to five leaseholds on them while the sixth is leased to one family that is farming the land. Most leaseholds are held by individuals or nuclear families, and many of the homes have been built by the lessees.

Earthbridge has acquired land both through donation, and purchase. One of the donated parcels was willed to the trust and another was a gift of land which was adjacent to another 10 acres already purchased from another owner. The parcel in West Brattleboro was an owner-financed sale involving a life-time lease similar to the arrangement on Windmill Hill. The other two pieces of land, the Putney piece and the Westminster West piece, were purchased on the open market with money put up by the prospective lessees.

Lease fees collected by EBCLT are determined by either the amount the land trust paid for the land, or in the case of donations, a fair value for the acreage—often much less than the market value. The fees are considered land-use fees, and there-

fore each lessee is expected over time to pay the full cost of his or her parcel regardless of payments made by previous lessees. Once the total value is paid, lease fees end. Land values as assessed by the CLT range from \$500 to \$555 an acre. Some lessees paid their lease fees up front while others are former owners with paid-up leaseholds. The rest are asked to pay \$75 a month, but the actual amount varies according to ability to pay. Lease-fees collected on the donated pieces of land are currently used to repay loans (from members and others sympathetic with the goals of the trust) taken out on the other parcels. The interest ceiling on these loans is 3%. Once these loans are paid off, the trust will put these lease-fees into a fund for new acquisitions.

In the course of its history, EBCLT has had a number of sublet leaseholds and several transfers of leaseholds. Sublets must be cleared through the lease committee. When leases are transferred, the other lessees on that parcel must approve of the new lessees and the land trust must approve of the transaction. EBCLT disapproves of speculating on improvements, but they recognize the homeowners' need for additional funds to cover relocating costs in an inflating market, especially since they will have no equity in the land when they leave. The land trust has not agreed on a limited-

equity formula, nor will they purchase the improvements, but they expect their members to respect the group's principles when setting their asking prices.

There are several unconventional lease arrangements in this trust. One Putney leasehold is held by an extended family of 9 adults and 6 children who live in one house. In West Brattleboro, Paul and Dorthea Stockwell share their 65 acre leasehold with a community of 4 adults and 2 children who live in converted farm buildings that used to house an alternative school. Another woman rents a small house from them. These people are not all members of the trust. In 1980, one young couple who lived in the community took out a leasehold next to the Stockwell's, and they are currently building a home there. One of the leaseholds on the Westminster West parcel includes good farm land and is currently unleased. While they look for a lessee interested in living and farming there, two other Westminster West lessees pay for the piece and rent it to a local farmer.

At their tenth anniversary annual meeting on July 14, 1983, Earth-



bridge members, most of who are also lessees, took the time to respond to the questions, "Are your land trust ideals being met?" Several members appreciated the opportunities for cooperation among lessees, particularly within the parcels, and many expressed their desire for more land-trust-wide gatherings. Some noted less group cohesion on parcels where one of the leaseholds was sublet, because these more transient residents lacked long-term commitments to the land or the group. The farmer sub-leasing the Westminster West leasehold challenged the group to make better use of its agricultural land and to consider limiting the size of their trust. Some members felt that Earthbridge should always be open to putting more land into the trust, but others were concerned about the effects of becoming more spread out geographically than they already are. Members felt that, at this point, no land could be purchased by EBCLT unless a group of lessees with a workable financing plan were lined up.

Earthbridge members seemed relatively satisfied with the trust's ability to meet the needs of its current lessees. At this point they would like to clarify the trust's goals and tighten the group's sense of purpose while they look for ways to build interest in and commitment to further trust development. □

Janet and Jay Bailey moved to Fair Winds Farm in October of 1978. At the time the farm was owned by Claude Tate who still lived there. Claude had contacted David McCauley after hearing David speak on a radio show about land trusts. Claude, a retired farmer, thought the CLT was a good idea but told David it would never work. David and Christel visited him and discovered that he was living alone, nearly starving and failing physically. They stopped in regularly to talk to him and check up on his health.

Claude wanted to preserve his farm and turned down many gen-

erous offers from developers interested in acquiring this 39 acre piece of property located across from the Brattleboro Country Club. One day Claude announced his intention to will his farm to Earthbridge. He wanted a young family to move into his house to help him out and to begin using the farm. David and Christel brought by three couples, and Claude chose the Baileys.

Soon after they moved in with their two young children, Claude was put in the hospital after suffering from a heart attack and a stroke. He was released shortly after Janet gave birth to their third child. Though it was a difficult task, they

cared for Claude until his death 15 months later in April, 1980.

The Baileys then borrowed money from family to purchase the house and farm buildings from EBCLT. They work the land with draught horses, having twenty acres and growing two acres worth of vegetables. They also have about 600 chickens and some pigs and cows. They live simply, bartering when they can, but still need to supplement their income. Janet works as a nurse and Jay works seasonally at a grain mill. Their hours add up to about one full-time job on the outside.

New CLT in Inner City Trenton:

Mill Hill II CLT Fights Gentrification

MILL HILL is a neighborhood divided. During the mid-60's, after the middle-class had moved out of this once predominantly Jewish neighborhood, the federal government designated Mill Hill as an historic district. HUD's plan for redeveloping what had become a primarily black and Hispanic low-income neighborhood began by dividing it into Mill Hill I and Mill Hill II. The federal grants and loans were targeted first to MH I. Today the contrast between the two areas is stark. MH I consists of two residential blocks of restored turn-of-the-century row houses. MH II is now a three block area of deteriorating and abandoned homes.

Attention turned to Mill Hill when the mayor of Trenton moved to MH I in the mid-60's and an estimated 10 million dollars from HUD was allocated to finance infrastructure improvements such as park development, burying utilities, planting trees, and installing brick sidewalks and gas street lamps. HUD also provided individuals with low-interest loan money for rehabilitation and historic restoration. The neighborhood enjoys easy access to the state capitol, a number of other existing and proposed state office buildings and the train station. Young professionals found opportunities for home ownership in MH I where buildings could be acquired cheaply and fixed-up with the help of low-interest loans and tax credits. As the professionals moved in the renters were moved out. Today there are no known low-income

Reprinted from
Community Economics
Summer 1983

By Lisa Berger

The contrast is dramatic. Mill Hill I is very quiet. There aren't a lot of people out on the street, out on the stoops. Mill Hill II is like a carnival. There are people out on the street. There are kids running around. There are dogs barking. The ice cream truck is parked there with kids lined up in front of it. People are working on their cars on the street, radios playing.

— Doug Green

residences in MH I.

While properties in MH I were being restored and resettled, absentee landlords in MH II let their properties deteriorate. Many became uninhabitable. Residents of MH II struggled in vain to get help for their side of the neighborhood. But now attention is turning and the residents find it a mixed blessing. The widening of Market Street, the boundary between MH I and MH II, destroyed 20 homes, displacing over 100 people. Community Development Block Grant monies were recently used to put in brick sidewalks, trees, street lights and backyard utilities. Now the neighborhood looks nicer, and with MH I

full, outsiders are starting to buy up properties in MH II where only one quarter of the units are owner-occupied. Many of the residents of MH II have lived there for 20 years; often they arrived from nearby neighborhoods where their homes have been demolished to make way for the state offices. The threat of displacement looms large once again as gentrification spreads to MH II, but this time the community is organizing a base of property control, the Mill Hill II CLT.

About four years ago, Doug Green, a day care center director, purchased a home in MH II for \$100 through the city's Urban Home-steading Program. After observing the neighborhood's politics, he realized that his sympathies lay with his neighbors in MH II. In the summer of 1981, Chuck Matthei of ICE addressed a group looking at the possibility of organizing a CLT in another neighborhood in Trenton. Doug attended the meeting and made contact with the New Jersey-based non-profit, ISLES, that had sponsored Chuck's visit. That fall ISLES received a grant to set up a CLT in Trenton, and they contacted Doug and other community leaders in MH II. ICE returned to do another presentation in January of 1982 and a core group of 8 to 10 people began to meet to set up a community land trust while receiving on-going technical help from ISLES and ICE. In March the land trust was incorporated and the by-laws were ratified. MH II CLT received 501 (c) (3) tax-exempt sta-

tus from the IRS in October.

In the past year and a half, about 45 out of MH II's 175 housing units have been purchased by middle-class professionals. During that time real estate values have risen about 75%. The land trust was faced with the need to acquire property before it was too late to affect the process of displacement. Without a track record or the ability to pay market rates, the CLT needed to seek alternative sources of financing.

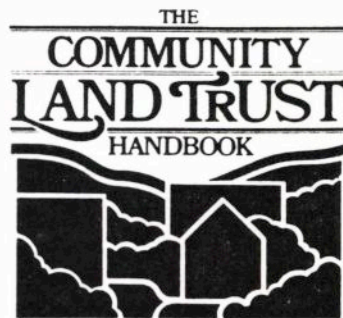
In September of 1982, the MH II CLT received its first loan for property acquisition from ICE's Revolving Loan Fund: \$29,000 at 8% interest for 8 months. Then, seeking local sources of longer-term low-interest money, the CLT organized a "faith and finance" presentation in June, 1982, attended by representatives of area churches. The land trust people described the problem in MH II, their plans for change and their need for loan money. An ICE staff person explained that loans to the CLT could be as secure and profitable as many other investments. The response was very encouraging. In December Doug Green of the CLT and Marty Johnson of ISLES gave a presentation to the Presbytery of New Brunswick. The Presbytery was enthusiastic about the CLT model and set up an incentive program that would leverage loan money from local churches. Pledging \$5,000 outright, the Presbytery offered \$20,000 in matching funds against \$20,000 from the churches. All of the money would be channelled through ICE's Revolving Loan Fund at 7% interest for 20 years. Within five months verbal commitments for not only the whole \$45,000, but an additional \$15,000 have been made. With that base of support, MH II CLT met with the Presbyterian Synod of the Northeast and requested \$100,100 at 7% for 20 years. The Synod has given the land trust a verbal commitment for the entire amount and is currently working out the details of administering the loan.

With the financing it has devel-

oped, the CLT has purchased four single family homes and has options on two buildings which contain a total of five units. The CLT's tax-exempt status allowed it to purchase two buildings through bargain sales, for only \$1800 each. These homes were appraised at \$12,000 and \$14,000 respectively.

Before turning over the properties, the land trust plans to contract major rehabilitation, weatherization and insulation, to be done by a local crew whenever possible. Rehab of one house is being done by an unemployed carpenter who was dis-

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placed from Mill Hill by the Market Street expansion. The CLT recently received a small grant from Trenton Ecumenical Area Ministries to hire a local person to work with an experienced contractor on housing rehab. It is seeking more grant money for rehab and to train local people to do the work.

As a CLT, MH II CLT plans to keep its units affordable during a period of rising market values by limiting equity. When leaseholders choose to leave, the land trust will return their investment, including

out-of-pocket cost of improvements, plus 6% compounded annually. Some depreciation will be factored in where little or no maintenance has been done on the house.

The land trust hopes to keep monthly payments around \$250 for the homes and \$210 for the apartments. Payments include taxes, insurance and a land lease fee.

A CLT committee will choose leaseholders. Priority will be given first to occupants, then to neighborhood residents facing displacement, and then to those who have already been displaced from Mill Hill. With a bias toward history and involvement in the neighborhood, the committee will also weigh factors such as family income level, current shelter needs, ability to meet carrying costs, family size and ability and/or skills to maintain the property.

In the past year and a half, the MH II CLT has become quite visible in Trenton. It has presented a challenge to the Old Mill Hill Society of homeowners whose leaders are primarily interested in promoting gentrification and historic restoration. Several representatives of city government and the Landmarks Commission live in MH I. While some city officials are sensitive to the issue of displacement, most don't want to discourage reinvestment and are therefore reluctant to endorse the CLT. Response from area churches, however, has been positive and has been backed by needed grants and loans.

After acquiring several properties the MH II CLT plans to step back and do more community organizing to broaden its base of involvement and support. The hard work is starting to pay off and be acknowledged in the neighborhood. A community celebration took place on April 29 to honor the first leaseholder closing. After renting for 23 years, Willie Brown and his family became the owners of their home, insuring their right to remain there and earn fair equity. We hope that the land trust will be able to provide similar security for Mr. Brown's neighbors. □

“What I want to see above all is that this country remains a country where someone can always get rich.”

— Ronald Reagan, June 28, 1983

Recovery for the Corporations: Depression for the People?

The American people are being told that economic recovery is under way; that Reagan's economic policies have worked; that if we accept still further sacrifices in social services and wages, “the rising tide of prosperity will lift all the boats.”

But it doesn't take much looking around to see that, while some of the boats are rising, some have sunk and more are in danger of going under. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the official poverty rate has risen for each of the last four years, and nearly ten million more people live in poverty today than in 1978. Even Reagan Administration economists predict depression-level unemployment will continue for years to come.

What is hailed as a “recovery” for business is actually a continuing depression for the American people. And yet that depression actually achieves the goals of certain groups. To understand why they consider our present economic disaster a “success,” we need to look briefly at the history of the American economy since World War II.

The Legacy Of World War II

The United States came out of World War II as the top dog. The economies of our competitors in Europe and Asia had been wrecked by the destruction of the war. The big businesses of the United States has been brought out of the Depression by massive and very profitable war orders. After the war they had profits to invest, returning soldiers eager to find work, and a world market to supply with little competition from anyone.

These special circumstances made possible a boom in the U.S. during the 1950's and '60's. Corporate profits were consistently high. The U.S. moved in to dominate economically and militarily what had been the empires of Britain, France, Spain, and other European powers in Asia and Africa.

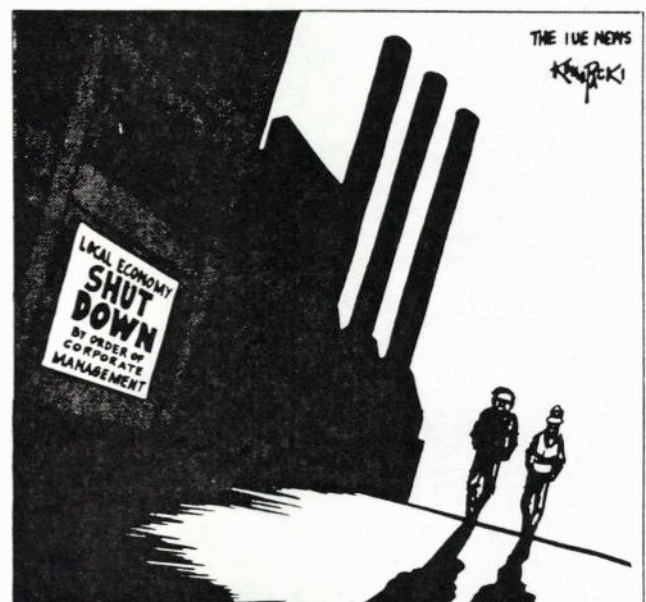
With a growing economic pie, working people were able to demand a rising standard of living. Racial minorities and women, traditionally denied access to decent jobs, were sometimes able to fight their way into a share of the growing number of jobs. Government expanded, both to

provide massive subsidies to defense, oil, airlines, agribusiness, and other corporations, and to provide more public services, such as schools and colleges, public health facilities, job training, and welfare assistance.

“Permanent Prosperity” Bites The Dust

Many Americans believed these conditions could last indefinitely, and that prosperity could go on forever. But this was only an illusion. For more than two hundred years, every period of growth in America's capitalist economy has ended in recession or depression. By the early 1970's, the boom-bust cycle was heading into the bust phase.

Most corporate managers thought that the boom would never end. They therefore continued to build factories, buy new equipment and produce more goods. For each company, the goal of this expansion was to produce and sell more goods than its competitors. With all the companies following this strategy, they were bound



eventually to produce more than they could sell at a high profit. Corporate managers made what seemed like sensible plans for their own companies, but these plans added together produced chaos for the economy as a whole.

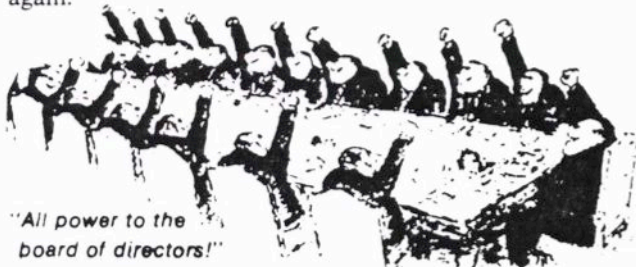
Besides this over-expansion, two other factors were reducing the demand for these companies' products. First, the companies themselves were using more and more machines to replace workers in the factories. As these workers were laid off, unemployment began to grow. Fewer people had the money to buy the products made by U.S. companies.

The second factor was that foreign corporations, particularly in Japan and Europe, completely rebuilt their factories after World War II; these new factories were now competing with the older ones in the United States. By the early 1970's, the United States was no longer top dog in the world economy. Foreign corporations could now produce goods that were better and cheaper than those made in the U.S. This made it even more difficult for U.S. companies to sell their goods and make large profits.

U.S. corporations acted as if the competition from overseas caught them by surprise; but they should have seen the handwriting on the wall many years before. In fact, many of them put it there themselves. Many U.S. corporations — for example, in the steel industry — had actually sold the technology to foreign companies and helped them rebuild their factories in the 1950's and 1960's. Because corporate managers were locked into a short-sighted concern with next quarter's or next year's profits, they could not respond to this foreign competition even though it was visible on the horizon.

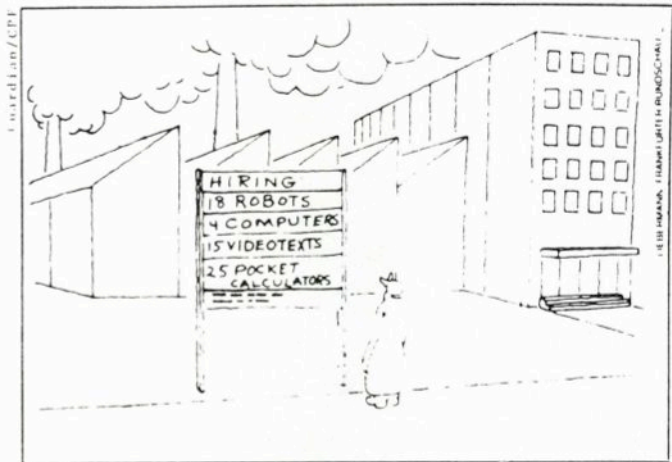
Faced with threats to their boom-time profits, U.S. companies took a series of steps that only made economic conditions worse. Each company laid off workers or shut down workplaces to stop producing the goods it could no longer sell. Many shifted production to other areas or other countries where wages were lower, unions were weak, and companies could cut special deals with government officials. Many corporations tried to keep up their profits in the face of shrinking sales and production by raising their prices, thus aggravating inflation.

None of these tactics solved the problem. The boom was definitely over by the mid-'70's and the major U.S. corporations had to find a new strategy to reorganize the American economy to make it profitable for them once again.



Prosperity Through Poverty: The Corporate Strategy For The 1980's

Starting in the 1970's, a business strategy for regaining profits started to take shape. It was based on a simple idea: shift part of the national income from the average American to business by cutting wages and government programs. Get the public to go along by persuading them that more money for business will mean new investment, more jobs, and renewed prosperity. This program was laid out clearly in business publications and in the programs of groups like the Business Council and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.



The attack on government programs aimed not only to reduce taxes on corporate profits, but also to lower all workers' wages. Laid-off government workers have to compete for jobs in the private sector; with too many workers chasing after too few jobs, the result is lower wages for all workers.

Presidents Nixon, Ford, and Carter accepted large parts of this program. But corporate America found its star in Ronald Reagan. He increased the attack on government programs, sharply reduced taxes on business and wealthy individuals, and encouraged the worst recession since the 1930's. The economic squeeze was perpetrated in the name of fighting inflation, but the result was to create mass unemployment, leading to the lower real wages that were corporate America's goal in the first place.

These policies were justified on the grounds that business profits would be used to create new jobs. But business actually reduced its new U.S. investment through the early 1980's. It milked thousands of U.S. workplaces for all the profits it could get from them, then shut them down, leaving hundreds of thousands out of work. Profits were used not to create new jobs, but to replace workers with computer-aided technology, to buy other companies, and to invest abroad.

Low Pay Or No Pay

Corporate America is no longer willing to share part of its affluence with the rest of the American people. As a result of the new corporate strategy, the U.S. is moving rapidly toward being a nation of "haves" and "have-nots" divided by a large and rapidly growing inequality of income, wealth, and power.

For the majority, the future holds chronic economic insecurity. For at the core of the corporate strategy lies long-term, record-high unemployment. The Labor Department, estimates that one out of four American workers will have experienced some period of unemployment during 1983. Unemployment is expected to remain huge and continuous throughout the 1980's. In a context of mass unemployment, employers will continue to demand that workers accept lower and lower wages, so that they can compete with the workers of Japan, then of Korea, and ultimately Mexico or perhaps Bangladesh. In short, the majority of American workers will face falling wages or unemployment — a choice of "low pay or no pay."

But to say that the average American's income will fall is not to say that everyone's will fall. Corporate executives, managers, accountants, computer technicians, bankers, and other professionals who serve them, independent professionals like doctors, entertainers, athletes, and lawyers, and a few small businesspersons will likely have high incomes, secure jobs, and low taxes. For them, the corporate strategy will have been a "success."

A Glamorous Future?

What fate lies ahead for the millions earning low pay, holding insecure or no jobs, and facing chronic shortages of money to pay for the basics? The splitting of the U.S. into a more sharply divided land of rich and poor may create a kind of job that is new, and yet at the same time also old.

This is the job of personal servant, employed either directly or through a "service agency." The incomes of the American "haves" are rising rapidly. If they can't spend it all on fancy cars, restaurants, luxury condominiums and vacations, the new status symbol for the rich may turn out to be the personal servant: the butler, maid, cook, chauffeur, governess, or valet.

So if you are an unemployed former government employee, a worker replaced by technology, an older person facing inadequate social security, or a young worker finding no entry-level opportunities, you may have a glamorous future as one of the new personal servants of the 1980's.

What Does The Corporate Strategy Mean For The Rest Of Us?

When profits rolled in easily, times were good. When profits proved elusive, it was time to squeeze American workers in order to recreate conditions for high profits. That is what big business has demanded and gotten from political leaders at all levels of government.

The American people have been told that if they tighten their belts and accept less, they will be rewarded by prosperity. They have by and large accepted these demands. But instead of prosperity, they have found themselves made candidates for "the new poor." Meanwhile, they can see a growing concentration of wealth among the "new haves." If the corporate strategy is allowed to continue, the United States will come to look more and more like the poor countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Some people may support this strategy in the hope that they will be among the favored few who will benefit from it. Some of them will; most will only be helping to cut their own throats. And even the "haves" who benefit from unjust policies will have to live with the knowledge that they have forced others to live in poverty to pay for their luxuries.

When the "haves" demand further sacrifices from the "have-nots," we need to hear what they say with new ears:

— When they say "workers must accept concessions," we need to think, "they want to make working people live in poverty so that they can invest in job-eliminating machines and gold-plate the plumbing in their corporate offices."

— When they say "spending on education must be cut," we need to realize that they want our children to be fit only to work as servants for the rich.

Then we need to see with new eyes:

— When we pass a closed plant, we need to see the corporate boardroom where the decision was made to shut it down.

— When the basic services of our communities decay, when our elderly friends and relatives live in fear of Social Security cuts, when people go without the medical care they need, we need to see the politicians who helped put the corporate strategy into effect.

The decisions about where workplaces are shut down or built, what they will produce and for whom, are too important to be left to the corporate managers. They have abused their power to decide how our society will invest its wealth. As long as we let them make these decisions, we will endure a corporate recovery—and a depression for the people. It is time that people, not corporations, made those decisions.

WHERE IS BUSINESS WHEN I'M CUTTING THEIR TAXES, ELIMINATING REGULATIONS, AND INCREASING THEIR PROFITS?!



RIGHT BEHIND YOU, RON!!



AND WHERE IS BUSINESS WHEN IT'S TIME TO TAKE THOSE PROFITS AND INVEST THEM IN REBUILDING AMERICAN INDUSTRY?!



"Someone Can Always Get Rich ..."

According to Lawrence Chimerine, head of Chase Econometrics, there has been "a dramatic shift in the distribution of income away from lower-and middle-income groups toward the upper-income group." The factors behind this shift include tax breaks weighted toward upper-income groups, Government budget cuts aimed primarily at the poor and near-poor, and unemployment and wage freezes concentrated mostly among middle-income and lower-income people.

New York Times, March 27, 1983

Recently, steelworkers, autoworkers, busdrivers and others were forced to take major paycuts. What do their managers make?

Corporate Pay, 1982

Total Salary, Bonus, Stock Gains, Benefits, and Other Compensation:

Auto

General Motors	Robert B. Smith	\$565,000
Ford Motor	Philip Caldwell	\$446,000
Chrysler	Lee Iacocca	\$366,000

Steel

U.S. Steel	David M. Roderick	\$587,000
Bethlehem Steel	Donald H. Trautlein	\$463,000
Armco	Harry Holiday, Jr.	\$402,000
LTV	W. Paul Thayer	\$2,098,000

Other

Exxon	Clifton C. Gorwin, Jr.	\$1,425,000
Levi Strauss	Robert T. Grohman	\$1,276,000
McDonalds	Fred L. Turner	\$543,000

—*Forbes*, June 6, 1983

Most people believe that American workers are the world's most highly paid, and that this makes American companies less competitive internationally. In 1970, American workers were indeed the world's most highly paid, making four times the average hourly rate of Japanese workers. But by the end of the decade, American workers were in seventh place, behind Belgium, Denmark, West Germany, the Netherlands, and Switzerland—some of the very countries with which the U.S. allegedly could not compete because its wages were too high!

by Rick Wolff and AIM, the American Independent Movement of New Haven, 42 Livingston Street, New Haven, CT 06511.

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The Mobilization Support Network

help

for cooperative groups

by Peg Fitzmaurice and Pat Wynne

Peg Fitzmaurice and Pat Wynne are founding members and Core Group Administrators of the Mobilization Support Network. Peg lives in Marin County with her extended family, and does support work with seniors in addition to being an MSN Provider. Pat lives in San Francisco and teaches voice and music. She has been active in Radical Therapy organizing for many years.

Social change organizations, for the most part, operate under cooperative, egalitarian values and goals. It is not, however, unusual to find communication problems and power abuses within these organizations since, despite the best of intentions, cooperative goals can be undermined by competitive behavior. The internalized oppression of group members creates problems within the organization, often the same problems being fought in society-at-large. The competitive behaviors learned in the larger culture seep into the group process. The result: burn-out and disillusionment.

To counter-act this tendency, the Mobilization Support Network, since June of 1980, has been extending the process and communication skills of Radical Therapy to political change workers in the San Francisco Bay area. The Network consists of communications experts, mediators, and social change trainers who have had years of experience with Radical Therapy problem-solving groups, and experience with a diversity of political action/social change organizations. Because of our work in organizations, we were aware of the problems and frustrations such groups often experience.

We saw great possibilities in making available to the larger community the tools we acquired in Radical Therapy problem-solving groups, bringing communication and cooperative process skills to the political arena. Because members of a group or organization are often enmeshed in the problem itself, it is difficult for them to find a solution. Mediation and education from a source outside the group—a source that has perspective, experience, and skills—allows an objective view of the particular group and its difficulties.



Example 1: A Consultation

This group, a multi-racial coalition which did community organizing (a food bank and community garden) and planned cultural events (to celebrate alternative history and ethnic holidays), invited a MSN Provider in as a consultant. After attending a meeting and consulting with members of the coalition, the MSN Provider identified these problems:

- 1) The coalition had no points of unity, which resulted in confusion about which suggestions and projects should have priority. They had begun as a cultural group and had since taken on community organizing projects without redefining the new relationship. This growth necessitated new guidelines.
- 2) The majority of the people in the coalition did not live within the community they were trying to organize. As a result, projects and social events that were organized did not directly respond to the needs of the neighborhood. Low community response discouraged the organizers.
- 3) Although the general process used in the meetings was good (the group chose a facilitator, a process person, a

recorder, and a time-keeper), the MSN consultant noticed there was no time set aside during the meeting to deal with feelings, nor was there any set evaluation time.

The MSN Provider recommended that the group:

- 1) Draw up a Basis of Unity
- 2) Draw up an Implementation Plan, including a time line, for the next year's projects.
- 3) Conduct a neighborhood campaign to discover the most pressing needs of the community so that there will be more interest and response to the projects, as well as more residents involved in the coalition.
- 4) Set a time aside at the end of each meeting to do an evaluation, including time for people to express the appreciation they have for one another and for the good work the group has done.
- 5) Invite a skilled person in to do a workshop on how to strategize and set goals for the organization.

Members of the coalition gave the MSN feedback that the consultation gave them important insights about their organization. They implemented all of the suggestions.

Is the group satisfied with majority rule? Is consensus decision-making more appropriate in certain situations? A consistent evaluation process should be integrated into a group's structure so that the members can become more

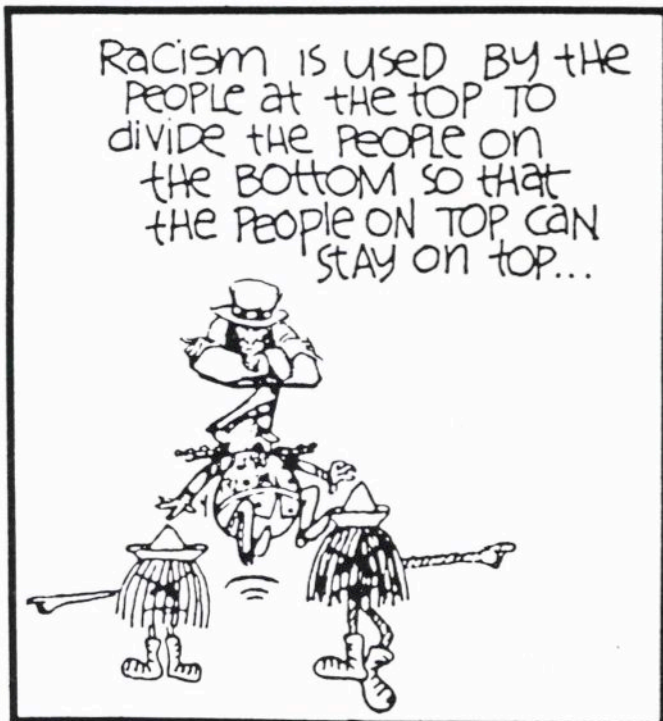
aware of mistakes and the changes that are necessary. Positive input (strokes and appreciations) is also necessary to recharge and make people feel validated and appreciated.

Mobilization skills include the ability to: (1) separate judgements from observations, (2) identify feelings and emotions, (3) state wants clearly, (4) give resentments and check out paranoias, (5) give strokes, (6) empathize (receive pieces of information from someone else and reflect back using intuition), (7) give and receive constructive criticism and self-criticize, (8) make contracts with each other, (9) decide on principles of unity, (10) set limits on the amount you can reasonably do, and (11) share power and responsibility with others in the group.

Essentially, by using these skills, social change organizations should be able to work more effectively, and also more easily build coalitions and alliances with other groups. As a result, individuals and organizations will work more efficiently and powerfully to make changes in society, forming a society that is directed toward people rather than the profit motive.

We believe that the skills taught in Radical Therapy groups can be taken further. We refer to the tools of Radical Therapy as mobilization skills because we believe that, when combined with accurate political analysis (praxis) and enough personal support, they can mobilize people into political action.

In a Radical Therapy group, the goal is to realize a contractual agreement with the facilitator of the group.



The contract is shaped largely by the individual group member, i.e. I will take care of myself; I will get a better job; I will have more satisfying relationships, etc. In this process, the group member works on internalized oppression and, by demystifying it, gains strength to make changes in his or her life. The amount of time spent on changing external oppression in society (such as sexism, racism, classism, ageism, etc.) is determined by the needs of the group member and the priorities of the therapist.

Although this internal work is important, it is only a first step. Once we become aware of how this society shapes our fate, causes our alienation, and stymies our growth, it is necessary to move on to the second step: acquiring mobilization skills. These skills enable us to go out into the world, join with other people, and make some concrete changes in the mechanisms that alienate and paralyze us.

Some mobilization skills deal with facilitating our communication with each other. Other skills help to run

efficient, non-alienating meetings and to structure organizations so that the process does not model the same paternalistic, hierarchical, competitive style that has brought about the internalized oppression.

These skills help us to integrate feelings into group meetings, so that emotional processes are not discounted in favor of intellectual processes and objective goals. Power in groups is analyzed, and equalizing or rotating key roles is encouraged. Reducing competition and introducing cooperative process into a group helps to give all members more of a stake in the goals of the organization and the steps toward implementation. Likewise, problem-solving analysis and group processes must contain an integrated awareness of sexism, racism, classism, ageism, and heterosexism and how these forms of conditioning affect our personal and group interactions.

The decision-making process must be carefully considered in order to improve the quality of a group's process.



Example 2: A Workshop Presentation

This organization, with a staff of about 50% white people and 50% people of color, was having problems with racism issues. It took one year for a member of the agency to get the agreement of other members to participate in a workshop on "Unlearning Racism." Some staff members felt scared because they believed that discussing such volatile feelings would "blow things sky high."

Two teaching strategies were used to help group members examine and change their own misinformation. First of all, members of the organization divided into support groups according to their oppression or affinity. Members of each group made lists of: (1) characteristics they like about people of their own affinity, (2) stereotypes about their group they hated most, (3) what they wanted non-affinity people never to do again, (4) difficulties they had with people of their own affinity (what misinformation they had internalized), and (5) what they expect and demand from allies not of their affinity. A spokesperson from each support group read this information to the larger group, giving each person information about the

cultural and racial attitudes that are oppressive.

Secondly, both white people and people of color volunteered individually to do personal work with the Provider in front of the larger group. Using strategies derived from reevaluation counseling, the Provider facilitated each person's examination of attitudes, experiences, and feelings about racial issues. By examining the conditioning which led to racist attitudes and behavior, group members were better able to understand and change their actions.

As a result of this workshop, tensions lessened and the agency began to function more smoothly. People no longer avoided the issues because of guilt or timidity. Instead, group members spoke more directly to each other about their feelings and felt educated and supported enough to name the problem when incidents of racism came up again. Six months later, the agency asked the MSN Provider to repeat the workshop so they could continue their progress in unlearning racism.

Groups working for social change often need help to accomplish their goals in a cooperative way. Ongoing, nurturing guidance is necessary to enable members of groups to replace their conditioned, competitive behavior with productive, cooperative behavior. There are two main ways this support can be given.

First, members (all or some) from each troubled group receive ongoing training in basic cooperative process. This is done in workshops, classes and private sessions on topics such as how to communicate more effectively, how to eliminate power plays, and how to equalize power in group

situations. It is essential that group members learn how differences due to age, race, class, and sexual preference affect group process, and how their own conditioning can be reexamined regarding these issues.

Second, mediation services are made available to groups that are experiencing severe problems. Mediation has an amazing positive effect in a troubled group, easing communication problems, exposing power imbalances, and helping group members to make agreements about future goals and process.



Example 3: A Mediation

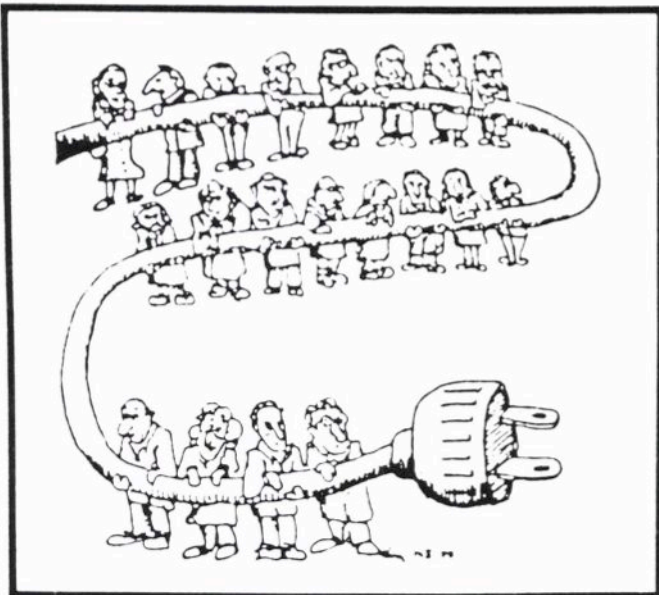
A collective business called in two MSN Providers to perform a mediation because the group was experiencing problems: verbal battles between members, general tension around the office, inability to complete work on schedule, and communication breakdown. Before entering the mediation, the collective did not have clear sense of the problems, and members feared that the collective was in danger of dissolving. There was a vague apathy within the group, and a general feeling of discouragement.

The MSN Provider used the mediation process to clear old feelings, reestablish communication, set new goals, and agree upon a process for achieving them. During the mediation, the following problems within the group became clear:

- 1) Power imbalance: Some members had professional credentials, while others were paraprofessionals. Some members were very outspoken and verbally skilled, while others were more passive and spoke very little. There were also power imbalances within the group because of sexual preference.
- 2) Rapid expansion: The group was growing and changing at a fast pace, resulting in tensions over money issues, meeting structure, and political differences.
- 3) Communications breakdown: Because of the power imbalances and the workload, people were not taking time to give each other appreciations or to socialize with each other as a way to renew collective spirit.

Agreements (contracts) were made during the mediation to begin solving the above problems:

- 1) To solve the power imbalances, everyone agreed to make an effort to equalize verbal skills. The more talkative agreed to develop their empathetic listening skills and the quieter people agreed to assert themselves more. Everyone agreed to continue examining their attitudes about professionalism, heterosexism, and class differences and how these issues affect the working relationships within the group.
- 2) In order to maintain the collective balance during rapid growth, group members agreed to hold two meetings a week instead of one and to design a new basis of unity.
- 3) Group members agreed to continue using communication and empathetic listening skills in their meetings and in their workplace. A specific contract was made that collective members would give each other one appreciation (stroke) every day.



The MSN formed as a coalition of Mobilization Skill Providers, a clearing-house available to political/collective/social change groups as well as traditional organizations (such as social service agencies, government programs, schools, and other institutions) that are having internal difficulties. We are working to make groups autonomous; we ultimately wish to train a few members of each group we service so that they will be able to effectively monitor their own group process. We hope that coalitions will be formed that will use mobilization skills and move on to reaching their goals more effectively than ever in the past.

The Mobilization Support Network will continue to develop and evolve to the needs of the communities we serve. As economic and political pressures become more severe, we all need to pull together against the real sources of repression. By supporting each other and joining together in networks, we will be better prepared for mobilization against the socio-economic problems that divide and exhaust us. □

*Mobilization Support Network
c/o Peace Center
1024 Sir Francis Drake Blvd.
San Anselmo, CA 94960*

Syracuse Cultural Workers Project

by Jack Manno

The Syracuse Cultural Workers Project is an offshoot of the Syracuse Peace Council and has been organized as a separate entity for the past 2 years. The role of the Cultural Workers Project is to assure that culture representing social change values makes its way into the public forum. One of its major projects has been to publish the Peace Calendar, now in its 11th year of production from which the cover of Communities is taken.

*Jack Manno is a writer and peace activist. His book, **Arming the Heavens: The Hidden Military Agenda for Space**, is published by Dodd, Mead and Co.*

THE WOMAN spoke of her experiences at the Women's Peace Camp at the U.S. Air Force base at Greenham Common in England. Behind her hung a quilt-like banner. Each square depicted an image or message of peace. Marion McNaughton was in Syracuse as part of a nationwide speaking tour representing the Greenham women. She told the story of the peace quilt. When she originally conceived the idea she wrote to friends in the Movement for a New Society in Philadelphia suggesting the women throughout the United States and Canada make cloth squares and send them to Greenham. There the women would form the squares into a quilt that would hang as a fitting symbol of the international solidarity of women in the peace movement. The Philadelphia women took up the idea and soon over 200 squares had arrived at Greenham Common. The quilt was sewn together and placed at the camp on the Air Base fence. When she came to the states, Marion carried the banner with her.

Photographer Jan Phillips, Syracuse Cultural Workers Project member, was there to hear Marion McNaughton speak about Greenham. The quilted banner that hung behind the speaker impressed Jan with its simple beauty and symbolic power. She began to work out the details of transferring the cloth imagery onto photographs. Later she spoke to Project co-coordinator Dik Cool about her ideas. They both agreed that images from the quilt might be the

perfect vehicle to carry the theme of the 1984 Peace Calendar.

The next day Dik contacted Marion McNaughton and made arrangements for Jan to shoot some pictures. When the rest of the Project activists met to look over Jan's prints and slides and to discuss ideas for the calendar cover, some of the more technical difficulties of transferring images from one medium to another became apparent. The photos tended to show bland where the cloth was subtle. No particular set of squares was dynamic enough when set apart from the whole. Could the print be cut along the lines of the squares and reassembled to meet the Project's needs? Would such an act be an assault on the integrity of the quilt and the people involved? Aesthetic judgments turned into a lively debate including issues of technique, taste, political impact, and personal and ethical considerations. After hours of going over the prints and slides of the Greenham quilt, a discouraging consensus was reached. In all that material there was simply nothing that would be appropriate for the calendar cover.

Out of the frustration of this decision came the idea to make another quilt which would better fit the size and colors needed for the calendar and would also serve as a catalyst for the spread of progressive movement culture here in the states. In England the quilt had proven to be not only a rallying banner but a striking and haunting symbol of the beauty of simple things as it hung on

the stark, depressing barbed wire fence surrounding the U.S. air base. If Patchwork Power — the name given the banner by the Greenham Common women — was effective in England, why not here? The idea was immediately exciting to everyone.

Project member Karen Kerney took on the banner idea as her main activity for the following few weeks. She put out the word that the Cultural Workers wanted local women to contribute squares with each woman's own message of peace. Soon dozens of women were working on squares. Some did them for and with their children. Some invented slogans, others adopted phrases that had special meaning to them. Almost immediately the idea evolved that the banner, like the one at Greenham Common, would hang at the Women's Encampment for a Future of Peace and Justice, which was scheduled to open on July 4 at the Seneca Army Depot in Seneca, New York.

The quilt project took on a life of its own. It became a political gesture, a community social event and a collective artistic endeavor. Besides the messages sewn onto its surface, it spoke as well of the tradition of the quilting bee, part of a nearly forgotten American heritage of neighborliness and communal work. The Project writes in the 1984 calendar, "Quilting has been an unrecognized women's art for centuries, even though quilts are exciting and original. They also symbolize contentment and a sense of importance of home. Since women are in the forefront of the peace movement, it felt wonderfully appropriate."

As the quilt squares came in, Project members sewed them together. Jan Phillips arranged for a photographic studio session, and the cover of the 1984 Can't Kill the Spirit Calendar was created. Immediately thereafter Karen Kerney and a group of quilt-square contributors took the banner to the opening day of the Women's Encampment at Seneca. It hung there throughout the summer, on the front porch of the farm house on the encampment land, a vital symbol of the camp. When National Public Radio's Margot Adler re-

ported from Seneca, it was the quilt she spoke of first, calling it "stunningly beautiful."

The activity surrounding the quilted banner succeeded in inspiring all the Cultural Workers and pushed the calendar production forward at a record pace. In a market dominated by Hallmark and the conglomerate publishers and distributors, this handful of activists organized a national and international distribution and earned success and respect.

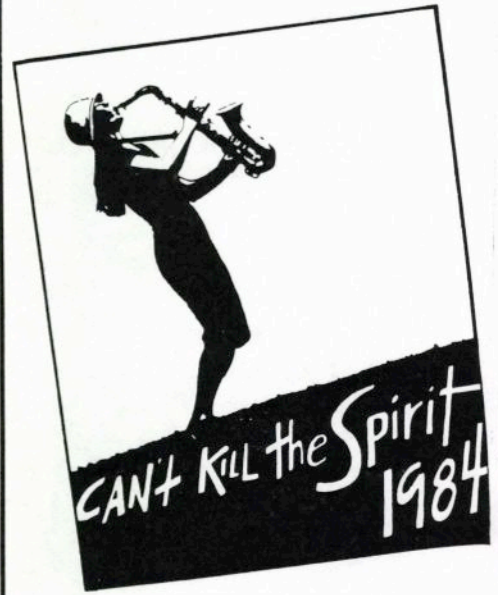
The "Work"

One thing that is consistently striking about Project members is the simple and unpretentious way they accept their role in a national and international movement. Sitting around the kitchen table at Linda and Dik's house (and office of the Syracuse Cultural Workers Project) discussing this article with Linda and Dik and Karen Mihalyi, one gets a sense of being with a group of people with a clear sense of their place in a large extended community that is literally planetary in its geographic dimensions. According to Karen, Project members "see our task as assuring that culture representing our values makes its way into the public forum. We try to bring politically aware culture out into the open to inspire and empower those people who are out there doing the necessary work to change the direction the world is going. We provide the visions, the ways of imagining change. We broaden the definition of what is politically important work. There are many ways to contribute to the movement, not just organizing marches or writing leaflets. Some people do it with their singing, their dancing, some with their pictures. We bring artists and activists together in a place where both kinds of work are equally valued."

Linda points to the important role that cultural work plays in building community ties. "You can't build the kind of society we're working toward without strong community bonds. We believe in building community, in creating good feelings among people."

One of the goals of artistic expression is to create what is some-

the Syracuse Cultural Workers Peace Calendar



times called an "Ah-ha" experience — that sudden recognition that what had once appeared to be a hodge-podge of disconnected items is in fact a subtly articulated whole. Politically, this can happen when we see that what had appeared to be a jumble of competing demands from many social movements, each with its own cause, is in fact a broad progressive movement united in a shared vision of a better future. According to Dik, it is the cultural articulation of that shared vision that is the most important task of the Project. "We work toward connecting the underlying issues while respecting the integrity of each group's struggle. It's not just the Freeze, it's not just Indian rights, not just environmentalism or human rights. It's all of these things. Certain worldviews try to tie these movements together by struggling against the roots of oppression. Socialism, feminism, anarchism. We try to bring the 'isms' together, too. By making the connections we build the unity we feel is necessary for success, for planetary survival. The calendar is a great vehicle for that. We present 12 unique images, each expressing a truth in a certain way of looking at the world. We don't need to tie them together artificially, we can present them individually but as part of one publication, one year, offering a unified vision of political struggle. Probably our ideological bias should be called *anti-imperialism*, by which I mean that we object personally, morally, politically and culturally to the exploitation of the disenfranchised by the unjustly powerful. We need to solicit some word-makers, poets, to invent a better word than the dry but accurate one we have, anti-imperialism."

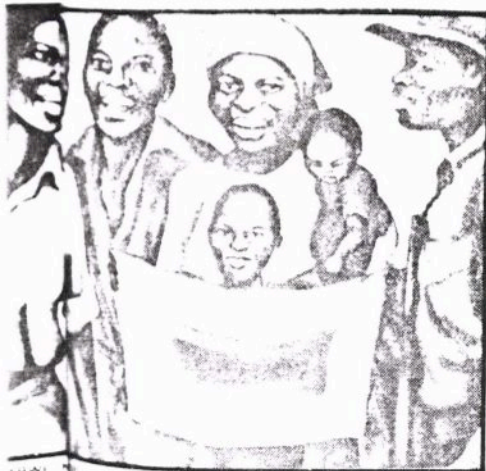
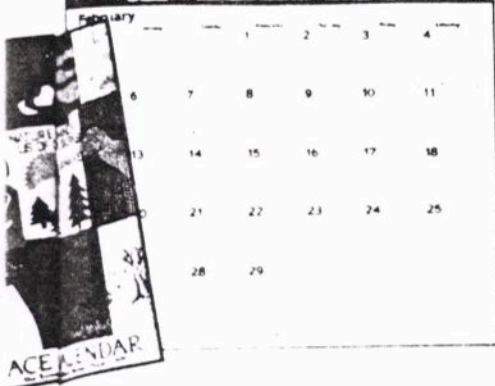
Dik gave an example of Project members' efforts in building bridges through cultural work. Project members had been active in forming alliances between peace activists and Indian activists in Central New York. Concert coordinator, Karen Mihalyi, along with two other local women and some people at the International Indian Treaty council, produced a benefit concert for Dennis Banks, the American Indian Movement leaders, and to the Grantham Political

Sanctuary. The concert featured Odetta, the Thunderbird Sisters, Holly Near, Chris Williamson and Floyd Westerman. In addition to the concert, the Project has worked closely with a local Indian artist, Tracy Thomas, the Project has worked closely with a local Indian artist, Tracy Thomas, who created an exquisite brown pen and ink drawing to accompany a poem by imprisoned Indian leader Leonard Peltier entitled "The Indian Voice." Jan Peterson, another artist associated with the Project, did the calligraphy. The poem and drawing became the artwork for October in the Calendar. Tracy and Jan are currently collaborating on a poster to be distributed by the Project.

Although Project members identify with a broad community made up of people throughout the world struggling in a variety of progressive movements, they are also acutely aware of their own local community. As representative of Project goals as the Patchwork Power banner was, the community event the Project produced to celebrate the publication of their 1984 Calendar which was an amalgam of live performance, film, food and displays was held in a movie theater in Syracuse.

The Calendar artwork for September is a full-color reproduction of the album cover photo that appears on the Weavers' reunion album. This prompted Project organizers to show the film, "The Weavers: Wasn't That A Time," a chronicle of the singing group's beginning, their unexpected popular success, their subsequent McCarthy-era blacklisting and their triumphant reunion concert at Carnegie Hall in 1980. In the film, Weaver Ronnie Gilbert makes a comment that seems representative of Project goals. The Project quoted it on the evening's program, "We felt that if we sang loud enough and strong enough and hopefully enough somehow it would make a difference."

That evening the movie house was transformed with 250 people in attendance. It was part political rally, part art exhibit, part concert, part movie and partly a gathering of friends in a warm living room. The manager of



ALL W...
...Syracuse Cultural Workers
...Zimbabwe Independence

the theater later commented that in all his years of showing films he had never had an audience sing along with the soundtrack.

Future Plans

Currently the Cultural Workers Project is evaluating itself, seeking new forms to work in, establishing comfortable non-hierarchical work patterns, and hoping to live up to the national and international reputation it has already earned. Their work and decision-making processes seem fairly well established after two years of working together. One person, Dik Cool, receives a small stipend as Project co-coordinator. Another Project member, Jean Wittman, is paid as office worker and shipping person. Artistic and political decisions are reached through group review and consensus. The day-to-day decisions about operations are made by the co-coordinators, Dik and Linda. All the money to finance publications and projects has either been borrowed from local activists or been raised through sales of Project materials. The group has received one grant thus far, from the New York State Council on the Arts to organize three community film festivals in 1984, and is seeking others.

At present the Project's major activity is the production and distribution of visual materials. The 1983 "Disarmament Calendar" and the 1984 "Can't Kill the Spirit Peace Calendar" have been their two most widely distributed and successful works. A number of posters are available from the Project, as well as note cards featuring the photographs of Jan Phillips, and Jan's slide show, *Focus on Peace*.

Sandee Resnick, a photographer and political activist, and Karen Kerney were the artistic directors of the 1984 Calendar, and they will most likely take major roles in the creative work currently being planned. Jan Phillips is currently on a world tour, carrying with her a copy of the slide show about the North American disarmament movement that she produced with the Project last year. Jan plans on returning to Syracuse with an armful of photo-images for the Project's proposed 1986 International

Peace Movement Calendar. Karen Mihalyi, concert coordinator, is focusing largely on concert production and a related idea she has been nurturing about a network to help lesser known performing artists set up concert tours. Sally Brule, who appears at the Project office every Thursday, is known as the resident poet and veteran activist.

The Project also has a traveling 90-piece photo exhibit available that features many images from the June 12th, 1982, Disarmament Rally in New York City. Future plans include: community film festivals; a book on the history of the Syracuse Peace Council for that group's 50th anniversary in 1986; concert production; and a continuing effort to share skills and provide services — layout, graphics/photos, design, publicity, etc. — with and for other groups organizing cultural and progressive events.

The Project is currently soliciting material for consideration for the 1985 Calendar. Any artists, photographers and others with materials to submit should contact the Project for details.

The Syracuse Cultural Workers Project is dedicated to that ineffable, undefinable Spirit that survives within all people even under the most trying circumstances. It's appropriate that for the 1984 Calendar the Project adopted the lyrics of the song written by Naomi Littlebear, *Like a Mountain*. The song has spread around the world has become a kind of anthem for the disarmament movement.

*Somebody may change the words
we're saying
But the truth will live on and on
You can't kill the Spirit,
It's like a mountain, old and strong;
It lives on and on.*

©Copyright 1976 by Naomi Littlebear appears on *Quiet Thunder*, an album by Izquierda Ensemble.

Quiet Thunder album is available (\$8 postpaid) from Naomi Littlebear, 3737K S.E. Salmon, Portland, OR 97214.

Notecards and Postcards



oh how we danced



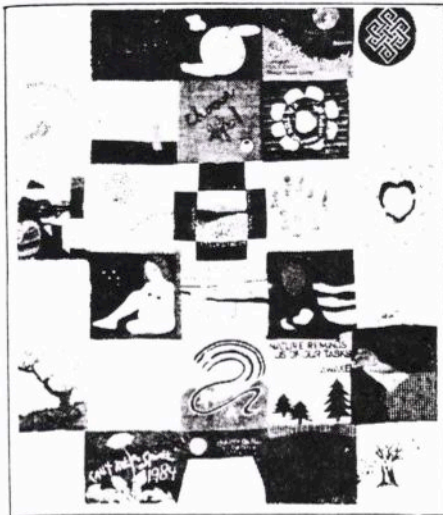
on the beach



entwined

Posters

PATCHWORK POWER #14



DISARMAMENT NOW #12



FREEZE THE ARMS RACE #13



RESOURCES

Can't Kill the Spirit 1984 Peace Calendar

Twelve uplifting images, many in full color, celebrating people's hope, courage and resistance. Artwork representing International Women's Day, The Weavers, Zimbabwe, The Pacific Peacemaker, Bread and Puppet Theatre, 14 x 22 on your wall. Features full-color, wrap-around cover, "Patchwork Power," of squares sewn in honor of women's peace camps. Lunar cycles, holidays, people's history dates, and plenty of notation space. By mail \$7.75, 3/\$20, 5/\$31. Bulk rates.

Posters

Patchwork Power #14. Full color squares sewn in honor of Women's Peace Camps in USA and England. Heavy white stock, 16 x 21, somewhat wider than it is on the Calendar cover. By mail \$4.25, 3/\$10. Retail \$3.

Disarmament Now # 12. Dandelions with a simple poem on survival. "Disillusionment Now" in English, Spanish, Russian, Chinese and French at bottom. In yellow, orange, green and black on coated stock. 21 x 28, published by Syracuse Peace Council. Now in its 2nd printing of 2,000. By mail \$4.75, 3/\$11. Retail \$3.50.

Freeze the Arms Race #13. Striking B/W high contrast photograph, by Jan Phillips of the beginning of the June 12, 1982 disarmament march in NYC. 29 x 21, heavy coated white stock. By mail \$4.25, 3/\$10. Retail \$3.

One of each of these 3 posters by mail is \$10.75. Twelve other posters are pictured in our catalog.

Notecards & Postcards

Brochure available with pictures.

Buttons

Another KGB Dupe for Peace

This red (of course) and black 2 1/4 inch button is intended to more easily identify Reagan's conspirators. 20 or more at 45 cents each plus 15% shipping. Retail \$.75-\$1. By mail \$1 each, 3/\$2.

Can't Kill the Spirit

Black and lavender, 1 inch, by Donnelly/Colt, by mail \$.75 each, 3/\$1.50, 20 or more 30 cents each plus 15%.

Slideshow & Photography Exhibit

Both titled "Focus on Peace," the 15-minute slide show is very upbeat and is set to two Holly Near songs. Comes in carousel and cassette tape. An excellent way to create an empowering atmosphere in connection with disarmament programs. \$10 plus shipping. The exhibit contains matted and framed photographs from 10 countries with special emphasis on the June 12, 1982, NYC demonstration. Fee negotiable plus shipping. The slide show and exhibit go well together.

Wholesale/Bulk Rates

On quantity orders we offer discounts of 30-50%. One of the major reasons we publish our materials is to provide progressive groups/bookstores with attractive resources which they can sell to raise funds and consciousness. Write or call us for these rates.

SCWP will provide "consultant" services in several cultural areas, especially design and production of visual materials; or we will do this work at a reasonable charge. Please contact us.

An invitation

To artists and photographers to contact us regarding submitting work for planned or potential publications and to be on our mailing list.

Syracuse Cultural Workers Project
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Syracuse, NY 13217
315 474-1132

Research —

The missing

by Robert Sommer

THE HISTORY OF COOPERATION in the United States reveals an unfortunate tendency to reinvent the wheel. Each association attempts to generate answers that its predecessors learned. I don't lay the blame for this situation on co-ops as individuals or on a lack of discussion since cooperatives put more emphasis on reasoned discussion than do most other organizations. The major problem is a lack of objective information that could move from discussion on to productive solutions. When good information in such critical areas as growth policies, organizational structure, and marketing decisions is lacking, co-ops are likely to repeat the errors of the past.

Jerry Voorhis declared, "Long ago, major cooperatives in the United States should have pooled effort and resources in establishing a laboratory and research center second to none" (Rofsky, 1979). Listing mistakes of the movement, long-time organizer Jack McLanahan puts the lack of appreciation of research in first position:

Research is the most powerful tool for progress that has been developed in the 20th Century. Yet among (consumer) cooperatives, almost no time or money has been spent for research. Except for commodity testing, to test grade labeling, or to prepare better formulas for feeding pigs, I would hazard a guess that IBM spends more for pure and applied research in one year than all co-ops together have spent in the last 15 years (page 35).

In the program announcement for the 1983 Institute of the Consumers Cooperative Alliance which described more than 100 workshops, classes, training sessions, panels, and caucuses, there was not a single mention of research. There are practical implications for the cooperative movement in this lack of attention to research. I have witnessed numerous instances of decisions being made without information that could have been obtained readily if anyone had made a little effort. I have also seen faulty information-gathering procedures used in place of better ones. Research does not mean some exotic preoccupation of white-coated scientists in remote laboratories. It is the sort of activity that can be done by co-op members and staff in the context of their work and responsibilities. An essential component of the research tradition is that information is shared. Dissemination is what keeps people from reinventing the wheel.

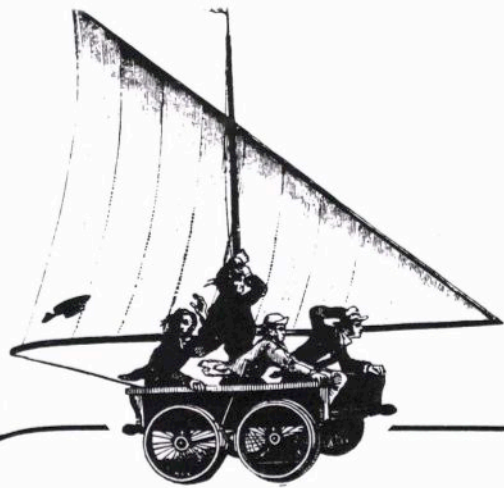
I spent some time considering whether cooperative research was a distinct type of activity or traditional method applied to co-op issues, eventually coming down

on the side of the traditional approach. Good research is not going to be done by a committee or by the cooperative as a whole, but the larger entities can give support and encouragement to individuals or teams in selecting topics vital to co-op survival and disseminating the results in an appropriate manner. What one cooperative learns should be made available to others so that they can do things better when they face the same problems. Refinement of principles and the improvement of practice are what cooperative research is all about.

A distinction can be made between research useful to the larger cooperative movement, in elucidating cooperative principles and testing theories, and research that is directly relevant to individual co-ops. Of necessity the individual co-ops are preoccupied with survival concerns. For them the most useful type of research will not involve general questions of philosophy or theory, but practical issues connected to markets, product demand, worker and member motivation, and organizational issues. In general, research intended to benefit individual co-ops should follow an action research model, in which the co-ops themselves are actively involved in developing the questions, designing the instruments, collecting data, and analyzing the results. This will ensure that the questions asked are relevant and the results are used. Questions of interest to the larger cooperative movement can derive from cooperative theory or consultation with national co-op leaders and organizations.

There is need for serious discussion on how research fits into a larger agenda of social change. During the 1960s there was considerable hostility within the counterculture toward academic research which was viewed as irrelevant or inimical to social change. This reflected a suspicion of the major institutions of the society whose values and practices tended to support the status quo. The legacy of suspicion within alternative institutions toward universities still remains. Academic researchers must be educated as to the research needs of cooperatives. This can take place best in an atmosphere of open dialogue. As an example, we suggested the idea of a membership survey to a funeral co-op. They indicated that they were eager to have our assistance, but had a more urgent concern than a membership survey. This involved the use of the term *society* by profit-making organizations which undermined the position of the funeral co-ops. At their urging, we undertook a survey on the public perception of the *society* as indicating a profit or non-profit organization.

Within a movement struggling for survival, research



'r' in cooperation

does not need to have a top priority. Many more practical activities will have to come first. The decision about whether or not to undertake research will probably be made by members as individuals. I recognize the contradiction between individual research and the nature of cooperation. It would be more desirable if research evolved from a collective perception of need and an allocation of group resources. Unfortunately this is not realistic given the immediate survival concerns of most co-ops. The collective does not have the time and resources available to undertake research but specific individuals within the collective do. There are occasions when individuals can do what groups cannot. Until the cooperative movement can generate the resources to sponsor research, it should encourage its members to undertake measures that will encourage people to do research.

1. Add research to the list of co-op goals. This won't produce much change by itself but it will get people thinking of research ideas.

2. Establish a research committee of the Board with a mandate to carry out and review studies. Give credit for such participation as volunteer work time.

3. Set aside a portion of the newsletter for research. Encourage members to send in contributions. Also in the newsletter, condense and describe research done elsewhere.

4. Sponsor a prize for the best research on co-op issues in the region. CLUSA currently offers a Glen Anderson award for the best co-op research. Circulate notices of the award to all co-ops, colleges and universities. Contact individual instructors who are sympathetic to the co-op about having their students undertake projects. Mention the winning study in the newsletter and make a presentation at a membership meeting. Send notice of the award to the local media.

5. Keep records in a form that will be usable by researchers. There may be no one to undertake research right now, but in the future someone may want to examine membership or purchase records if they are in a form that can be understood and analyzed.

6. Set up a library shelf on the co-op movement. Recently we made a systematic count of the books sold at eight co-ops in western states. We were surprised to find that five stores carried no books on the co-op movement, and in all stores, titles dealing with the co-op movement amounted to fewer than 1% of books on the shelves. Under the circumstances, one can understand why there is so much reinventing the wheel in the cooperative movement.

7. In all published articles and pamphlets, include proper citations and references. This will enable readers to locate earlier sources of information.

8. Identify and circulate information on funding sources. Currently, grants from the Department of Energy are being given in the area of consumer education. Health co-ops could take advantage of research funds through the National Institutes of Health and housing co-ops of grants from HUD. Most agencies that give development grants also have a separate category of research awards that could be tapped by an alert co-op research committee. The first step is to create a research structure that can take advantage of available programs.

It is surprising how much interest an awards program can generate; for many people, the recognition implied in the award is more important than the money. Support need not be financial, although this would be helpful. It should at least mean access to records, people, and a place to publish the results. Unpublished studies buried in someone's files have little potential for influencing policy.

I share the dream of Robert Hutchins of a questioning community in which people ask themselves how they can do their jobs better. In a questioning community, research is not the responsibility of an elite few, but is everybody's business. That research has become an elitist activity is a tragedy of our society. In my own field of psychology, there are those who advocate "giving psychology away" in terms of a wider dissemination of methods and findings. I would like to see research given away to cooperators, to be used to build a stronger, more enlightened, and goal-directed movement. □

I would like to express my appreciation to Ann Evans, Carla Fjeld, Bob Hackman, and Barbara Sommer for their helpful comments.

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You may write to Robert Sommer at The Center for Consumer Research, University of California, Davis, California 95616.

Child Care and the Cooperative Model

by Ann Hoyt
Consumer Co-op Press Service



Nearly every parent in the country has a personal story to tell about the day child care arrangements went totally askew. Mothers whose sitters don't show up are forced to lock their children in the car in the parking lot at work. Single working parents, unable to afford high day care costs must leave their children unsupervised after school. Both fathers and mothers who, unable to locate satisfactory child care, fear they are not providing the best for their children.

In every historical period child care has unfailingly generated heated and emotional conflicts among people interested in the country's children: parents, educators, social workers and therapists, politicians, religious leaders and legions of others. Both day care centers and nursery schools have been criticized for the inadequate care provided, their contribution to weakened parental responsibility, their making it easier for women to leave their "rightful place" in the home with their children, and the direct threat they pose to the nuclear family.

Even among proponents of child care facilities there are deep philosophical divisions. Although there are many options on how children should be cared for and by whom, a few major differences are apparent. To what extent must a child's care be provided by the child's mother? What, if any, is the government's legitimate role in child care? Who should pay for child care and how much should be spent? What and how determines what constitutes quality child care? To what extent do parents have a right to control the environment of their child's outside-the-home child care setting?

Almost surprisingly, cooperatives are functioning and flourishing in this complex and often emotional environment. Hundreds of thousands of American parents have discovered they can own and operate businesses that meet their child care needs. From the simple babysitting co-op, where parents exchange babysitting services instead of money, to the complex cooperative day care center, where a licensed staff provides a wide range of services, parents across the country are discovering the benefits the cooperative model can offer.

Neighborhood babysitting co-ops have operated in the U.S. for many years, providing unlicensed, informal day and evening care. There is no accurate count of these

co-ops and very little coordination between them.

A bit more complex are infant and toddler pre-school play groups. In this arrangement a very small group of parents agree to provide care for each other's children on a regularly scheduled basis. Typically, all the children are cared for by one parent in that parent's home for several hours. Each participating parent provides care on the same day each week. Again, there are no reliable estimates of how many parents participate in this kind of effort, for it is unlicensed, informal, and usually of limited duration (two or three hours) during the day. Such arrangements assume one parent in each member family is regularly available for half a day each week. As might be expected, most working parents find this a difficult model in which to participate. Some observers feel this is an important child care alternative in rural areas.

Parent cooperative pre-schools are schools owned by parents and operated under the guidance of a professional teacher. Cooperative pre-schools traditionally emphasize development and education of pre-school children, parent education and the active participation of parents in their children's education. In fact, parent participation is seen as a crucial philosophical element in the pre-school. Programs are generally half-day. "Our members work three hours per week at the co-op," says Judith Cushner of the Laurel Hill Nursery in San Francisco. "In addition, they contribute 12 hours to maintenance per year and are committed to covering any operating deficits at the end of the year through a variety of fund raising activities."

Parent cooperative pre-schools are the oldest (the Children's Community Center in Berkeley, California was started in 1920) and best organized of the cooperative child care alternatives. Over 400 pre-school co-ops are members of Parent Cooperative Pre-schools International (PCPI), an international organization that promotes positive standards, practices and conditions in parent cooperatives, provides extensive educational resources for parents and teachers and encourages strong ties between parent co-ops themselves, and parent co-ops and the larger cooperative community.

Cooperative day care centers are also owned by parents, but are run on a daily basis by staff. They offer a wider range of services than parent cooperative pre-schools.

Basic services include full-day and half-day care and meals. Additional services may include 24 hour availability, drop-in care, on-site after-school programs for elementary age children and sick child care. One such cooperative, Reston Children's Center in Reston, Virginia has just received a grant to develop an innovative off-site home-based after-school program for pre-teen and teenage children.

Cooperative day care centers do not rely on parent participation in daily activities. As with other child care co-ops, the centers are directed by a board of parents elected by the co-op's members. Parent responsibilities at Reston include a commitment to work 10 hours per year on school financial development and school maintenance. "We hold frequent parent-teacher conferences and encourage parent participation through a newsletter, parent education activities and social events," says Madeline Fried, Reston's director.

Co-op day care centers are not yet organized into state or national organizations. "We only have informal contact with other co-op day care centers. We know there are many more we haven't located," says Fried. "Our board of directors is committed to participating in the larger cooperative movement and to encouraging the development of cooperative day care centers. However, we're finding we have to start at the very beginning locating other centers."

Fried's comments identify the current state of organization in the co-op child care world. Although PCPI is well organized and provides significant assistance to its members, it has not yet expanded to include day care centers as part of its focus. PCPI has traditionally held the view that co-op pre-schools by their very nature must involve parents in a significant way in daily operations. PCPI has been hesitant to include day care centers because they do not involve parents to the extent the parent co-op nursery school movement has seen as necessary for the healthy development of children. For single parents who work and dual career couples such participation is simply not possible. The debate goes to the heart of parents' and educators' beliefs about the role of parents, particularly mothers, in the education and development of their children.

Meanwhile, the demand for quality child care continues. And both parent co-ops and day care centers are responding by expanding their services. "Children who had been with us for many years wanted a program that didn't require coming to the center," Fried says of Reston's recent expansion. "They thought that was for younger children. We offer a wide variety of programs because as a parent co-op we are totally responsive to our market."

Many traditional parent pre-school cooperatives are expanding into more extensive services similar to day care centers. Philosophical differences, aside, these centers are also responding to members' needs. Sally Kennedy, Director of the El Cerrito Pre-school in El Cerrito, California, says, "Our school is typical in the sense that we have changed our program to meet the current needs of the community."

The cooperative movement is in a unique position in the

child care industry. It has thousands of success stories in a wide variety of child care cooperatives. It has excellent, if limited, models of creative, parent-involved, child-oriented, cooperative-owned day care facilities. It has a philosophy ideally suited to the industry. What consumer group is more concerned over the quality and price of the product they purchase than parents are for the care of their children? Also, in the Co-op Bank the cooperative movement has a source of financing committed by Congress to foster the growth of consumer cooperatives, including child care co-ops.

Further, child care cooperatives by their very nature provide the level of parent involvement that all observers eventually identify as necessary if the country is to develop a quality child care system. Says social worker Karen Authier, "In any event, parents seem to provide the key to quality control in child care, because they usually are in touch with the center more frequently than the licensing representative." Cooperatives also provide parents an opportunity to design cooperatives that best meet their needs and their children's needs.

However, with isolated exceptions, cooperators are far from achieving the potential of the parent cooperative. In spite of child care tax incentives, only three cooperatives are listed among the 415 employers listed by the National Employer Sponsored Child Care Project. They are Group Health Cooperative of Puget Sound and Puget Consumer Cooperative, both in Seattle, and Group Health Plan Insurance Company in St. Paul. Other than these no large agricultural, rural electric, group health, credit union, insurance company, or consumer goods cooperative is listed as having sponsored any kind of child care program for their employees, much less child care cooperatives for their members. There have been only limited efforts by co-ops of all kinds to discover the child care needs of their members and to promote the child care co-op as a way to meet those needs. And although clearly within the mandate of the Co-op Bank, interest there in developing a market has been limited, sporadic and not yet effective.

Probably the primary reason for this low level of interest in child care has been co-op members' lack of action in this area. Cooperative success is based on a blend of inspired leadership and loyal, purposive members who are convinced the cooperative meets their needs better than the competition. Until today's cooperators are willing to commit some of their resources to developing effective cooperative child care resources in their communities, cooperatives will continue to be a tiny fraction of the child care industry. If we look to cooperatives as an economic force for consumers in the marketplace, as a competitive model for quality, integrity and economic democracy, we owe it to ourselves as parents and as participants in the health of our communities to insure that such a competitive force exists in the nation's day care industry. □

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Creative Futures: The Co-op Way

by David Thompson
Consumer Co-op Press Service

If ever there was a creative person in dealing with the future in terms of cooperatives, it was James Howarth, one of the original founders of the Rochdale Pioneers. One evening after a long and difficult co-op board meeting, Howarth decided to go home and figure out how long it would be before cooperatives were the dominant economic force in Britain. At that time, there was a great deal of interest, tremendous support, and intense loyalty to cooperatives and the future looked very bright indeed.

Not having an Apple II or even an Osborne to carry home, Howarth pulled out his charcoal pencil and wrote on the back of the newspaper. What he calculated was that, at the rate they were going, within 70 years almost every household in Britain would be a member of a cooperative. Because he was able to convince other cooperatives that that would be true, they were able to develop and implement the economic and social structures necessary to serve over 25 percent of the British population. The creative future they developed included not just cooperative stores, but a cooperative bank, cooperative insurance society, memorial societies, cooperative housing, a huge cooperative production and wholesale society and various other services that dealt with the basic needs of England's population.

Like Howarth, we too need to look at the environment in which we live. In today's world, there are key factors that we know will be constant concerns to us as cooperators and will shape our future.

- The earth and peace upon it.
- The environment and the equitable distribution of resources for the use of all people.
- The economic and social health of our land and our world.
- The employment and security required by all the inhabitants of this earth.
- The revolution in technology and communications that will either better or worsen our lots.
- The provision of basic human needs.
- The strengthening and viability of democracy.

It is a time of great opportunity, one which cooperators can earnestly seize, and our success will be where we provide the answers. To me, for cooperatives to be successful, a number of elements must be present. As cooperators, we must: be different and distinct in our cooperative enterprises; implement the numerous good ideas made available to us; be ready to adapt to the changing society; constitute a new and developing relationship with government; and serve our members and always

keep our members in mind for they are the real society which we must serve.

Normal corporations honor economic principles. What is different about cooperatives is that they honor principled economics. Therein lies a difference which is both philosophical, and practical, but which shows the true value of building a cooperative sector within the economy.

However, a \$10.00 lifetime investment in our cooperatives will not portend a reformation of society nor buy a revolution. Nothing great will be achieved if we don't put our money where our mouths are. Cooperators talk often of growth, expansion, and development and then forget to give the boards and management the tools to do the job. In these times of difficulty, our cooperatives, like many other corporations, have become stagnant and less vital, and we concern ourselves with their future. We forget the value of the member as a member, as a provider of capital, as a purchaser of the goods and services.

Of course, there are many ways in which we can revitalize our cooperatives. I find member capital one of the most important. Member capital is the oil that makes our cooperative lamp shine. For example, we have 130,000 people who are members of cooperatives in California. Were each of those members to be required to buy a \$10.00 annual share in their cooperative, that would raise \$1.3 million each year. That capital would enable much to be purchased, larger purchasing power, and less expense paid out on debt repayments. Not only that, but that \$1.3 million could be leveraged through loans from organizations, including, of course, the national Consumer Cooperative Bank. Under the best of circumstances, that \$1.3 million could be leveraged each year into \$4 million in new capital for the cooperative system.

The future is before us, full of opportunities. Our cooperatives have an important role, but to accomplish them, we must have direction, and we must have both an ability to create a vision and to implement that vision. Clearly, wherever there is an idea, and the commitment to success, cooperatives have been at the forefront of change within these difficult times. The Solar Center in San Francisco has been a model of worker cooperation and entry into the field of energy. The Sacramento Cab Co-op has come out of a union struggle and is slowly growing into a model of worker ownership within the transportation industry. There is growing interest in the group healths that are around the country as a provider of medical service in a time of rising costs and lessening service. Associated Cooperatives is hosting the development of computer buying clubs and if success comes their way, they will revolutionize a portion of the food distribution industry.

Throughout California, housing cooperatives have emerged in the past five years to serve senior citizens, students, farm workers, and those most in need of shelter, and have done it with the support of federal, state, and local agencies. Frequently they have been the only provider of newly constructed multi-family housing where they have emerged.

During this period, over a thousand units of limited equity cooperative housing have been constructed in California. Cooperative housing is undergoing a rebirth of development and is gaining support from major elements

of the housing public policy establishment. After years of focus on public housing without ownership, cooperative housing is no longer an experiment in utopia, but a tried and valuable alternative in the provision of quality housing for millions of people in the United States.

Clearly the people with their ideas, and the tool of cooperation have been able to provide a beacon of hope in an economy which gives too few a chance to succeed. Across America and the world, especially in Canada in Quebec, Nova Scotia, British Columbia, Saskatchewan and in Europe in Spain, Italy, and France, different kinds of cooperatives are arising to solve the problems of our modern world. Cooperatives continue to try where others have given up, and cooperatives have succeeded where others have failed. For us to succeed, we must honor the

Rochdale principles that were developed in the past, and implement them so that they live strongly in the future. To do that, we must dare to dream, we must dare to decide, and we must dare to do. If we do those things, then clearly James Howarth and the original Pioneers will be proud of what we have accomplished and their dream of years ago will one day come to fruition. □

David J. Thompson is the Western Regional Director of the National Consumer Cooperative Bank. Previously he served on the board of Associated Cooperatives, The California Cooperative Federation and was one of the founders of Co-opportunity, a food co-op in Santa Monica. This article was excerpted from a speech given at the California Cooperative Conference in October, 1982.

International Relations: Can Cooperatives Bridge the Gap?

by Craig Cox
Consumer Co-op Press Service



Barely a month following the Korean airline tragedy, with the cold war chilling perceptibly, representatives from more than 50 nations, including the U.S. and the Soviet Union, gathered in Prague for the annual central committee meeting of the International Cooperative Alliance (ICA).

Not a shot was fired.

Instead, reports were given, resolutions considered, policies debated and consensus reached regarding the direction the organization will take in the coming year. Delegates gave speeches and debated various points, but, by all accounts, KAL 007 never became a topic of discussion. Not one ringing denunciation. Not a single pointed finger.

"It was not discussed," says Morgan Williams, president of the Cooperative League of the U.S.A. and a delegate to the central committee. "It was not a legitimate item of business."

Williams betrays no astonishment that such a dialogue should occur in the midst of so much international tension. From the inside, it's just business. But from the outside, this peaceful collection under the cooperative banner of several warring ideologies seems extraordinary. Is there something about co-ops which transcends political and economic dogma, something about mutual aid which bridges ideological gaps?

The founders of the ICA certainly thought so. Created

in London in 1895, the organization—actually an association of national unions of co-op societies—built from the momentum of the European cooperative movement a service and education-oriented alliance designed to "promote a non-profit system of production and trade, organized in the interests of the whole community and based upon voluntary and mutual self-help." During the golden age of capitalism, such an undertaking was certainly ambitious. But, fueled by a flourishing European movement and buoyed by an international consensus for cooperative development, the alliance today represents co-ops from 71 nations on every continent—a total affiliated membership of 360 million people.

The ICA has a history of political neutrality. It was the only international organization to continue to meet during World War I. Stories abound of German troops sparing cooperative stores in captured French towns. That neutrality broke down under the weight of fascism during the second World War, when cooperatives were among the first organizations silenced in Germany. But since the end of WWII, the alliance has embraced all nations with an interest in promoting cooperative development.

The organization is shaped today by three roughly equal voting blocs: co-ops from the western industrialized countries, from the communist bloc, and from the developing nations. It has been called "the United Nations of Cooperatives." And although the U.S. delegation, in

deference to the Carter Administration, boycotted the 1980 ICA Congress in Moscow, the alliance generally seems to avoid the volatile rhetoric and divisive political maneuvering that has come to characterize the U.N. That's partly due, of course, to the nature of the exercise. ICA is not a political organization, Morgan Williams points out. It comes together to do business for the mutual benefit of its members. "We don't need to create another United Nations," he says. "The Executive Committee has fought to eliminate politics from the meetings."

And it helps to have a common denominator. The cooperative model more or less enjoys the blessings of most governments and is easily understood by most people, regardless of political persuasion.

Some 60 million people belong to a cooperative of one sort or another in the U.S. Agricultural co-ops and rural electric co-ops have strongly influenced American life. Consumer cooperatives in Western Europe play a significant role in the economies of several nations.

But co-ops play a major role in the socialist countries, as well. In Bulgaria, 33 percent of all retail goods are sold through consumer co-ops. Hungarian co-ops contribute about 20 percent of the nation's income. Agricultural co-ops occupy about 80 percent of East German farmland. One-third of Poland's population, about 12 million people, are members of co-ops. And in the Soviet Union, 15 million people are employed on 26,500 agricultural production cooperatives. Membership in consumer co-ops there numbers 59 million.

The apparent pervasiveness of co-op development should not, however, suggest a movement without internal variations. Clearly the role of the state in cooperative development differs from country to country. Co-ops operate as part of a fully state-planned economy in the Soviet Union and its satellites; as part of a free market system in the U.S.

Yet, according to the late Alex Laidlaw in his 1980 report to the ICA on co-ops in the year 2000, these variations make sense. "It can be argued," he writes, "that the cooperatives of Poland and Hungary, for example, are affected by the dictates of their setting only to the same extent that cooperatives in Britain or the U.S.A. accommodate themselves to the dictates and ways of dominant capitalism."

Regardless of the large and small variations in the model, cooperatives do tend to present a certain bridging of ideology. Even in the fractious United Nations there seems to be agreement on the benefits of cooperative development. The General Assembly has regularly adopted resolutions endorsing cooperative development programs. Other international agencies such as the World Bank, the International Labour Office, and CARE also endorse cooperative development, especially in the developing nations.

So there's something of a consensus here. Co-ops, it seems, are good for people and ought to be developed wherever the need exists. The ICA, likewise, enjoys widespread support around the world and peace through cooperation is just around the corner.

Obviously, it's not quite that simple. "There have been a

lot of exchanges between the countries recently," says Martha McCabe, a special assistant to Williams at CLUSA who works closely with ICA. She says Williams recently visited Polish cooperative leaders to discuss trade possibilities. But much more needs to be done.

Williams says the ICA has neither the resources nor the talent to generate the kinds of programs necessary to spur effective international co-op development, the kind of stature necessary to deal on equal footing with "world class" organizations. He took his criticism to the Prague meeting and spoke in favor of a "new ICA," an organization with wider representation, stronger membership support and increased stature among international organizations.

The gathering, according to CARE president and U.S. delegate Wally Campbell, strongly supported Williams' recommendations, which included a 50 percent increase in dues over the next three years. It also accepted the resignation of ICA Director A.E. Saenger, which the executive committee had requested earlier this year.

"Part of the criticism of ICA is that it has little visibility," Campbell says. And its inability to help generate any substantial international co-op trade, he says, can be attributed to "just inertia."

Williams, who says the volume of trade between U.S. co-ops and those in other countries is "minimal," disagrees. "I don't think it's as simple as that," he says. Co-ops, he explains, are hampered in international transactions not just by a lack of money and talent, but by a "very limited philosophy."

ICA has been dominated by European consumer co-ops since its creation, Williams explains. Its president has always come from the European consumer co-op sector. "We need more participation from insurance, banking and other non-consumer cooperatives," he says.

Two working committees emerged from the Prague meeting: one to recommend changes to ICA bylaws and a second to search for a new director. Meanwhile, Williams and CLUSA will not be standing idly by. A new, CLUSA-based trade organization, Co-op Business International, has been created to "expand and develop trade by and among co-ops," according to Williams.

Can a healthy co-op movement help to thaw the cold war, though? The communist bloc members of ICA fully supported the call for a new direction for the alliance and will continue to be an influential player in the "new ICA," Williams says. "We want them to participate fully."

But he has no illusions about the impact cooperatives have on world affairs. "Let's not kid ourselves," he says. "Co-ops do not affect high-level political and military decisions."

That doesn't mean that co-ops cannot be a force for positive social change, he adds. On a local level, cooperative development can have an effect. It can provide needed goods and services, jobs, and a unifying, stabilizing force in a community. And economic stability often means political stability. "The continued development of free, independent co-ops owned and controlled by the people who use them is very important in the future of the world." □

A Look Down the Road

The current planning process and controversy around the KDC has stimulated my thoughts about planning at Twin Oaks. Any attempt to define the complex mechanisms of planning is almost sure to overlook important factors, so please bear with my limitations. I

borrowed freely from ideas I've heard over the years I've lived at Twin Oaks . . . most notably from Will East Wind, Tom Harden, Yossi Amir, Kat and Josie Kincaid, Taylor Fromme and Gerri Frantz. I don't want to take all the credit or blame for these ideas.

by Will Stewart

**The need
for long range
planning in community.**



Editor's Note: Every year, Twin Oaks sculpts an economic framework for the next eleven months. This planning process is the basis for all economic and labor commitments for the coming year.

This year, Twin Oaks has added a new dimension of complexity to an already over-burdened process. We have committed a large amount of financial and labor resources to the construction of a Kitchen Dining Center (KDC). The more involved we became in the planning process, the more apparent became our need for comprehensive planning. This article emerged from one member's observations.

Comprehensive planning

Many people view long range planning as an attempt to achieve control over an organic and complex reality by reducing it to numbers and labels. The truth is that long range planning, in some form of implicit or explicit thinking about the future, is an effective means by which we can take part in shaping our way of life.

Comprehensive planning is a *system* of decisions and recommendations to be used as a guide in evolution and desired direction so as to lessen the impact of external forces, turnover and just plain old fate. Long range plans are applied to various aspects of financial, social and physical plant development. If we aspire to consciously shape our way of life, we must coordinate these three dimensions simultaneously. In doing so, we would be accomplishing comprehensive planning. Obviously we cannot assume complete control of future events. There are those who say any attempt at gaining even partial control are doomed to failure, citing the world's political and economic climate and our own limited capabilities as uncontrollable variables. However, we have survived and even grown stronger under some very adverse conditions in these areas.

Shaping our future

Twin Oaks and other like-minded communal settlements may be the only type of society in which the population shares in developing a common framework for its way of life; both resources and authority are completely in the hands of the membership and this makes comprehensive planning possible. In societies such as ours, it is possible to shape our evolutions, provided that they are large enough to perform significant tasks and small enough to listen to sub-groups within. However, even if these conditions exist, which I believe they do at Twin Oaks, the desired future cannot be realized without adequate tools.

Attaining our goals

A mechanism for realizing our goals and making collective wishes come true is expectedly, rather complicated. So, it's not a coincidence that Twin Oaks is a complex, challenging and at times overwhelming lifestyle. Conceptually such a mechanism could be made up of four components (each having a complexity of its own):

1. Organizational structure
2. People with skills and acquired knowledge
3. An accepted process of decision-making
4. An accepted, continually updated comprehensive plan

Over the years, Twin Oaks has developed and refined the first three of these components. Hopefully, we will continue to do so. Undoubtedly, the longevity and strength of Twin Oaks has been and is tied to these components, but is it enough?

Let's consider the fourth item. Remember, comprehensive planning is a system comprised of physical, financial and social long range planning.

Financial planning

Each year we go through exhaustive economic planning processes. These processes are aimed at setting single year budgets and projects exceeding one year duration are rare. Of course, the social values and goals prevalent at that particular time by that particular membership figure into those economic decisions, but I would hardly say that these are particularly long range or well thought out. Some of us feel we can't even plan one year ahead. Why should we attempt to make decisions or set directions for the long term?

I think economic planning is an excellent process for year-to-year reviews and budget setting for the next 12 months. However, the planning of significant projects or directions leaves something to be desired.

Social planning

At various times we've tried to initiate social planning projects and have met with some success. Small Living Groups are direct results of one such process.

In this particular project, one of the most important factors for long term social development was assumed to be control of membership. Hence, SLG's now decide, to some extent, who may live in their space. Originally the policy read, "any provisional member not accepted by an SLG would not be accepted for full membership." This was viewed as too radical a step and was modified to our present policy. The community stated that control of membership was an issue and we reached an uneasy compromise to set the policy that now stands. There is no mechanism to review or update this type of policy. Have we reached the ultimate social ambience or will we change our social structures at the behest of overwhelming needs which exist at a particular point in our history? Will our "squeaky wheels" always get the most "oil"?

It's not that we don't examine the social implications of a particular decision, but we invariably relate these implications to the existing situation, not to any generally accepted long-range plan.

Physical Development

Physical development in this context includes buildings, energy resources, maintenance, agricultural land, forest lands, building acreage and utilities. We currently evaluate and coordinate the social and financial aspects of some of these areas through land planning and new building design processes.

In some respects our best effort at comprehensive planning is through building design and siting processes. It is usually impossible to force construction of a building into a single economic plan. We look at social costs and benefits; we attempt to site at the best location for current and long term needs, and we examine costs closely and strive to build as cheaply as possible. However, this is still a piecemeal approach, since all of this planning work related to a particular building at *the time of construction*. How the building serves our future needs and fills our ultimate objectives is tucked into a role of little or no importance. It is beyond our scope to plan our next building project as one building is under construction. To attempt to lay out an agenda for building development for 5 to 8 years is unheard of.

Long range planning for agriculture, maintenance, forestry, energy resources and utilities is subject to the whims of the managers or crews at any given time. True, short term budgets are set on a yearly basis, but there is no integration of social and financial planning in the long term and very little in the short term.

As one can see, we already have many components of comprehensive planning, but we need to organize, expand and integrate these to shape our future most effectively.

Comprehensive planning under conditions of uncertainty

Let's compare Twin Oak's current lifestyle to that of ten years ago. There have been substantial changes, not only technologically, socially, and culturally, but also in our social objectives. Looking back it seems impossible to have predicted the magnitude or direction of these changes.

With this thought in mind, it is easy to see why a comprehensive plan should not consist of exclusive singular paths to a final set of long range goals. This is not only to maintain flexibility to accommodate change in original conditions, but it is also very likely the goals themselves may lose some of their original meaning.

Elaborating on this perspective, it is impossible to indicate any objective as a final destination, because even ultimate objectives become intermediary goals. Moreover, it may be desirable to emphasize this quality of the journey itself, providing the general purpose and direction are not lost.

Any program that defines a single path runs the risk that, over time, the path, or destination, or both may change. Rather, defining in broad terms a path connecting several destinations at various ranges in time and to work in detail on only the journey towards the first one. Twin Oaks' yearly economic plans are these detailed journeys; but where are the ultimate or intermediate destinations and methods for reaching them?

It is possible to detail our next destination while examining the one to follow, but only if we know what is to follow. Also, we must be able to alter future objectives or skip them altogether; doing so, we must keep in mind that missing an important target does not constitute the failure of our entire journey.

Author Will Stewart and son, Trevor



The major risk of comprehensive planning

Our satisfaction, as individuals and as a group is not based so much on what we have achieved at any given point as much as it is the perception of the gap between our desires and what we have already achieved. Stated another way, satisfaction is relative to the gap between our expectations and our individual interpretation of reality.

By its nature, a comprehensive plan substantially raises expectations of those affected by it. The danger of disillusionment and disappointment during the early stages of a comprehensive plan is great. The gap between aroused expectations and perceived reality can easily lead to suspicion and alienation. In order to minimize this risk, it is imperative that we:

1. Keep in mind the plan bears primarily on long range goals
2. Define intermediate goals that can be achieved with some degree of certainty in the comprehensive plan
3. Continue our efforts at short term planning (yearly economic planning)
4. Acknowledge possible effects of external factors beyond our control.

Conclusions

Our current system tends to turn our planners into administrators, rather than long range planners. For expediency's sake, we tend to rely on the "status quo" as a significant planning tool. The status quo is unreliable because circumstances can change yearly and some areas of the community become outmoded. These areas tend to become white elephants; difficult to change and of limited value. Long range planning could make these areas more visible and easier to change.

We need a framework for handling the various aspects of comprehensive planning. One idea is to establish a planning commission, made up of ex-planners, long-term members and people who have the organizational, administrative and planning skills to complete such a task. This commission may or may not be decision-making body, but above all, it should be dedicated to its task.

The need for comprehensive planning becomes especially apparent as we design our KDC. We tend to rely on building projects as a substitute for long-range planning. Financial, social and physical planning for a single building should be happening as a sub-program of comprehensive planning, not as a substitute for it.

The decisions we are making now will still be affecting us forty years from now, whether we plan them or not. Long-range planning is difficult, but ultimately worth the effort. □



Mariposa School

WE ARE A COMMUNITY that runs an alternative school, both as a supporting business and as a vocational ideal. Most of the adults who live here are teachers, serving grades K-8.

We started with high ideals in 1970, on a friend's ranch. Over time we were able to make a down payment on 65 acres. We have developed the land to serve the needs of school and rural communal life. What started out as hill country with only sheep fencing (picturesque but useless) old logging roads and an old orchard, now has three school buildings, a barn and workshop, two wells a yurt and 10 living cabins which house the staff. The old orchard is still gasping out a few bushels of figs, pears and apples.

Every morning our old yellow school bus comes rumbling up three and a half miles of dirt road from town. It brings 50 children, ages 5 to 14 to be educated in a way which we hope will help them (and all of us) to be creative, cooperative and cumulative human beings. We try to balance the creative with the practical, the need for inner growth with survival on the "outside". In addition to academic subjects we offer a wide variety of other classes. If you'd visited on a spring afternoon you might experience: one group of kids and their teacher doing chemistry experiments in the kitchen, another learning wood carving or metal work at the barn, several little ones in the garden, others practicing a play, others making silk-screened posters. Art, music, body disciplines, science . . . Because of our low student-teacher ratio (about 7/1), we feel closer student/teacher rapport, more flexibility, and

less need for the sort of regimentation and control you see in larger schools.

We are a non-profit corporation. The board of directors consists of the members living in the community. The land belongs to the corporation, *not* to any individual people. No one has "shares" or any financial investment. You don't buy in or sell out. It takes no \$\$ to become part of the community beyond the costs of moving and any initial costs like rain gear, axes and furniture.

We do not pay salaries. If we did we'd have to pay all sorts of IRS monies beyond what we can afford. The money generated by tuition and fundraising (about \$50,000 a year) supports the land, the school and the staff. The school covers all basic expenses: food, utilities, car parts and gas, toiletries, home improvements, teaching supplies. Personal expenditures (clothing, books, movies, eating out, luxuries, pets) are covered out of a monthly stipend of \$150. People with costly living habits, and/or prior debts have a rough time. Some people come with savings, some live completely on what's provided, some work summers, or find additional cash (music lessons, wiring, art/craft sales, substituting).

Partners who don't work at the school pay money in to cover their share of common expenses (food, utilities, land payments . . .). It is realistically hard for people to work full time in town and still feel a positive connection with the community. It's not impossible, but tricky, because a main focus here is on running a school.

We do pay workman's comp., so on-the-job accidents are covered. Many of us have relied on Medi-cal, but this support is less accessible under changing economic policies.

All of us who work at Mariposa, and our families, live in cabins on the school land. The many people who have been here over the years have built rustic but comfortable and often beautiful structures, many of them out of scrounged materials. Our homes are too far from the county road to have electricity or other such amenities, so we read by kerosene or white gas, cook and stay warm with wood stoves and use compost privies.

This is not just a matter of necessity: it is also congenial with our ideals of good living . . . low consumption, modest lifestyle, etc. Not to be phony let me also say that we *do* at times wonder just how high an antenna would have to be to get TV reception and how many feet of electrical wire it would take to trade our wicks for watts. We have installed a solar system to provide hot water, and hope to expand our alternative energy systems in the future.

During non-school time, community activities center in either the main school building or a beautiful yurt that was built on a work-trade contract by a parent. We have a large kitchen, dining room, shower bath, laundry, darkroom, hot tub, stereo and telephone in the main building. We eat most of our meals together, rotating cooking on a weekly basis. The garden and barn areas are both a learning lab for the school, and the source of much of our milk, vegetables and some eggs. We have goats, chickens, ducks, and geese. When we are at our best, the students are actively involved in the day-to-day maintenance of the farm, learning science, discipline and love.

It's not always an easy life. For one thing, living and working with the same people, while rewarding in some ways, can also be difficult. On a tight budget there are the seemingly inevitable conflicts about whether to spend the last \$4 of food money on coffee or apple juice, or who left the bathroom in such a mess. Running a school in a rural environment means that our energies are divided between teaching and getting the bus repaired or the garden fence mended. It's cold out, the school bus will be here any morning, there's no fire in the classroom stove, and "Oh God, I forgot to milk the goats before breakfast." Things aren't always as hectic as that, of course, but we wouldn't want to paint an overly idyllic picture of our life here.

While our finances have had a solid, stable history, we live on a narrow margin. The people who send their children here tend to be folks who are trying to find new, (or is it old?) ways to live. Most of them cannot afford much tuition, so we do

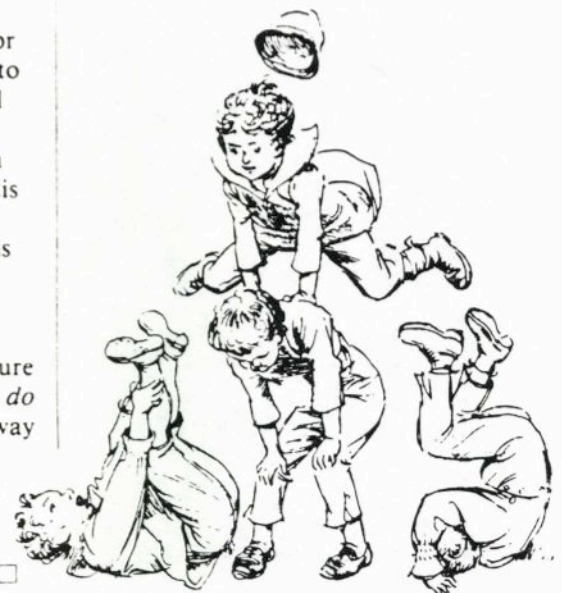
fundraising, grant writing, and all sorts of hustling to bring in more money. As long as we can pay our bills, feed ourselves, keep vehicles running, animals fed and have enough petty cash left over for comforts, we feel OK.

Being communal and non-profit makes Mariposa possible. We don't have to pay property taxes, and none of us earn enough money to pay individual income taxes. Buying food, gas and other such things wholesale cuts costs considerably. With wood heat and kerosene lights our utility bills are minimal. We have been able to solicit donations which have made the impossible happen. Much of the wood for the original buildings, for example, was donated or sold to us way below cost by friendly merchants.

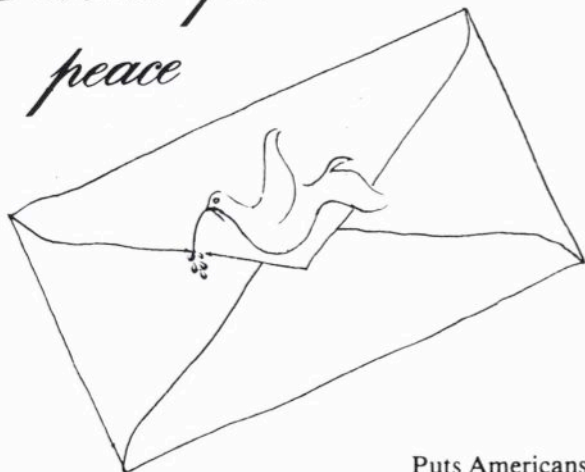
It is hard to find dedicated teachers who want to live the way we do. We vary a lot, so tolerance is important. Everything from raw vegetables/sprout eaters to meat and potato types . . . and all ranges of spirituality. The things that hold us together are the school, the land and the desire to build a viable alternative school/community. Our yearly turnover averages about two. Some people come here, make a niche for themselves, and stay for a long time. Others stay a year and then leave for other more lucrative or personally meaningful jobs and lives. The trend in recent years has been to encourage long term commitment and to turn our vision toward more explicit community ideals. For example, for the past two years, we have begun to celebrate with community spiritual rituals, including new age Jewish celebrations, and Native American style sweats and healing circles. This adds a fuller and richer aspect to community life, something which is not attainable through regular meetings.

There are the cold-stove-dirty-kitchen days for sure but . . . On our good days (which *do* predominate) this feels like a fine way to live and work. The children are wonderful, the land beautiful, and we are doing what we want, living in a place where life fantasies can come alive. □

Mariposa School
P.O. Box 387
Ukiah, California 95483
(707) 462-1016



Letters for peace



Puts Americans
in Touch
with Soviet Citizens

by Richard R. Conarroe

A grass roots program called letters for Peace offers Americans a way to take personal, immediate, purposeful action against the growing dangers of nuclear holocaust.

The program provides a way for individual Americans to send letters of concern and friendship to individual Soviet citizens.

Started in the village of Rowayton, Connecticut as a local effort in the fall of 1982, Letters for Peace has now spread to some 30 states, and even internationally. In addition to individuals, many churches, schools, peace organizations and other groups have gotten behind the program. Volunteer branch offices of Letters for Peace have been established in the Midwest and West Coast, with others in the offing.

According to Richard Conarroe, founder of Letters for Peace, thousands of copies of a standard letter have been signed and sent by Americans to individuals in the Soviet Union.

Conarroe, a business consultant and writer, says that to avoid the possibility of incriminating Soviet recipients, the letters point out that names and addresses have been picked at random from Soviet telephone directories.

Conarroe says there is evidence that at least some of the Letters for Peace are getting through. Most significant, responses have begun to be received. For example, a man in Austin, Texas, recently received a response that says in part:

"I share your opinion and I regard war between our countries as something that should never happen. We the Russian people who lost in the Second World War 20 million lives, including my father, are fully aware of that. In my opinion our government put up a lot of proposals and a lot depends on your Reagan. I remain your faithful friend from the U.S.S.R."

Conarroe says that Soviet experts whom he has consulted tell him that each letter that gets through probably influences an average of 25 pass-along readers.

He says he recognizes that some of the letters may be intercepted by the KGB, but feels that even these may have a positive impact by making an impression on the functionaries or government officials who see them.

The standard two-page Letter for Peace is handwritten in Russian, and is in the Russian idiom. Many senders add a personal message in English. Some, in an added attempt to encourage a response, enclose photos of themselves or families.

The Letter for Peace says in part: "I am writing because I am aware of the frightening danger of deadly combat between our countries. We Americans do not want to cause you any harm and we believe you feel the same toward us. But the thousands of nuclear warheads aimed at each other can cause the suffering of people and the devastation not only of the USSR and the USA but of all our earth, which is so beautiful.

"For the sake of our children and the future of humankind we and you must try to find a way to prevent a fatal mistake by either side.

"The rulers of our governments are searching for ways to lessen the danger of nuclear war, and we hope that we can help those efforts by extending our hands to one another as a sign of our struggle for nuclear disarmament.

"We Americans love life no less than you Russians. Please accept this letter as an expression of our hope for the establishment of heartfelt and fraternal relations between our peoples."

Those wishing to send a Letter for Peace receive a packet consisting of a description of the program's purpose, an instruction sheet, a literal English translation of the letter, a copy of the Russian letter to be sent, an envelope pre-addressed in handwriting to a Soviet individual, and a card to return to the Letters for Peace offices as notification that the letter was sent.

"It's all very simple," says Conarroe. "All the sender has to do is sign the letter, put it in the envelope, add postage and drop it in the mail."

Some senders, he says use registered mail to protect against the possibility of non-delivery. He says that as far as he knows, no letters have been returned as non-deliverable.

Conarroe and his volunteers will send Letters for Peace packets to anyone asking for them. A contribution of \$1.00 per packet is requested to help cover costs of materials, printing, addressing and postage. A minimum of ten packets per request can be handled. Some organizations request several hundred packets at a time.

Conarroe says he is presently working out details of a plan to have individually signed letters hand-delivered in Moscow and other major cities by Americans traveling to the USSR. The letters will be turned over to peace activists in the Soviet Union who will then pass them on to individuals and families. Conarroe says he thinks this method will help overcome possible reluctance of the Soviets to write letters of response to their American correspondents.

For further details and to order letter packets, write to Letters for Peace, 59 Bluff Avenue, Rowayton, Connecticut 06853.



RESOURCES

Dear Friends,

Sorry *Resources* hasn't appeared in the last couple of issues. Involvement in too many hair brai . . . er . . . I mean exciting projects and space limitations in the magazine have left my bookshelves and resource files ballooning to unwieldy proportions—all that information crying out to be shared with others. So, (as our acting president might say) it's good to be

back in the saddle, relieving some of the pressure of this info-glut.

This column focuses on our issue's theme of shelter, from planning it to building it, to fighting to keep it. Our living spaces are so much an extension of ourselves that as we change and grow our relationship to our environment changes. There are some good arguments (*Pattern Language* series

by Christopher Alexander) to suggest that with a little training, access to resource tools, and good old common sense each of us has the ability (and right) to design and shape the environment we live in. The resources in this column are all promoting a meaningful step in that direction.

Keep in touch,
Gareth Branwyn
404 N. Nelson St.
Arlington, VA 22203

Land

Private Options: Tools & Concepts For Land Conservation

Montana Land Reliance & Land
Trust Exchange

Island Press

Covelo, CA

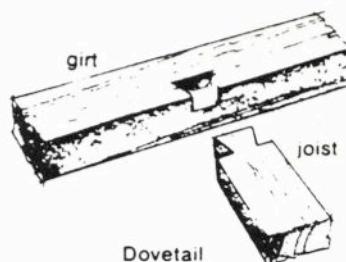
310 pgs. (p.b.) \$25.00

We can no longer wait for state and federal statutes to protect the family farm, open space, and other natural resource land; private options must be found. *Private Options: Tools and Concepts for Land Conservation* presents state-of-the-art expertise from more than thirty authorities in the rapidly growing movement of private land conservation.

Over the past two decades an increasing number of diverse and relatively autonomous local land preservation efforts have sprung up in response to threats to specific land resources. Until recently, these groups have had to function in

relative isolation, forced to reinvent techniques and strategies others had already put into practice. In late 1981, two groups presented national conferences to explore theories, strategies and practical, fiscally sound techniques for preserving land. This book contains the resources and experiences of the most distinguished practitioners in the field of land conservation and presents that combined wisdom to a broad national audience.

An important resource work for anyone in the business of private land preservation.



The Community Land Trust Handbook

The Institute for Community
Economics

Rodale Press

Emmaus, PA

230 pgs.

Here it is—the long awaited, one-stop resource on the ins and outs of establishing a community land trust (CLT). The authors are well versed on the subjects of CLT's since the Institute For Community Economics, founded by Robert Swann and Ralph Borsodi, developed the land trust concept in the '60's. Although this is not the first book about CLT's published by I.C.E. (see *The Community Land Trust: A Guide to a New Model for Land Tenure in America* 1972) early material was largely theoretical. This up-to-date volume provides a clear discussion of the problems of land tenure and how

CLT's address these problems, along with nine in-depth case studies of groups who've established CLT's. A "nuts and bolts" practical section covers the essentials of organization, acquisition, financing, land use planning, and leasing.

Rodale Press and I.C.E. did a commendable job of making this handbook thoughtful, attractive, concise, and high in information value.

Building an Ark

Tools for the Preservation of Natural Diversity Through Land Protection

Phillip M. Hoose

Island Press

111 Seventh Ave.

San Francisco, CA 94118

221 pgs. \$12.00

"Tools" presents 14 options to land purchase now being used in ecological conservation programs throughout America. These options, which include leasing, designation of protected areas within public lands, and "conservation easements", are discussed through case studies, anecdotes, and specific data concerning all phases of preservation. The goal set forth by Hoose in using these land protection measures is to preserve at least one viable population of every plant and animal species now present in the U.S. and each distinctive plant community and aquatic ecosystem, hence the "Ark" in the title.

Appropriate Technology

Aprovecho Institute

442 Monroe St.

Eugene, OR 97402

Aprovecho (Spanish for "I make the best use of") is a small non-profit tax-exempt organization which is dedicated to helping peoples of the world take change of their lives using technologies which make the best use of their own skills and resources. They do research and teach innovative techniques for housing, cooking, heating, and small scale food production. They are involved in diverse

projects worldwide such as a multimedia presentation created by their Irish branch to illustrate the problems of rural people who are resisting the breakdown of their traditional way of life. Assistance has also been given to Native American groups in planning and designing their own environments through group-generated scale models. Numerous publications and a quarterly journal on woodstoves, cookstoves, and solutions to the firewood crisis are available. Write for list of resources.

Community Organizing

Community Organization for Urban Social Change

Edited by Robert Fisher and Peter Romanofsky

Greenwood Press

88 Post Rd. W.

Westport, CT 06881

259 pgs. \$29.95

While most of us think of community action as a phenomenon of the last few decades, the impulse for direct community action is as old as the neighborhoods of our cities. *Communi-*

nity Organization for Urban Social Change provides an important historical perspective on this highly significant social movement.

Eight essays cover: New York tenant groups in the 1940's, block organization in the early 1900's, the Mission Coalition in San Francisco, and more.

The textbook style and tuitional price reserves this book for progressive libraries and obsessed cooperative historians.

Design

Design Games

Henry Sanoff

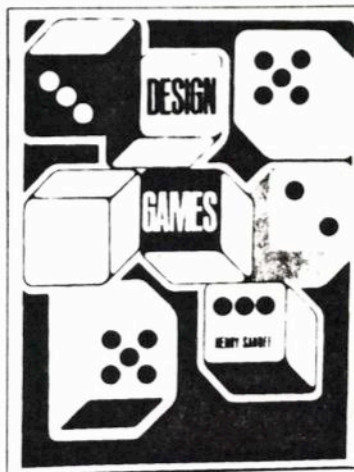
William Kaufman, Inc.

One First St.

Los Altos, CA 94002

106 pgs. (p.b.) \$4.95

The introduction to this excellent workbook states: "*Design Games* is a practical guide describing techniques for effectively involving user groups, design professionals, planners, students, and citizens concerned about the quality of the environment, in design decisions. The games can help people grasp complex relationships about the environment in order to create changes that are responsive to human needs."



I have become increasingly aware over the past year of the tremendous potential of simulation gaming in providing active learning environments. This volume is a collection of simulations and other game activities geared towards teaching environmental "design literacy". The games are cleverly devised, fun, and thought-provoking. It's packed with drawings, photos, article reprints, activity cards, playing materials, and score sheets—everything needed for play. While seemingly geared to students, most of us would benefit greatly by playing these highly instructional games.

Privy: Classic Outhouse Book
Oversized spiral bound, \$7.95

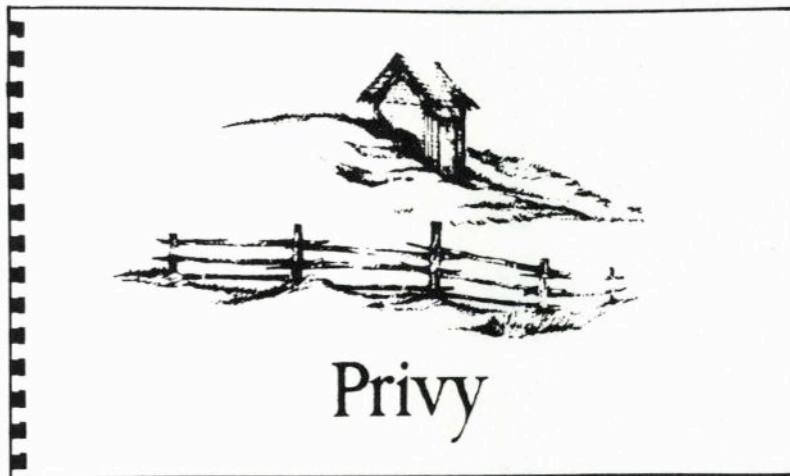
Bridges & Cupolas Study Plan Book
Oversized, spiral bound, \$7.95

Gazebos and Other Garden Structure Designs

96 pgs. (p.b.) 8½ x 11 \$7.95

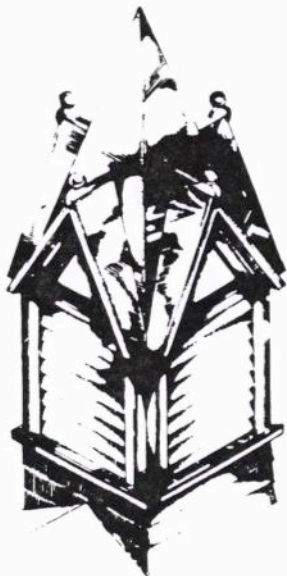
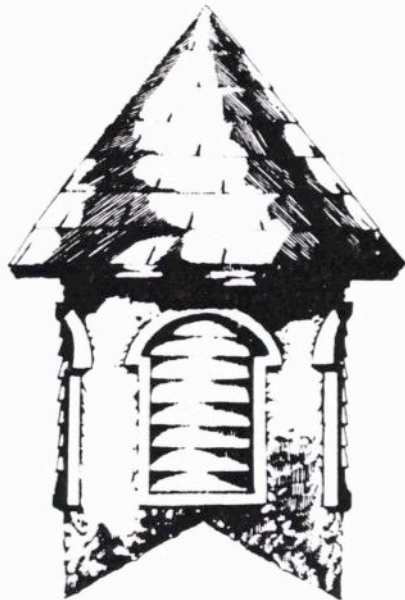
All from: Sun Designs, P.O. Box 206,
Delafield, WI 53018

One of the simple pleasures of my summer (ah, there were many) was receiving these three titles from Sun Designs. Each volume contains dozens of classic and unique structure designs presented through the fine illustrations of Merlene Ekman, Robert Petersen, and others. The publisher also provides sets of floor plans



for every design included in the three books. A full range of styles in each category from the simple to the

ornate to the ridiculous. Nifty bird houses and feeders in the gazebo book.



Housing

Shelterforce
380 Main St.
East Orange, NJ 07018
\$8/yr 6 issues

Shelterforce is still publishing and it's still the only national publication which takes an in-depth look at the nation's housing problems from a "users" point of view. The bi-monthly newspaper is an important focal point for a network of tenant organizations and housing activists. Local reports, coverage of national developments (devolvements?) and how-to-do-its are all presented.

from *Shelterforce*

America's Housing Crisis: What Is To Be Done?

Institute for Policy Studies
1901 Que St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009
220 pgs. \$18.95 (h.b.), \$8.95 (p.b.)

This collection of original essays, edited by Chester Hartman, contains articles by some of the nation's leading progressive housing advocates: Emily Achtenberg, John Atlas, Paul Davidoff, Cushing Dolbear, Peter Dreier, Chester Hartman, Peter Marcuse, Florence Roisman, Michael Stone.

The book provides both a realistic appraisal and a structural analysis of

the current crisis—from sharply inflating costs for owners and renters, high interest rates and shortage of credit, increasing mortgage foreclosures, and high building trades unemployment, to mounting displacement of low-income people, neighborhood deterioration, and cutbacks in federal housing and community development programs.

The authors present practical and humane political alternatives to current market-oriented policies in a framework which views decent, affordable housing as an entitlement. Their proposals for a radical restructuring of the nation's housing system include a wholesale revision of the tax and mortgage systems and a sharply increased government commitment to subsidizing the gap between housing costs and people's incomes.

The Planners Network

1901 Que St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

The Planners Network is an association of professionals, activists, academics, and students involved in physical, social, economic, and environmental planning in urban and rural areas, who promote fundamental change in our political and economic system.

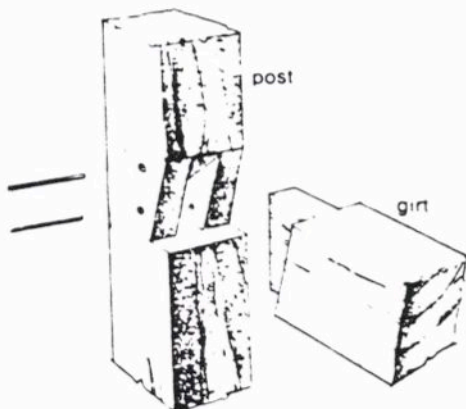
We believe that planning should be

a tool for allocating resources and developing the environment in order to eliminate the great inequalities of wealth and power in our society, rather than to maintain and justify the status quo. We believe that planning should be used to assure adequate food, clothing, shelter, and medical care, jobs, safe working conditions, and a healthful environment. We advocate public responsibility for meeting these needs, because the private market has proven incapable of doing so.

I Can Fix It

The Neighborhood Works
570 W. Randolph St.
Chicago, IL 60616
82 pgs. \$5.00

I Can Fix It: An Apartment Dweller's Handbook was developed by a Chicago neighborhood housing group as a simple how-to resource for renters, cooperators, or building management firms. The manual is simply written with numerous illustrations and easy-to-read type. The manual serves as a good beginning for residents to take more control over the running of their building.



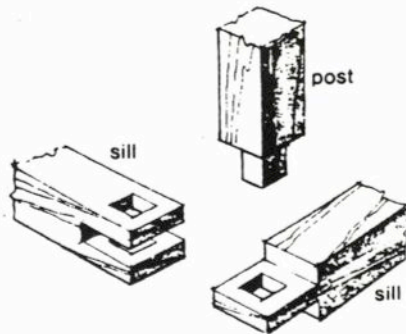
Full Shoulder Mortise and Tenon

Down to Earth:

Adobe Architecture—an old idea, a new future

Facts on File, Inc.
460 Park Ave. South
NYC, NY 10016
192 pgs., \$12.95

Earth architecture seems to have a powerful influence on the mindscapes of many owner-builders and utopian dreamers. This book is explosive fuel for that fire. Based on an exhibition at the Centre Georges Pompidou in France, *Down to Earth*



Central Tenon through Tongue and Fork

has several articles on the evolution and unique working and aesthetic characteristics of adobe, but best of all, it's packed with over 300 high quality photographs (lots in color) and numerous drawings and floor plans. The authors argue that the problems with adobe construction have been grossly overstated and that earth architecture could play an increasingly important role in addressing the world's housing problems. Printed in Spain, this book is impressively produced and very mouth watering to browse through, but then I'm a partial fan of the artform.

Displacement: How to Fight It

Chester Hartman, Dennis Keating,
Richard LeGates
National Housing Law Project
2150 Shattuck Ave.
Berkeley, CA 94704
232 pgs. \$7.50 (+ \$2.50 p. and h.)

The Legal Services Anti-Displacement Project recently released *Displacement: How to Fight It*. The 232-page guidebook deals with the problem of residential displacement, which affects at least 2-2½ million Americans each year, due to urban revitalization/gentrification, under-maintenance/abandonment, rent increases and real estate speculation, condominium conversions, government projects, arson, and a host of other causes.

This illustrated guide draws on the experience of communities all over the US in dealing with the problem of displacement. Mini-case studies include:

- People's Firehouse #1 in Brooklyn, NY, a neighborhood's response to the city's attempt to close down its engine company by taking the building and its equipment hostage for 16 months and running a range of community revitalization pro-

grams out of the firehouse, until the city finally agreed to restore full fire protection services.

- Beauty, Kentucky, whose population (all 200 of them) successfully fought off a "Community Development" grant that would have completely relocated their town.
- Beecher Apartments in Washington, DC, whose tenants used the financial and technical aids available under DC's "right of first refusal" law to purchase their own building as a resident-controlled cooperative when their landlord put it up for sale.
- Savannah's historic preservation efforts that save architecturally valuable buildings without removing their low-income residents.

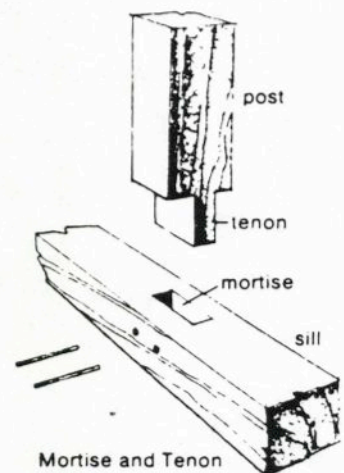
Co-authors of *Displacement: How to Fight It* are Chester Hartman, Dennis Keating and Richard LeGates, planners and lawyers who have been closely involved with anti-displacement struggles all over the country.

Copies of *Displacement: How to Fight It* are available for \$7.50 (plus \$2.50 postage/handling if ordered by mail) through the National Housing Law Project, 2150 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, CA 94704.

Housing Abandonment: Does Rent Control Make a Difference?







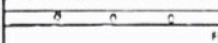
Peter Marcuse
Conference Publication Rm. 409
2000 Florida Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20009
60 pgs. (p.b.) \$5.95

This report by Professor Peter Marcuse of Columbia University presents evidence that counters recent claims from rent control critics that



Mortise and Tenon

rent control causes housing abandonment. According to Marcuse, a noted housing analyst, "The substantial evidence available from national, as well as local, studies, suggests that there is no correlation between rent control and abandonment. Abandonment takes place, and as severely, in cities without rent control as in cities with it."

WEATHERSTRIP	ESTIMATED LIFESPAN
 Foam (self-adhesive)	1-2 years
 Foam (wood backing and nails)	4-5 years
 Wool felt (self-adhesive or staples)	2 years
 Felt (metal backing and nail/screws)	3-5 years
 Vinyl (wood backing and nails)	5 years
 Vinyl or rubber bulb (aluminum backing and nail/screws)	5 years
 Flat metal	5-8 years

Handcrafted Doors and Windows

Rodale Press
33 East Minor St.
Emmaus, PA 18049
1982, 224 pgs. (h.b.) \$19.95

Handcrafted Doors and Windows is a beautiful volume in this spirit of the "Handmade Houses" series which surveys hundreds of buildings with exceptionally crafted doors and windows. Not just a glossy wish book, *Handcrafted Doors and Windows* contains plenty of practical information on construction, finishing, and installation. *The Making of Doors* describes the construction and design basics of door building, woodworking terminology, and ways to finish doors for beauty and durability. The section, *The Making of Windows*, explains the basics and purposes served by all varieties of window forms.

Erratum

We neglected to credit Mark Holmgren with contributing the review of *Phoenix Rising* magazine in issue no. 59. Sorry Mark.

Minimum Cost Housing Group

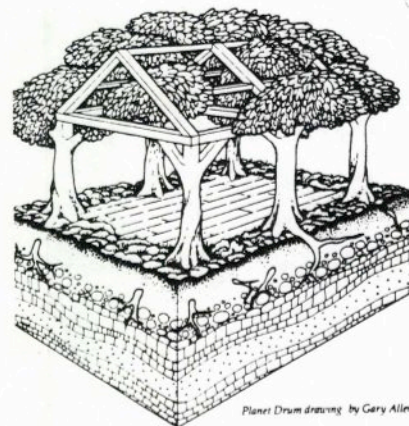
School of Architecture
McGill University
3480 University St.
Montreal, Quebec H3A 247
Canada

This organization distributes a variety of books and papers centered around problems and solutions of low cost housing with an emphasis on developing country application. *Stop the Five Gallon Flush* (47 pgs. p.b. \$4.00) surveys alternative approaches to waste disposal systems. *Use It Again Sam* (60 pgs. p.b. \$3.00) investigates designs of consumer containers for re-use as building components. *A Low Cost Garbage Bag Solar Water Heater* (12 pgs. p.b. \$1.00) outlines just that. Write them for a complete publications list.

The Owner-Builder Center

1824 4th St.
Berkeley, CA 94710

The Owner-Builder Center, which has appeared in previous "Resources" columns, has several new features I thought worth mentioning. They've recently established a National Owner-Builder Network of teaching centers with about 18 groups presently involved throughout the country. *Owner-Builder Center* helps each new center get started by providing a week



of training, a set of educational materials (including 2500 housebuilding slides), teachers' manual, and books. Send a self-addressed stamped envelope for a list of centers or to find out more about becoming a teaching center.

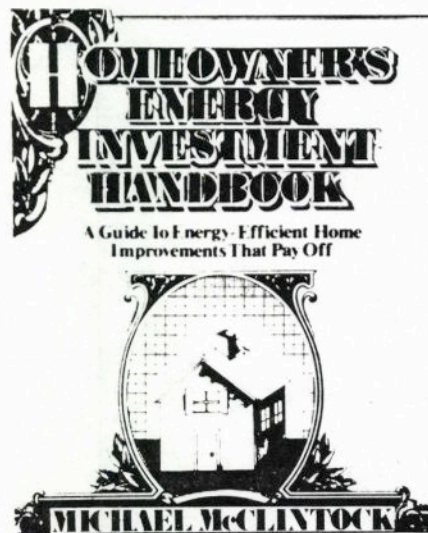
The Owner-Builder Center has also published a fine preconstruction guide entitled *Before You Build* (\$9.00 pb). A checklist format runs down the whole preconstruction process from land purchasing, permits and siting, to financing, insuring, and estimating. You'd be surprised how much stuff is here that the average owner-builder would neglect to consider.

Energy

Homeowner's Energy Investment Handbook

Michael McCintock
Brick House Pub. Co., Inc.
34 Essex St.
Andover, MA 01810
116 pgs. (p.b.) \$8.95

This is a handy workbook for anyone wanting to do cost comparisons of energy-saving improvements, secure loans and learn about available tax credits. Focusing mainly on insulation and preventing heat loss, numerous tables run through walls, doors, windows, etc., outlining each possible conservation measure, its annual cost, and estimated energy savings. Worksheets are provided.





REACH

Reach is a free readers service of Communities magazine. Listings should be 50-150 words in length, typewriting preferred. We reserve the right to edit. Dated material requires a minimum of six weeks lead time. Feedback on responses to listings, as well as donations, are welcome.

Dondi, Twin Oaks

People Looking

☆ We are a couple with a 5 year old son who are serious about moving to the country—a la *Mother Earth News*. We have been doing a large amount of reading and exploring and have come to the following conclusions about the type of place we are looking for: 15-40 acres of land; south facing building site for passive solar-partial underground house; at least 10 acres of open land that is suitable for farming; somewhat secluded, not near a main road; within 100 miles of D.C.

Can someone lead us to a good realtor, an area where there are a large number of ex-city type/*Mother Earth News*/organic farmer types of folks or individuals who have land for sale, etc. We are also interested in developing a joint/cooperative farming venture with some folks on adjacent pieces of property. We would appreciate some ideas.

Greig de la Houssaye
4491 MacArthur Blvd NW #203
Washington, D.C. 20007
(202) 333-6326

☆ We are a Quaker family in Southeast Kentucky seeking people to join us on a 40 acre Land Trust. We want to live in community and be involved in social, political and economic change in Appalachia. If interested, please contact:

Flannery/Reilly
Rt. 2
Box 121 B
Hindman, KY 41822
(606) 785-3376

☆ We are three adults and one child, interested in joining other people to purchase land together and create a new

community, probably somewhere in Northern California. We would like to be in a rural setting, but not too remote from an urban center. We are interested in evolving toward self-sufficiency, but, at the same time, it is not our purpose to cut ourselves off from the mainstream.

We want to build a core group of individuals who have a high degree of commitment to each other and a desire to interact closely on many different levels including shared housing and meals, resource sharing, growing food together, joint creative and recreational projects, cooperative child rearing, joint income-producing activities, and mutual support for individual goals. Interaction with children is important to us, along with an interest in exploring effective and joyful approaches to teaching, learning, and growing.

Political activity is not a central purpose for us, but we are supportive of efforts related to such issues as peace, ecology, etc. We want to avoid connection with radical activity either to the extreme left or extreme right. We are open to most religious viewpoints and practices, but feel that the group should not be used by anyone as a vehicle for proselytizing.

Other important ground rules include the fact that we specifically want to create a community that is drug-free and made up of individuals who are not supported by welfare or alimony payments. We would like to be with people who respect established committed relationships, whether or not they are involved in committed relationships themselves.

Basically, we would like to connect with people who have achieved a degree of balance in their own lives to the point where they are not looking to the community as a source of total fulfillment, but more as a means of enriching and extending those areas of their lives that are already working, as well as opening up new areas.

Julie Fretzin and Doris Katagiri
1024 S. Crescent Heights Blvd.
Los Angeles, CA 90035
(213) 935-4410 or (213) 930-0409

☆ We are Joyce, Bob and Sandy (German Shepherd) and we are looking for an

existing community, preferably in the southwest, which is into self reliance. We desire fellowship and space to explore intensive gardening, communal living, etc.

What we have to offer is a complete cottage industry, marketing included, now generating a profit of \$30,000 annually. We also have a computer with disk drives and some expertise in its operation.

We would love to visit and explore the possibility of participating in such a community.

Joyce & Bob
c/o of Bet Bright
2026 Villa Rose
Pasadena, CA 91107

☆ I am searching for a small, culturally and spiritually diverse New England community that would not be opposed to a college student in their midst. Through my college's external degree program I can live and work with the community and earn my bachelor's (spinster's) degree at the same time. I am 21, serious as a student, vegetarian, mostly good-natured about work, especially excited about helping with home schooling or day care projects, eager to learn more country skills. I am a people-loving feminist, dedicated to the concept/reality of community, firmly although not insanely or inanely politically oriented, working towards non-violent social change. I want to give and receive love, humor, support, laughter, care, giggles, respect, appreciation, and all good things that come from sharing one another's lives.

In peace,

Lisa Levine
Goddard College
Plainfield, VT 05667

Groups Looking

☆ Appletree Commune (est. '74) has 7 resident members—three full, one associate and three provisional members, including a two year old. We also have two teenage non-resident child members. We want about 20 people. We now live in

a rented house near Cottage Grove, and we plan to buy land in the next year. We belong to the Federation of Egalitarian Communities. We are non-sexist, non-ageist, non-racist, non-violent. We value cooperative decisionmaking and open communication, conflict resolution, self-actualization, communal child-rearing, and healthy diet. We have a work credit system and income pooling, full members gradually donate their assets. We are developing communal businesses that reflect our interests.

We have no spiritual affiliation, but any member is free to develop their own. There is no standard form for intimate relationships, but it is a high priority that we each feel fulfilled in our relationships.

Arrange visits by correspondence (or phone call if necessary). For a brochure on Appletree in more detail, write us.

Appletree Commune

PO Box 5
Cottage Grove, OR 97424-0001
(503) 942-4372

☆Chrysalis is a small countercultural community and a new member of the Federation of Egalitarian Communities. We hope to add about four new members soon. We believe in shared income, shared child care, enhancing individual self worth, and living simply. We are looking for mature people with good communication skills who are open in their relationships. Chrysalis is in a beautiful wooded environment with a lake. We need people with a pioneering spirit who want to work and play hard and who have a sense of humor. Communal living experience would be helpful. Please arrange a visit in advance. For more information, contact:

Owen
Chrysalis Community
P.O. Box 61
Helmsburg, IN 47435
(812) 988-6446

☆We are a group of more than fifty people, scattered over an area centered on three villages, Radicondoli, Chiusdino and Sovicille. These villages are perched on Tuscan hills, one thousand souls each, forty miles from Florence and Siena.

Our coop activities range from organic and conventional farming to carpentry, from honey making to agritourism, with various degrees of success but with a common goal: a peaceful, productive, meaningful way of life. Most of us come from town-culture and have given it up for a difficult but more rewarding country life. Some of us speak some English. We feel somewhat isolated and would like to see likeminded people from the States come to visit, exchange knowledge, culture and life. After all, we live in one of the most beautiful spots on earth.

We can offer room and board for ten to fifteen dollars a day in some of our

houses, and a friendship based on common interests, mutual curiosity about our cultures, visits to the beautiful landscapes of the Renaissance and whatever else the encounters bring about. We hope to hear from your. Write to:

Angelo Quattrocchi
Le Caselle di Belforte
Siena 53030 Italy

☆Twin Oaks Community needs womyn. We are a 16 year old alternative society of 71 adults and 16 children. We live on 400 acres of land. Our community is a place for womyn and men to live without much of the oppressive stereotyping common in today's society. Domestic responsibilities are shared by members of the community. Technical, skilled and manual work are accessible to all (with an emphasis on non-traditional opportunity). Nurturing, caring, sensitive interactions are the norm. Though we are all products of the larger society, we have made great strides and continue to work on eliminating sexism, ageism, racism and internalized oppression from ourselves and our society. We have created an exciting cultural, social, and political experiment and we have much to offer and gain from each member. We grow about half of our own food, work in our own businesses and live in wood and solar-heated buildings that we have built ourselves.

If you are attracted to our lifestyle and our vision of community, please contact us to arrange a visit. You may come either for a Saturday tour, hosted by a Twin Oaks member (this is a chance to talk in depth about our community; it only lasts a few hours and you must make advance arrangements) or take part in our visitor program. The visitor program is a chance to live and work with us and participate in workshops designed to give you a well-rounded exposure to us. We require all potential members to come for a 3 week visit. This is a good length of time for you to get a sense of who and what we are. 1 week visits are also possible 4 times in the year. This is a short intensive visit for people who cannot get away for 3 weeks. Please cooperate with us by writing in advance to arrange a visit. For more information, please contact:

Visitor Manager
Twin Oaks Community
Louisa, VA 23093

☆Designing and Building a Higher Order Civilization: that is what our grass roots group is beginning to do, and we need you. We have begun to meet on more or less a monthly basis to create an egalitarian group to make legal, non-violent, fundamental major improvements in the way we live and interact with each other and the planet. We need serious members to help design and build a prototype eco-village/eco-civilization. No money is involved . . . just an interest in

making it happen. We are looking at all aspects of living, and are totally open to all ideas and designs, so long as they are non-violent and within the legal framework of the present system. Though building a community is not our prime goal, it almost certainly will become an obvious requirement of our First Design. Please write to:

Leon Vickman
Suite 605, 16255 Ventura Blvd.
Encino, CA 91436

☆Share available in limited-equity land cooperative located in rural Downeast Maine. Seeking self-directed yet cooperatively-minded, family-oriented individual(s). We have about 350 acres of old farm/woodlands requiring time and energy. Individual homesites with access to balance of land on shared basis. Gardening, orcharding and livestock production for personal consumption in accord with ecologically sound practices. Land abuts beautiful Pocomoonshine Lake, enables swimming, boating and fishing.

Land has been held by present seven shareholders for past eleven years. We are looking for people who are serious about living on the land (not mere investors). If you are truly interested in such a setting, write and tell us about yourselves, your dreams, skills and resources. Contact:

Gerri Stinson
Pocomoonshine Lake Land Cooperative
So. Princeton, Maine 04668

☆Heathcote Center Community is a rural, feminist, women's community and retreat center, 35 miles north of Baltimore. Our 35 acres of woods and valley are in the School of Living Land Trust. We garden organically, heat with wood and some solar and do conferences throughout the year. The present collective has been together since 1982. Through an ever changing process we are working and playing to become a community learning to share our feelings and deal creatively with conflicts. We are exploring definitions of spirituality as individuals and as a group but there is no set structure. We make decisions using consensus and a feminist process. We support each other to do political work outside the community. At present we have outside jobs. No children live here yet, but they are welcome. Call or write (SASE please) for more information.

Heathcote Center Community
21300 Heathcote Rd.
Freeland, MD 21053
(301) 343-1070

☆Dandelion Community (est. '75) is 9 adults: 8 full members and 1 provisional member. We live on a 50 acre farm in

southeastern Ontario. We are a member community of the Federation of Egalitarian Communities. Our land, labor, and other resources are held in common. We are non-sexist, non-ageist, non-racist, non-violent. We value open communication, cooperative decision making, a healthy diet, and our system of sharing labor equally.

We grow most of our food, and with the help of 2 cows, make most of our own dairy products. We support ourselves through the sale of our handcrafted hammocks and hanging chairs. We are trying to become more self-sufficient.

We have no spiritual affiliation. Any member can believe what he wants as long as it doesn't interfere with the basic values of the community as a whole. We are interested in growing and are looking for new members.

If you are interested in visiting Dandelion or would like more information about Dandelion, write us, or call (not collect please).

Dandelion Community

R.R. #1
Enterprise, Ontario
Canada K0K 1Z0
(613) 358-2304

☆ Sky Woods is grounded in the belief that the heart of our humanity is an essentially social nature whose fullest realization is inseparable from the destiny of community. We believe that if global survival is to be realized, it must be built on a compassionate dedication of all the intellectual and physical resources at our disposal, to the creation of a truly advanced social and ecological awareness.

We think we have had some credible advances over such competitive forms as sexism; ageism; racism; the superficiality of preferential infatuation; and authoritarianism. Those advances have been based on rational self-criticism; democratic consensus-majority decision making; full-disclosure relationships; open communication; high verballity; collective sharing and control of all socially significant material resources and a firm rejection of one of the last strongholds of the competitive mentality—preferential monogamy or possessive relationships. We are no longer helplessly dependent on the primitive impulse either to possess another human being or to control any of the other intellectual or material resources that should be the birthright of all humankind. Our exhilaration and sustaining support, with infrequent lapses nowadays, is egalitarian community.

We are again ready to increase our numbers. We will gladly mail a statement of our beliefs and purposes or answer other questions. Simply drop us a note with an address and/or phone number.

We welcome visitors but request that arrangements be made in advance.

Sky Woods Cosynegal

P.O. Box 4176
Muskegon Heights, Michigan 49444

Publications

The Daughter Quest for The Daughters of Peace, The Daughters of Hope, The Daughters of Visions, The Daughters of Courage, a *Good News* paper for young girls, needs donations to begin procedures for publication. This publication will give inspiring and empowering images of Girlhood through stories, poetry, art, photography, etc., that will spark girls to set ablaze their own creative fires. It will encourage girls of all ages, nationalities and challenges to express the Peacemaker within themselves and in collective bodies. *The Daughter Quest* will be designed to enrich the experiences of Daughterhood out of which an affirming spiritual, political and cultural foundation will form. Please give generous gifts to this creative, whimsical and illuminating paper that all may hear Girls in soft and noble proceedings singing, "We shall for forth in Peace." For more information send SASE to:

The Daughter Quest

P.O. Box 310
Blacksburg, VA 24060

☆ There are now two books published about Twin Oaks Community. One was written by one of our members when our community was just five years old: *A Walden Two Experiment* by Kat Kinkade. This book is now out of print, but for a limited time we can offer the softcover edition for \$7.50, including postage and handling. If your request it, you may have an autographed copy.

Hot off the press is a new documentary study of Twin Oaks Community, covering especially the years 1979-1982. This book, *Living the Dream* by Ingrid Komar, is available now in hardback. This book regularly sells for \$27.50, but we can offer it to you for \$25.00, plus \$1.00 for mailing/handling. Both books, ordered together, are offered for \$32.00 total. Please send check or money-order to:

Rena—Books

Twin Oaks Community

Louisa, VA 23093

☆ *The New International Review*, an independent, international quarterly magazine of democratic socialism, is looking for readers in the intentional communities movement. *NIR* is edited by a member of Kibbutz Ein Dor and has featured articles by a number of kibbutzniks. Our Summer 1981 issue con-

tained a major interview with the Secretary-General of the Kibbutz Artzi federation, Aliza Amir, which we will send free to anyone who requests it. We're looking for writers, photographers, artists, book reviewers, typesetters, printers, distributors, people who run bookshops and newsstands, and communities that might want to work with us in building our readership in the U.S. and in improving our journal. If you have something to contribute, or just want to check out a recent issue, do write to us.

The New International Review

P.O. Box 126
Afula, Israel

☆ I am looking for co-conspirators to plot the overthrow of "compulsory mis-education." Everyone knows our school system is failing; most clear-thinking educators (e.g., Paul Goodman, Ivan Illich, John Holt) have written cogently about the need for education that goes beyond schools.

Taking their lead, I have put together a 20-page pamphlet of polemics and proposals about why and how to replace "schooling" with educating. It is called *Breaking the School Habit and other essays*. The pieces in it place the failure of schooling in the context of broader social issues and clarify why, instead of "reforming schools," we need to reformulate our ideas about education and learning.

I would be glad to send you a copy; a donation of \$1.00 and SASE would be appreciated but is not required. For a copy write to:

Richard Stone

153 N. Yosemite
Fresno, CA 93701

Classes

☆ Join us at the Koinonia Foundation. Koinonia, a Greek word implying "where spiritual beings gather," is situated on a turn-of-the-century country estate on 45 lovely wooded acres in Maryland. Our ecumenical community consists of about 50 persons, including children and staff. We strive to be a spiritual community, try to walk the high road and express "right action" in its fullest metaphysical implications in our daily life. We have a garden and orchards that have been organic since their planting 35 years ago . . . and several of the best gourmet vegetarian chefs in the nation.

The primary focus of the Foundation is to offer a program concerned with the understanding and exploration of consciousness as it relates to a fuller realization of human potential. The program

is undergoing strong revitalization. The upcoming year will celebrate the full spectrum of life energies—physical, emotional and spiritual, ranging from holistic health to exploration of the Hologram. The gamet will run from various disciplines, including yoga, T'ai Chi Chu'an and stress-reducing/consciousness-raising Eastern breathing exercises to a sundry of massages, through a variegated array of psychological and transformational techniques.

We will explore these new frontiers of the psyche by inviting to Koinonia some of the Planet Earth's most enlightened teachers, healers, psychics, mystics and poets—persons who truly have glimpsed the archetype within themselves. Those gathering here will come to heal the body and explore the mind. For to explore the mind is to heal it—and finally to awaken.

You are invited to visit us, whether or not you wish to attend our program. Our bedrooms are clean and comfortable. Our meals are positively delicious and our luxurious living rooms and many sitting rooms have cheery fireplaces, comfortable chairs and quiet corners that invite reading, meditation, and intimate conversation. Play tennis, walk in our woods, jog our paths, in one of our workshops venture more deeply into mind than you've ever dared, or simply come whirl as a dervish with Sufi dancers. Our rates are reasonably low and we can accommodate individuals, families, groups, and conferences. We would like to send you our winter guide. Please call or write us:

Koinonia

1400 Greenspring Valley Rd.
Stevenson, Maryland 21153
(301) 486-6262

Land Available

We have 50 beautiful acres in the mountains, about 30 miles east of Oroville. The land has all-year streams, woods, meadows, enclosed garden areas, bath-house/sauna, barn and more.

I have a 13th share of this land which I will sell for \$10,000 cash. My share amounts to about 4 acres with a small house on it, but there are other sites suitable for a trailer, or a bigger house that could be built with some of the existing timber.

If interested, please write soon:

Paul Gunther

4400 Pine Cluster Lane
Oroville, CA 95965

Jobs Available

A management opportunity—Director of Circle Pines Center, a 45 year old

educational cooperative in southwestern Michigan. Responsible for overall operation of children's camp, family camp and year-round retreat center. Facilitate good working relations with resident staff, members and board of directors. Develop educational programs, conduct promotional activities, oversee business operations, maintenance of physical plant, ecological use of 286 acres. Direct inquiries and resumes no later than February 28, 1984 to:

Chris Steele

1118 N. Walnut St.
Lansing, MI 48906

☆ Cooperative Summer Camp Staff—Circle Pines Center, member-owned and democratically managed since 1938, is seeking staff members for its summer camp program, in the following areas: counselors, waterfront staff, whole foods kitchen cooks and assistants, naturalist, drama coordinator, arts and crafts instructor, health officer, maintenance staff and work projects leaders. Love of children and ability to live, work, and play cooperatively, are essential. Especially interested in those with cooperative backgrounds, experience in alternative education, interest in simple rural living. For more information write:

Summer Camp, Circle Pines Center

8650 Mullen Road
Delton, MI 49046

☆ The Institute for Community Economics is creating the position of Assistant to the Financial Administrator. The job entails primary responsibility for maintaining records and filing reports for the operating accounts of the organization. Skills needed are: mathematical precision, patience in reconciling various accounts, attention to detail and enjoying working with people. Bookkeeping background would be helpful.

ICE is a national nonprofit organization providing a wide range of services to both rural and urban community-based groups with priority given to the urgent land, housing and capital needs of the poor. Most staff members live and work in two adjacent houses in Greenfield, Mass., receiving compensation for basic needs. Other arrangements are negotiable. For more information write to:

Gail Daneker

Administrative Director, ICE
151 Montague City Road
Greenfield, MA 01301

☆ Computer Operators—Can you figure out how many hours a week each person would have to work to produce the present G.N.P. if everyone worked for free and everyone could get for free all the

things they ever needed. There being no monetary value placed on labor or its products. There being no national, state, county, city, business or personal debts or interest on debts. And all persons now engaged in handling or figuring money would get jobs producing things. As all work for governments would be for free, there would be no taxes either.

I am 73 years of age and on social security so could not pay for this service so wish someone on their own would tackle the job. The finding would probably be startling.

K. Emmons

1720 S. King Ave.,
Lakeland, Fla. 33803

Exhibitions

☆ Three Mile Island Mail Art Exhibition
Deadline—February 29, 1984. T.M.I. Post Card Art, March 8—March 23, 1984 at Gettysburg College, Pennsylvania.

Theme—The Three Mile Island Nuclear Reactor Incident. This is the fourth year the Art Department has sponsored a T.M.I. show. This year all aspects of the nuclear question (from disarmament to energy) will be viewed by artists from all over the United States and Canada.

Format—The format is postcard size up to 8X10 inches.

Any media, no fee, no limit, no returns. Art work may be sent individually or collectively from a specific art department or co-op.

Documentation to all participants—A comprehensive catalogue will be published and sent to all participants.

Send entries to: Art Department, Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, PA 17325.

Reception—3-5 p.m., Sunday, March 11, Art Gallery, Schmucker Hall.

Gallery hours—9 a.m. to 4 p.m. Monday—Friday, 2 p.m. to 5 p.m., Sunday.

For further information contact:

Professor James D. Agard

Chairman, Art Department
Gettysburg College
Gettysburg, PA 17325
(717) 334-3131, ext. 203

Summer Camp

☆ Cooperative summer camp for ages 8 to 17; three two-week sessions from July 1—August 11. Whole foods kitchen, non-competitive games, cooperative work projects, folk dancing, drama, arts and crafts, nature studies and swimming. Special programming for 15—17 year olds and facilities for families and adults. 284 acres of forests and meadows, spring-fed

lake with sandy beach, organic garden. Scholarships available. Member-owned and democratically managed since 1938. For more information write:

Summer Camp, Circle Pines Center
Delton, MI 49046
(616) 623-5555

Statement of Ownership,
Management and Circulation

Title of publication— Communities Journal of Cooperation; Publication No.— 006570; Date of filing— 9/28/82. Frequency of issue— 5 times/year, Oct/Dec/Jan/Apr/Jun No. of issues published annually— 5; Annual subscription price— \$10.00. Complete mailing address of publication— Box 426, Louisa, VA 23093; complete mailing address of general business offices of publisher— Rt. 4 Box 169, Louisa, VA 23093.

Publisher— Community Publications Cooperative, % Audrey Hirsch, Rt. 4, Box 169, Louisa, VA 23093; Editor— Paul Freundlich, 2 Chapel St., Milford, CT 06460; Managing Editor— M. Judith Wenig, Box 271, 523 N. Broadway, Nyack, NY 10960.

Owner— Unschool Educational Services Corporation, P.O. Box 753, New Haven, CT. 06503. NO known bondholders, mortgagees, or other security holders owning or holding 1 percent of more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities.

This magazine has not changed during the preceding 12 months.

Extent and nature of circulation. First no. is 'average no. of copies each issue during preceding 12 months'; second no. 'Actual no. of single issue published nearest to filing date.

A. Total no. copies— 4320, 4300. B Paid circulation 1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales— 1074, 1109. 2. Mail subscription— 2887, 2800. C. Total paid circulation— 3881, 3909. D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means samples, complimentary, and other free copies— 27, 25. E. Total distribution— 3908, 3934. F. Copies not distributed 1. Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing— 207, 166. 2. Return from New Agents— 205, 200. Total— 4320, 4300.

I certify that the statement made by me above are correct and complete. Signature and title of Business Manager.

Audrey Hirsch

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Our renovated country church has been beautifully converted to a **4 BR contemporary designed living space** as well as a **large studio**—perfect for community groups, artists, musicians, or anyone requiring **generous space and light**. Situated on **25 wooded Catskill acres**, this peaceful property also includes additional **building sites with mountain views!** \$99,000

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Conferences

☆ The ninth annual Midwest Radical Therapy Conference will be held Memorial Day weekend May 25—28, 1984 in Lake Geneva, Wisconsin. The theme of this year's conference is "The Organization and Politics of Intimacy: Building a Stronger Left". We want to look at how we deal with intimacy in a political organizing group: how traditional values or behaviors which we are attempting to change in ourselves, in our groups and in the culture still affect us and perhaps prevent us from being more effective. We want to expose those values and behaviors constructively and design new ways to relate to each other personally and politically so that we can build truly cooperative community models. We are looking for people interested in this topic who have material they would like to present to others to give workshops. To indicate your interest in presenting a workshop or

to find out more about the conference please contact:

Sue Brown
R.R. #1, Box 26
Springfield, Illinois 62707

☆ Twin Oaks Community announces a two-day conference—"Women in Community: Empowering Ourselves" to be held June 1-3, 1984. All women interested in learning community skills and networking with a diversity of women are welcome. Highlights include: workshops, campfires, swimming, a sweat hut and a coffeehouse. Outdoors, women-only camping and vegetarian meals provided. \$23—\$30 for the conference—sliding scale based on income. Partial scholarships available. For more info and registration, contact:

Robin Moulds
Twin Oaks Community
Louisa, VA 23093
(703) 894-5126

YOURS ABSOLUTELY FREE!

The Kerista Islands Introductory Handbook

The Kerista Islands intentional community features nonseparatist feminism, shared leadership, hip religion and "polyfidelity" (faithful, committed, intimate relationship structure for nonmonogamous adults). Discover "Culture Sculpture" (design of an ideal learning and living environment) and the Network Clearinghouse for Community Organizing



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KERISTA
543 Frederick St.
San Francisco, CA 94117

Please send me the *free* handbook.
I'd like to plug into the Network Clearinghouse for Community Organizing. Enclosed is my check for \$36 (annual dues).

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