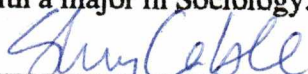
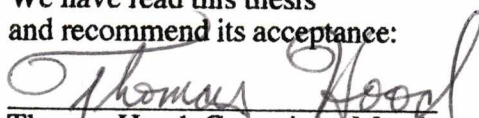


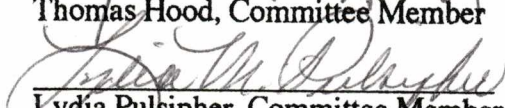
To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Marsha Martin Hupfel entitled "Community Through the Looking Glass: The Quest for Utopia." I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in Sociology.

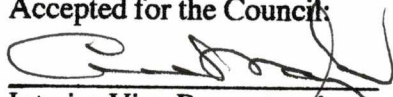

Sherry Cable, Major Professor

We have read this thesis
and recommend its acceptance:


Thomas Hood, Committee Member


Lydia Pulsipher, Committee Member

Accepted for the Council:


Interim Vice Provost and
Dean of The Graduate School

***Community Through the Looking Glass:
The Quest for Utopia***

A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Arts
Degree
University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Marsha Martin Hupfel
May 2001

Copyright[©] Marsha Martin Hupfel, 2001.

All rights reserved.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my mother

Jean Martin Hupfel

who raised me to know what
the sense of community feels like.

Acknowledgements

The quest for community has been made possible by more than a village of people. I can not possibly thank them all by name, but some specific people must be mentioned. I am particularly grateful to my Committee Chair, Dr. Sherry Cable for her encouragement, guidance, and patience. I would like to thank my committee members, Dr. Lydia Pulsipher and Dr. Tom Hood, whose unwavering support and guidance was given when ever called upon. While some may say "that's their job," this behavior is not always expressed by university professors and I have been blessed. I am also grateful for the love and support of my life partner, Marcia Athens, my father, Richard Hupfel, my sister, Lucy, and all my patient, supportive friends.

The acknowledgements would not be complete without mentioning the two communities that were the subjects of this study, the Farm and Twin Oaks. Without the cooperation from the communities, the quest would never have been completed. Special thanks must be paid to Farm members, Neil and Barbara Bloomfield, who not only helped with introductions and data gathering, but also fed me the most wonderful vegetarian meals I have ever had. Thanks also goes to Gwynelle Dismukes, the editor of the Farm's weekly newsletter, who has been highly instrumental in the achievement of this project. The Twin Oakers were equally helpful and supportive in this project. Special thanks goes to: Bobbi, Craig, Hawina, Heather, Ione, Kat, Marionne, Paxus, Shal, Spot, and Valerie. While these may be the named members from the communities, so many members from both communities contributed to this project I can not possibly name them all or thank them enough.

Finally, to all community-builders everywhere, thank you for helping make the world a better place.

Abstract

The concept of an ideal society, a *utopian* society, has been the focus of scholars of science and philosophy since early civilization. Laypeople and spiritual leaders have attempted to create utopian societies in the midst of larger social systems, especially during periods of rapid social change (Zablocki, 1980). Today these communities are known as intentional communities. Because intentional communities are microcosms of the greater society--social laboratories--they provide a potential avenue for understanding the processes and systems used to build and maintain a sense of community experienced by members. This sense of community, the feeling of belonging to something larger than the self, appears to be decreasing in a broad spectrum of mainstream settings, from inner cities to rapidly growing rural towns.

The thesis study is guided by the question: What are the factors that most contribute to building and maintaining a sense of community? Two intentional communities, The Farm and Twin Oaks, are used as case studies. Both communities have similar longevity, but they have significantly different historical paths. The Farm was formally established in 1971 by a group of approximately 320 "psychedelic hippies" who followed an eclectic spiritual path articulated by their charismatic leader, Stephen Gaskin. Twin Oaks, by contrast, was founded in 1967 by a group of eight people who had read B.F. Skinner's *Walden Two* (1948) and wanted to replicate the community described in the novel.

The research question was derived from personal interest and a variety of literature. The literature review is composed of four perspectives that reflect the pathway of inquiry. The quest began with my early ponderings on social and economic inequalities and the diminished sense of community in America; it led to the formulation of the research topic. The literature begins with works from community builders in both mainstream settings and in the intentional community movement. This section is followed by sociological literature that relates to community characteristics and variables as well as studies from the field of environmental sociology. The final section reviews the geographical literature to understand the role of place-making in the creation of a sense of community.

The thesis is a qualitative study using multiple methods of data collection. The field research included participant observation, in-depth interviews, survey questionnaires, document analysis, and maps. The data are presented in narrative form in a detailed descriptive analysis using the human dimensions research model. The model suggests the importance of the relationships between the history, the biophysical factors, and the sociocultural factors. The physical aspect of the geographical factors were combined with the biophysical factors because these attributes of place-making influence the creation of the sense of community. The descriptions and analyses of each community are presented separately. From these findings, the similarities and differences between the case studies are discussed. The most important factors involved in creating and maintaining a sense of community were found in the agreements between and among community members: cooperation, participation, nonviolence, and self-responsibility. These factors frame the social interactions of the communitarians and are found in the historical, physical, and social aspects of each community. The reciprocity found in the interactions between the members, the environment, and the community all combine to build a sense of place and a sense of commonality among the members. With the sense of place and commonality comes a sense of belonging and hence, a sense of community. The study is concluded with reflections and recommendations for further study.

Table of Contents

Chapter One: Introduction.....	1
A Brief History of Intentional Communities.....	4
The Research Problem.....	7
The Case Studies.....	8
The Farm.....	9
Twin Oaks.....	10
Chapter Two: Literature Review.....	12
The View of Community from Community Builders.....	12
The Sociology of Community.....	20
Environmental Sociology.....	31
The Geography of Place	37
Analytical Framework.....	48
Chapter Three: Research Strategy.....	52
Data Sources.....	52
Field Methods.....	52
Survey.....	55
Document Analysis.....	57
Mapping.....	57
Operational Definitions.....	58
Measurement of Geographical Aspects.....	59
Measurement of Biophysical Aspects.....	60
Sociocultural Aspects Defined.....	60
Chapter Four: The Farm: A Cooperative Community.....	62
A Brief History of The Farm.....	62
Geographical and Biophysical Aspects of the Farm.....	72
Geographical Aspects.....	72
Map of the Farm Community.....	74
Biophysical Aspects.....	77
Members' Perceptions of Geographic and Biophysical Facts	78
Sociocultural Aspects.....	82
Sociodemographics.....	83
Common Purpose	84
The Institutional System of Family.....	93
Social Relations through Interactions.....	99
Chapter Five: Twin Oaks: A Communal Community.....	112
A Brief History of Twin Oaks.....	112
Geographical and Biophysical Aspects	119
Geographical Aspects.....	119
Map of Twin Oaks Community.....	122
Biophysical Aspects.....	127
Members' Perceptions of Geographic and Biophysical Facts.....	128
Sociocultural Aspects	131
Sociodemographics.....	132
Common Purpose.....	134

The Institutional System of Family.....	138
Social Relations through Interactions.....	143
Chapter Six: Comparative Analysis.....	162
Similarities and Differences: Sense of Place and Commonality	162
Historical.....	163
Physical Factors: Geographical and Biophysical.....	164
Social Factors	167
Generalizations.....	171
Conclusions.....	174
Chapter Seven: What's Left, What's Right?.....	177
Contributions to the Field.....	178
Contributions to Building Community in Mainstream Settings.....	180
Future Research	182
Notes on Chapter Four.....	185
Notes on Chapter Five.....	186
Bibliography.....	187
Electronic Bibliography.....	193
Appendices.....	194
Appendix A: Interview Schedules.....	195
The Farm.....	196
Twin Oaks.....	199
Appendix B: Survey Questionnaire, Key Code, And Statistical Evaluation....	201
Survey Questionnaire.....	202
I) Value ordering system.....	202
II) Activism History.....	204
III) Demographic information.....	204
Survey Master Key Code.....	206
I) Value Priority List.....	206
II) Activism History.....	208
III) Demographic information.....	209
Statistical Evaluation.....	213
Vita.....	224

List of Figures and Tables

2.1 Sack's relational framework showing three elements of place.....	41
2.11 Sack's relational framework showing the three vertical perspectives.....	42
4.1 Mean rankings of Farm members' personal value priorities from question one.....	105
4.2 Mean ratings of Farm members' values using the Likert Scale from question two.....	105
5.1 Mean rankings of Twin Oaks members' personal value priorities from question one.....	160
5.2 Mean ratings of Twin Oaks members' values using the Likert Scale from question two.....	160
Tables 1 & 2: Mean rankings for the Farm and Twin Oaks showing the average means of 10 value types ranked in question 1.....	215
Tables 3 & 4: Mean ranking for the Farm and Twin Oaks showing the average means of value types rated in question 3.....	216
Table 5: Crosstabulation of the Farm and Twin Oaks showing percentages of members in each community who vote in local elections (question 8a).....	217
Table 6: Crosstabulation of the Farm and Twin Oaks showing disparity of income levels between the two communities.....	219
Table 7: Descriptive statistics showing the average age of community members in the Farm and Twin Oaks.....	220
Table 8: Crosstabulation showing percentage of community members who have children from both the Farm and Twin Oaks.....	221
Table 9: Crosstabulation showing differences in length of residency between members of the Farm and Twin Oaks.....	222

Chapter One

Introduction

Since Plato first put pen to papyrus to explicate his concept of the ideal society, a *utopian* society, scholars of science and philosophy have thought deeply about the way people live together. Novelists have imagined worlds of perfect social order. Many religious texts refer to communities of people living and working together toward spiritual enlightenment. Lay people and spiritual leaders have moved past the abstract theoretical ideals and attempted to create actual utopian communities throughout various episodes in human history, including the contemporary intentional community movement. With so many great minds studying, searching, and creating these social laboratories, why are we still questing for community? Community, or the experience of it, has apparently either been lost or never realized. Perhaps an understanding of this quest can be gained by asking what is meant by *community*.

The term "community" is a culturally symbolic concept. When people hear the term, their minds tend to visualize a place where idealized social lives are carried out. The cultural vision includes a place of neighborliness and cooperation. It is a place where not only are people involved with each other on a day-to-day basis, but they are also involved in the well-being of the collective. This image is embodied in the following conceptual definition that I have compiled from numerous descriptions and definitions of community.

Community is a geographic place, with at least vague boundaries, where the residents are aware of "strangers" (outsiders) entering the physically bounded area. It is a named place where people live and interact with each other on a day-to-day basis. This interaction includes mutual aid and support in a cooperative manner when needs arise.

But the cultural vision and the conceptual definition tend to leave out the people living on the fringes. The vision does not include the "upstanding" members of a community who pass negative judgments on "others," such as people of low-income, disabled folks, people of another color and of different nationalities, religions, and sexual orientations. When developers market their planned communities using the culturally

symbolic version of community, this part is left out. Neighborliness, mutual aid, and cooperation are ideas typically used to sell community, not to create it (Lumpen Society 1997).

Although the ideal of a utopian community is defined, the vision has yet to be fully realized. Utopian communities have not only incorporated this ideal definition of community, but have gone even farther by using either religious guidance and/or secular philosophies. Some communities, such as the Hutterites and the Bruderhof (both spiritually based), have flourished, but the majority have not survived for long. The quest continues for understanding how to build a human community that is supportive of human concerns and needs, while minimizing the environmental impact.

The concept of community is at the heart of sociology. Sociologists have peered at the makings of community from the micro level to the macro level of analysis. Early sociologists, such as Tonnies, Durkheim, and Weber, labored to explain the social mechanisms underlying the transition from *traditional community* to *modern society* (*gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft*)--from a decentralized system of small towns and villages to a centralized, urbanized, bureaucratic nation-state system.

The demise of a sense of community seems to have been initiated when Western society shifted from decentralized village communities to centralized urban areas. The anonymity and the division of labor inherent in private industry combine in urban areas to create a social experience of increased individualism. Individualism co-opted the collective. Scientists and philosophers have studied the Industrial Revolution and its social ills in mainstream urban communities. Nisbet (1980) quotes Disraeli, "Modern society acknowledges no neighbor," and Lewis Mumford, "The Industrial Revolution was a period when people yearned for efficiency and had no heart for their people; when they with great intention constructed the infrastructure of the state and forgot the community" (p. 50).

Despite the academic theories, urban social problems seem to have grown more extensively with no clear solutions. Efforts at solutions, such as urban redevelopment policies aimed at revitalizing decayed city centers, have often brought unintended negative results. Revitalization efforts supported by federal and state money implemented plans that destroyed existing communities where neighbors knew one another and replaced them with

housing projects where neighbors were suddenly strangers. Not knowing their neighbors furthered the loss of the citizenry's sense of community. While this example is but one of many, it emphasizes the large gap that remains between the academic understanding of community and the everyday experiences of people. The question of how to build and maintain community not only remains, but becomes ever more urgent as the definition applies less and less to our everyday existence in mainstream society. Urban communities seem to lack concerned neighborliness and cooperation, especially for those people living in low income areas who feel a sense of powerlessness in their lives and who seem to believe that change in their social environment is impossible.

The task of analyzing the concept of community is daunting. As Benjamin Zablocki states:

When we try to answer the questions [of community processes] by looking directly at society, we find ourselves stumped by the confounding effects of tradition and law. The study of communes, however, gives us the opportunity to look at social groups as normative systems *in statu nascendi*, when the legitimating power of tradition and law are still at their minimum (1980, p. 5).

Nonetheless, during the last half of the 20th century, many studies have been conducted on utopian communities. Sociologists such as Kanter (1972, 1973); Zablocki (1971, 1980); Bouvard (1975); Rigby (1974); Pitzer (1989, 1997); Keston (1993); Etzioni (1996); and Zicklin (1983) have all completed extensive studies. Scholastic organizations such as the Society for Utopian Studies and the Center for Communal Studies, dedicated to the study of utopian communities, have published works focusing on utopian communities. Most, however, concentrate on historical accounts of past utopian communities; few focus on contemporary utopian communities, now called intentional communities.

Studies focusing on contemporary intentional communities promise information relevant to building *contemporary* community structures and processes. These studies not only document the history and the underlying reasons for community emergence and formation, but they also cite the social context and circumstances surrounding the community-building processes (Bouvard 1975; Keston 1993; Rigby 1974). The political and social upheavals of the 1960s provide the context for the greatest formation of intentional communities in history.

Many of the differences between past and present intentional communities are related to the varieties of social structures and the social networking among them. Historically, community cohesion depended on the members shared belief in their ideological foundations. Often, the ideological foundations of historical communities were spiritually-based. The population density of the greater society is an important difference between historical and contemporary communities. Most historical communities were isolated from the greater society. Today, communities are much more connected to the society that surrounds them. Many contemporary communities are more tolerant of varying ideological beliefs among their members. Technological developments in communication and transportation systems have also affected intentional communities. The ease of international communication via the internet has enhanced the intentional community's ability to form and sustain an ever-expanding social network. Modern transportation systems allow for movement among and between them that was previously unknown.

A Brief History of Intentional Communities

The sporadic formation of utopian communities has been described as historical waves that reflect periods of rapid social change (Zablocki 1980). Social change seems to act as a catalyst spurring people with shared values and beliefs to coalesce and form alternative social systems. Zablocki (1980) identified the following periods of change that promoted the formation of utopian communities: the Early Roman Empire; the rise of trade during the 12th and 13th centuries; the Protestant Reformation; the rise of the nation-state; the Industrial Revolution; and the 1960s and early 1970s. This last period was a time when American society witnessed racial and generational clashes over the civil rights of people of color, women, and homosexuals, over the morality of the Vietnam War, and over environmental protection (Zablocki 1980; Kanter 1972; Keston 1993; Nisbet 1953).

Similar to the historical communities of the 19th century, most communities begun during the 1960s and 1970s ceased to exist within a few years. The majority of utopian communities fail after only a few years (Kanter 1972; Keston 1993; Zablocki 1980). The Intentional Community Directory, published since 1990 by the Fellowship of Intentional

Communities (FIC), acknowledges the frailty of new communities and reports the average life expectancy as five years (p. 13).

Kozeny, a member of the FIC, defines intentional community as:

a group of people who have chosen to live together with a common purpose, working cooperatively to create a lifestyle that reflects their shared core values. The people may live together on a piece of rural land, in a suburban home, or in an urban neighborhood, and they may share a single residence or live in a cluster of dwellings. (www.ic.org).

Kozeny's definition implies several types of intentional communities, but most can be placed into two categories: spiritual and secular. Some intentional communities combine the spiritual and secular aspects by collectively practicing a particular religious philosophy in a socially secular way. In other words, members share a spiritual philosophy, but day-to-day living and managing of the community may be based on secular models for organizational purposes. Tolerance of members who wish to incorporate other philosophies into their daily lives is also practiced in these types of communities as long as the members' actions do not conflict with agreed upon community norms that may be based on a shared spiritual philosophy.

It also appears that intentional communities comprise a continuum of form and style. On one end are the isolationist communities, whose members wish only to live in peace without interference and minimal interaction with mainstream society. The Hutterites and Bruderhof are examples of this type. On the other end are communities whose members choose to form a cooperative collective while still maintaining individual private family units and working in mainstream careers. Cohousing units are examples of the latter form.

Cohousing communities are the most recently developed examples of cooperatives and are a new phenomenon in the "community movement" (IC Directory 2000). The physically constructed space of a cohousing community is designed for optimal social interaction while giving each family a private home (Norwood and Smith, 1995). The members share common recreation and dining areas as well as other common spaces, such as gardens and forests. The Intentional Communities Directory (2000) cites the proliferation of cohousing "with 42 cohousing communities built as of fall 1999 and over

160 in planning or construction" (p.8). Similar to other styles of intentional communities, cohousing communities can be found in both urban and rural settings.

Along the intentional community continuum, common elements can be identified that separate them from mainstream communities. The basic elements are shared ownership of land, common values, and intention rather than circumstance. People join intentional communities based on the commonality of intentions of the community and the person. Many intentional and cohousing communities use land trusts as a legal instrument for the communal sharing of land. Land trusts place the property into a trust so that no single individual holds ownership as is common in mainstream communities. In mainstream settings, people choose to live in a community by circumstance--the home they rent or purchase may be near their place of work or fits their income level--not because of the current residents or the community's intentions and values. Even in planned residential communities, the other residents play little role in the selection process.

While all intentional communities share these basic elements, they exhibit different structural variations. Some egalitarian communities tend to be communally organized. They share income, resources, labor, land, housing, social roles and positions equally among the members. All material and economic goods, food, education, and health services are also provided. Other communities are organized as cooperatives in which some material goods such as land, are held in common, but the individuals and families are independent and self-maintaining. The members contribute dues for maintenance of the common property. Some cooperative communities also identify themselves as egalitarian, but do not share all common resources communally.

Today, rural and urban intentional communities can be found in every state of the nation and in many countries around the world. With the proliferation of diverse intentional communities, a social network has emerged. The Intentional Communities Directory is indicative of the spreading interest in and networking of communities.

The earlier incarnation of the FIC was founded during the post World War II era and was called "The Federation of Intentional Communities." After flagging interest and distrust in formal organizations during the 1960s and 1970s, the FIC was revived in 1986. The new members wanted their organization to reflect a more cooperative inclusiveness and

changed the name to "The Fellowship of Intentional Communities." The goals for the FIC are to "create a forum for exploring common issues and act as a clearinghouse for information about community options" (Directory 2000 p. 8).

The Intentional Communities Directory 2000 contains information from 728 communities world-wide that chose to be listed. Participating communities must fulfill two requirements to be listed: 1) they must not advocate violent practices; and 2) they must not interfere with members' freedom to leave the group at any time (Directory 2000 p. 13). The Directory lists 530 communities in the United States. Another 198 are in: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, France, Germany Greece, India, Israel, Italy, Japan, Mexico, The Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Northern Ireland, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, The United Kingdom, Scotland, Wales. Ten communities list no location. Membership in the FIC is not a requirement for listing. Only 68 of the 728 listed communities are dues-paying members of the organization (FIC Database 2000).

Another intentional community organization, The Federation of Egalitarian Communities (FEC), has eight member communities who also hold membership in the FIC. The FEC members are all income sharing communities and have developed a labor exchange network among the member communities. Six or seven other communities, called "Communities in Dialog," are involved with the FEC, but do not hold full membership. These Communities in Dialog participate in an egalitarian way of life and are part of the labor exchange network. The labor exchange network allows members of participating communities to move between them and maintain their membership in their home community. Sometimes the cost of travel between them is covered if a community needs assistance. Harvest time or an unanticipated need to increase production of a community product can prompt a call for help by a participating community.

The Research Problem

Because intentional communities are microcosms of the greater society, social laboratories (Zablocki 1980), they provide a potential avenue for understanding the processes and systems that are used to build and maintain positive aspects of community.

Do the community members feel a sense of community? If so, how did they build it and how do they maintain that sense of community, that sense of belongingness? How have they created a sense of place in which and to which they feel connected? What is their relationship to nature and the natural environment? What do members do to support living in harmony with the environment? To address these questions more fully, I have selected two communities to study rather than one to permit comparative analysis.

By analyzing two intentional communities for their similarities and their differences, I hope to identify processes and systems that could be utilized by mainstream communities--communities that are struggling under the weight of a variety of social problems that reduce the sense of community felt by the residents. Such an analysis can suggest basic strategies for people to use in developing their *own* systems and processes for creating and maintaining a healthy and supportive way of life. As pointed out by McLaughlin and Davidson, "Many ideas and techniques being developed in [intentional] communities are directly applicable to urban and suburban life, like reducing living costs while enhancing the quality of life and the sense of being surrounded by friendship and support" (1985, p. 2).

The Case Studies

The thesis explores two intentional communities founded in the 1960s and 1970s: The Farm and Twin Oaks. These communities were selected for four reasons. First, they are geographically convenient to me, facilitating participant observation without prohibitive costs. Second, they have both survived for thirty years or more which defines them as successful intentional communities. Third, these communities were chosen because their roots are in that turbulent historical era in which the social institutions, processes, and problems we experience today first began to be seriously and widely challenged.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, troubling social events occurred in the United States: the assassinations of popular social and political leaders, the expansion of the Vietnam War, and evidence of large-scale environmental crises. Political, racial, and gender conflicts spawned widespread civil unrest. The government's position on the war, on civil rights, environmental issues, and even its position on itself as Watergate unfolded

began to erode the public's faith in government and public officials. Television and print media helped keep the nation's attention focused on all these events. We still struggle with many of these issues and the consequences of government actions. Therefore, the structures and systems used by these two communities may be more relevant to our current mainstream social problems than a study of much older communities still in existence, such as the Bruderhof and Hutterites.

The Farm in south central Tennessee and Twin Oaks in eastern Virginia have very different characteristics. Because their individual ideological foundations and their historical paths have been very different, they diverge widely in their style and structure. The Farm is an egalitarian, cooperative community. Twin Oaks is an egalitarian, income-sharing community. Another significant difference lies in the membership characteristics. Although the average ages of the membership are similar, the average residential stabilities of the populations vary. Since the Farm's population is more family-oriented, most residents have lived in the community for twenty years or more. In contrast, Twin Oaks has an average turnover rate of seven years. I will briefly introduce the two case studies before turning to a literature review in the next chapter.

The Farm

The Farm was formally established in 1971 by a group of approximately 60 "psychedelic hippies" who followed an eclectic spiritual path articulated by their charismatic leader, Stephen Gaskin. They were core members of what was known as The Monday Night Class (MNC) led by Gaskin. Monday Night Class was originally part of the Experimental College at San Francisco State College, but eventually it separated from the campus and, over a three year period, attendance grew to nearly 1500. Gaskin, educated in creative writing and a teacher of world religions, also experimented with LSD. The San Francisco hippies were his students, many of whom had left college as the social unrest related to the civil rights movement and the Vietnam War continued to unfold. The students were primarily pacifist seekers in a violent, socially unjust world that disillusioned them. Gaskin and his students combined aspects of numerous religions and their psychedelic

experiences to create a philosophy of life and an understanding of the workings of the Universe.

In 1969, religious representatives from the American Academy of Religion who had come to San Francisco for their annual meeting attended a MNC. Impressed by Gaskin's spiritual teachings and his advocacy of nonviolence, they invited him to tour the country to speak in their churches and in the more liberal American universities. Many students did not want to be separated from Gaskin, so he invited whoever could "manifest wheels" to come along. Old vans and school buses were outfitted for mobile group living. This tour was their first experience in large-scale communal living. Along the way, different group members would obtain short-term jobs and all earnings were shared by the caravan members.

When the tour ended in November of 1970, the caravan members wanted to retain their group cohesion. The members decided to settle down together and start living the spiritual values they had developed. During their travels they had noted the affordability of land in south central Tennessee. They communally purchased some land and moved onto it in the summer of 1971. The Farmies, as they came to be known, proceeded to create a community that reflected their beliefs: oneness with all things, responsibility to the self, each other, the children, and the earth; and the idea that nothing is impossible (Traugot, 1994). Today the Farm continues to be a potent force in the intentional community movement.

Twin Oaks

In contrast, Twin Oaks was founded by a group of eight people who believed in the possibility of organizing a new society. They had all read B.F. Skinner's *Walden Two* (1948) and wanted to replicate the community described in the novel. The group was made up of educated individuals, all socialist dreamers. They had met in 1966 at a conference of psychology professors who wanted to establish a Walden Two community (Kincade, 1972; Komar, 1983). In 1967, the group was tired of waiting for the academicians to agree on where and how to establish such a community. With money from a friend outside

the core group who was interested in community but unable to join them, they purchased land in Louisa County, Virginia and founded the Twin Oaks community.

When the Oakers attempted to replicate the fictional community, they were confronted with the realities of economics and the problems of communal living. For income, some members worked off the property while the others built the community. Communal living also presented intense problems in personal relations among the members and these were more difficult to solve. Four of the original eight founders became the core members as the others left and new people joined. The turnover rate in the first few years was measured in days and months. But the era of the 60s fostered a large population of "free spirits"--people searching for different ways to live. These free spirits, often referred to as hippies, became a primary source of new members to replace those who left. Over time, systems were developed to overcome the social problems and a cottage industry making hammocks was developed for communal income production. Few Skinnerian ideals remain today. The institutional structure is a hybrid design developed over the years by the members as experience dictated.

Twin Oaks is an active member in the FIC, hosting community conferences for the past fifteen years. In 1976, Twin Oaks joined with eight other income-sharing egalitarian communities to found the Federation of Egalitarian Communities. Twin Oaks has become a model for egalitarian community building across the country, and perhaps the world.

The next chapter (2) reviews literature from both community builders and academics. Chapter Three describes the research strategy used for data collection. The cases are described separately in Chapters Four and Five. Chapter Six presents my comparative analysis of the case studies. The final chapter offers reflections on the study and some questions for future research.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

The literature review is composed of four parts that reflects the general pathway of my inquiry. The first section reviews the literature that helped describe and focus the topics for analysis. Most of the literature is from community builders, nonacademics whose work helped to guide the study. The second section reviews the literature on the sociology of community. I address studies pertaining to community systems as whole units and specifically to intentional communities. Sociological studies that focus on the micro aspects of community will not be reviewed.

The third section addresses environmental sociological work. An important element in contemporary intentional communities is living harmoniously with the environment. Understanding the relationships within communities as holistic systems that are made up of the social and physical structures, the members, and the biophysical environment offers a more complete picture of these interconnected systems.

The fourth section selectively reviews the geographical aspects of place. Sociology of community cannot be separated from its place in space any more than it can be separated from its social elements. The geographic review is focused on the interrelated aspects of the physical creation and cognitive conceptualization of place through human activity and interaction.

The View of Community from Community Builders

The structure of this literature review reflects my quest from early ponderings on social and economic inequalities and the diminished sense of community in America, especially in inner city neighborhoods, to the formulation of a research topic. My early ponderings began to coalesce into a research project when Quinn (1999) suggested that we, as a culture, need to go "beyond civilization" to a New Tribal Revolution (p. 174). The tribalism Quinn suggests is not a return to primitive living or a reduction in our standard of living. Rather, it is a suggestion for living in a socially and economically different manner.

The intention of his suggestions is to increase the standard of living for more people, while decreasing the impact of civilization's activities on environmental resources.

For Quinn, the primary difference between civilization and tribalism is the difference between hierarchical and non-hierarchical social structures. Civilized societies have a "pecking order." A few people at the top of the social structure possess tremendous power and control and exert it over the many, who have relatively little power and control. In contrast, the tribe exists for *all* members because all are involved in the success of the tribe. Each member has an important role within the tribe and "everyone's interest lies in the success of the whole" (p. 64). Quinn describes a tribe as:

a coalition of people working together as equals to make a living. A tribe of tribes is a coalition of tribes working together as equals to make a living; each tribe has a boss, as does the coalition as a whole" (p. 65).

Furthermore, a tribe *is* its members. The tribe is what the members want the tribe to be. Quinn suggests different kinds of tribes that form a continuum--from total living, cradle-to-grave types of tribes to occupational tribes in which people work together for a living but live independently. There is no exact formula for a tribe. Instead, tribal formation is a creative process reflecting members'. The tribe is "just a wonderfully efficient social organization, which renders making a living easy for all--unlike civilization, which renders it easy for a privileged few and hard for the rest" (Quinn 1999, p. 154).

If the tribal system is as promising for all members of society as Quinn suggests it is, how could it be applied to mainstream settings? Could people struggling at the bottom of the social and economic ladder utilize tribalism? How can this concept be introduced into the lives of the people who most need a new system for living? It is these people who are living without a sense of community, without trust in others, who most need something *they* can create that will allow them to live better in the world. The social value of individualism has fostered generations of people in mainstream society who oppose cooperative styles of working for the common good. Even if communes are not tribes, could they tell us something about living cooperatively in ways that build a sense of community among members? Could cooperative environments that maintain a sense of

community foster tribal systems? Could our social problems be more adequately addressed if space were created for tribes of differing forms?

Quinn maintains that civilization's core beliefs are reflected in how we approach contemporary social problems. The core beliefs are that civilization must be continued at any cost and that there is only one right way to live. He points to social programs developed to "stop poverty," "stop drug abuse," or "stop crime." These programs have not and will not eliminate these social problems. The programs serve only to keep people busy believing that we can fix things if only we work hard enough, throw more money at a problem, pass more laws, or manage the programs more efficiently with more adequately trained people. Quinn believes that saving the world "will not be by old minds with new programs but by new minds with no programs at all" (p. 9).

Quinn differentiates between old minds and new minds with examples of program development: old minds use old methods and try to add onto existing systems, while new minds look for alternative ways to define and solve problems. Although intentional communities are examples of new minds thinking in alternative ways, Quinn does not see them as *the* way, nor does he find them necessarily tribal. Instead, he asserts that there is *no one right way*.

Quinn believes that people must devise their own ways of living that are right for them. They need to find ways of living that supply them with their basic needs, and allow them to focus on what they want to do and make it happen. He believes that fighting against problems only exacerbates them. Seeing problems as personal ways of being and providing a space for those living the problems to develop their own ways of managing their lives allows for diversity in chosen lifestyles. He suggests tribal living as one alternative form of social structure. It is not *the* way to live, but one of many alternative ways to live.

Intentional community builders are examples of new minds who are using ideas from historical communities and novels as well as their ongoing experiences to create new systems of living. These communities are not carbon copies of one another. They are not the solution to our problems. They may only provide mainstream society with alternative ideas for designing social systems that are based on nonviolence and cooperative living.

But ideas from intentional communities may demonstrate ways to live that are more comfortable and less materially draining on our planet's resources.

When Quinn suggests the tribal revolution, he does not say tribal living is for everyone, nor that we have to turn away from technological advancements. Neither do most intentional communities. Both Quinn and intentional community members believe that working together as a group can enhance the quality of life for each person involved. Can intentional communities provide us with maps for living collectively, tribally, within the larger system of mainstream society? What is an intentional community from the communitarian's perspective?

Defining intentional community is a difficult task. Perhaps these communities most distinguishing characteristic is their intentionality. They are founded with certain, particular intentions that are defined by the members. But getting members to define intentional community precisely is problematic. In an attempt to develop a standardized definition of intentional community, the 1995 Intentional Community Directory editors solicited definitions for intentional community. They collected more descriptions than definitions:

Harvey Baker of Dunmire Hollow expressed his definition this way:

An "intentional community" is a group of people dedicated with intent, purpose, and commitment to a mutual concern. Generally the group shares land or housing, or is otherwise close enough geographically to be in continuous active fellowship so that it can effectively carry out the purposes to which it is dedicated (p. 33).

Lisa Paulson of High Wind writes:

...a group of people who come together deliberately in a residential situation around a specific vision, agenda, shared values. Certainly there are communities that adhere to the latter criteria whose members do not live together; however, when we think of intentional communities, it seems to imply being residential.

Within the term intentional community, we make two distinctions: "public" or "homesteading." Public intentional communities are dedicated to public service, outreach, educational programs, events, and networking. Such groups are broad, even global, in scope. ...

Homesteading" communities coalesce with perhaps the same vision of living together with real caring for each other as in the public groups. However, homesteaders are not so open to visitors and have no public programs (pp. 34-35).

And from Kat Kincade, a founding and current member of Twin Oaks:

"Intentional community"...(has) its own clear borders and membership. Some people call it a "utopian" community. The essential element in any intentional community, ours included, is that people who want to live in it will have to join, be accepted by those who already live there, and go by its rules and norms, which may in some ways differ from those in society at large (p. 35).

The descriptive list continues. The editors were surprised by the variety of descriptions and the depth of feelings exhibited in the discussions attempting to develop a common definition of intentional community. Consequently, they decided to shift the focus from developing a standard definition to a new course of action. At the fall 1992 semi-annual FIC meeting, attendees:

agreed to redirect the search for a common definition when we discovered that discussion of comparative descriptions could produce much more fruitful work. Definitions can be limiting and judging, whereas descriptions are inclusive, expansive, and illuminating. (Questenberry 1995, p. 35).

This redirection exemplifies the underlying emphasis of cooperation in intentional communities and the social network of communities. The descriptions and the organizational redirection emphasize the attitude of a group of people living and/or working together intentionally in a community. It also underscores the axiom that there is no one right way to live. It is the intentionality of people living in community that makes the difference.

Members from intentional communities maintain that the system of sharing lives and resources reduces economic and emotional burdens, as well as minimizes consumption of material and environmental resources. In mainstream society, people live next to each other simply by circumstance--they often do not know who their neighbors are or what they do. People living in most American communities do not share lives or resources. A community of thirty homes will typically have at least thirty cars, thirty lawn mowers, and thirty washing machines; the children will be cared for individually or in child care centers some distance away from their homes. These are circumstantial communities where the residents live side-by-side with others they may or may not know.

Even when people know each other and share similar values and beliefs, living in and maintaining an intentional community has never been easy. Daily face-to-face

interaction year after year with the same people can often increase personal tensions caused by personality differences. The Intentional Communities Directory 2000 estimates that the average life-span of a new intentional community has only increased by one year from the 19th century community life-span of four found by Kanter (1972). But 20th century intentional communities are different from 19th century communities (Miller 2000). Miller lists the differences: 20th century intentional communities are smaller, employ new forms of government, feature economic arrangements that range from communal sharing to individual cooperative systems, include urban as well as rural settlement patterns, offer lower commitment requirements for members, and maintain lower public profiles (p.60 & 61). Those communities that succeed beyond five years seem to have systems and processes that aid members in resolving conflicts that occur, even in the face of shared values.

Kozeny (2000), an active member of the Fellowship of Intentional Communities (FIC) and community documentarian, offers his analysis of the values held by successful communitarians:

the five values that stand out as the most important across the communities, values that provide the "glue" that bonds community members with each other and with the community itself are: cooperation; a sense of neighborhood and/or community, equality/democracy, share resources; and a safe environment (p. 51).

The activities he believes promote such values are: eating together frequently, joining in rituals and celebrations, intimate dialogs, learning and application of techniques for moving through conflict, and showing appreciation for everyone, including those on the fringe or who seem to be disassociating from the group. Kozeny asserts that intentional community membership has undergone a resurgence in the last decade of the 20th century because more people are searching for a sense of community. He states: "The primal feeling evoked is that a community is a safe haven--a place where everyone looks after each other; where everyone feels at home, where everyone's needs are met" (p. 49).

The desire and ability of members to resolve conflict is the most important value that contributes to the success of an intentional community (*Communities*, Fall 1999). A note from the magazine's editor quotes a community member: "Knowing how to deal well with conflict is *the* most important contribution communities can make to the wider culture"

(p. 20). Conflict resolution is one of the strongest building blocks of community according to attendees of the "Creating Community" workshop at the 2000 Communities Conference.

But can intentionality of community be fostered or evoked in mainstream settings? Donahue (1999), an environmental historian and farmer, has worked at the local level to bring intention back into a mainstream suburban community. He organized Land's Sake, a non-profit organization in a suburban town south of Boston, to develop a physical and psychological connection between the people and the land. His efforts began when he noted not only the increased usage of wilderness areas and parks, but also the out-migration of people from suburbia to rural settings. Although most people do not choose life in an intentional community, some still desire more connections with each other and with the natural landscape.

But, as Donahue points out, the act of moving in and populating rural areas destroys the very thing suburbanites are seeking. Farms and woodlands are destroyed when homes are built to accommodate the rapid influx of people. Donahue's solution is to recreate the rural setting in suburbia, thereby creating a place where people want to live, rather than escape from. Donahue believes that an increased sense of belonging will be followed by a concern for the place in which they live.

Donahue maintains that identification with a place and feeling a sense of belonging are two separate experiences. The mobility of the modern population and highly evolved transportation and communication networks have reduced the suburbanite's sense of *belonging* to a "place" or a community. While they may identify with a place--"I'm from Knoxville"--they do not feel a sense of belonging or connection to the place. Donahue maintains that there is little, if any, sense of personal history or deep historical knowledge of the area to connect the individual to a suburban community.

Donahue believes that towns/communities must return to a system of local food and forest production based on regionally appropriate crops and products. In essence, Donahue wants to bring intention into suburban communities. To do this, he suggests we "get dirty," be in the world, with the world, not outside it looking in. Rather than searching for a connection to the natural world by traveling long distances to national parks

and forests, we should leave the wilderness to itself and incorporate, appreciate and nurture the wildness of nature in our own backyards.

Norwood and Smith (1995), architects and community planners, share many of Donahue's beliefs. They believe that working in the here-and-now of decaying suburbs and inner cities can restore a sense of personal empowerment and create a new sense of community. They state: "What is needed is to recreate the virtues we crave in small towns--their personal intimacy, their sense of mutual support, feeling of a shared community destiny--but do it everywhere, in cities and urban suburbs where most of us in fact live" (p. xii). Their goal is to rebuild America into a "decent habitat for its citizens" (p. xii). They argue that the effort must include a combination of architecture, planning, social organizing, and individual soul-searching.

Intentional communities actively exhibit this holistic viewpoint actively in their everyday lives and in the ways they design their physical spaces. Komar (1983), a community documentarian, emphasizes the personalizing effect of building placement and design of an intentional community in Virginia. She speculates that the buildings surrounding the central courtyard, the design of the housing units that have private sleeping quarters above or connected to workshops, the activity that takes place within and outside these areas, and the attitude of stewardship of the land all work together to create a sense of community.

Stewardship of the land is a common theme among contemporary community builders. The environmental problems brought about by technological advancements since World War II have affected intentional community building since the 1960s. Many contemporary intentional communities describe themselves as ecovillages, incorporating appropriate technology in their social and economic structures. They utilize alternative energy sources in their building designs and organic farming methods in their food production (Directory 1995, 2000). Intentional communities are not without problems, but they create space for new minds to formulate and experiment with alternative ways of living. Therefore, an analysis of intentional communities may prove fruitful for mainstream community building.

Although the literature from community builders is descriptive and thought provoking, it does not offer a systematic analysis of the elements that comprise a community. For a systematic analysis, we must turn to the sociology of community. Because of the environmental values espoused by the communities and their members, environmental sociology will also be considered.

The Sociology of Community

Because the concept of community forms the heart of sociology, much of the sociological literature relates to community characteristics and variables. The breadth of literature encompasses a vast range from the macro theories of institutions to the micro theoretical interactions of individuals and small groups of actors. For salience, I narrowed the sociological research for review to that portion most relevant to the study of intentional communities: the literature concerning the community as a system. Consequently, I do not include the micro perspective of face-to-face interactions.

Intentional communities are micro societies that have been used as laboratories by numerous social scientists (Nisbet 1953; Kanter 1972; Rigby 1974; Bouvard 1975; Zablocki 1980; Zicklin 1983; Near 1989; Keston 1993; Pitzer 1997). They fit Durkheim's conceptualization of societies as systems of interrelated social elements (Cuff et al. 1979). Durkheim's sociological conceptualization is reflected in the layperson's definition of community: "a body of people living in the same place, under the same laws" (Merriam Webster 1997). But *how* and *why* people are able or unable to create community is the sociological question. The layperson's definition does not address the connections between people that underlie the concept of community. Nor does it address the norms under which *community* is experienced--the moral concerns, which in reality define a community as good or bad.

The classic sociological theorists--Tonnies, Comte, Durkheim, Weber, Simmel, Maine, Parks, Wirth, Becker and others--devoted attention to the concept of community (Nisbet 1966; Hillery 1968; Sennet 1969). Their work suggests that social forces and moral aesthetics are intertwined within the idea of community (Nisbet 1966; Hillery 1968; Sennet 1969; and Sack 1997). Early sociologists focused on the transition from traditional

community (*gemeinschaft*) to *modern society* (*gesellschaft*)--or from a decentralized system of small towns and villages to a centralized, urbanized bureaucratic nation-state system.

During the 19th century, anthropologists and archeologists provided grist for the mills of sociologists such as Durkheim and Weber as they explored, compared, and documented the less developed cultures of the world. Comparisons between "civilized society" and "tribal society" exposed humanity's social life as one of extremes (Durkheim 1947). In 19th century Europe, a person who moved from village to city personally experienced socio-cultural extremes. Individuals experienced negative impacts in both settings. On one hand, both tribal and the traditional village communities were seen as limiting members' individuality through total absorption into the collective (Giddens 1972). On the other hand, modern society removed the relational anchors an individual had with neighbors and the individual's sense of belonging to a place. People lived in a social world of strangers. This shift from traditional to modern living released the social controls of the cultural traditions that instilled individual responsibility (Durkheim 1960).

Durkheim (1960) noted these changes in social living patterns that replaced the norms of tightly knit community life to the indirect laws of the state. But he thought that new anchors and more direct social controls would derive from the division of labor and the emergent corporations and work associations. He identified two variations of social solidarity, characterizing the shift in social patterns as *mechanical* and *organic*. Durkheim explained that, in primitive cultures, all the members of a village worked toward common communally sustainable goals. He called this working together for the collective good "mechanical solidarity" (1960). In contrast, he described the modern nation-state as utilizing "organic solidarity." Organic solidarity involves a different organizational social system in which people work in interdependent industrial systems for *individual* goals and economic sustainability rather than for the group.

Durkheim's work extended the concept of community from a central living/working place of known members into the world of anonymity and industry. This broadening of the term may be the basis for the apparent confusion in attempts to conceptualize community. Using Durkheim's theoretical viewpoint, a labor union or a professional organization could be classified as a community, as could many other loosely based groups

with a common bond that brings them together to further the *individual's* economic or physical well-being through, but not *for*, the group.

Consequently, in a sociological study of community, the basic question is *what is community?* Does it include total institutions, such as prisons? What about the "virtual community" of the internet? Or professional organizations? In 1968, Hillery sought to answer the question by inductively building a theoretical understanding of community. He began with a cross-cultural comparative study of forty folk villages to identify common elements characterizing the villages as community systems. He then contrasted the elements he found in the villages to those in cities, neighborhoods, and institutions. He found that members created community social systems through cooperative enterprises with no specific goals, but that internal goals can be found *within* the community's social systems. Internal goals, contrived by the members of the community, are driven by the interests of members through the organization of festivals and recreational activities, interdependent economic systems, and land management systems. Hillery also noted the temporal aspect of a community through the generational integration of the members. The generational aspect of a community carries it beyond the single life span of any one member—the community is a social *thing* as Durkheim might say.

Hillery's study consists of villages but, as he acknowledges, communities have similar social networks that link the members. Consequently, the elements he uncovered from the study of villages may also be found in other types of communities. He defined a folk village as "a localized system of families cooperating by means of mutual aid" (p. 34). Hillery found eleven elements involved in creating a sense of community: interaction, space, activity, shared norms, sentiment, religion, mutual aid, government, stratification, socialization, and recreation (p. 29-30). He combined three aspects in his term "sentiment": ethnocentrism, awareness by being able to name or at least identify a member, and homogeneity. Of the eleven elements, he identified space, interaction, and the institutional system of family as the most stable components in creating community. Although the latter element, the institution of the family, was not listed, he believed the concept of family encompasses many of the eleven elements.

Hillery explained that the element of interaction has two dimensions: social and personal. He noted the difference between social and personal interaction by defining social interaction as competition, cooperation, and conflict. Social interaction is found in work and public exchanges. Personal interaction involves the direct personal knowledge of others. Family and close friends are examples of personal interaction. Both forms of interaction allow the members of a community to know each other, at least on a visual, superficial level. Hillery suggested that regular interaction, social or personal, allowed community members to distinguish themselves from strangers--those who do not reside within the community. This distinction reflects the members' awareness of each other and the spatiality of community borders.

Community borders exemplify another of Hillery's elements of community--the spatial awareness of community boundaries. The delineation of boundaries creates a feeling of being connected to, or a part of, a specific place. Today we can see interaction and spatial awareness acted out in the inner cities through gang wars and turf identification markers expressed in graffiti.

According to Hillery, the institution of family encompasses the other elements of shared norms, sentiment, religion, socialization, and recreation. He concluded that the basis of cooperation in a village is found in the family, not the individual, because:

- 1) the family is the procreative, socializing, economic, and stratifying unit;
 - 2) all adults have some kinship ties;
 - 3) village members spend more time with the family than any other institution except possibly their work/job;
 - 4) kinship status is an identifier within and by the village social system
- (p. 35)

Hillery argued that disruptions in any of the three primary components-- space, interaction, or the family-- can destabilize the sense of community. His contention is supported by studies that address crime and fear in communities (Freudenburg et al. 1991; Taylor & Covington 1993), the alienating effects of neighborhood disorder (Geis & Ross 1998), and social well-being (Keyes 1998).

Hillery also expressed what a community is not. Through his inductive analysis, the concept of community does not include total institutions, such as prisons, mental institutions, schools, and hospitals. He maintained that these places are formal, goal-

oriented institutions which are significantly and qualitatively different from villages, communities, neighborhoods, and cities.

Hillery's work defining community was based on a sample of villages around the world that have a circumstantial, cultural, familial history for "being" a village. These types of villages are different from intentional communities. Numerous contemporary social scientists have studied intentional communities. Some have looked back to historical communities of the 19th century such as Nisbet (1953) and Kanter (1972). Others, such as Rigby (1973) and Bouvard (1975) have studied 20th century communities. Still others, such as Zablocki (1980), Zicklin (1983), Keston (1993) and Pitzer (1997), have looked at both. Furthermore, sociological studies of intentional communities have focused on different types of communities, in different historical periods, and some have used different terms for them.

Rigby (1974), who studied contemporary intentional communities in the United Kingdom during the late 1960s, used the term *commune*. He formally defined a *commune*:

as consisting of a group of people, of three or more persons in size, drawn from more than one family or kinship group, who have voluntarily come together for some purpose or other, ...in the pursuit of which they seek to share certain aspects of their lives together, and who are characterized by a certain consciousness of themselves as a group. The sharing together of their lives may range across such dimensions as living accommodation, economic activities and income, child-rearing and perhaps also sexual activities. [and] ...Different groups share their lives together to different degrees (p. 3).

Keston (1993) explained why he preferred the term *colony* instead of *commune*:

rather than speeding ideas down the highways of thought, as good words should, they force them into the slow lane. *Socialism, communism*, and words that look like *communism* create a special kind of confusion...people use them to "mean whatever someone chooses them to mean. It arises from the varying and changing ways in which people have interpreted these terms in the past and even today. ... the term *colony* evokes the true qualities of the site: a place apart, unfinished, where emigrants come to build something new" (p. 24-25).

No matter the term used nor the time period that the community formed, those studying intentional communities find that the primary reason for starting an intentional

community is an agreed-upon disagreement with the greater society and its institutions.

Kanter (1972) states:

The organization of an IC can be based on a politico-economic critique of society--a rejection of the structure of the haves and have nots.... The basis of IC formation can also include a psychological critique of the prevailing social order of a modern complex society which instills the effects of alienation and loneliness in a portion of the population (p. 7). [And] Underlying the vision of utopia is the assumption that harmony, cooperation, and mutuality of interests are natural to human existence, rather than conflict, competition, and exploitation (p. 1).

Kanter (1972) suggested three major themes as catalysts for building American communes:

- 1) religious and spiritual values
- 2) desire to reform society by curing its economic and political ills, rejecting the injustice and inhumanity of the establishment;
- 3) The promotion of psychosocial growth of the individual by connecting with others more fully and by rejecting the isolation and alienation of the surrounding society. (characteristic of third American wave of IC building--post WWII) (p. 9)

Bouvard (1975) suggested similar premises for the creation and maintenance of intentional communities:

- 1) members categorically reject government as a source of social or economic reform--behaviorist's favor functional administration and operant conditioning and anarchists look for spontaneous social management;
- 2) all people are equal--a community which is not overly dependent upon either the leadership or skills of certain members will be able to survive a turnover in membership
- 3) to value life in harmony with nature (p. 191).

Keston (1993) also offered reasons for people in the 19th century to form what he referred to as colonies:

...people spurred on by causes, slogans, and programs that seem to step right out of late 20th century news stories--justice for the exploited, the poor, and the disadvantaged as well as antiwar groups, a deep concern for the state of morality, religion, the environment, education, protecting human rights, women's equality, vegetarians, promotion of health foods, and even claims that the stress of modern society would destroy us, hoped to find refuge by getting back to nature, to a simpler way of life (p. 28).

Keston's list seems most applicable to intentional community development today.

Zablocki (1971, 1980), who has studied both historical and contemporary communities, states that the basic reasons for development of communes "have not

changed much since the nineteenth century" (1980, p. 47). However, he found something new: many communes focus on "mystical cults, traditional religious, political change, cultural change, cooperation, and personal psychology" (1980, p. 47). But, he says, there *is* something new in contemporary communes, and that is a move toward "individual freedom" within the commune (1980, p. 48). According to Zablocki, the most important consequence of *individual freedom* to a commune is the self-actualizing aspect of identity and its significant impact on the structure of the community: the reduction of group commitment.

Commitment is a most critical aspect if a community is to maintain itself (Kanter 1972; Bouvard 1975; Zablocki 1980; Keston 1993). Kanter's 1972 study focused on 91 19th century communities that left historical records. She found that the average life-span was less than four years. Nine of the 91 communities lasted thirty-three or more years. She defined these nine as successful and they became the focus of her study. Kanter found that orientation to the community social system is an important part of the personal process of commitment. Using language from social action theory, she described how a person orients herself to the community:

Cognitive orientations discriminate among objects, describing their possibilities for gratification or deprivation, and distinguishing their location and characteristics.

Cathetic orientations represent an emotional state with respect to objects, the kind and amount of feeling they generate

Evaluative orientations refer to standards of judgment: good or bad, right or wrong. (p. 69).

Kanter maintained that individuals rate each element of the community on these three dimensions and choose to behave toward it in accordance with this rating, depending on the degree of its positive (benefits) or negative (costs) value for him.

From Kanter's viewpoint, a person must give up something as well as gain something to feel committed to the group. This sacrifice of something is the cost of membership, and the process involves choice. Also, the clearer and more defined a group becomes to a person, the easier it is for them to concentrate their commitment to the group. Kanter used this as her first principle of a gestalt sociology:

...the group builds commitment to the extent that it clearly cuts off other possible objects of commitment, becomes an integrated unity tying together all aspects of life within its borders, develops its own uniqueness and specialness, and becomes capable, by itself, of continuing the person's gratification. Therefore, the strength of commitment depends on the extent to which groups institute processes that increase the unity, coherence, and possible gratification of the self (p. 71).

Kanter identified six commitment building processes that accomplish the building of total commitment to a collective:

- 1) **Sacrifice:** giving up something valued or pleasurable in order to belong to the organization; membership is costly and therefore not lightly regarded nor given up easily.
- 2) **Investment:** a process where the individual gains a stake in the group, commits current and future profits to it, so that he must continue to participate if he is going to realize those profits; involves giving up control over some of the person's resources to the community. Community is based in part on the desire for strong relation within a collectivity, for intense emotional feeling among all members, for brotherhood and sharing. Utopia is the place where a person's fundamental emotional needs can be expressed and met through the communal group. The community seeks to become a family in itself, replacing or subsuming all other family loyalties.
- 3) **Renunciation:** involves giving up competing relationships outside the communal group and individualistic, exclusive attachments within. Whatever fund of emotion the individuals possess becomes concentrated in the group itself, gluing all members together, creating a cohesive unit. It is to the unit alone that members look for emotional satisfaction and to which they give their loyalty and commitment.
- 4) **Communion:** involves bringing members into meaningful contact with the collective whole, so that they experience the fact of oneness with the group and develop a "we-feeling." Commitment to community norms and values, or moral commitment, involves securing a person's positive evaluative orientations, redefining his sense of values and priorities so that he considers the system's demands right and just in terms of his self-identity and supporting the group's authority becomes a moral necessity. The person making a moral commitment to his community should see himself as carrying out the dictates of a higher system, which orders and gives meaning to his life. He internalizes community standards and values and accepts its control, because it provides him with something transcendent.
- 5) **Transcendence:** a process where an individual attaches his decision-making prerogative to a power greater than himself, surrendering to the higher meaning contained by the group and submitting to something beyond himself; an attaching process.
- 6) **Mortification:** involves the submission of private states to social control, the exchanging of a former identity for one defined and formulated by the community; a detaching process. Mortification opens the person to new directions and new growth; transcendence defines those directions. Mortification causes the person to "lose himself"; transcendence permits him to find himself anew in something larger and greater. Mortification causes the person to seek new directions and new growth; transcendence defines those directions (pp. 72-74).

Although Kanter's 19th century communities were self-sufficient, rural, and isolated from urban society, some of her findings apply today. One such applicable finding is the problems inherent when members attempt to translate the utopian dream into reality. These problems range from personality issues to organizational problems. When communards attempt to resolve them the original vision becomes distorted. Rather than

problems, she defined them as a primary problem for those working to create utopia. She explained the problem this way:

The primary problem for a utopian community is:

- 1) how people arrange to do the work that the community needs to survive as a group;
- 2) How the group in turn manages to satisfy and involve its members over a long period of time.
- 3) Organizational problems:
 - a) How to get the work done without coercion;
 - b) How to make decisions to everyone's satisfaction
 - c) How to build close, fulfilling relationships without exclusion
 - d) How to choose and socialize new members
 - f) How to include autonomy, individuality, and deviance
 - g) How to agree and share community perception of functions and values. (p. 64)

She summarized her argument by saying:

the way to maintain high level of commitment to the community--its work, its values, and to each other requires members to work hard, participate actively, derive love and affection from the communal group, and believe strongly in what the group stands for. **The essence of a community is in strong connections and mutual obligations--** a continual flow of energy and support among members, deeply sharing relationships, and their continued attachment to each other and the joint venture (pp. 64-65).

Zicklin (1983) focused on rural communities and did not include urban communes in his study. His intention was to identify factors in value themes from which the communes of the 1960s and 70s grew. He wanted to understand the factors involved in communal social structure that fostered the development of communes, their efforts to increase solidarity, systems of communal child rearing, economic arrangements, and the organization and meaning of work in communes. (pp. xii-xiii). Zicklin showed variations in the creation of key institutions created and used by the communes as well as the similarities. Zicklin's list of reasons for creating communes are in agreement with Kanter: individuals are seeking new ways of living life, they hope for a renewed and perfected society, and search for systems that can successfully combine personal growth and societal reconstruction. He states:

Communards by and large looked for a warm and accepting, almost ideal familial environment, and to create it the important ingredient from their point of view were the personal characteristics of the

members, their openness, their honesty, spontaneity, caring and love. If members possessed these personal qualities, it was generally felt, then there was a good chance of building the kind of spontaneous, cohesive, yet open communal environment so many in the the communal movement sought (pp. 70-71).

The values needed to be a successful member of a community are similar to values that guide a person to join a community. According to Zablocki (1980), people join a community for many reasons. During his nine-year study from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s, he visited 120 urban and rural communes compiling individual reasons for joining both spiritual/religious and secular communities. He acknowledged that the sample is small and unrepresentative, but argued that "the gross patterns seem to fit ethnographic observations" (p. 103). He found an incongruity between respondents' stated reasons for joining and their actual reasons. It is not clear how he knew respondents' actual reasons. However, he maintained that the conscious decisions given by the respondents are important as "indicators of the distribution of consciously articulated motivational factors, regardless of how accurately these reasons portray the causes of the the decision" (p. 103).

Zablocki categorized the stated reasons for joining into four groups:

- Ideological: to achieve goals; conversion to goals of group; transfer, member of larger community;
- Relational: to join individual friend; to join group of friends; to join lover or family member;
- Personal: loneliness; to improve interpersonal skills; to experience new lifestyles;
- Convenience: economic advantages; desired location; child care arrangements (p. 105)

Zablocki also examined the reasons for people leaving the community. He coded the reasons for leaving along three dimensions:

A. Type of reason:

1. Ideological reasons--personal conscience; the disillusionment with ideologies; desired experiences; personal inadequacy.
2. Relational reasons--commune unpleasant; relationships with members; personal relationship with leaver or non member.

B. Sources of reason:

1. Commune-related reasons--communal relationships; communal ideology/organization; commune's power structure; commune's financial condition; communitarian movement
2. Personal and related reasons--unhappiness; spouse, children; family of origin; occupational, educational changes; new outside relationships; new other outside activities. other sources.

C. Direction of Influence:

1. Pushes from within the commune--pressured to leave; expelled.
2. Pulls from outside the commune-- outside attractions; transfer to other branch; defunct commune. (p. 137).

He found that:

the most powerful single predictor of leaving is defined at the relational level of analysis: the amount of love received from fellow commune members. ...as it relates to the middle measures, particularly alienation and trust, ...still weaker predictors are relational measures such as leverage (p. 128).

Zablocki found that relational reasons were the most common reasons for a commune to disband. Relational reasons include power, influence, and disputes between leaders and followers. The second strongest reason was "the loss of saliency" (p. 153), which he placed under the ideological heading. It appears that relational issues between members influence the social cohesion between members and the group. In other words, the sense of community an individual feels dissipates if personal connections--feelings of trust, love, respect-- breakdown.

Similarly, Zicklin (1983) stated that some commune members discovered that:

if you want to survive, then adopt a belief system that gives the commune a basis for the exercise of greater social control, teach subordination of the self to the authority of the group, and encourage the development of a strong personal stake in the group's survival (p. 71).

Homogeneity and the sharing of fundamental values are two necessary ingredients for "developing a high level of emotional closeness for the establishment of mutual trust and long-term survival" (p. 72). However, even with these characteristics present, the endurance of a commune cannot be guaranteed.

Much of the sociological literature on communities supports the information from the community builders themselves. But, as both builders and academicians point out, many contemporary intentional communities have strong environmental values embedded in their social systems. We turn now to some relevant literature from environmental sociology.

Environmental Sociology

The communities studied in this thesis were founded during the early days of the environmental movement; consequently, the embedded environmental values of contemporary intentional communities reflect the times. According to Riley Dunlap (1995), public opinion polls did not address environmental issues in the early 1960s but, by the late 1960s they did. Dunlap points out that, unlike other social issues that come and go in the public's attention, public concern over environmental issues has continued to grow. Environmentalism has become institutionalized in the mainstream social system.

The field of environmental sociology emerged during this same time period of intense widespread social activism in the late 1960s and 1970s. Environmental sociologists study the relationships among ecosystems and human systems. In the mid-1970s, Dunlap and others categorized and labeled the worldview that supports environmental exploitation as Human Exceptionalism Paradigm (HEP). HEP places humans in an "exceptional" position outside of, not subject to, the biophysical laws of nature. This worldview is also known as the Dominant Social Paradigm (DSP). Corporate, military, and large-scale economic enterprises, all strong advocates of individual and private property rights, tend to adopt the DSP.

At the same time, Dunlap distinguished the DSP from the New Environmental Paradigm (NEP) worldview of those who are more concerned with environmental health and quality of life. The new worldview, NEP, provides for inclusion of homo sapiens within the biophysical environment (p. 250). Many communitarians' worldviews reflect this category.

In 1979, Dunlap defined the field: "environmental sociology involves recognition of the fact that physical environments can influence (and in turn be influenced by) human societies and behavior" (1979, p. 244). He identified the core of environmental sociology as the "study of interactions between environment and society" (p. 251). According to Dunlap, environmental sociologists have broadened the scope of environmental studies to include cognitive and behavioral interaction. It is within these two forms of interaction that the attitudes and perceptions of individuals interact with environmental changes. Public opinion polls have reflected continued concern for environmental health and wellbeing.

The changes in public opinion reflect changes in values and beliefs. The people who built and maintain the Farm and Twin Oaks are people whose environmental opinions were formed as a result of the continuing concern and institutionalization of environmentalism begun in the 1960s and 1970s.

The changes in research methods used in the study of natural resource management systems reflect the increased public concern. Natural resource studies are used to develop governmental policy on extraction procedures and ecomanagement techniques. Inclusion of sociological factors is one example of the differences in research on natural hazards and disasters. Another difference that is directly related to the National Environmental Protection Act of 1974 can be seen in federally-mandated environmental impact assessment studies. A more recent development is research that focus' on environmental justice issues. Also, ongoing environmentally-based social movements are evidence of the increasing growth of public concern. Studies of community have not been part of this enterprise but the wave of intentional community building in the 1960s and 1970s reflects one aspect of such changes in public opinion toward the environment.

While most environmental sociological analysis has been concerned with documenting the changes in public opinion, others have been studying the institutional aspect of environmental variables, including the belief systems found in large scale groups and populations. Work done by Cable and Cable (1995) exemplifies the latter.

The sociological view of the environment as discussed by Cable and Cable (1995) uses social institutions as a focal point of analysis.

Social institutions are formalized systems of beliefs and behavior composed of interrelated cultural norms that provide established answers and standardized solutions for the basic social tasks necessary to sustain society (p. 10).

They state "environmental problems derive from two sources: cultural and institutional" (p. 11). They list beliefs and values underlying the Dominant Social Paradigm (DSP aka HEP) that allows for institutionalized environmental practices which cause large and small scale environmental damage:

- 1) The belief that a free market system provides the greatest good for the greatest number of people--places economic decision-making processes in private hands; and frequently, private decisions have public consequences.

- 2) The belief that the natural world is inexhaustible--contributes to over consumption and waste of resources.
- 3) Faith in technology to solve any problem.
- 4) The growth ethic--growth = progress, bigger is better; the more we produce and consume, the better off we are.
- 5) Materialism--measurement of success in terms of consumption of material things
- 6) Individualism--emphasis on individual rights and personal achievement, the self is more important than the collective--this allows economic rewards for the individual without acknowledgement of social costs.
- 7) Our anthropocentric worldview--human populations stand apart, separate from nature and are not subject to biophysical laws that play out in healthy or unhealthy environments. (p. 12).

As seen from the perspectives of the community builders, these values and beliefs are antithetical to most communitarians. The intentional communities tend to follow Dunlap's NEP, while the greater society follows the DSP. However, because many contemporary intentional communities are a part of larger regional systems, they must decide how to interact with the world at-large. The communitarians must find ways to incorporate and balance their worldview and their economic well-being with the dominant social system that surrounds them.

According to Schwartz (1996; Seligman et al. 1994), people are guided in making decisions by their value hierarchy. Schwartz defines values as "desirable, trans-situational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in people's lives" (1996, p. 2). The NEP worldview is reflected in intentional community members' building and maintaining their communities. Their behaviors, supportive of environmental health and well-being, are based on their hierarchy of values.

In 1990, social psychologist Schwartz (1996) conducted a cross-cultural study to search for universal values. Using a survey instrument translated by colleagues in 40 countries, he found ten value types that were consistent across cultures: power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity, and security. Each value type is represented by multiple single values that he used to describe the ten types (see list of single values in survey question 1, appendix B202). Using the ten value types, he created a typology by placing them into a circular diagram that shows how diametrically-opposed values interact both within and among individuals to create conflictual patterns of behavior. For example, the value type,

universalism, is directly opposite power and achievement. Someone who places high value on protecting the environment (universalism) would come into conflict with someone who places high value on economic gain (power and achievement) found in corporate industry.

Schwartz (1996) maintains that conflicting values can also take place interpersonally, within an individual. For example, someone who holds achievement highly but is also motivated by universalist values, may engage in intrapersonal conflict, if faced with a decision that instigated a conflict between these values. When people confront an issue that challenges their value priority system, the resultant behavior will depend on the situation and the level of importance the individual places on each of the conflicting values.

Environmental sociologists have turned their attention to people's attitudes and behaviors toward the environment to understand the motivational attributes of environmental concern. Seligman, Syme, and Gilchrist (1994) conducted two studies to explore consistency in applying values and ethical principles to different environmental issues. One study assessed values in an abstract way as the guiding principles in one's life. The second study assessed values in an environmental context in five different water allocation decisions in Australia. Both studies asked respondents to rank the value or ethical considerations in order of importance. The first study found that value system ranking differed between general abstract ranking and environmental value rankings. Placing values within a contextual situation tended to alter the ranking. The second study found that, although there were different decision tasks, they were all based in the same situation, water allocation, and the value system rankings remained the same for each task. Both Schwartz (1994) and Seligman et al. (1994) found that context matters when people rank their value system. If given a list of values without a context, people list them in order of their own abstractions. When people are given a context in which to apply and rank their values, they rank their values differently.

In 1996, Kellert published a book that delved into value systems. He identified and described nine basic values that people hold toward nature (p. 10). He suggested that "our human identity and fulfillment depend...on the satisfactory expression of these values of living diversity" (p. 9). Kellert (1996) asserted that people learn values from life

experiences and the socialization process of the culture in which they are reared. Using Kellert's assertion, it could be assumed that environmental awareness and behaviors consistent with strongly held values may be more consistent and pervasive in intentional communities than in mainstream society.

Over the past thirty-five years, people in the United States have increasingly become more aware of environmental issues (Dunlap 1995; Dunlap and Scarce 1991). Since the 1960s, increased environmental awareness has infiltrated our cultural systems. Public school systems now incorporate environmental programs and projects in the curriculum. Once informal environmental movements are now formal entities that lobby congress. The broadening base of environmental concern may be interpreted as increased personal values for environmental quality (Jones and Dunlap 1992).

This broadening base of environmental concern has impacted the research methods used by natural resource managers. Natural resource managers focus on problems in interactions between humans and the environment when humans are fulfilling "basic needs." Natural resource managers try to answer the question of how best to fulfill our basic needs through various resource extraction processes while minimizing social and environmental costs. Consequently, many studies directed toward working out more environmentally sound methods of ecosystem management.

Ecosystem management studies have begun to combine human and environmental ecosystems to aid impact assessment of proposed policy decisions (Machlis, Force, and Burch 1997). According to Machlis et al., the human ecosystem is a "coherent system of biophysical and social factors capable of adaptation and sustainability over time" (p. 351). While Machlis et al. maintained that human ecosystems vary in scale, from a family unit to a community and to "even the planet," they have essential elements in common that make up a dynamic system. These elements are identified as critical resources and human social systems. He describes critical resources as: natural resources, socioeconomic resources, and cultural resources. The human social system consists of social institutions, social cycles, and social order (p. 352). This type of analysis is called Human Dimension Research (HDR) and has been applied to such projects as putting the curves back into the St. John's River in Florida and managing timbering activities in the northwest United

States. HDR allows for a more comprehensive and flexible ecosystem management system to be developed (Ewert 1997). The analytical model combines both social and biophysical systems and is potentially useful to the study of community building.

Alan Ewert explains HDR as "the scientific investigation of the physical, biological, sociological, psychological, cultural and economic aspects of natural resource utilization at the individual and community levels" (p. 6). It is a holistic, interdisciplinary approach that attempts to bridge the traditional gap between the study of biophysical ecosystems and the social/human ecosystems. Ecosystem management, from the HDR perspective, is the management of interrelated systems of human and biophysical environments.

Scientific studies evolve as knowledge accumulates. Catton and Dunlap's (1989) introduction of new human ecology in their conceptualization of NEP is not only reflected in studies of public opinion, it has also aided the development of HDR. The HDR perspective has developed a methodology that includes humans in the biophysical equation (Ewert 1997). This study adapts the model used by human dimension researchers because it combines social and natural ecosystems. The quest for systems of community building that aid members in experiencing a sense of community must also incorporate the natural biophysical environment. The necessity of incorporating the biophysical environment is because the communitarian worldview is grounded in Dunlap's NEP. However, intentional communities are not totally independent ecosystems, but part of larger systems. The study adapts the model only because of its incorporation of social and biophysical ecosystems.

Environmental sociologists at all levels, from large-scale institutions and populations to natural resource researchers, contribute to an understanding of our place in the global biosphere--how we perceive it and behave toward it. They are also concerned with understanding the impact we have on the biophysical environment as we construct places, manufacture products, and create or expand our social systems. But environmental sociology does not address the transformation of space into a place known as community. Since the creation of place is an important aspect of building community, I turn next to a selective review of the geographical literature concerning the aspect of place-making.

The Geography of Place

Geography offers a theoretical perspective for understanding the creation of place. It uses spatial concepts to explore the interrelationship between human enterprise and natural forces. Geography, as defined by Pulsipher (1999), is the study of the relationship between humans, their activity, and the natural physical forces and how this relationship is expressed in all its diversity on the surface of the earth. Geography has the ability to go beyond the diverse surface constructions and find the underlying stories of a place. It is in the *looking* at a *place* that the geographic perspective may expand our insight. As Tickmeyer (1999) points out, "we [sociologists] depend upon the language of place and space to convey meaning to our theoretical and empirical enterprise, yet we rarely scrutinize either our use of these terms or their theoretical origins" (p. 203).

So, how do we *look* at *place* and begin to understand the definitions constructed and held within it? Lewis (1983) provides some insight. His article is an historical review of the geographic literature of cultural landscapes. He provides examples of how to *look* by reviewing the work of some of the more notable cultural geographers.

Lewis refers to Kniffen, whose work in Louisiana has substantially added to geographic knowledge. Lewis states that:

Kniffen's work was based on three premises: that the commonest material objects possess the strongest cultural meaning, that material objects inevitably display meaningful geographical patterns that can best be revealed by mapping them, and that one was unlikely to discover either meaning or pattern without meticulous field observation of innumerable individual objects (p. 245).

According to Lewis, Kniffen believed that houses are the most important artifacts to examine in the day-to-day life of people.

Furthering his explanation on how to look at geographical features, Lewis refers to a contribution from Wright: "the fact that landscape is landscape only if we see it, and our sight is filtered through our mind, which often does odd things to external stimuli" (p. 245). This closely follows Grieder and Garkovich (1994), who assert that landscapes are defined differently by different people depending on their life experiences. To a farmer, an open field is seen as an agricultural space to be planted and harvested, but a hunter may see

the same field as prime hunting territory. A developer may see it as a place to build a community or economic enterprise.

Lewis reviews the work of Jackson, who founded *Landscape* magazine in 1951. According to Lewis, Jackson's main message is:

*look at everything...*human landscape is a document wherein cultures unwittingly reveal their present and their past in a kaleidoscopic array of things, patterns, and symbols. Before rushing to judge a landscape ugly or beautiful, pause and try to understand how it came to be, and what it says about the people who created it (p. 248).

Lewis shares his recipe for cultural geographic "looking." The ingredients for "looking" are:

- 1) *Physical environment*, the raw material...
- 2) *Knowledge and perception* of what the environment is like...
- 3) *Ambitions* about how environments should be ordered and improved...
- 4) *Cultural strictures*. These can be expressed as canons of "good taste" or proper behavior, as religious doctrine, or as political codes--but they combine to describe the limits (sometimes geographical) within which a culture permits itself to operate...
- 5) *Tools* that humans use to shape their tangible landscape...
- 6) *The cultural landscape* which can be viewed as:
 - a. *A collection of individual artifacts*--houses, fences, roads, skyscrapers, and the like.
 - b. *Types of landscapes*--urban or rural.
 - c. *Landscapes taken as a whole*. (p. 249)

Lewis provides as an example of *looking* at changing environmental values the shift in horticultural plantings from exotics to native plants as exemplified in Tucson, Arizona where the popularity of green lawns has been replaced by "desert lawns" (p. 252). Lewis advises looking behind the scenes and taking nothing for granted. Human landscapes, including communities, are formed not only by the people doing the forming, but by social norms and laws, technology, climate, topography, period fashions, political machinations, attitudes and beliefs.

Tuan (1974; 1989; 1993) also explores the human landscape and expresses how it is constructed and perceived. He emphasizes the reciprocal relationship between people and their place and introduces the concept of *Topophilia*:

it can be defined broadly to include all of the human being's affective ties with the material environment. These differ greatly in intensity,

subtlety, and mode of expression. The response to environment may be primarily aesthetic, but it is also historical (p. 93).

Human response to the environment plays a significant role in the construction of worldviews. Tuan believes that people try to understand the world through their culture, perceptions, and experiences. He suggests a reciprocal arrangement between the self and the environment. Tuan offers an example of life experience building perception with the story of a Pygmy taken from the rainforest to the open grasslands. To the Pygmy, who had always lived in the close and covered forest, the vista of the open grassland was both cognitively and optically confusing: what he thought were insects were actually buffaloes a great distance away; what he thought was a floating piece of wood on a lake was a large fishing boat (1974, p. 81).

Tuan states that "natural environment and worldview are closely related: worldview...is necessarily constructed out of the salient elements of a people's social and physical setting" (1974, p. 79). In other words, we see what we know and, without knowing, we do not understand what we see. Therefore, if one does not have an experience of something, such as community as a place of support and mutual aid, one may not recognize it when confronted by it. An individual's worldview can be as small and exclusive or as expansive and inclusive as their experience with their social and physical surroundings. How can people build and maintain something that is unknown or incomprehensible to them? Tuan's point, that the salient elements of one's social and physical setting can influence what is visible and understandable to that person, aids in understanding the worldviews of community members and their sense of place and a sense of community.

The literature cited emphasizes that the creation and maintenance of a sense of community is directly related to perception of place. Sack's (1997) definition of our perception of place clarifies the conceptualization of place:

We could say that the spatial extent of the mountains in space, the area or region they cover, is a place. And we could say that the trees comprising a forest form a place; the combination of water, soil, and vegetation that make a marsh also make it a place. Most people use the word *place* in this way. If I were to take a walk in a forest and reach a small marsh, I would think of it as a place. The forest, too, would be

a place, even though I may not experience all of it. The forest and the marsh are just there, distributed and extended like that in space....
(p. 32).

If our perception of the physical world is socially constructed, what factors are involved in socially constructing a place? Sack offers a model for understanding the elements and forces that work together to construct a *place*. Figures 2.1 and 2.2 are borrowed from Sack's book, *Homo Geographicus* (1997). Figure 2.1 (see diagram on page 41) indicates that place and self are at the center of three overlapping circles that represent the elements involved in place-making. These elements are forces that interact to varying degrees with each other and on the self. According to Sack, it is the reciprocity among these three elements--social relations, meaning, and nature--and the self, that make a place a *place*. The self plays an active role in place-making. Place is created by and through the reciprocal exchanges among the three elements and the various perceptions and perspectives held and expressed by the self.

Sack expresses these perspectives vertically as perceptual forces within the self, the general perspectives (see figure 2.2 on page 42). The general perspectives are developed in the self as the self experiences and interacts with the place that is made up of the three elements. He describes these three forces as aesthetic, discursive/scientific, and moral. Aesthetic relates to how we feel in response to our surroundings--Tuan's topophilia. The moral perspective is our judgment of our surroundings--good or bad. The discursive/scientific is based on our empirical knowledge-- what we think we know through observations and discussion. The sense of place is created by a dynamic exchange between the elemental forces and the perceptual forces of the self.

Sack's general perspectives--aesthetic, discursive, and moral--rise vertically from place and within self. The rings along the vertical perspectives indicate higher and higher levels of abstract thinking, which form perceptual continuums (see figures 2.1 & 2.2, pages 41 and 42). He maintains that the rationalization and justification of personal preferences and activities in everyday life takes place at the lower end of the moral continuum where the rings are closer to place and self.

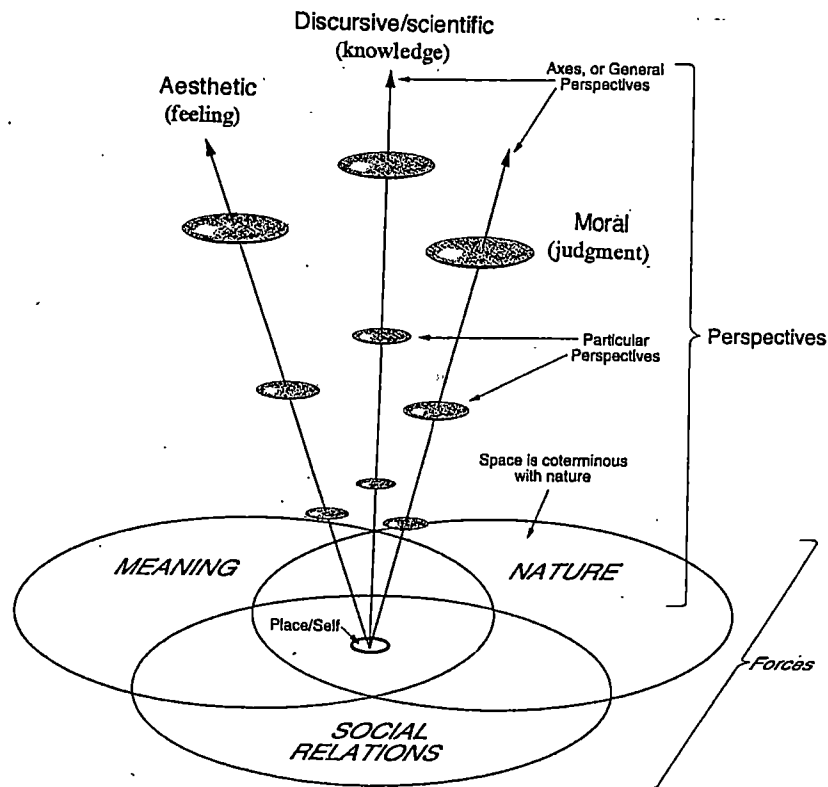


Figure 2.1

Sack's relational framework showing the three elements of place (social relations, meaning and nature) and the vertically drawn perspectives of the self--aesthetic perspective (feeling), discursive/scientific perspective (knowledge), and moral perspective (judgment)--work together in the creation, identification, and maintenance of place. Terms in parenthesis have been added by this author for clarification. Sack, Robert. 1997. *Homo Geographicus*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press. Figure 2.1: p.28.

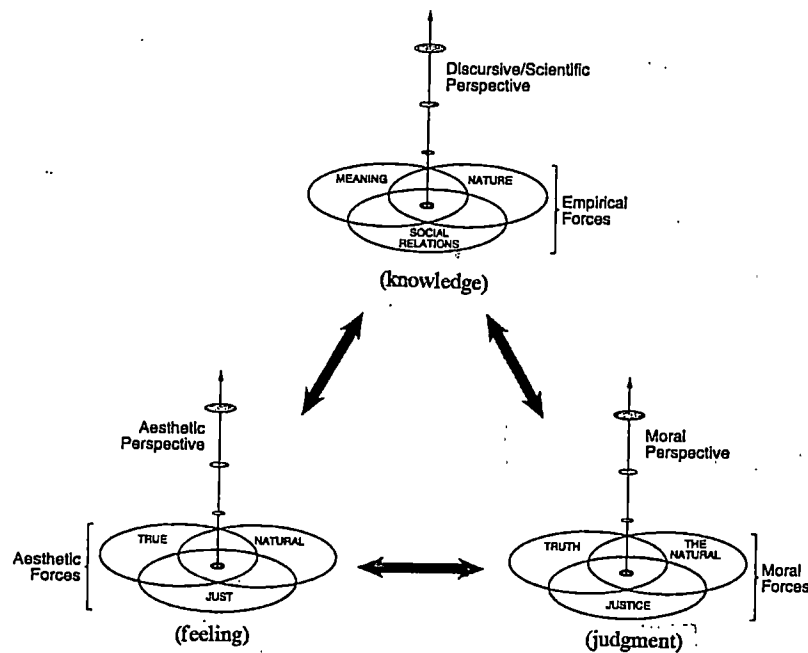


Figure 2.2

Sack's breakdown of relation framework showing the three different perspectives--aesthetic perspective (feeling), discursive/scientific perspective (knowledge), and moral perspective (judgment)--utilized by the self in the identification and maintenance of place. Terms in parenthesis have been added by this author for clarification. Sack, Robert. 1997. *Homo Geographicus*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press. Figure 2.1: p. 59.

Although Sack uses the moral perspective as an example, it also aids in understanding the interrelationship of all perceptual forces and elements of place. In his example, Sack explains how a love of walking in the woodlands (aesthetic perspective) can cause us to join a group that hopes to save the area (moral perspective) from threatened destruction (discursive perspective). The self is in a place, the woodlands, that is defined through the social relationship, the definition of the place, and the forces of the natural environment. In this instance, a moral import underscored by the aesthetic appreciation becomes a moral directive that relies on application of empirical knowledge. The creation and maintenance of an intentional community may exhibit a similar process and through this process create a sense of community.

On the upper end of the Sack continuums, the perspectives hover in the stratosphere of abstraction. Using the moral continuum as an example, Sack places moral theorists at the high end of abstraction: those people who try "to find principles of behavior that apply to everyone" (1997, p. 218). At this level of abstraction, it appears the three perspectives exhibit a tendency to blur. One can see how, at the upper end of the aesthetic perspective feelings may be surrendered; the moral becomes a judgment to generalize perceived problems in order to fix them; and the discursive/scientific, a quest and application of value-free knowledge. But the place, from which the self is expressing these perspectives, is a contextual situation made up of the interaction among social relations, meaning and nature. In other words, the context of the situation is constructed from all elements and forces working together in a place and it is reflected by the self who is both experiencing the place and re-creating it.

The model helps interpret the interrelationship of forces that create a sense of place. Sack explains that the sense of place, while all elements are present, may be influenced by one element more than another. For example, a park may be more influenced by the elements of nature, but the users of the park are also impacted by the cultural relationship that defines the meaning and social relationship they have with the park (ie. regulations, defined boundaries, and specific usage). The place is defined by the ways the elements overlap. The experience of the place relies on the general perspectives of the people in relation to the place. How are the elements balanced in intentional communities to create a

sense of place? Which element has stronger influences in the process of creating a sense of place? Or do their levels of influence fluctuate?

Applying this theoretical model to communitarianism, Sack places the communitarian's moral perspective in the center of the continuum. He states:

this moral position argues that what is good is based on the nexus of social relations and roles of an individual... Communitarians...consider what is good and bad in terms of one's duties and obligations in the context of living a human life. These obligations would provide a basis for evaluating an act on a more abstract plane than do those who say morality depends solely on interests and customs. (p. 219).

But one could argue that communitarians reside in the center of all three perspectives as they work to create the good life. The actions of communitarians physically express, through social relations, meaning, and the natural environment, the place known as community. Their actions and behaviors reflect the perceptions of each general perspective as it relates to the day-to-day activities that make up the processes enlisted to create the sense of place.

Tuan (1989) identifies the interrelations of aesthetic, moral, and empirical perspectives but uses imagination as the link in explaining human behavior. Imagination, the ability to see beyond the immediate experience, has been a driving force in humanity's cultural history. Tuan asserts that the beginning of material transformation, whether it is clearing the land for agricultural enterprise or molding a form from raw material, is a difficult and arduous task. Without imagination, the ability to see the good at the end of the process, the necessary labors could never be completed.

According to Tuan, the power of imagination can be seen in human achievements, in going beyond the known into the unknown. People use systems of imagination, aesthetics, and moral judgments for personal orientation to the world. Communitarians use imagination to conceive and build communities. While Tuan speaks at length of the three elements of place, his contribution on morality expands the thoughts presented by Sack.

Tuan explains that moral-ethical systems are human constructions: "Morality implies moral judgments--what is considered good or bad" (p. vii). He reminds us of a "parallel relationship--that which holds between a people's moral edifice and their sense of well-being" (p. viii). A person's sense of well-being implies a sense of empowerment and

"moral issues are closely linked to power--its use and abuse" (1989, p. 7). Tuan states that:

power governs all human relationships and, externally, relationships between human beings and nature. When people cooperate efficiently they gain a large degree of control over their environment...But another kind of power thrives alongside the physical: the power of imagination. A mental world is created that parallels and interweaves with the physical one...(1989, p. 7).

Imagination becomes another key component in the social construction of a sense of community. Tuan suggests that images of places are like postcards. These images become a shorthand way of representing a specific place.

If place is created by the interweaving of culture, nature, perceptions, and imagination, what of space? Sack explains that "place and space are multifaceted and interdependent: which facets appear depends on the perspective one takes" (1997, p. 31). Space is what is around us, what we move through, and "all of the places we experience are in the universal physical space" (1997, p. 31). As Sack reminds us, "the natural sciences assume it [space] to be among the most basic parts of the universe" (1997, p. 31). Space is everywhere. When we define space, it becomes a place or a thing. Peoples' awareness of their surroundings determine if a place is a defined *place* or simply an undefined *space*. Are we "paying attention" as we travel from place to place? Or do we move so quickly past and through places that they are nothing but a blur and "our experience is one of movement through space" (1997, p. 31). Space "has an effect in that distances between things, in conjunction with the medium through which interactions travel, affect the intensity and degree of interactions" (1997, p. 31). Therefore, as Sack suggests, the mode of transportation, the speed, and the awareness of where we are determines our perception of where we are. The mode of transportation and the time it takes to get from place to place may determine the awareness and perceptions of the travelers. In an intentional community, distances between places are constrained by types of locomotion used in the community: walking, bicycling, or driving.

But geographical study goes beyond the study of *place* and *space*. Time-space is another realm of the geographic imagination. Giddens (1985) examines the way "social systems are constituted across time-space" and the way time-space relates to his

sociological theory of structuration (p. 265). He reviews several geographic theories that deal with time and space. Time-geography, according to Giddens, is concerned with transportation and communication systems that either enhance or constrain everyday life. Time-geography emphasizes the circumstances of settings that allow for individuals to interact with each other in the same place. In other words, it takes time to traverse a spatial distance and this time-space relationship may influence the connections and interconnections perceived by the subjects movements and actions in a particular setting. Giddens agrees with Sack that the speed of movement may determine the perception of place and space.

Gregory (1985) discusses the concept of social interactions and relations that are functions of time-space-distance: the time it takes to go somewhere, to do something. Modes of transportation can expand or contract time-space relations. Time is extended as the space increases and may have bearing on the study of community systems. Communities are bounded areas that have systems, processes, and sites of activity located within them that must be traversed to and from by the members. Modes of transportation are an important factor in both the conceptualization of space by people moving within it and the duration of social interactions that define it.

Gregory asked "how form occurs in social relations or how social systems 'bind' time and space" (p. 297). Although he does not answer this question, he addresses it by incorporating an historical perspective that is developed and experienced by the individual. Experiencing and acting in a place over time, an individual develops a history or personal knowledge of the space the place is in. People begin to visualize their surroundings, know the time it takes to traverse the space and the interactions occurring at any given time in any given place. For example, if one knows a meeting is held in the community center at seven o'clock Tuesday nights, s/he would know how long it takes to get there from where s/he works or lives. The entire process is imaginable from any familiar location.

One possible way to understand the way social relations and social systems bind time and space is to understand the concept of *mental maps*. Tuan (1974) states that people create "mental maps" to visualize their surroundings. Sack's analogy of moving quickly from place to place with everything a blur of undefined *space* can aid in understanding the

creation and use of mental maps. According to Tuan, most people can name the city as a whole and the street they live on, but the urban space between where they live and areas through which they drive to work or entertainment are only vaguely conceived. Tuan states:

The two ends of the scale appear to express a common human propensity to dwell on two widely disparate levels of thought: high abstraction and specific responses. On the level of high abstraction, the immense complexity of the city may be encapsulated in the name itself such as Rome, or to a monument, or to a silhouette such as the famous skyline of New York, or to a slogan or nickname ... (p. 192).

People use symbols and metaphors to help them visualize and describe the physical environment. Mental maps can express worldviews--what is important and what is not. When people are removed from a familiar environment, one in which they have a well-worn map, they can become disoriented, but the larger the map, the broader the worldview, the less confused.

While the example of the Pygmy's worldview is an extreme case, the environment in which a person grows up and the way survival skills are taught influences the development of their worldview. It does not matter whether people are reared in a rainforest or a metropolitan environment, their worldview is developed from their life experience. According to Tuan (1989), other factors are personal temperament and the circumstances of culture. Personal temperament relates to a person's natural inclination to be outgoing or to be reclusive. The circumstances of culture provide "ideal images or concepts that a human group has been able to construct" (p. 114). These ideal images aid in the recognition or reconstruction of relationships, including community.

Tuan suggests that the concept of *community* is derived from cultural heritage. To feel a loss of sense of place and belonging must first mean that the qualities of a sense of place and belonging have been experienced--if one has never had the experience, then one cannot know the absence of the experience. "Awareness of the past is an important element in the love of place" (Tuan 1974, p. 99).

Geographically, an intentional community is a place created through imagination; it is socially constructed and supported by historical experience. It is also a space in which inhabitants share meaning, not only through their interactions with each other, but also

through interactions with their surroundings, both natural and man-made. In the creation of *place* in and out of *space*, intentional communities attempt to balance the elements of nature, meaning, and social relations. This activity is what Sack calls "the structure and dynamics of place and space" (1997, p. 60).

Analytical Framework

The research question, derived from my own interests and various literatures, seeks to identify those factors in intentional communities that most contribute to members' sense of community. The structure for describing the intentional communities employs diverse theoretical perspectives relative to sense of community, sense of place, and environmental values. Although the literature by community builders is revealing in important ways, it does not offer a systematic framework for data collection and analysis. Therefore, my analytical framework for the presentation and analysis of the data is informed by the writings of the community builders but is a synthesis of Hillery's elements of community, Schwartz's value typology, and Sack's elements of place.

From these literatures, a sense of community is the feeling of being connected with, belonging to, and being responsible for something larger than the self or the family. The creation and maintenance of a sense of community is dependent on geographic, biophysical, and sociocultural aspects. The geographic aspects concern space and boundaries and the biophysical aspects refer to elements of the land. The two spheres, geographic and biophysical, form the basis for a sense of place which is a requisite for sense of community. Sociological researchers who use the Human Dimension Research model acknowledge the reciprocal implications on and between the physical environment and the human environment. This model, HDR, is reflective of the geographic perspective that *looks* at both spheres, the physical and the social, to understand the patterns of human activity. But the HDR model maintains the separation of the biophysical from the social for analytical purposes.

The literature indicates that geographical elements tend to overlap both biophysical and sociocultural elements. For this reason, the geographical variables may be considered a bridge between the biophysical and the sociocultural aspects. For example, some

geographic factors, such as social relations, meaning, and perspectives, overlap with sociocultural aspects. Therefore, these factors as well as the recreational and occupational activities of the members will be addressed in the sociocultural section. Geographic factors relating to the biophysical pertain to the property borders, the patterning of structures on the property, the distances and modes of transportation between various sites, and the relationship of the community to its region. Biophysical elements of the land and geographical aspects of space, boundaries, distance, location and permeability of the borders with external surroundings in the region likely play an important role in understanding the differences and similarities between two communities.

Biophysical factors influence the sense of community by creating a setting that supports or constrains community projects and interactions. Biophysical factors to be considered are the topography of the land; the flora and fauna; soil content and geologic makeup; climate; and water sources and courses. Environmental factors differ depending on whether the community is in an urban or rural environment. Gramling and Freudenburg (1996) make a pertinent point that "most people do not really relate to the environment as a whole, so much as they do to specific aspects of the environment that they value (a beach, river, mountain, forest, back yard, even the kitchen they've redone) ...and the environment is an undifferentiated whole" (p. 358). Based on this knowledge, they suggest we "look at this specificity of the societal uses of and relationships with the environment that result" (p. 358) from these uses and relationships. Consequently, the geo-biophysical section will be concluded with a section which will discuss the members' relationships with the natural environment.

Although both geographic and biophysical factors influence the building and maintaining of a sense of community, it is the sociocultural aspects that have the greatest impact. The sociocultural sphere is concerned with shared views and ways in which members interact with one another and with outsiders. From the literature, the sense of community is developed in an individual through relational connections: physical, historical, personal, and social. Personal history in the community is an important factor, but the history of the land and the community are also involved. Active participation by members in community decision-making activities, rituals, celebrations, and community

projects are other strong factors. Communication systems help connect members to one another and circulate information throughout the community. Community policies and agreements further support or constrain the building of a sense of community. Finally, these factors, combined with systems for conflict resolution, all work toward increasing the feeling of connection and belonging, and hence the construction of a sense of community.

When people feel connected to the place in which they live *and* feel connected to one another, the combined effect is a strengthened sense of community. Drawing on information from community builders and the geographic literature, the sense of place must be perceived by members before they feel a sense of community. Because historic context is an important function for both community members and the reader, the first sections in Chapters 4 and 5 present a brief history of each community. The second section will present the geo-biophysical aspects and conclude with members' perceptions of geographic and biophysical facts. The sociocultural aspects will constitute the third section and that data is presented in four subsections: sociodemographics, common purposes, and social relations through interactions.

The framework used to present the data has been borrowed from the human dimension research model. I use a similar framework for my comparative analysis in Chapter 6. I chose this framework because it allows for rich descriptions of the physical and social elements. Using these descriptions, I can then examine through comparative analysis the factors that contribute to the creation and maintenance of a sense of community.

The object of this comparative analysis is not to develop theory, but rather to make a contribution to the field of knowledge for future community researchers. The analytical framework addresses the primary research question which sought factors in intentional communities that help build and maintain a sense of community. The framework provides an organized system for understanding the characteristics of community that work together to create a sense of community for the members. By using historical, geo/biophysical, and sociocultural categories for data entry and analysis, the framework provides a research pathway for synthesis that will show similarities and differences between the communities.

It is assumed that the similarities will be the factors that actually support the creation of the sense of community in the members.

The following chapter details the methods used in the research strategy and how it was accomplished. Chapters Four and Five will present rich descriptions of each community. Chapter Six will present a comparative analysis by synthesizing the community descriptions. Similarities and differences between the two case studies will be defined. Chapter Seven will conclude the study with reflections, comments, and suggestions for further research.

Chapter Three

Research Strategy

My research strategy incorporated multiple methods for data collection. Multi-method data collection provides different perspectives from which to view the communities and their members. Using multiple methods allows for triangulation of the data. Triangulation of data allows the researcher to corroborate the data from one source with data from other sources. The multi-method approach also broadened the scope of the research. For example, information from members who could not be interviewed was able to be incorporated and evaluated using survey questionnaires. Each data source will be described in the following section. The operational definitions will follow and conclude the chapter.

Data Sources

In my field research I gathered information from a variety of data sources: participant observation, in-depth interviews, questionnaires, document analysis, and maps. The flexibility inherent in multiple strategy field research gives the researcher a broad base of perspectives from which to view the subject of analysis (Babbie 1995). Because of the variety of perspectives, this research method allows for a deeper understanding. Field research is especially useful for studying "small scale societies" (Babbie, p. 281). By being in the field, one is able to observe nuances in social interactions that would be missed by other methods of analysis. The data sources I utilized for data collection complimented each other by providing preliminary information from primary sources such as documents and maps from which to frame the construction of the survey instruments and to focus my attention during participant observation.

Field Methods

Field research involves both passive and active inquiry through participant-observation and in-depth interviews. Field research methods allow the researcher to be physically present in the study site. Physical presence allows the researcher to observe

more of the phenomena than would otherwise not be possible in other methods of data collection. Field research is a flexible system that allows for shifts of focus during interviews or as new and unexpected social phenomena arise. Because the researcher is on site to witness events, field research has greater validity than other forms of measurement (Babbie 1995).

However, field research has some disadvantages. As a qualitative analysis, conclusions are perceived as suggestions rather than precise and definitive statements that can be applied to large populations (Babbie 1995). And, while validity may be higher, reliability is uncertain. One reason for this, according to Babbie, is the personal values and orientation of the researcher. He maintains that the comprehensiveness of understanding found in field research can make generalizing difficult. The information is so detailed and phenomenally specific that it would be difficult to apply it to another situation. Furthermore, information that is gathered through face-to-face interaction is very dependent on who is being interacted with and who is not. This can create bias in the data collection and subsequently, insert bias into the final analysis. However, comparative analysis can reduce the problems of researcher judgment by ranking one unit of analysis against another and can be used to add a relational ranking to the phenomena being described. But the personal judgments of the researcher can present problems in what Babbie calls generalizability. Replication of results is a core value in scientific analysis. Because of the personal nature of field research, it is difficult for another individual to replicate results. However, according to Gramling and Freudenburg (1996), comparative studies reveal the variables that are likely to *vary*. Comparisons between two case studies have greater opportunity "to highlight rather than hide the effects of environmental and technological variables" (p. 360). The point being that in using mid-range variables (space, family, interactions, etc.) that are expected to "exert an influence in more than one setting, ...we increase the chance that others will be able to use the same variables in other settings" (p. 361). But this too can be problematic because social systems are dynamic rather than static and the data collected is nothing more than a snapshot in time. As soon as the researcher comes in from the field, the unit of analysis has already changed.

Participant observation and in-depth interviews were conducted in two intentional communities. All data from the field was collected between February and September, 2000. Entry was gained through letters of introduction. Because the communities have different social structures, my participation level varied accordingly. Consequently, the data collected from each community differs in content.

The Farm is an egalitarian, cooperative community where the members live in individual homes and work at private businesses. The distance between structures and the minimal amount of communal activity did not allow for immersion into the culture of the community. However, because of the location of the researcher's field base in a private residence, personal interactions in less formal settings was achieved. At the time of the study, the community did not have an organized visitor program through which to experience the community as Twin Oaks does.

Twin Oaks is an egalitarian-based, income sharing community. They have an organized visitor's program for introducing people to their society. This formally organized system allowed for a more complete immersion into the culture of the community. During the data collection period, the immersion was even greater than would normally be achieved due to pest infestation problems in the community's guest quarters. The visitor group I was affiliated with was housed in one of the member residences in the heart of the community.

Field data from the Farm was primarily gleaned from interviews, sporadic casual conversations, and document analysis. Data from Twin Oaks was gathered through interviews, daily and frequent casual conversation, document analysis, and full participation in community work and leisure activities. The variables considered for empirical observation in both field sites were: use of space, definition of boundaries, membership turnover, conflict resolution processes, systems of interaction--social and personal, recreational and occupational--housing style, and the membership processes.

Interviewing in field research allows for flexibility because the questions are often open-ended. Field research interviews are conversational rather than formal and while the researcher may have an underlying general framework of questions, following them item by item, word for word is unnecessary. These types of interviews can shift direction as the

information dictates. The interviewer establishes the topic and direction and then follows up with appropriate questions that may lead to unexpected information pertinent to the study. The variables addressed in the interview schedule are: age and date of joining community, length of residency, family background, values in relation to birth family, involvement with other intentional communities, meaning of community, likes and dislikes of community life, personal view of governing and decision-making systems of community, attitudes toward community-specific issues, sense of belonging, community building activities, conflict resolution processes, and members' relationship with the natural environment--personally and community-wide. During the interviews, my perception of the interview setting was noted. The interview schedules (appendix A198-201) varied slightly between the two communities. Changes were made according to differences between community settings and community-specific issues.

Survey

I used a survey questionnaire to supplement the information gleaned from interviews and empirical observations. The use of surveys is one of the most common methods of data collection in the social sciences. They are used in a broad range of research topics. According to Babbie, survey research may be the "best method for collecting original data for describing a large population" (p. 257). They are good for measuring attitudes of larger populations by sampling smaller portions of the population under analysis. Close attention to sample size and probability sampling can provide a reflection of a larger population, however, surveys have numerous problems (Babbie 1995).

While survey research is strong on reliability, it is weak on validity. Sample bias, poorly worded or double-barreled questions, and low response rate can skew the results. Babbie considers a response rate of 50 percent to be adequate, however, a response rate of 22 percent has been used for reporting some social science studies. Furthermore, because surveys are standardized, the questions tend to constrain or contain the respondents answers to what Babbie calls "the least common denominator" (p. 273). This standardization tends to box in the respondent's answers into categories the researcher has

chosen. In addition, the researcher must assume that all respondents understand the questions the same way with the same intention.

Another weakness of survey research relates to the dynamic nature of social life. Surveys, once standardized and administered, cannot change and the responses may vary depending on contexts. They do not allow for inclusion of new information. Babbie refers to this aspect as the artificiality of surveys. It must also be considered that the research act and application of the survey itself can influence the respondent. If the researcher asks a question that the respondent is not familiar with or has not previously considered, the question and/or the response may be misinterpreted. Finally, validity can be compromised if the respondent submits an answer to support what they think the researcher wants to hear. However, if the weaknesses of surveys are addressed, inclusion of a survey questionnaire in a multi-method field research project can improve the overall validity and reliability of a study.

My survey has three parts: 1) value systems; 2) political activism; and 3) demographic information. The variables identified for analysis and addressed in the surveys are: value priority ranking and rating, political activism, place of birth, age, gender, children, education level, family siblings and relationships, both childhood and current economic levels, length of residency, past community experience, and religiosity.

Community surveys were self-administered. A cover letter of explanation and contact information was attached to each questionnaire. The Farm surveys were distributed during the Thursday night community dinner and to the various businesses. At the request of the community visitor liaison, Twin Oaks' surveys were placed in a central location for members to pick up at their convenience, rather than passing them out directly. Letters were published or posted in each community reminding community members to return the completed surveys to established sites. Self-addressed stamped envelopes were left in convenient locations in each community for late returns. Bias is possible due to the nature of the respondents in the sample: voluntary respondents represent members sympathetic to research in general or to the researcher personally.

A total of 165 surveys were distributed or made available in both communities. Out of 100 voting members on the Farm, 13 completed and returned the questionnaires (13%).

At the time of the field observations, Twin Oaks' had an estimated population of 65 members and 15 surveys were returned (23%). Although the response rate is low, I believe it is a representative sample of the communities because of the consistency of responses between survey results and the empirical findings.

Using SPSS 10.0 software for analysis, the data was entered and calculated for comparisons on quantifiable items. Some items were designed as open-ended questions and hence, resulted in ethnographic statements that were not quantified into categories due to time constraints. Mean rankings and ratings were used to calculate Spearman's r for comparison of questions one and three (value priorities) within communities and between them. Descriptive analysis using cross tabulations and Chi Square were used for analyzing the responses to all other variables. Questionnaire, coding key, and statistical evaluation can be reviewed in appendix B201-209.

Document Analysis

The artifacts used for document analysis includes newsletters, books, pamphlets, historical records, by-laws, and archival documents held by the communities. Document analysis was conducted before, during, and after the field study. Books and by-laws of each community were read before entering the field. Newsletters from the Farm were read weekly and from Twin Oaks quarterly. The FIC quarterly magazine, *Communities*, was also read. The community web sites have been visited regularly. During the three weeks in Twin Oaks the policy book, the community Opinions & Ideas/issues board, and the community archives were reviewed.

Mapping

Mapping, a geographic tool with multiple purposes, is used as a visual aid. Maps provide an overview of the study area. Maps are a "two-dimensional representation of the earth's surface or a portion of it" (Rubenstein and Bacon 1983). They express a variety of physical features and subjects of focus: geologic surveys, topographic details, temperature gradations, transportation routes. Other maps express details of places such as cities, towns, corporate and industrial plants, and infrastructural details. Historical maps can be

used for longitudinal studies. Maps that are to scale show proportions, proximity, distances, and directions. Although cartography is a field of geography, utilization of maps can benefit the social scientist. According to Pulsipher during a conversation on geographic methodology (1999), maps are useful for expressing flows of activity in an area or region. She suggested that composite maps be created using individual variables expressed on individual layers. Once compiled, one on top of another, the composite visually expresses a holistic effect of a place with all the layers of interest superimposed one on another to form a mosaic the complexities of a place.

Sociological mapping is generally used to create relational diagrams rather than physical topographical patterning. Neuman (1994) sites three types of maps used by sociologists: spatial, social, and temporal. The maps Nueman refers to are diagrams of social interactions that do not include the physical environment except at the institutional level. Geographic (topographic) mapping, while rarely used for sociological analysis, can add a new dimension to studies and can expose social facts previously unseen.

The disadvantages of mapping are found in the process of making them. Unless a scaled map is available, the researcher will have to construct one. The making of a map to scale is a precise science and not to be taken lightly. Due to limited time, no maps were created for a composite. Existing community maps were used to review the distribution of physical structures, roadways, paths, and boundaries. Topographical and county maps were used to locate the community within the surrounding region and to enhance environmental understanding. Although no maps were made during the study, distances in the Farm were measured by automobile odometer. Distances within Twin Oaks were previously calculated by the community. Regional maps were downloaded from the United States Census Data web site. Communities maps can be viewed on pages 74 and 122.

Operational Definitions

Referring to the literature and the analytical framework, a sense of community is the feeling of being connected with, belonging to, and being responsible for something larger than the self or the family. The creation and maintenance of a sense of community is dependent on geographic, biophysical, and sociocultural aspects. The sense of community

develops in an individual through relational connections with these factors. Personal history in the community and with the land is also involved. Active participation by members in community decision-making activities, rituals, celebrations, and community projects are other strong factors. Communication systems help connect members to one another and circulate information throughout the community. Community policies and agreements further support or constrain the building of a sense of community. Finally, these factors, combined with systems for conflict resolution, all work toward increasing the feeling of connection and belonging, and hence the construction of a sense of community.

The communities have been selected because they are *intentional* communities and have survived over time. Consequently, it is assumed that members feel a sense of community. I expect to recognize the sense of community through observing the member's interaction with each other and through the interview process. Participant observation of activities, both occupational and recreational, should reveal characteristics of the members' connections with each other and their environment. Document analysis of the community communications systems will also provide empirical evidence for the presence of a sense of community.

Details on measuring the independent variables, geographical, biophysical, and sociocultural aspects, will now be addressed.

Measurement of Geographical Aspects

The literature indicates that geographical elements tend to overlap both biophysical and sociocultural elements. Geographical variables associated with sociocultural factors, social relations and meanings, will be expressed through the interactions of members in their social roles and positions. Settings for empirical observations of these variables are in day-to-day events and in recreational and occupational activities.

Geographic variables relating to the biophysical environment are: space, boundaries, distance, location, energy and resource use, and permeability of the borders with the region. These variables are measured by: defining the scale of the property; defining its borders; identifying land usage; measuring the distances and describing the patterning of structures and sites of activities; defining the modes of transportation used

within the communities; and describing the relationship and location of the community to its region. Permeability of the borders is defined as how often the members leave the community and visitors enter.

Measurement of Biophysical Aspects

Biophysical factors influence the sense of community by creating a setting that supports or constrains community projects and interactions. Biophysical variables to be considered are: the topography of the land; the flora and fauna; soil content and geologic makeup; climate--average temperatures and rainfall levels; and water systems. These variables will be observed and directly noted during the field study in each community. Data from the United States Department of Agriculture web site will also provide data related to these variables. Information will be obtained from regional United States Geologic Service and County Agricultural Extension offices. Some Farm-specific information was obtained from a Farm member educated in the biophysical sciences.

Sociocultural Aspects Defined

A community is not an isolated island, but a site of human activity that connects the residents to each other and the environment, both physically and socially, within the defined boundaries and the surrounding area. It is these human activities and relationships that comprise the sociocultural aspects. The thesis divides the activities and relationships into observable categories: sociodemographics, common purpose, the institution of the family, and social relations through interactions. The information was obtained through observations, interviews, survey responses, and census data.

Sociodemographics pertains to characteristics of the community's population: age, race, gender, education, political views, number of children, number of households, income level, and religiosity. Common purpose extends inward and outward through the activities of the members who work together to create things. The institution of the family contains the secondary elements of community--shared norms, religion, sentiment, socialization, and recreation. Characteristics of the family include loyalty, love, trust, respect, selflessness, concern, support, cooperation, and common ancestry.

The fourth section in the sociocultural aspects category, social relations through interactions, describes the relationships between members. Social relations and interactions are expressed through patterns of behavior associated with social positions and roles. Members' roles also have a temporal aspect that influence relationships and interactions. Institutionalized systems such as economic, political, and social systems and processes provide settings for observing and defining the social relations and interactions of community members. Cooperation, competition, and conflict are other observable actions that exemplify relationships among members. Acts of mutual aid are a behavioral characteristic of cooperation. Behavior associated with competition is associated with activities that result in win-lose outcomes. Characteristics of conflict are found in communication systems--verbal, non-verbal, and written--in everyday settings such as homes, in organizational settings such as meetings, and in occupational sites. Observations and interview questions were used to obtain the data for this section.

Members' perceptions, the ways they define roles, situations, and settings will be gathered from their responses to the interview question: "What does this community mean to you?" What the community means to them may expose their cognitive definitions of the place they maintain as a community. The meanings they use to describe their community may also express their cultural relationship with it and with each other. Information collected during field observations, interviews, surveys, and community documents that relate to these elements will be explicated using observational notes, quotes, paraphrases, and statistical analysis.

After presenting the findings from the communities in the next two chapters, Four and Five, Chapter Six will present the analysis by synthesizing, comparing, and discussing the two communities using a similar framework as Chapters Four and Five. The analysis will focus on the way communities have built and maintained a sense of community. Conclusion, reflections, and suggestions for further research will be presented in chapter seven.

Chapter Four

The Farm: A Cooperative Community

In this chapter, I present a detailed description of the first case study, the Farm. After a brief history of the community, my analytical framework is employed to structure the descriptive presentation of the elements of the Farm community contributing to members' sense of community. I conclude with a brief summary of the factors involved in the community's construction and maintenance of the sense of community.

At the time of the field study, the Farm had no formal system for visiting. Entry was gained through personal introductions made by a fellow student who had grown up on the Farm to a couple who operate the only Bed and Breakfast in the community. Due to the individualized structure of the Farm community, participant observation was limited to daily life within the home, two community dinners, and a St. Patrick's Day party. Therefore, the description presented in this chapter was gleaned primarily from document analysis and twenty-three interviews during three separate visits in February and March 2000.

A Brief History of The Farm

A forty-minute drive south of Nashville, the Farm is located on 1,750 acres of rolling farm land in south central Tennessee. It is politically and geographically located in the southwest corner of Lewis County, but Summertown, Tennessee in adjacent Lawrence County is the nearest town and the Farm's mailing address. Although the surrounding countryside remains much as it was twenty nine years ago, the Farm has evolved from an income-sharing community to an individualized cooperative community.

In the beginning, the Farmies, as Farm members are called, did not just want to create a new social order, they wanted to change the world. Most of them were core members of the Monday Night Class from San Francisco that was taught by their charismatic leader, Stephen Gaskin. The community was the manifestation of the ideas and

intentions of Gaskin and his students. Originally, the Farm was conceived as Stephen's ashram or spiritual community. The spiritual path that Gaskin guided them along was a mixture of eastern philosophy and Native American spirituality combined with many of the world religions. The spiritual path to enlightenment was experienced through meditation, interactions with others, and through the use of psychedelic drugs and marijuana.

Initially, chemically manufactured LSD was widely used, but Gaskin came to shun the use of chemical psychedelics and shifted to more organic forms such as peyote and psilocybe mushrooms. These hallucinogenic drugs plus marijuana were considered "sacraments" in their spiritual quest. The drugs were used not only to open the doorway to enlightenment, but also to enhance the person's ability to experience the energy of others and their physical surroundings. According to the Farmies and others in the counterculture, the energy that people extend around themselves can be experienced as vibrational fields, or "vibes." Gaskin taught that these vibrational fields come from thoughts and actions. The vibrations can be positive or negative. Vibes were, and in many ways still are, important to the members. An entire language evolved that reflected their group experiences with meditation, drugs, and community life in general.

Communal systems for sustainable living were at the heart of the early Farm structure. According to Traugot (1994), the Farmies wanted to build a community to find out what worked and what did not and then share their knowledge with others. They combined all aspects of physical and social well-being by collectively growing and processing their own food, building their homes, managing a community health care system, building their own infrastructure of water, roads, and communication systems, educating their youth, and actively practicing their spiritual beliefs. To the Farmies, the body, mind, and spirit are interrelated links in the circle of life. They birthed their own babies and buried their own dead.

The establishment and first thirteen years of the community differed structurally from the Farm today. In the fall of 1971, fifty to sixty school buses and miscellaneous vans filled with 320 hippies rumbled down the quiet Tennessee country roads to what they determined was their promised land--a place to enact their beliefs and begin their mission to "save the world." The caravan of buses and vans had been on the road for nearly a year

with Gaskin as he toured the country giving lectures at various churches and universities. Now the vans and school buses became the first Farm residences. Tents were acquired from Army surplus stores and wooden floors and wood-burning stoves were installed. Community showers and outhouses were built. Gaskin's house was the first home constructed on the property.

Gaskin was not only the spiritual teacher, but the guiding force behind the development of community norms. Mutual critiquing was one of the community norms. They considered themselves "mental nudists;" everyone's thoughts and feelings were open for discussion and criticism by anyone. The members could call someone on any action seen as having come from a place of untruth or who was exhibiting "bad vibes." Members were expected to accept the criticism without defending themselves. The individual was supposed to "cop" (admit) to the behavior in question and promise to do better. Although it was believed that the activity of critiquing the thoughts and behaviors of members helps them on the path to self-knowledge, it was sometimes used as a judgmental weapon. Over time, the prohibition of explaining their intentions behind the perceived negative behavior combined with the norm of not expressing anger created a feeling of oppression among the members; the result was internal and external conflicts. Members began expressing this anger and discontent, especially after the Sunday morning service began being broadcast on the community cable television system. Freed of overwhelming peer pressure of the larger group, who all had met together in 2nd Road Meadow for meditation and the Sunday morning service since the beginning, the members began to openly discuss community problems and their disagreements with the way Gaskin made community decisions.

New members were required to follow the norms and values Gaskin decreed for the community. Some norms were considered extreme by outsiders, even by other "hippie" communards. Community norms required applicants to shed any form of external devices such as eye-glasses. Members were not allowed to cut their body hair--men grew their hair long and had beards. The women let their hair grow and refrained from shaving their legs and armpits. Red and black clothing was discouraged because the colors symbolized negative vibes. People on medications were encouraged to stop taking them. Medications

and physical supports were seen as unnatural and inhibiting to the experience of full self-truth. Truth and enlightenment were daily goals for the Farmies.

Norms dictating the roles of men and women mostly followed those in the traditional mainstream culture: relationships were expected to be monogamous, men performed the physical labor and women took care of the children, prepared the food, and took care of housekeeping chores. But the norms had a Farmie twist in the group's rule for relationships: "if you're sleeping together, you're engaged and if you got pregnant, you were considered married" (Traugot 1994). The Farmies came to be known in the counter-culture as "hippie puritans" because their guiding values placed a high priority on self-responsibility and heterosexual, monogamous families. Both self-responsibility and monogamy were considered deviations from the "hippie" norms of the counterculture of the day. The Farmies considered homosexuality as unnatural and unacceptable.

Although women's roles were largely traditional, some women held positions of responsibility outside the family structure. The midwives, in particular, were highly respected and were used for arbitration and mediation when Gaskin was not present to do so. Gaskin's wife was the first midwife and this fact may have had some bearing on the sense of respect shown to the midwives in general. Women also held positions of organizational responsibilities, such as "the bank lady" who handled income and the distribution of community funds. Residential assignments were also managed by women. As the population continued to grow from the initial 320 to over 1,400 in 1980, the housing shortage caused perpetual overcrowding.

To provide income to build their new community, work crews were formed to manage and carry out the Farm's community enterprise: the Farm crew, the Salvage crew, the Construction crew, the Carpentry crew, the Medical crew, the Motor crew, and many others. Although the Farmies limited their interaction with mainstream culture, they worked to develop good relations with their neighbors. Many of these neighbors became their teachers in farming techniques. The Farm's ambulance service and health clinic were available to the rural neighbors. After the retirement of a local doctor who had come to their homes for births and sickness, the nearby Amish community used the Farm health clinic and midwives. Other communal businesses, such as demolition and construction,

book publishing, and the production of soy products, were initiated and operated by the Farmies. The material they used to build the community homes came from the demolition business. The communal income generated by the work crews supported the members on \$1.50 per day per person.

1974-1975 was a time of change and expansion for the Farm. Gaskin spent eleven months in jail on a marijuana charge and, in his absence, the community developed a Tribal Council to make community decisions. This new organizational system showed the Farmies they could sustain the community without their charismatic leader. As the Tennessee community became more established and the population continued to grow, the Farmies began spreading out into large-scale farming projects and outreach programs. The large-scale farming project's expanded the focus from growing food solely for the community to growing crops for income production.

In 1974-1975 a Farm crew was sent to Homestead, Florida, where some Farmies had already developed agricultural contacts. In the process, they borrowed \$800,000 to invest in large farm machinery. Both decisions, farming in Florida and borrowing money for large farm machinery, eventually proved ill advised: the large machinery took over work that had kept the increasingly large Farm population employed; the bank loan, manageable at the initial terms, was later rolled over to a larger sum with unmanageable terms; and the Florida vegetable venture failed to compete in the wholesale market, causing them to lose even more money.

Also in 1974-1975, the Farmies felt secure enough with the progress of community building that they began reaching out to mainstream society, both nationally and internationally. Their intention of sharing their knowledge with the outside world, combined with the increasingly vocal counterculture of which they had once been a part and who now viewed the Farmies as isolationists, motivated them to expand their activities. They began sharing their knowledge through national and international music and lecture tours. The Farm community kept in touch with the traveling groups by ham radio. Due to this communication technology, they were some of the first to hear about the devastating earthquake in Guatemala. Consequently, a group of Farmies from the construction and

carpentry crews went to Guatemala to help the indigenous people rebuild their towns. This outreach experience turned into more than anyone ever anticipated.

The timing of the Guatemalan relief effort correlated with the community's founding of Plenty, a non-profit outreach program. The organization actively expressed the slogan "think locally, act globally." Not only were Farmies going to Guatemala, they went to northern Alabama to help residents rebuild after a tornado damaged and destroyed many homes. Both relief efforts were conducted under the auspices of Plenty. The name reflects the Farm's philosophies and policies: "There is plenty to go around if we are smart and cooperative and share resources more equally" (Traugot 1994). Closer to home, Plenty helped local neighbors repair leaky roofs. The organization was used to organize and fund many outreach projects including the Guatemalan project, which continued until 1980. By 1980, 4,000 new homes and businesses had been built in the Guatemalan town.

While the Farm families were in Guatemala, they maintained their lifestyle of vegetarianism with a diet based on soy products. Many of the Farmies had infants similar in age to some of the Guatemalan infants. The Guatemala women were surprised by the differences in size and health between the two groups. The native women wanted to know why. The dialog turned into a teaching experience by the Farmies about the production and use of soy beans. The information exchange extended to the men who wanted to know how to grow soy beans. The Farmies, who grew their own soybeans and produced tofu, tempeh, and soy milk themselves, shared their knowledge and experiences with the villagers. The Farmies helped the villagers establish their own cooperative soy bean fields and production facilities which are still operating today.

The success of the Guatemalan endeavor encouraged the Farmies to increase social outreach. After consideration, they decided that, although undeveloped countries needed help, America had sections in the inner cities that could be considered undeveloped regions. Because they had an established health care system and ambulance service with qualified personnel, they instituted a free ambulance service in the Bronx and a free health clinic in Washington DC. They carried the Farm's communal structure and values with them wherever they went. In all their endeavors a *community* of people were sent to these

satellite Farms--no one lived or worked alone. The Farm would send people to these satellite Farms as others came back to Tennessee.

Initially in the Bronx, the hippie ambulance was an unusual sight and did not inspire trust from either residents or police. However, the Farmies soon gained a reputation among both groups for their honesty, efficiency, and compassion. The average response time of the Farm ambulance was seven minutes, compared to forty-five minutes for the standard city ambulance service. As the Farmies became acquainted with the residents, they encouraged them to volunteer and taught them the skills needed to run the service themselves.

Meanwhile, back home in Tennessee, a combination of social, legal, and economic tensions and pressures was building which would eventually overwhelm the community. Internally, the social pressures of over 1,400 people living together in cramped quarters, trying to raise families in conditions of extreme poverty, generated a revolution within the community. The economic problems that had been realized and presented to the community in 1976 by the Board of Directors persisted. The Farm needed to earn a minimum of \$10,000 a week to cover expenses, but they never earned over \$8,000. Competition for scarce resources between the community, Plenty, and between households compounded the problems (Traugot 1994). The economic pressures increased the discontent of the members who were contributing 110% while others were free riding. Resentments grew. The final blow came with the decision by Gaskin to install a cable communication system in the community rather than extend water lines to homes that were still hauling water by hand.

At the same time, external problems pressed the community. The community of hippies had been a focal point for state and Federal law enforcement agencies since it began. In 1971, Gaskin and three other Farmies had been arrested and convicted for growing marijuana. The Farmies were activists fighting against marijuana laws, nuclear testing and the nuclear industry, and other social justice issues. In 1980, state agencies joined together and conducted a raid based on the assumption that marijuana was being grown in the Farm's watermelon gardens. What was actually growing was ragweed that

had not been pulled. The Farm's reunion date is named Ragweed Day after this misguided authoritarian invasion. But it was only a small part of the "establishment's" attention.

In 1977, one of the Farm lawyers filed a request under the Freedom of Information Act to obtain FBI files. The Farmies speculated that investigations were being conducted to determine if they were one of the groups opposing government policy in Central America. Their request was denied but, in 1987 the Farmies found out they were "listed among 'subversive' groups being investigated in connection with the movement to provide sanctuary to refugees from US-sponsored aggression in Central America" (Traugot 1994, p. 58). Finally, in 1991, the Farm lawyer was given more than 790 pages of FBI files that the agency had collected. The Farmies believe interviews with local businesses and officials, conducted by governmental authorities to build these files, may have contributed to pressure from the bank to "renegotiate their loans at higher rates" (Traugot. p.59). The renegotiation with the bank increased the loan from \$800,000 to 1.2 million dollars.

The social problems and the increased debt were not the only factors contributing to the restructuring of the Farm. Vanderbilt Hospital had filed a lawsuit against the Farm to confiscate the land in compensation for an outstanding medical bill. The details of this lawsuit are sketchy but, to save the Farm, the community was forced to restructure the entire social system. The social and political structure shifted from communal income sharing to an individual income cooperative. Suddenly each person and family was expected to earn their own income, and monthly membership dues were established. Over 1,000 people left the community between 1982 and 1983 because of the difficulty in finding work in the poor rural area of Tennessee. Those who stayed were able to pay off the 1.2 million dollar debt in less than four years. The restructuring came to be known as the Changeover.

When the Farm went through the Changeover in 1983, the satellite communities in the Bronx and Washington, D.C. were cut off from "home"-- "it was like we were out there in orbit, and there was no more Houston" (Fike 1998). Without the support from home, the Farm families living in the Bronx returned to the Farm. They gave the ambulance to the Bronx residents. The Free Clinic Farmies in Washington, D.C. stayed

with no word from home. According to one member, they were cut off from the Farm and had no idea what was happening back home.

Although the Changeover was a time of personal trauma and loss of trust among members, the Farm and the land were saved from foreclosure and legal adjudication. By-laws were formally written by Farm lawyers and the Board of Directors with input from the remaining members. In 1983, the community established three branches of community government. All positions are democratically elected. They are the Board of Directors, the Membership Committee, and the Land Use Committee. Since restructuring, more committees have been established as the Farmies have learned about self-governance. The Farm is registered under the legal name, The Foundation.

At the time of the Changeover, members who still wanted to live communally joined together to form what is known as the Second Foundation (SF), a 501(d) non-profit organization¹. All the members of the SF retained the "vow of poverty" taken during the early communal days of the Farm. New SF members must make this commitment. All income earned by the members is submitted to the Second Foundation, which oversees two money accounts: one is for intercommunity business loans and the other is a retirement account similar to the Social Security System. After the money is deposited, the Second Foundation returns 90 percent to the individual responsible for the deposit. The remaining 10 percent is divided up and deposited into the Second Foundation accounts--7 percent into the retirement account and 3 percent into the community loan account. The Mushroom People, a small business on the Farm, is a part of the Second Foundation and all earnings go through the organization's system. The three people who work in the communal business are paid by the SF. Thirty Farmies are members of the Second Foundation and their assets are reported to be two times greater than the assets of the Foundation.

Some of the first Foundationers are not supportive of the Second Foundation. A few of the first Foundation members mentioned various problems they have with the Second Foundation. The most widely held opinion among First Foundationers is that SF is simply a tax shelter system rather than a communal system for living. This belief is fostered by the fact that the Second Foundation does not help its members who are behind

in their monthly dues. The First Foundation members maintain that, if it was truly a communal system, it would be responsible for its member's debts.

The Farm businesses, once communal, are now privately owned: the Book Publishing Company, the Mail Order Catalog, J.B.s Garage, the Farm Store, Cafe, the Midwifery Clinic, Solar Electronics (SE) International, Tofu Dairy, Village Media, and construction and renovation companies. Some members have found employment in the surrounding communities and metropolitan areas. New private businesses have been created on the Farm in private homes. All the businesses rely on Farm members for their labor. Thirteen Farm businesses and three charity organizations are listed in their phone directory. More businesses and charitable organizations are listed on Farm related websites: thefarm.org, farmcatalog.com, thefarmcommunity.com, and plenty.org.

The Farm is home to people who wish to make a difference in the world. Today all Farm members take a vow of community instead of a vow of poverty. Most are still determined to change the world. The community and the basic ideals have not only survived, but also prospered into the 21st century. The Farm is once again actively seeking new members. They are now scheduling Farm Weekend Experiences, a visitor program designed to introduce interested people to the Farm community. With its thirtieth anniversary approaching, the Farm is one of the oldest communities listed in the Intentional Communities Directory. The following description exemplifies their self-image:

The Farm is an intentional community of families and friends living on the 1,750 a. in south-central Tennessee. Since its inception in 1971, the purpose of the The Farm community has been to provide a secure, ecologically healthy, commonly held land base for its members and succeeding generations. It is a place where we can relate to each other and the natural environment in a sustainable way, draw upon the collective strength of the community, and contribute to the positive transformation of the world.

The Farm School offers alternative education to school-age students. The Farm midwives have delivered over 2000 babies since 1970. We hold the sacrament of birth as an inherent right of all women, newborns, and their families. Plenty International is an international aid and development non-governmental organization that benefits indigenous peoples and the environment. Its Kids To the Country project brings at-risk kids to of The Farm to enjoy nature and study peace education. Ecovillage Training Center, another not-for-profit, is a member of the Global Ecovillage Network and offers conferences and seminars on organic gardening, permaculture, straw-bale construction, and sustainable technologies.

Approximately 170 residents and over 20 farm businesses (including Farm Soy, The Farm Store, the Book Publishing Company, and the The Farm Education/Conference Center) contribute to the maintenance of the community. We welcome scheduled visits and tours. Please write or call. (Feb 99) (IC Directory 2000)

Geographical and Biophysical Aspects of the Farm

The geographical and biophysical aspects of the Farm form part of the process of building and maintaining a sense of community. The first subsection will address the geographical factors of proximity and physical space. The following subsection will describe the biophysical aspects of the land, flora and fauna, soil, and water systems. The section will be concluded with a discussion of member's perceptions of the geographic and biophysical facts using quotes from interviews, observations, and documents. Because the last section describes perceptions held by the members, it will provide a bridge between the physical factors of the community and the sociocultural factors.

Geographical Aspects

The geographical aspects of proximity, space and physical structures of the Farm contribute to the members' perception of a sense of community. In this section, I describe the proximity of the community to its region and the physical space of the community in detail. Through this description, I *look* at the community. The Farm map can be viewed on page 74.

The Farm is located in the southeast corner of Lewis County Tennessee. Lewis County is geographically located at latitude 35.52 north, longitude 87.49 west. The county has a population of approximately 11,127. According to the US Census, the county's population grew by 2.3 percent (246 people) between 1998 and 1999. Located south of Nashville in southern middle Tennessee, it once took an hour and a half to traverse the distance but, today, with the advent of the Saturn Auto Manufacturing Plant and the attendant expressway, the travel time has been reduced to 40 minutes. Such changes continue as the state widens State Road 412 to a four lane highway.

The most direct route to the Farm is through Lawrence County along State Road 412 to Route 20 west through Summertown, Tennessee. From State Road 412 four miles

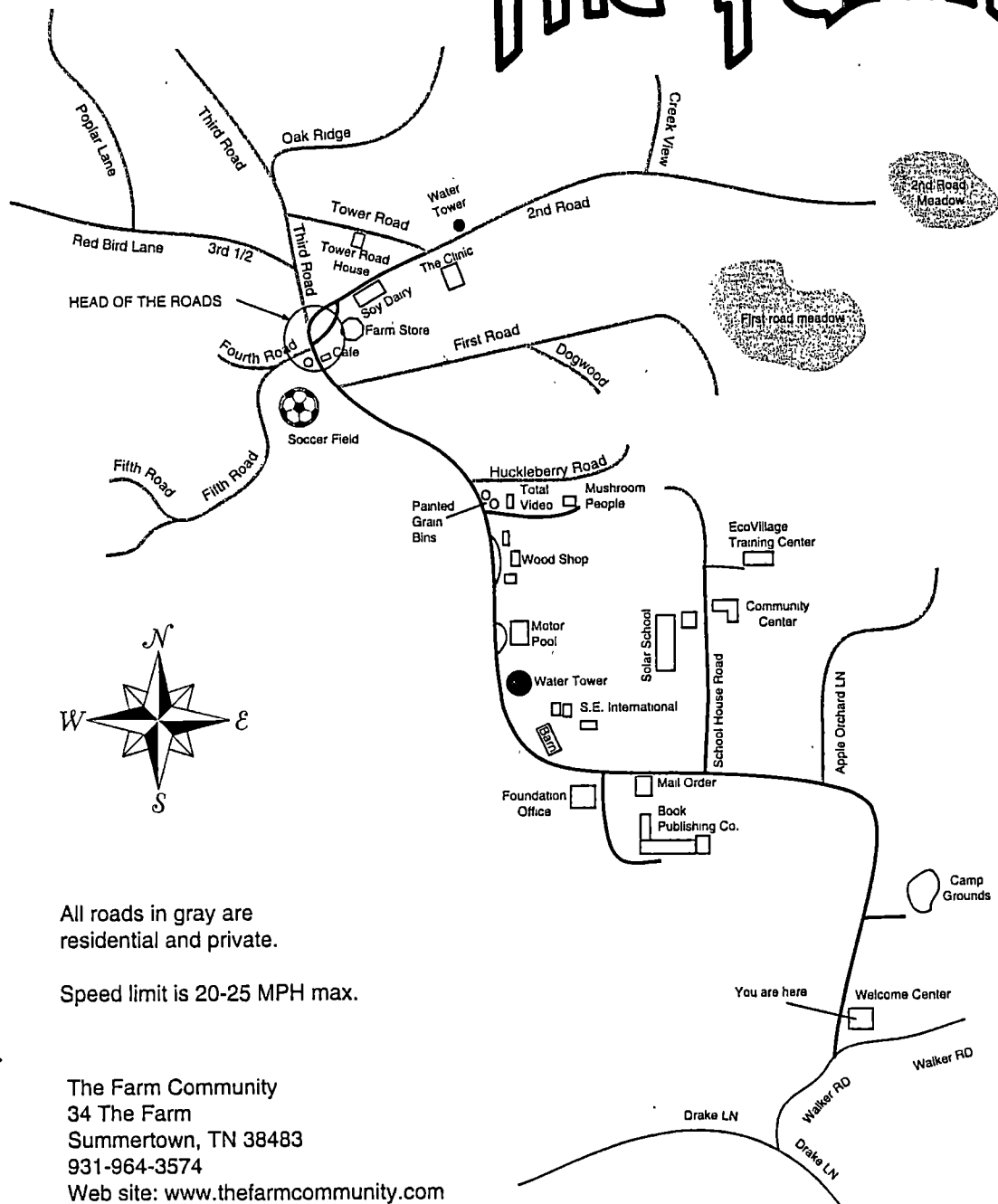
along Route 20 west of Summertown is the left turn, Drake Road, which takes you to the Farm property. If one passes the turnoff, Route 20 continues to cross rolling country westward through Hohenwald, the Lewis County seat.

Driving along Route 20 to Hohenwald, one passes through farm land, a monocrop Loblolly pine plantation maintained by the timber industry, hardwood forests, and more rolling farm land on the outskirts of Hohenwald. Hohenwald is a rural town with a town bandstand and one main street lined with antique stores, a hardware store and other typical small town businesses. Hohenwald is 17.3 miles west of the Drake Road turnoff. The turnoff is only two miles from Summertown in Lawrence County as opposed to 17.3 miles to Hohenwald in Lewis County; consequently, the Farm members have more day-to-day interactions with Lawrence County residents than with Lewis County residents.

Drake Road passes between bucolic pastures and occasional homes. It is the first glimpse of the cultural dichotomy of the area--one house is a typical Tennessee farm house while across the road is a modern single story house with a 30' long by 10' high "fence" of solar panels. Driving 3.7 miles down Drake Road, the road curves to the left and is intersected by Walker Road on the right. Turning right onto Walker Road, one drives through scrubby, second-growth hardwood and short-needle pine. The entrance gate to the Farm is directly ahead as Walker Road curves to the right and passes through a rural residential area. The gate into the Farm is a motorized white metal structure that slides open and closed in response to remote controls. The Welcome Center, once known as the Gate House, is a wood frame two-story structure. A map of the community roads, campground, and businesses is located just outside the gate.

Inside the gate, the terrain is flat, open pasture land bordered by hardwood forests. The paved Farm Road gently curves to the left past the campground where visitors are allowed to stay. A small pond is a focal point for the campers. A water spigot provides fresh drinking water. An outhouse is also provided on site. The land is flat the entire length of Farm Road. A map of the Farm can be viewed on the page 74.

The Farm



All roads in gray are residential and private.

Speed limit is 20-25 MPH max.

The Farm Community
 34 The Farm
 Summertown, TN 38483
 931-964-3574
 Web site: www.thefarmcommunity.com

A half mile further down Farm Road on the right is an apple orchard. Just past the orchard is Orchard Lane, the first road to Farm residences. At the end of Orchard Lane is the site of the first house that was constructed on the Farm for their charismatic leader, Stephen Gaskin. A few other residences are nestled in the woods at the end of the road. It is typical of the Farm residences that they are located "off the beaten path" of the community's main thoroughfare. All homes are nestled in amongst the trees with significant space between them. It is rare to see a lawn around the homes.

School Ridge Road is the only other paved road on the Farm at this time and leads to the Farm School, an earth-bermed, solar-powered structure. Across the street from the school is the Community Center where community dinners, meetings, and festivities are held. The Ecovillage is beyond the Community Center.

The Ecovillage consists of a small wooden office building and a large wooden building that houses dormitory-style sleeping quarters, single bedrooms, a common living room, and a kitchen. A greenhouse is attached to one end of this structure. Across from the office and living quarters is an experimental strawbale house. To the back of the living quarters is a free-standing greenhouse, a wetlands area, and a garden. Various out buildings for tools and equipment and a chicken coop are also located in this area. Solar energy and wood heat are used in the Ecovillage. Unlike the buildings of the primary Farm community which are connected to the local electrical company via overhead lines, the Ecovillage it is totally off the grid. Beyond the driveway to the Ecovillage, a few residences are nestled in the woods.

Farm residences are an architectural mix of wood structures of varying shapes and sizes. One home still uses an old school bus that has rooms built onto it and has been bermed on one side for insulation purposes. A limited number of modular and mobile homes are also evident, but the use of mobile homes is not a preferred form of housing by most Farmies. All the homes are separated by forest. The woodland space between structures provides privacy and gives one the sense of being surrounded by nature, rather than nature being surrounded by built structures.

The west side of Farm Road, across from School Ridge Road, is primarily horse pastures, orchards, and open fields. Just past the intersection with School Ridge Road, are

the physical structures of Farm businesses. The pastures and fields are divided about midpoint along the Farm Road by the the Book Publishing Company, the Mail Order Catalog, and the building that houses the Foundation and Plenty offices. A quarter mile beyond these structures, SE International, J.B.s Garage, Village Media, and the Mushroom People line the eastern side of Farm Road. Located between these businesses is the new 72,000 gallon water tank that stands like a sentinel along Farm Road. The water system is privately owned by the community. Businesses along this stretch of road comprise the central business district.

On the west side of Farm Road across from the Motor Pool, is the site of the community garden that connects to a large open field. The soccer field is located at the north end of this field. At the northeast corner of the soccer field is a Gazebo built by Farm youth; it is a common gathering place. The distance from the front gate to the Gazebo is 1.9 miles.

The Gazebo marks where the Farm Road forms a crossroad where 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Roads converge. 1st Road is across and slightly before the Gazebo and the crossroads. The pavement of the Farm Road continues into 2nd road which curves east past the Tofu Dairy and the Midwifery Clinic. Here, the pavement ends and turns into hard-packed dirt and gravel as 2nd Road continues into wooded residential areas. At the end of the road is 2nd Road Meadow, the site where 1,500 people once gathered regularly for Sunday meditations. The meadow is sometimes used for meditation today, but the population is much smaller and not everyone participates as they once did. At the base of the 2nd Road meadow is Cox Branch, the primary stream that traverses the Farm property and feeds the Swimming Hole.

The Swimming Hole is located at the end of 1st Road. It is approximately 2.25 miles from the gate. It is a natural pond that has been altered by the Farmies so it can be drained during the winter months and cleaned and refilled in the spring. At the north end of the swimming hole is a natural rock bluff with ledges overhanging the water. The lower ledges are used as diving platforms. Rhododendrons and hardwood trees line the bank along the west side and on the east side is a sand beach. A hand-painted sign with the swimming hole rules is prominently displayed. A phone with laminated page of

community numbers is also located in this area. A wooden walking bridge spans Cox Branch and leads to a roofed picnic area and an outhouse.

Behind the picnic area and outhouse the land rises sharply to a ridge known as the Devil's Backbone. The ridge and the stream mark the dividing line between habitable land and wilderness. The Farm community has designated the land beyond the stream and ridge as wilderness so it will never be used for any kind of development. Although the habitable land is open for community-planned development, the poor percolation of the frangipan subsoil creates a natural limit to future development unless a community sewage system is built to replace the individual septic systems.

Woodland paths provide shortcuts between residences and businesses on the Farm and make walking the Farm property easier. Walking or running the paths is a way for the residents to connect with the land, but they are used mostly by the Farm children. Most adults drive the roads to their daily destinations, rather than walk.

The Farm Cemetery is the last site important to the geographic aspect of the Farm. The community cemetery is located at the end of 5th Road, which is a continuation of 4th Road. 4th Road branches to the west off Farm Road at the Gazebo. As 4th Road curves to the right, 5th Road begins. 5th Road continues through forested land and then divides, with the left fork leading to residences and the right leading to the Farm community cemetery. Thirty gravesites form a circle in a meadow surrounded by hardwood forest. Most people who have died on the Farm have been buried here. The graves are adorned with gravestones, mementos and alters. Some have plantings around them.

Biophysical Aspects

The climate of the Farm is temperate with a growing season that runs from March through September or mid October. Winters are generally rainy and mild with temperature in January averaging 36 degrees. Summer temperatures can average 100 degrees in July. Rainfalls are generally consistent over the year (nrcs.usda.gov).

The Farm's topography is characterized by steeply dissected ridges and gullies and some rolling meadows and open fields. 300 of the Farm's acres are pasture and meadowland with the balance in hardwood forest. The flora is primarily made up of a wide

variety of deciduous hardwoods: white, red, and black oaks, maple, poplar, beeches, alders, willow, and hickory with an understory of rhododendron, dogwood, redbud, sumac, sassafras, huckleberry, blackberry, partridgeberry, a wide variety of vines including Japanese honeysuckle and wild roses, low-growing flowers, mosses, and numerous native grasses. The only native softwoods are red cedar and Virginia pine. Some loblolly pines have seeded from timber plantations in the area. Parts of the Farm, left untended, have reverted to what is known as remnant prairie habitat. Some native plants have reestablished themselves in these niche environments (Rohrbach 1997). Wisteria, kudzu, and any non-native pest plants are constantly looked for and if found, removed.

The property is on the western edge of the Highland Rim that surrounds the Nashville Basin. The locals call the area "The Barrens" due to the poor residuum soil built up from the weathering of cherty limestone (United States Geological Survey central Tennessee office). Cherty limestone is harder than limestone formations known as karst topography where caverns and sinkholes are formed. The top 1 to 3 feet of flat or gently sloping topography is a windblown loess or silty clay. Under the loess is a hardpan known as frangipan, a subsoil notable for poor drainage. The soil is acidic due to the combination of residuum/silty clay soil and the dense oak and hickory canopy. It is not a fertile soil.

The property is part of the larger Buffalo River Watershed that flows into the Tennessee River. It is also part of the smaller Swan Creek Watershed area. Due to steep ridges characteristic to many parts of the property, many small streams flow in the narrow valleys. Waterfalls are scattered around the Farm and the surrounding region due to hardness of cherty limestone. The Cox Branch is the largest stream that flows across the property. The Cow Pen is the only other water course large enough to be named.

Deer, bobcats, groundhogs, rabbits, raccoons, skunks, possums, a variety of snakes, birds, and other native animals live in the Farm's natural environment.

Members' Perceptions of Geographic and Biophysical Facts

Farmies' perceptions of the geographic and biophysical facts are apparent in the strongly held environmental values of community members. Their perceptions and values are exemplified in their efforts to preserve, manage, and maintain the environmental health

of the biophysical ecosystem as they construct the human ecosystem. They are in the process of searching for the best way to place the land in a legally protective status. The community has strict guidelines for cutting down trees on the property. Nothing can be done outside of a 150' radius around a residence without permission from the Land Committee. The members are constantly working to identify and eliminate exotic plants, such as kudzu and wisteria, that can overtake environmental niches for native species.

The Farm residents live *with* nature, rather than outside it, both cognitively and physically. During the interviews, members' responded to the question: "What is your relationship with the natural environment?" with a range of comments. One said, "I am married to it." Another, "It is my mother." Others said, "I am part of it and it is part of me" and "we are friends with it." One interviewee, who does not garden and is more oriented to city-life said, "I can sit in my chair on my porch and watch the birds, listen to the wind in the trees, and feel at peace." Others described their relationship with the land as a special place: it is "sacred ground," it is "our tribal homeland," and it is "liberated land" meaning it had been free from human degradation and exploitation. Farmies are not involved in mainstream-type efforts that try to control it such as fertilizing lawns and clearing more land than necessary for construction.

The land is a cognitive place. All interview respondents stated some aspect of the land when asked what image they would use for a postcard of the Farm: the paths, the streams, the forest and meadows, and even the tree behind the gate house. They have detailed mental maps of the terrain and the paths through it. It is the one thing that connects all the members to each other. It is not just present members who are connected to and by the land, but also all who ever lived on the Farm. A woman who grew up on the Farm, but whose family moved during the Changeover, described it as her "sacred homeland."

Most members have a personal relationship with the land through gardening. Gardening on the Farm entails enriching the soil with organic matter because the soil is highly acidic cherty clay. All growing on the Farm is done organically and each house composts much of the household waste. A large blueberry patch is communally tended and everyone shares the harvest. A community garden is tended by the garden committee and volunteers who do not have their own gardens. The produce is free to volunteers and is

sold at low-cost to other members. The orchards and vineyards are left to nature except for mowing. Apples and grapes are picked and used by the members. The deer population is so large that efforts are made to minimize their browsing in the food producing areas, but they are not killed.

The Farm has been ahead of its time in acting on their environmental concern. According to the Farm web site, between 1974 and 1978 twenty-seven multi-family residences were built utilizing direct solar gain and superinsulation. Today the Farm has sixty-eight residences and all are constructed to exploit solar effects; however, not all buildings or homes have solar panels. Energy efficiency is a primary concern. Most homes are heated with wood-burning stoves, the wood purchased from local people. Some admit that the wood may be cut from Farm property without their knowledge. Land management does not include selective forestry at this time.

In the day-to-day activities of the community, the awareness of the human relationship with the natural environment is greater than members in the mainstream, but the practices are varied among the members. Almost all members compost their kitchen and yard waste, reducing the waste stream flowing to the landfill. Much of the food and supplies are purchased cooperatively in bulk orders reducing the amount of packing material inherent to individual purchases, thus further reducing the waste stream. Recycling solid waste is widely practiced. A recent development on the Farm is the Recycling crew, which manages a recycling depot and hauls materials to the county recycling center. This activity has become a part of the community budget that pays a stipend to the members who organize and run the program. The houses have septic systems for human waste and separate drainage systems for gray water. The conscious use of biodegradable household products is not evenly practiced.

Members consider the Farm an ecovillage. The application of organic gardening techniques, of alternative energy sources, and the reduced consumption of material goods from outside the region are all ways the Farmies use to live a more ecological lifestyle. Vegetarianism is viewed as ecologically friendly since it uses fewer resources to feed more people in a healthier, more ecological way. Farmies try to live within the natural environmental systems of the region with the least amount of disruption.

The presence of the Ecovillage Training Center (ETC), located on the Farm property, provides more evidence of this commitment. The Ecovillage Training Center (ETC) began in the mid 1990s. Its purpose is to teach and facilitate the creation of communities that foster "harmony with each other and the Earth, while meeting the needs of this and future generations" (www.thefarm.org). In 1995, the ETC helped found the Ecovillage Network of the Americas (ENA). The ENA connects a variety of "green communities" for sharing information and to aid in the development of new ecovillage communities.

The Farm's Ecovillage Training Center is another expression of the continuing outreach and reflects the desire to influence a global change in human lifestyles. However, the Ecovillage is the only section of the Farm that is totally off the grid. The Farm School comes close to being energy self-reliant; however, it is connected to electrical lines for backup energy source. All the homes and other community buildings are tied into the energy grid from the local power company.

Even though the community does not yet fulfill the definition of an ecovillage, the quest continues for evermore environmentally-friendly practices. One of the primary drawbacks to fulfilling this dream is monetary. The cost of building new structures and retrofitting existing community structures to alternative energy systems is prohibitive. But the Farm members have succeeded in finding ways to live that reduce their impact on the biophysical environment.

The environmental concern of the Farmies is also exemplified in their support of and participation in the Swan Creek Conservation Trust. The Swan Creek watershed has been identified by the Tennessee Natural Heritage Program as an area of rich biodiversity where rare and endangered species can still be found. Much of the land is privately owned and the timber industry owns a substantial amount. The timber industry has pine plantations in the region, but they also allow hardwood regrowth to occur after clearcutting. Both practices threaten the biodiversity of the area. Monocrop pine plantations limit diversity due to the single-focus of managed tree production which is subject to disease and pest infestations. And, although diversity does occur in second-growth hardwood forests, the diversity is rarely as extensive as the original forest. The Swan Creek watershed area is

near the Farm property. The Farm has two members on the board of the Swan Creek Conservation Trust, and many other Farmies support the Trust's efforts to buy and protect as much land as possible in the watershed area. They hope to be able to join the Farm property with the properties surrounding Swan Creek into one system of Land Trusts that will prohibit any and all forms of development or human disruptions.

The community's efforts will continue as the Farm seeks new members to fill their ranks. They are currently asking the question: How many homes and people can the land sustain before human activity becomes harmful? A member on the Land Planning committee spoke of the complexity in finding suitable homesites for future members. The committee's pursuit must take into account, not only the biophysical characteristics of the land, but also the neighborhood characteristics. The process involves searching and experimenting with socially and environmentally sustainable living systems. What the Farm members have already accomplished has placed the Farm in an ideal position to realize the goal of becoming a well-developed ecovillage.

In conclusion, the members' perceptions and experiences with the geographical and biophysical facts represents a sense of place. Farmies feel deeply connected to the land and the community known as the Farm. But the geographical and biophysical factors are only part of the process of building and maintaining a sense of community. The next section will describe the sociocultural aspects of the Farm.

Sociocultural Aspects

This section of the chapter addresses the following basic research question: What are the social factors involved in the creation and maintenance of the sense of community? The section begins with the sociodemographics of Farm members. My description of the Farm community is structured by Hillery's three primary elements of community: Common Purpose, The Institutional System of Family, and Social Relations through Interaction.

Sociodemographics

The information in this section has been derived from observations, interviews, survey responses, and census data. Although the survey sample from the Farm is small ($n=13$), the results correlated with empirical observations. Consequently, the information may be considered representative of the Farm community.

As of December 1999, the community consisted of 68 households, 14 children, and 16 teenagers (Farm census 1999). The average age is 51 (appendix B220) and the average length of residency is 21.2 years (appendix B222). The Farm population is primarily middle class, educated people with 60 percent of the respondents reporting income levels between \$15,000 to \$50,000 and at least a college education and some reporting graduate degrees. Most members are Caucasian, but one Asian American and two African American families were in residence at the time of the study. One member is physically disabled and in a wheelchair.

Survey questions eight and nine asked the respondents about their *political activities and views*. Question eight addressed voting activity in local, state, and national elections. Farmies participate at all levels. Question nine inquired about their political definitions. The three categories provided were: *liberal*, *moderate*, and *conservative*. However, respondents wrote in answers such as *radical left*, *progressive socialist* and *libertarian*. The written answers were used to define the *none listed* category. From the marked and written answers, it can be estimated that the majority of Farm members fall into the liberal to far left category.

Survey question twenty-four requested information from respondents about their spiritual/religious beliefs. It asked the respondents to list their *spiritual beliefs and religiosity*. Eight items were provided along with a category for "other." If they followed multiple philosophies, they were asked to mark them in order of importance. As with political groupings, communards can not be "boxed." For the Farmies who answered ($n=12$), 6 listed Buddhism as their first level of spirituality, 2 marked *Animist* and 2 marked *Paganism*. 2 Farmies marked *other*--of these, 1 wrote in *psychedelic free thinker*, 1 wrote in *non-superstitious scientist*, and 1, who marked *Animist* also wrote in *Native American*.

Statistically, the Farmies are a homogeneous population. However, the personality make up of the community members is as diverse as mainstream. The differences in personal opinions and perceptions are recorded in the weekly newsletter as they discuss the issues of the community--membership, property usage, dogs in the community. The complete statistical evaluation can be seen in appendix B213-223.

Common Purpose

From interviews and observations, the most defining common aspect of the Farm is the land. The Farm's 1,750 acres encompasses three square miles and is known to the Farmies as "liberated land." That is, the land was liberated from aggressive human exploitation of capital development and environmental resource depletion. The question of using and managing the land reveals differences among members, but near-unanimity is demonstrated in members' view of the sacredness of the land. The care and preservation of land is the overarching common purpose of the Farm.

At the time of the Changeover, when over a thousand people moved away from the Farm, large amounts of waste and debris were left behind. The waste ranged from dilapidated house sites filled with personal trash to a deliberate accumulation of "things that we might need someday," such as tanks, pipes, wood, automobile and machinery parts scattered across the habitable landscape. Today, although an area may be recognized as a house site because of the open space between trees, it is clean of debris. In the 17 years since the Changeover, the community has organized clean-up days for various waste sites. Their efforts now are focused on the Motor Pool where old cars and related materials have been exposed to the weather. Oil spills from past work are also in the process of being cleaned up. The community members have spent 17 years and untold dollars cleaning up the land over which they are stewards.

The other broadly shared common purpose of the Farm is the well-being and maintenance of the Farm community itself. Common purpose is expressed in activities such as maintaining and improving the infrastructure and finding ways to insure generational continuance. Decision-making on the Farm involves the entire community in the democratic process of majority rule. However, before issues are presented to the

community-at-large, the Board and/or the committees discuss the issue and most of their decisions are arrived at by consensus. Meetings are open to the community and anyone can present thoughts and ideas for consideration. The Board agendas are published in the Free Press.

Although the members have developed individual lifestyles since the Changeover, raising their families, making a living, furthering their own educations, and investing for their children's education, they have cared for the land and community. During this time, the greatest task has been maintenance of and improvements to the infrastructure. Paving the Farm Road, getting electricity and water to all the homes and buildings, and replacing the old water tank have taken priority in time and money. Today the community is ready to address other areas of the community's common purpose--membership, housing, and generational continuance. These issues are interrelated and have been avoided or left unresolved over the years because of personal and financial reasons.

The membership process has been a primary and divisive issue. The membership process begins with the applicant submitting a written request. The membership committee runs a credit check on the applicant. This aspect, while logical, is one of the factors behind the disagreements: some remember how they came to the Farm and tying membership to money goes against their belief system. When many of the present members came to the community, no expectations other than following the community norms, active participation, and responsibility were required. If they had assets, they were expected to turn everything over to the community. Today the applicant must meet specific standards for admission. To meet the standards for admission the applicants must show an ability to support themselves, their family, and to pay community dues. The applicants must have the ability to pay for building or purchasing a residence. They must also have lived on the Farm for a period of time long enough to have interacted with most of the members. Once an applicant meets the standards, the membership committee votes. A 2/3 majority vote for the applicant entitles the individual to provisional membership for at least one year. Provisional members can live in the community, but have no voting rights. Former members must remain provisional members for at least 6 months. Children of permanent members who want to become full members can apply for membership upon turning 18.

After the provisional period expires, the applicant can apply to become a full member. The Membership Committee votes either to extend the provisional period or to approve the applicant's request. With this approval, the committee publishes the applicant's name and a summary of their background to the general population for consideration. The applicant is accepted as a full member unless 1/3 of the voting members oppose the application. Once applicants are accepted for full membership, they must pay the \$3,000 membership fee in full or over time as contracted and agreed upon by the Foundation.

The process is lengthy and some believe it to be extremely difficult to accomplish. One problem is housing: applicants must live in the ecovillage or with a family unless one of the existing houses is available to rent. Building a home is a problem because most banks do not loan money for home construction without title to the land and the Farm's land belongs to the collective. The membership fee has been perceived as a problem by some. A group of Farmies petitioned against the \$3,000 fee when a former Farmie couple came back to the community. Over the years, the couple had continued to work for Plenty International, which is still connected with the Farm. Many in the community did not believe the couple should be required to pay the fee. The complaint was also based on the belief that the intention of the Farm was not conducive to demanding dollar amounts for joining and the cost of membership was seen as prohibitive in attracting former members and new people to the Farm. Over the summer of 2000, they held membership workshops and the differences among the members were resolved. The fee can be worked off on community projects defined by the Board of Directors. It can also be paid off over time.

Because the system for membership requires people to live in the community for an extended time, at least a year or more, to "soak"--get to know the norms and people in the community--before being able to apply for full membership, many members believe that the community must address the question of housing. Long-term visitors, provisional members, and community youth wanting to move out of their parent's home all need housing. The community is divided on this issue. Some members believe it to be a community responsibility and others think it is up to the individuals who need a place to stay. Much of the differences are between those who do not want new members and those who do. Until recently, those in favor of actively pursuing new members have been in the

minority, but observing of the dialog in the Free Press and the implementing of the Farm Experience Weekends show the changing attitude within the community. A community cohousing apartment complex has been suggested and is under consideration. Any kind of construction will be a community-wide event. Meanwhile, one new member, with approval from the Board, has begun working with other members to renovate one of the original Farm houses into a cooperative living space.

The Land Committee is closest to the housing problem. One of the committee's responsibilities is to identify homesites suitable for building. The land must be accessible to water and electrical systems. The neighbors nearest the site must agree not only to the proposed site, but also the new member.

The generational aspect of the Farm is a major concern to the Farmies. They want to be sure the Farm will continue after they are gone. The reason for the concern is that many Farm-reared children have left and other young people have not pursued membership. Some Farmies believe the membership fee of \$3000 per person is prohibitive, especially for young people. Although the fee is waived for children of permanent members, the children's departure rate is greater than those who remain.

Two reasons have been given for the children leaving: they want to explore the world; and the atmosphere on the Farm has not been friendly to the youth. Most of the Farm children have gone off to college and/or found work in cities such as New York and Asheville. Some members told of instances when the older generation lost patience with teenage rebellious behaviors such as inviting outsiders in and having parties at which alcohol use was extensive. One member reported that the only vandalism and theft on the Farm has been caused by teenagers or outsiders. Teens have also been accused of littering the property and showing a general lack of respect for the land. The anger and impatience exhibited by some of the older generation with these youthful activities have not encouraged the children to stay in the community. But some have stayed and others have returned to settle down and raise their families on the Farm. Farmies believe that many of the children raised on the Farm will do the same once they have had enough of the outside world. These members are some of the ones who want the community to address the housing issue.

Community safety and security is another common concern. Although the Welcome Center (the Gate) attendant serves as the first line of security, all the members participate to some degree. The community has a "Farm Emergency Phone Tree" system that is used to quickly notify everyone in the community should any emergency occur. The Phone Tree is made up of five columns. Each column represents a neighborhood. If an emergency arises, the Gate attendant calls the first name on each column. That person calls the next and so on until the last person is called. The last person then calls the Gate to report that everyone has been notified. The weekly newsletter, the Free Press, is another system for informing members of incidents that occur on the property. Most security problems come from "outsiders" coming in when the Gate is left open. They have also been known to scale it. Much of the activity is petty vandalism such as broken car windows, but any negative activity on the Farm property is taken seriously by all the members.

The feeling of personal safety that pervades the Farm property is unequalled in my experience except at the other intentional community in this study. The safety factor was also a frequent response by the subjects to the interview question "What do you like best about living in this community?" People of all ages and both sexes can walk freely anywhere in the community at any time of day or night without fear of assault or harassment. Parents can let their children play without worrying about their safety, at least from other people. Most members take responsibility for children if they see them heading for trouble. But the sense of safety felt when in the community goes beyond the physical to the emotional sense--the threat of negative judgments that underlie interactions in mainstream settings is missing.

Although all of these issues--housing, membership, and the attitude toward children--have surfaced off and on over the years since the Changeover, they seem to have surfaced together over the last year or two. The community is consciously working together to create a common vision that includes ways that could resolve these problems in the near future. This increase in community dialog is partly due to former members moving back and the community's recent successful attempts to gain diversity in their membership. These new members have brought fresh insights, ideas, new skills, and

energy to old arguments. Another impetus for the resurgence of these issues is current dialog with other former members who have expressed interest in returning. As more and more conversations take place, the older members have become more involved.

Examples of community action to resolve these problems are visible in their organization of housing and membership workshops. The Ecovillage organized home building workshops showing a variety of alternative designs that might be useful in constructing a community housing project. Membership workshops facilitated by mediators, opinion letters published in the weekly newsletter, and face-to-face interactions have succeeded in resolving many of the differing opinions between members about the membership process. The subject of attracting new members has been addressed by organizing the Farm Experience Weekend. The Weekend provides people interested in joining the Farm a community experience. The visitors to participate in community life by working with members on community projects, recreational events, and a sharing of the Farm's history.

All the activities and dialogs associated with common purposes have been supported and sustained by a variety of channels for communication. Community information is disseminated by the Free Press, the Farm Net News, the community radio station (WUTZ 88.3), a bulletin board in the mailroom, and through daily social interactions. The Free Press is published weekly and serves as a public forum for the members. It publishes community news, lists weekly events and activities, and has a classified section listing jobs and items for sale, rent, or lost. The paper publishes letters written to the Farm community from visitors, former members, or people looking for someone who once lived on the Farm. It often prints spiritual meditations, prayers, and articles. Some issues have national news stories of interest to the Farmies. The paper also prints the agendas for Board Meetings, yearly budget forms, and ballots.

The Farm Net News (FNN) is a quarterly newsletter published by a former Farmie who now lives in California. It is distributed to over 500 former and current Farm members across the country. The publication "includes letters and photos from members of the Farm Tribe all over the world, births and deaths of Farmies, information on Farm Net reunions, and other activities of interest. Each issue also contains a special youth

forum, 'Whirling Rainbow News,' which features letters and photos from second generation Farmsters [children of Farmies]. FNN maintains an ever-expanding database on the internet of names and contact information for Farm-Netters everywhere" (www.thefarm.org). The FNN also manages a listserve on the internet where Farmies from all over the world can discuss issues and stay in touch.

The other forms of communication are more location specific. The radio station WUTZ 88.3 broadcasts music daily and talk shows weekly. The broadcast power is low and available in the community itself. The talk shows cover a broad range of topics, from Farm issues such as the membership fee debate to global issues of concern. A bulletin board is located in the mailroom where most Farmies have boxes. Minutes from Board Meetings and other committee and community information are posted here. The radio station, the weekly and quarterly newsletters, and the bulletin board are the primary channels for disseminating community information.

As stated in the history, one of the common purposes of the original Farm was to "change the world" and it is still a common purpose of the majority of Farmies. However, each member addresses the challenge differently. Within the Farm community are a variety of services and charitable enterprises working to change the world: the Farm Midwives, the Ecovillage, Rocinante, the Swan Creek Conservation Trust, Plenty International, the Birth Gazette, a variety of books chosen for publication by the Publishing Company, and the Farm School. While not all members participate as extensively as they do with the land and the community, the various services and charitable organizations are supported by significant portions of the community population through their volunteer work and monetary contributions. The non-profit organizations provide numerous common purposes to different groups of members. They also provide the community with global connections. The services provide information to people interested in alternative lifestyles through newsletters, workshops, and conferences.

The Farm Midwives still provide minimal health care for the Farmies. Therefore, the community budget does include the maintenance and upkeep of the clinic. The midwives are and have been an important part of building the reputation of the Farm in the outside world. Many books have been published by The Book Publishing Company. The

oldest and most widely known is *Spiritual Midwifery* by Ina May Gaskin, who also publishes the Birth Gazette. Some of the midwives are politically active at state and national levels. The activists have succeeded in lobbying efforts in the state to certify and legitimize midwifery practices. They also helped found the National Association of Midwifery. Midwives volunteer to travel to underdeveloped regions to conduct workshops and teach people the art of midwifery.

The Ecovillage Training Center conducts seminars and workshops in organic gardening, permaculture, strawbale construction, ecovillage design, and solar installation. Other seminars and workshops offered through the Ecovillage include web site development and grantwriting basics. The village functions as a resource for not only the Farm community, but for anyone interested in community building. Although the community does not financially support the Ecovillage project, many Farmies volunteer their time to participate in different aspects of the Ecovillage projects. People from all over the world come to intern in the village. One Farmies is the Inn Keeper for the dormitory rooming house. The Kids to the Country program houses the kids in the dormitory facility during the summer. When the children are visiting, they work in the garden and other ecological projects going on at the time they are in residence. The ecovillage is a non-profit organization and a founding member of the Global Ecovillage Network².

Plenty International is another non-profit organization. The primary local activity, "Kids To The Country" (KTC), has a broad base of community support. KTC brings inner city kids from Memphis and Nashville to the Farm for week long stays during the summer months. Nationally, Plenty works with the Oglala Sioux on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. It sponsors outreach programs to indigenous cultures in the Caribbean and Central America. Plenty is also teaching soy bean agriculture and nutrition in Liberia. Another non-profit organization that many Farmies participate in is the Swan Creek Conservation Trust. This is not a Farm operated organization, but members do sit on the Board of Directors for it and many Farmies donate time and money. The hope to connect the Farm land with Swan Creek land is supported by many Farmies.

Rocinante is a new community for people with special needs. It was first envisioned by Gaskin more than a decade ago. The vision for Rocinante is broad and yet

to be realized. Gaskin would like have a center created for birthing and dying with all the healthcare needed to accomplish these life activities. The central agency, Rocinante, would be responsible for the organizational administration linking the community services and be responsible for maintaining the land. The services would be centered in the Rocinante Health Center where a midwifery clinic and training center would be located. It would also house a complete senior community living center with services ranging from assisted living and adult daycare to a hospice for the dying. Another part of Gaskin's vision is the construction of private cabins built by individuals who need some assistance, but who are primarily able to live independently. The homes will become part of Rocinante and used by others after the original owners move on or die. One of the Farm midwives is on the Board of Trustees, but most Farmies have little to do with Gaskin's project. Ten homes have been built on the property, but the Health Center has yet to be built.

The Farm School is certified and accredited by the state of Tennessee and the Lewis County school system. The Farm children and some who come from out of town make up the student body. Although the school once had 365 students, the current student body is approximately 20 students, most of whom are in high school. The classes are taught by members of the community. The school emphasizes hands-on experience and many of the students work in community businesses and charities for credit hours. The school is run by a paid administrator who also teaches English. Science, math, computer technology, and the arts are part of the curriculum and are taught by Farm members knowledgeable in these areas. Funding comes from tuitions and fundraisers such as the community dinners on Thursday nights, bake sales, and game nights. The school is an active member of the National Coalition of Alternative Community Schools (NCACS). The students and faculty attend the yearly conferences held at various intentional communities around the country. The 2000 NCACS Conference was hosted by the Farm School. Farmies participated in the organization and presentations during the conference.

Other projects within the community are examples of less institutionalized forms of common purpose. They include activities such as the community's organic garden and blueberry patch. Every year the members get together on "work days" to care for and maintain the blueberry patch. Most of the members participate and share in the harvest.

Members who do not have home gardens can work in the community garden and get fresh vegetables. The surplus is shared at minimal cost to other members of the community. Other community-wide projects include the eradication of exotic plants such as kudzu and wisteria from Farm land. Manual labor is used rather than resorting to herbicides.

Finally, the common purpose of "right livelihood" is practiced by all the Farm businesses. Right livelihood is associated with the Buddhist perspective toward work. From this perspective, work is part of the whole system of living. Characteristics of right livelihood are enjoying one's work and being productive without harming yourself, others or the environment. According to right livelihood, work should make a positive contribution to society. The products created by Farm workers contribute to the betterment of the greater society. For example, the Book Publishing Company publishes books from Native Americans who share their oral histories and cultures. Organic gardening and vegetarian cookbooks are two other primary topics for publication. The Mailorder Catalog offers products that are earth friendly and life enhancing, not only for the purchasers, but also for the suppliers--some of whom are indigenous cultures in third world countries. The Midwifery program not only provides natural pre and post natal health care services at affordable prices, but also works in undeveloped countries teaching their methods to people who had 50 percent infant mortality rates. SE International develops technological innovations such as a hand-held Geiger counters reportedly used by many private citizens after the Chernobyl nuclear accident.

Although the common purposes of the Farm may have shifted emphasis over the years, the welfare, security, and perpetuity of the Farm commons is as strong and important a consideration in the Farmies day-to-day lives as it was during the communal days. Their efforts to change the world by actions and example continue. As noted one of the Farm's web sites, "the Farm is a process, not an end-result" (www.thefarm.org).

The Institutional System of Family

According to Hillery, the concept of family encompasses the elements of shared norms, sentiment, religion, socialization, and recreation. Hillery combines three characteristics in his term "sentiment:" ethnocentrism, awareness of members versus

outsiders, and homogeneity of the population. This section describes the institution of the family as enacted on the Farm.

Intentional communities tend to challenge and/or expand mainstream concepts. The institution of the family is an example of this challenge. Mainstream society conceptualizes a family as a group of people living together and related by ancestry. Generally, a family is thought of as a nuclear unit with a mother and father bound by marriage, with or without children. To Farmies, family is bigger than that. In the Farm culture, they all belong to one large family bound together by their common *social* ancestry. The social ancestry is their lineage that is based on Farm membership. For example, I was told by a Farm member that a Farmie can travel across country and never have to sleep in a motel or camp in a campground. The Farm family network is so large and so widely distributed that there is always a home to "crash in" along the way. If a Farmie is in need of help, another Farmie is usually nearby who will come to their aid. Like a family, Farmies have disagreements among themselves, but most still consider themselves family and would be available if called upon. One significant change that has occurred on the Farm that is different from mainstream culture is the acceptance of homosexual relationships. Once thought unnatural by the Farm community culture, most members of the community have accepted same-sex partnerships.

Although mainstream norms of family--security, support, cooperation, and selflessness -- are held by Farmies, the belief that "all are one" has broadened the definition of family to include all people, especially all Farmies, past and present. This norm stems from early Farm agreements and, like all norms, is passed on from one generation to the next. The shared beliefs that come from the idea that "all are one" are: vegetarianism as both a nutritional and a spiritual practice; a reduced sense of material consumption; respect and responsibility for the earth, each other, and themselves; service to others; sharing of resources; community-wide sharing of life passages such as birth and death; the concept that living in community means sharing the tragedies and triumphs of each other; and a belief that there are many ways to relate to and express spirit and truth.

Although these norms and beliefs have been retained from the early communal days, they were influenced by the Changeover, which allowed for a sense of individualism

in the Farmies. Members sometimes compare community life before and after the Changeover. Many members reported that before the Changeover, the intensity of the shared norms created an energy like that of a fire burning bright. Today "it seems like there are only embers left from the once raging fire of before." While most of the interviewees echoed this sentiment, they also spoke of the closeness they still feel with everyone in the community. No matter how angry they may get with one another, the bottom line is the familial love of each other that connects them. To the Farmies, home is not just the physical structure where they live and sleep, home is the community.

This feeling of a community as a place of home and family is affected by the what sociologists call the "density of acquaintanceship" (Freudenburg and Jones 1991). The density of acquaintanceship describes the depth of personal connections between people who live within a neighborhood, community, or town. The concept involves how personally knowledgeable people are of those who live around them and in the greater community. Neighborly relationships are much more than acquaintanceships on the Farm. The only time doors are locked is during large festivals when the outside world comes to the Farm. Farmies come and go in each others homes, often without knocking. This familial style of living is a result of the common experience of creating the place known as the Farm. The majority of the people who live on the Farm have resided in the community since the communal days and have shared the tragedies and triumphs of that struggle. During those years, they lived in incredibly close proximity to one another and the bonds that formed are still strong today. The activity of working toward the common purpose of the community created the opportunity for the Farmies to know one another more deeply than most people in mainstream society have ever experienced.

A strong family value in the community that is based on their shared norms is respect and nurturance of everyone--children, young adults, adults, and the elderly. People of all ages live on the Farm and all are welcome to participate in community events and recreational activities. The elderly who visit or live in the Farm community participate in daily interactions and lead as stimulating a life as they choose. Unlike mainstream settings, the elders are respected and are part of the everyday life in the community. An eighty year old mother of one of the Farmies' lives on the Farm and helps cook community dinners.

She is thought of as everyone's mother or grandmother. Over the years, some members have brought their aging parents to live with them on the Farm. One member told a story of "kidnapping" their father from a nursing home in northern Florida. At the time, the father was ailing and unable to live independently and a sibling of the Farmie had placed him in the nursing home. A group of Farmies drove down, packed him up, and brought him home. The elderly man regained much of his health and actively participated in the community until he died at home a few years later.

Connections between the Farmies are strong and fiercely loyal. Farmies describe themselves as members of a "tribe." The tribal connections include all the people who have ever lived in the community. Many of the children of the Farm remain connected today. The internet provides a forum for them and some live near one another. Growing up, they would all run hither and yon around the community. These groups of children were called "kid herds." It is reported that some of these kids still herd by living communally in cities such as New York City and Asheville, North Carolina. They have been known to rent entire floors in apartment buildings and share the space with each other. The children feel a kinship with each other that children in the "outside" culture rarely experience.

Everyone on the Farm feels they are part of one large family, but actual kinship ties are also strong on the Farm. The institution of family is one of the original tenets of the Farm. Monogamous relationships were and are considered sacred. Children were a large part of the Farm population. Some say at least half the population was children which would put it at around 750 in 1980. Today, most of the children are grown and have moved away. The Farm's attempts to draw new members includes people with children.

Having children in an intentional community is different from mainstream settings. In the Farm community, the mother and father have help in their parenting roles. The children are loved and cared for by the entire community. Many of the houses are open to all the Farm children. They can run and play in safety anywhere in the community. They know someone is always nearby. Help is always available to the parents if they are ill, need to run errands, or simply need to relax. The adults in the community are not shy about disciplining or correcting the children. Many of the interviewees mentioned the support systems available to parents sharing the responsibilities of child care. The sharing

of resources and responsibilities is cheaper and emotionally supportive for both the parents and the children. Because of the close personal interaction across the community with the children, the socialization and developmental process is much broader and safer than mainstream society. However, during an interview with the high school students, they reported that the safety and security on the Farm fosters a naivete in the teens that becomes apparent during their first independent experience in a city. Youthful joy and openness expressed on the Farm can be misunderstood and even dangerous in a city.

The Farm parents and children have mutual respect for one another. Observing the parent child interactions, communications are more open than in most mainstream families. It was noticeable that the teens and young adults like and respect their parents. The values of the older generation of Farmies were noticed during numerous conversations with teens and young adults. Rather than rebelling with opposing behaviors, most youth behaviors express similar values as their parents. For example, many are vegetarians and they feel a unity with the world around them. The youth who have stayed on the Farm organize the Unity Fest, a summer weekend filled with song, dance, and activities intended to express the universal connections between everyone and everything. The Farmsters keep in touch with each other via the internet. Some of the young adults have set up a formal system of homesites around the country to use when they travel. The Farm philosophies and the school's emphasis on social justice, the environment, and the arts have carried on in the career choices made by many of the Farm youth. It was reported that a significant number of the children work in jobs related to social justice, environmental issues, and the performing arts.

Parents and children have always played music together. Music and parties are a major part of Farm life and they say they excel at both. Unlike mainstream parties, Farm parties are completely intergenerational. Teenagers participate in adult parties and adults participate and support teen parties and events. The eighty year old mentioned earlier goes to all the parties and as she says, "loves it!" Recreational events are frequent and varied. Besides having parties regularly, the community organizes the Ragweed Festival. The Ragweed Festival is a Farm family reunion held every summer.

Other recreational activities are individual and holiday parties, the swimming hole, basketball games, and soccer. Once a week the community center sponsors a dinner to raise funds for the Farm School. The Farm women have a women's circle. There are yoga classes, ceramic classes, and classes on Native American philosophies and primitive living techniques. Small groups get together on Sundays to meditate. Weddings, births, and deaths are celebrated by everyone in the community. Some Farmies reported in interviews that weddings and funerals are the only events in which the whole community participates.

The life cycle of birth and death is a significant aspect of the Farm family. Birthing Ways, similar to baby showers but more spiritually based, are given for pregnant mothers before a birth. Often family and friends are with the mother as she gives birth with a midwife in attendance. Birthings are deeply spiritual celebrations. So are deaths. One of the Farmies holds a state certified funeral license and all deaths are reported to the state, but the body stays on the Farm. They are not embalmed. Members build the pine coffin. A party is held in the home of the deceased, often with the body in attendance. People remember and celebrate the life of the deceased. The body is then placed in the coffin and carried, by wagon or truck, to the cemetery as everyone follows in a funeral procession. At the grave site the members speak, sing, or silently rejoice in the life of the person. Once the coffin is lowered into the earth, the members all work together to fill the grave. This process of total participation in the life cycle was mentioned more than once as an important part of living on the Farm. They report that the process emphasizes life as a circle and provides a sense of closure that they never experienced in mainstream society.

The shared spirituality of the Farm population expresses the homogeneity of the members. The survey indicated that the most prominent belief system is Buddhism. The shared belief that "all are one" is similar to the Buddhist belief that all people and creatures are sentient beings and are to be respected as such. Right livelihood, practiced on the Farm, is another Buddhist belief. However, the spirituality of the Farmies comes from the eclectic mixture of spiritual values developed during the early days and evolved further over the years as they have followed their individual interests. Farmies tend to celebrate or at least are aware of the many different religious holidays during the year. Publications and submissions printed in the Free Press exemplify this aspect of the community. Prayers

from many religions, poems, meditations, letters from Farmies doing outreach, spiritually-based human interest stories, astrological events, and even the opinion letters discussing the divisive issues all reflect their awareness, acceptance, and respect for each other, the earth, and the cosmos. However, these values are interpreted, expressed, and practiced at different levels and degrees by the individual members.

The Farm family exhibits Hillery's element of sentiment. Ethnocentric behaviors and beliefs are expressed by Farmies. They believe that Farm ways are better than mainstream ways of living and being. Farmies have a strong sense of worth and purpose in the world. Many members referred to the Farm itself as being a legend in both the domain of intentional communities and in contemporary society. Awareness of others is also a characteristic of Farmies. They all know each other. Consequently, strangers are noticed when they come into the community. Even though the Farmies have become more individualistic since the Changeover, the homogeneity of the population remains--the lifestyles of the community members are more similar to each other than in most residential communities and neighborhoods in mainstream settings.

The Farm today does exhibit norms found in the institution of family as defined by mainstream society, but it is the best of mainstream that has been accentuated and expanded: acceptance, sharing, and selflessness. Norms that support win-lose competition, intolerance, violence, and the patriarchal aggression found in mainstream culture have been minimized or even excluded. The commonality of members that is experienced in a family is a strong component in building and maintaining the sense of community felt by Farmies. This sense of commonality has an effect on the interactions between members and will become evident in the following section, which addresses the personal and social relationships and interactions.

Social Relations through Interactions

This chapter has presented elements of the Farm community that work together to create a sense of place, a place where commonality among members enhances their ability to experience a sense of community. The History of the Farm described the Farmies' intentions and activities that created and built the physical and social structure of the

community. The Geo-biophysical Aspects provided the context of the community. The section, Common Purpose, identified community issues and projects that members work together to address, both as a whole community and in smaller groups. Hillery's conceptualization suggested that what characterizes a community is the presence of internal goals. The family, he said, is the primary source of internal community goals. Therefore, the Institutional System of the Family has been examined for an understanding of the norms and values that are expressed through identification and the achievement of internal goals: child rearing, personal support systems, involvement in life passages, recreational events, and spiritual and personal growth. This section, Social Relations through Interactions, examines information about the social roles and positions within the Farm community and the norms associated with them.

Hillery and Sack's elements, interactions, social relations, and meaning, have been combined because they work together to express the culture of the Farm community. Hillery's definitions of *social* and *personal* interactions use depth of individual knowing as a defining point. He describes the characteristics of each type: social interaction is found in competition, cooperation, and conflict, and personal interaction is found more often in family context. The depth of knowing the people with which one interacts with can be thought of as an interactional continuum. Social interaction, located on the low end of the continuum, represents superficial knowing that takes place in business settings. Personal interaction, located on the higher end, is where a deep personal knowing occurs, as found in a family context. This division and identification of characteristics is problematic when looking into Farmie interactions. This analytical problem is caused by conceptualization of the Farmies as a very large family with competition eliminated and cooperation as a basic norm. The Farm states in their welcoming brochure that "Ours is an egalitarian, cooperative society where the lines of authority are replaced by lines of communication that are laterally shared in a spirit of mutual respect and cooperation" (Welcome brochure, 2000). Although social interaction through conflict is present, violence of any kind is prohibited. Because competition is not a part of the Farm philosophy, conflict and cooperation will be considered as characteristics of social interactions that take place within the Farm community. Because the familial aspect was addressed in the previous section,

references may be made to interactions identified in that section, but in-depth explanations will be minimal.

Sack's two elements of place-making, social relations and meaning, represent culture. These elements are acted out and used in what is described sociologically as roles or social positions. When social relations are repeated enough, they become institutionalized roles (Cuff et al 1992). Roles are expected patterns of behavior and the patterns provide meaning which the actor uses to decide the best course of (inter)action. An individual's perception of those people interacted with on a daily basis as well as the physical environment with in which these actions occur is relevant to the creation of the sense of place, and hence, the creation of the sense of community. Norms, values, roles, and social positions will be described in this section.

New social and institutional settings were created during and after the Changeover that have influence interactions among Farmies. The members now lead private, independent lives and are not as open with each other as they once were. The effect has been to make the interactions more social and less personal. In other words, large-scale community interactions are based in cooperative efforts or conflictual relations. Small groups, rather than the whole community, are now the context for personal interactions. Today mental nudity is a personal choice rather than a community norm. Although the majority of interviewees said they enjoy living in the community more now, they also reported that they miss the closeness experienced during the communal days.

Institutional and social settings in the Farm community appear to be similar in type to those in mainstream communities: homes, businesses, recreational facilities and activities, board and committee meetings, classes, workshops, and charitable organizations. The by-laws also appear to describe a traditional bureaucratic/democratic system of governance. However, the community norms and social institutions of government are non-hierarchical and hence, *not* similar to mainstream society.

The formalized Farm institutions--the Board, the School and the businesses--are hybrids of mainstream society because of the role expectations associated with the social positions. For example, the structure and social positions of the Board of Directors is similar to community governing boards in mainstream society; however, power and

prestige are not associated with these or any other role positions on the Farm. The president of the Board holds no more or less influence or authority than any other position in the community. Authority is a lateral activity in which everyone is equal. This broad-based equality between members was made clear when they were asked "who leads the community?" They answered emphatically "We have no leaders." When I asked from whom to request permission to video tape in the community, I was told "no one person can give that, you must submit any request to the Board for consideration."

The most important social role for Farmies is that of member. Role expectations of members are described in the by-laws: "A member shall be nonviolent, honest, and shall abide by the agreements of the community, and shall hold him or herself as an equal partner in maintenance of the common lands for the secure, safe and efficient operation of the community" (p. 8). Other social roles are: Executive Director of the Foundation, members of the Board of Directors, committee members, business owners and employees, administrators, teachers, facilitators, and community project organizers and workers. All these roles are secondary to the role of member.

The Farm describes itself as an egalitarian community in which all members are equal--economically, politically, and socially. While the Farmies agree that social and political equality are present, some economic disparity has grown since the Changeover. However, the disparity is not as apparent or as wide as mainstream society. The role expectations within the Farm community are much less differentiated than in mainstream settings. People expect each other, no matter the role, to be responsible, respectful, cooperative, patient, and understanding. They expect each other to use these attributes in their decision-making process when addressing community concerns or personal issues that may impact the community. Unlike mainstream society, people who seek power over others or through economic gain are seen as deviant. People who hold social positions of influence are not necessarily those who fill formal institutional social roles, such as board or committee positions. They are the ones who work for the good of the community and in service to others without self-aggrandizement.

Behaviors acted out in social positions are governed by norms and values (Cuff et al 1992). The norms behind the social relations in the community are expressed in the

agreements³ that focus the member's attention toward: positive intentions of love, compassion, respect, and truth; personal energy and growth; belief in conscious conflict resolution; and being responsible to the self, to others, to the collective, and to the earth. These values are expressed in the social relations and interactions among most members every day. The norms and values are grounded in the spiritual beliefs that form the cultural basis of the Farm society and the social relations within it. However, some members will argue this point, believing that there are members who do not act "in agreement with the agreements."

The value hierarchy of members who completed the survey (appendix B202-205) shows significant similarities between members. Although philosophical differences exist, they are a result of the privatized activities and different interpretations of the intentions of individual members. But the underlying values that were part of the early incarnation of the Farm are still strong. Survey questions one and three addressed members' values. Question one asked the respondents to create a personal value priority list from a list of value types. Each value type had single values that helped describe and then rank the abstract value types. Question three provided sentences that expressed values in context. The respondents were asked to report the level of importance of the value in a given situation using the Likert scale.

The resultant mean ranking of values in each question supported the empirical findings. The *highest* values listed by Farm respondents in question one were *universalism* (1.58) and *self-direction* (2.83) with *benevolence* (3.33) third highest in importance. Although the ranking was slightly different in question three, the top three values remained the same: *self-direction* first (1.46), *security in community* (1.54) second, and *universalism* (1.62) third (see tables 4.1 and 4.2, page 103). Universalism carries the single values of protecting the environment, a world of beauty, unity with others, broad minded, social justice, wisdom, equality, a world at peace, and inner harmony (Schwartz 1994). Single values Schwartz found associated with self-direction are: creativity, curious, freedom, choosing own goals, and independent. Single values he associates with benevolence are: helpful, honest, forgiving, loyal, responsible, true friendship, a spiritual

life, mature love, and meaning in life. The three values are highly descriptive of the intentions behind the community known as the Farm.

Spearman's r was utilized to calculate the correlation coefficient between questions one and three within the Farm community.

$$r_s = \frac{1 - \frac{6(\sum d^2)}{n(n^2 - 1)}}{1}$$

A high correlation was found between questions one and three: $r_s = .964$ for Farm members.

As shown in the tables on page 105, *self-direction* was listed second in importance in question one, but first in importance when put in the context of question three. The single values associated with self-direction expressed this value as a whole in the early Farm. Today the individual members express the strength of this value in their daily lives through the range of businesses, what they choose to produce, in their cooking, and in their educational pursuits and travel destinations. During the field study, one group of Farmies went to Cuba, another had just returned from India, and others were planning trips to France and Italy. The literature, books and magazines in the homes cover a wide variety of interests, from current affairs to alternative gardening. Most of the homes have musical instruments. The vegetarian diet of the Farmies not only nurtures the people, but is also a resource for the Book Publishing Company. Vegetarian cookbooks are a major source of income and many have been written by members. So, too, with the midwives, who have written numerous books on natural childbirth. Farmies are always teaching or taking courses inside and outside the community.

Question 1 - Farm	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Universalism	12	1.00	6.00	1.5833	1.4434
Self-direction	12	1.00	6.00	2.8333	1.4668
Benevolence	12	1.00	9.00	3.3333	2.3094
Stimulation	12	3.00	7.00	5.1667	1.3371
Security	12	2.00	8.00	5.4167	1.8320
Achievement	11	2.00	9.00	5.9091	2.0226
Hedonism	12	5.00	9.00	6.9167	1.4434
Tradition	12	3.00	10.00	7.0000	2.5937
Power	12	2.00	10.00	8.5833	2.2747
Conformity	11	5.00	10.00	8.6364	1.6895

Table 4.1

Statistical mean rankings of values in question one listed by Farm members (March 2000).

Question 3 - Farm	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Self-direction	13	1	5	1.46	1.13
Security/Community	13	1	4	1.54	.88
Universalism	13	1	5	1.62	1.19
Benevolence	12	1	4	1.67	.98
Stimulation	13	1	5	2.15	1.21
Achievement	13	1	4	2.31	.95
Security/Country	13	1	5	2.46	1.27
Hedonism	13	2	3	2.46	.52
Conformity/Community	13	1	5	3.46	1.13
Tradition	13	2	5	3.62	1.26
Conformity/Country	13	1	5	4.08	1.12
Power	13	1	5	4.23	1.36

Table 4.2

Statistical mean ratings of values in question three listed by Farm members (March 2000).

The results from the lower end of the value hierarchies, the least important values to Farmies, also support the empirical findings. The values ranked least important in question 1 by Farmies were *conformity* (8.63), *power* (8.58) and *tradition* as third least important (7.0). Question three once again showed a slight shift, but the shift did not influence the three specific values ranked as least important. In question three, conformity was broken into two contexts: *conformity to community* and *conformity to country*. The results show that the Farmies' least important value is *power* (4.23), *conformity to country* (4.08) second least, and *tradition* (3.62) maintained its ranking of third least important.

Overall, the Farm's value rankings (question one) follow a definite descending order that begins with *universalism* (1.58), *self-direction*, *benevolence*, *stimulation*, *security*, *achievement*, *hedonism*, *tradition*, *power*, and ends with *conformity* (8.63). Question three's rankings of values in context are similarly staggered. These begin with *self-direction*, *security in community*, *universalism*, *benevolence*, *stimulation*, *achievement*, *security in country*, *hedonism*, *conformity in community*, *tradition*, *conformity in country*, and ends with *power* as least important (page 105). These results provide a fuller picture of the Farm's non-hierarchical, cooperative, nonviolent social system, but perhaps the highest held values can explain more about how the community handles conflict and cooperation.

Placing a high value on self-direction may help explain some of the reported tension and strain within the community. Each individual household now has a personal agenda that, at times, may come into conflict with the community agenda. When this happens in a community meeting, the participants have different ways of expressing the conflicting perspectives. The act of expression depends on the personality of the member, whether they are quiet introverts or assertive extroverts. When the assertive extroverts are involved, the discussions have been known to quickly escalate into loud, aggressive arguments in which interruptions are the norm. Some members perceive this behavior as verbal violence. Members who are less assertive do not participate and may even leave. Some of these members no longer attend such meetings because they anticipate that emotions will be high and the dialog loud and disruptive.

One of the interview questions addressed negative verbal outbursts (see interview schedule, appendix A196). Interviewees were asked if verbal outbursts were considered violence. Most of the Farmies consider verbal anger as "psychic" violence, which is as unacceptable as physical violence. However, some interviewees explained that they understood that people tend to express themselves differently. They often expounded on their answer by explaining that what dictates whether the exchange is violent or not is the underlying intentions behind the outburst.

Most of the conflict in the Farm community revolves around past events and personal actions involved during and since the Changeover. Most of the mistrust stemmed from financial and proprietary issues, but there are probably many other issues that arose during and after the social upheaval. During the past seventeen years, many members have carried the mistrust that began during the Changeover. Because of the mistrust, the community has an underlying tension. Members have formed into groups. The members themselves liken the philosophical differences between the groups to the Republicans and the Democrats. While there were no Republicans found on the Farm, the representation reflects the Farmies' image of themselves as conservatives and liberals.

Each group has agendas that are defined by the other group. One liberal group member said that the conservative group exhibits behaviors that are interpreted as pursuing power and control over land issues and over the use of community property for financial gain. The conservatives believe the liberals want to reduce the membership requirements to encourage new members to move into the community. The community exhibits many symptoms of mainstream individualism--distrust, personal misinterpretations, and either a tendency toward conflict or an avoidance of conflict. Over the years, these conflicting perspectives have resulted into expressions of Hillery's two types of interactions.

Relationships between members of the two groups exhibit characteristics associated with social interaction, the superficial knowing of others. The relationships became more strained and the level of conflict and mistrust increased. However, the familial feelings have persisted over the years underneath all the problems. Personal interactions in the form of dialogs, verbal and written, increased between members within groups. In recent years, personal interactions have increased between groups. The issue of membership

requirements was the source of one ongoing conflict. Over the past year, the opinions and ideas of members from both groups were published in the Free Press. Workshops were held where members from opposing groups came together. The groups worked together in brainstorming sessions to define issues that needed attention and to list the problems that made them issues. Suggestions for solutions were then discussed. At the end of the workshop, all the groups came back together to discuss the issues and the work of each group. After years of dialog, often contentious, the groups have moved closer together and have a better understanding of each other's positions.

Comments by some interviewees not only reflect their desire to resolve the internal conflicts, but also explain their method of resolution based in their worldview. An example from one interviewee: "People need to return to the assumption of each other's goodwill, rather than coming from a place of mistrust and ill intentions." When members were asked, "How does the community resolve conflicts?," the response was unanimous: through long, patient, intense, dialog. The successful resolution of the membership debate motivated the community to move forward on other topics of conflict.

Although conflict is seen by individual members as inevitable, they address it differently. However, none of the members interviewed perceive conflict as a negative force. A major belief among the Farm members is that conflict can be a positive force in the process of change. As they like to say, "the Farm is a process rather than an end result" and conflict is part of the process. So are cooperation and mutual aid.

Conflict resolution involves cooperation. Hillery and many others consider cooperation to be a strong characteristic of a village or community. The Farm exemplifies this attribute in many ways, as seen in the discussion of common purpose. Cooperation is one of the basic premises of the philosophy of the community. Mutual aid is an attribute of cooperation. Farmies take mutual aid very seriously.

Examples can be seen in two home-building projects. The home of one of the original members of the Farm was rotting. It was one of the original homes built on the Farm and had no indoor plumbing. Building a new home was beyond the family's capability. The community rallied together to help them build a new home. The family purchased the materials. The Farm community gathered on weekends and evenings to

build the new home that included indoor plumbing. The Free Press announced the work days and published the letters of gratitude from the home owners.

The other home project centers around a single mother who was raised on the Farm and has moved back to raise her children in the community. She has been living in the home of a Farm couple who are away taking care of an elderly parent. Her future living situation is uncertain. The community was discussing the situation when this research first began. A bank loan was impossible. Other avenues for assistance were investigated, but none were viable solutions. Finally, a group of Farmies decided that if one hundred people donated \$400 the young woman would have enough to build a home. Fund raising events have also helped fund the project. The project is still underway. So far, \$4,000 has been raised and construction materials have been donated.

Acts of mutual aid take many forms. Personal support is never far away for any Farmie. One interviewee spoke of a persistent health problem. She called a nurse in the Clinic. The free support and information given by the nurse helped the woman understand the problem. The suggested method of treatment alleviated the symptoms. This personal exchange exemplifies how the Farm people share their personal knowledge and abilities with each other for free or a minimal fee. It is common practice on the Farm to help others when a need arises. The human resources, ability and knowledge, available on the Farm are in the process of being cataloged. Farmies like to share their knowledge and they like to learn.

Learning and teaching are very important to the Farm members. The majority of them have college degrees and many have graduate degrees. Some are continuing their education through the local community college. Others are teaching classes in their areas of interest, such as mediation, primitive living, yoga, alternative health techniques, and pottery. The classes are taught on the Farm and in nearby towns. Over the years, the Farm has had workshops on consensus building and other community support systems. Workshops in mediation are offered regularly.

As noted, social interactions are more pervasive now than earlier due to the privatization of the community. An example of this pervasiveness of social rather than personal interaction was related by a few of the members during interviews and the

example exemplifies the underlying causes of conflict and avenues for cooperation. They said that the Farm is like any small town--people talk about each other and rumors spread quickly. They viewed this behavior in both positive and negative terms. The behavior was positive when the intention behind the conversations about others came from compassionate concern. People are aware of each others' difficulties and help is offered. The negative is that sometimes people do not have all the relevant information when they discuss other people's lives. Without complete information, judgments are made based on assumptions, rather than reality. Behaviors based on assumptions and judgments, tend to impact the social relationships with those who are the topic of the rumor in ways that may be inappropriate to the actual situation. The latter form of behavior has happened more frequently over the years since the Changeover. Comments by many Farmies suggest their desire for change, which would mean an increase in personal interactions suggested by the agreements.

The influence of the agreements is not only noticeable in the social relations within the community, but also in the social relations the community has with the world-at-large. Since the beginning, the Farmies have worked toward positive interactions with their neighbors and town residents by treating them with respect and honesty. Many members are involved with regional and local issues such as watershed protection and stream damming projects. Most of them vote in local, state, and national elections (appendix B217).

The overall peacefulness of the Farm and the sense of safety one feels within the community is directly related to the basic norms of nonviolence and cooperation they practice. The social relations in which these norms are practiced have created the meaning Farmies place on their community. One of the interview questions asked "What does this community mean to you?" Many of the responses described characteristics of home and family: "People are very accepting and nonjudgmental here;" "A family of friends who honor the land;" "This is my home base;" One spoke of the community as a canvas on which the art of community is being painted. In a similar vein, one interviewee likened the community to an evolving experiment in which people are learning to live harmoniously together with each other and with the land. Finally, the most common concept of the Farm

expressed by the Farmies in answer to what the community means to them was: it is "tribal land;" it is "like Mecca;" and it is "a holy, sacred land."

Members' sense of belonging to the community has also been created by the social interactions of the members. When asked what gives them a sense of belonging to the community, the answers were very similar: "I feel very connected." "...I think everybody knows that if you're in trouble, we'll come through and help you...we're bonded." Its "the friendship. I feel a very strong bond of loving friendship with a large number of people here...I've been in community or associated with this community longer than anything else in my life...it's an identity, a lifestyle, a viewpoint, it's who I am..." Another describes the origin of belonging as being "common inspiration." A number of the interviewees cited the social life of the Farm: "The social life part, having friends around all the time. Like family, there are always people coming in and out, we share everything..." "Our births and deaths, and we know how to have a good party." "I think its the parties. The parties here are so intergenerational, everybody parties together, young, middle, and old people all get together, kid bands, adult bands, and lots of dancing...we take it for granted, but visitors are blown away by them." Partying, sharing in births and deaths, and close, supportive friendships all work together to create the feeling of belonging to the place known as the Farm.

In this chapter, I have shown how members' perceptions of common purposes, family systems, interactions, and cooperation build a sense of commonality. The Farm community is 30 years old in 2001. The members are proud of what they have created, but as they say, "it's a process." It is a community of people living on common land, working together to make the world a better place. Through the daily activities over the years, sharing their lives, working together on projects, and resolving conflicts, they have created a sense of place. The sense of place combined with the sense of commonality has created the sense of community on the Farm. I next describe the Twin Oaks community.

Chapter Five

Twin Oaks: A Communal Community

In this chapter, I present a detailed description of my second case study, Twin Oaks. After a brief history of the community, I employ the same analytical framework as the previous chapter to present the descriptive analysis of the Twin Oaks community. I end the chapter with a summary of the factors involved in the community's construction and maintenance of a sense of community.

The information presented in this chapter differs from the previous community description because of the differences in the field experiences. I participated in the three week visitor program offered by Twin Oaks for people interested in joining the community. During the three week period, visitors participate in all aspects of community life. Consequently, much of the data collection was accomplished through observation and direct participation. During the field study from April 21 to May 11, 2000, twelve Twin Oakers were interviewed compared with twenty-three Farmies.

A Brief History of Twin Oaks

An hour north of Richmond, Twin Oaks is an egalitarian income-sharing commune founded by eight people in 1967 on 123 acres of farm land in Louisa County, Virginia. They wanted to replicate the community presented in Skinner's book, *Walden Two* (1948). Their intention was and is to be the first in a long line of other like-minded intentional communities whose focus and passion are directed toward equality in all things: economics, politics, and social factors including voice, gender, race, and age. When purchased, the property had only a farmhouse and a few outbuildings. After confronting the economic reality of income production, some members elected to work in the surrounding region, while others stayed to continue building the community.

During the first three or four years, members lived on \$1,200 a year per capita and the rate of turnover was a few months. Twin Oaks' future was precarious. The

community had many visitors, some who worked side-by-side with members to build the community, and others who did not. Most of the original members left by 1971. Some came back only to leave again. Internal conflicts were frequent. Personalities were as diverse then as they are today, but they had no processes to deal with the differences. Pure tenacity of a few core members held the community together by keeping the dream of building a new kind of society firmly rooted in the imagination of those involved. They managed to work through the problems without any clear system for resolving them. The first system for confronting the differences between members was Mutual Critiquing. They got the idea from reading the history of 19th century Oneida community. The people who came to the meetings were not the people who needed to come. Kincade reports that the process worked in some ways, helping members learn about their social self as perceived by others, but interest in the process waned and the meetings were discontinued. The history of Twin Oaks follows this kind of pattern: a need is identified and discussed, members brainstorm solutions, they try one or more of the ideas, and if it works, they keep it; if it doesn't, they quit doing it. This exemplifies a characteristic of Twin Oaks: experience experiments with an open, flexible attitude, while keeping the community moving forward in the quest for the good life.

By 1972, the community had grown to 40 members, had built two new residential buildings and had started work on another to house the hammock workshop and more residential rooms. The community had developed a growing cottage industry producing hammocks, and they needed a space dedicated to the production process. Like all community buildings in Twin Oaks which are named after historical utopian communities, this building was named Tachi. The community was not only growing in population, they had also acquired another 89 acres of land, increasing the acreage to 212.

By 1973, Twin Oaks hammock industry produced enough income for the members to consider starting another community. Although the turnover rate had lengthened, it was still high at two years, but enough people were joining to offset any loss of labor power. Twin Oakers decided to send four core members to Missouri, and use the hammock business to establish and support another income-sharing egalitarian community, East Wind.

In 1974, Twin Oaks became the focus of the Internal Revenue Service. The community had been filing taxes under an obscure tax code, 501 (d), but had never formally applied for this tax status. According to Kincade, the code was written by a sympathetic Congressman for the Shakers and communities that organize their finances in a common treasury. When Twin Oaks came to the attention of the IRS, an agent was sent into the community to study the books and financial statements. The agent determined that the community did not fit the code, and the community was charged a quarter million dollars in back taxes. A lawyer was hired and after four years, the court decided in favor of Twin Oaks. Today income-sharing intentional communities have no trouble filing for 501 (d) status (see Chapter Four Note #1, page 185 for requirements of 501 (d) tax code).

By 1975, Twin Oaks had 60 members and more people wanting to join than rooms to accommodate them. Some members were doubling up in the small rooms meant for individuals. The community established a waiting list. Twin Oakers suggested the applicants go to East Wind to help build the new community. But most applicants did not want to build a community from the ground up: living and working in the rustic primitive conditions of East Wind was out of the question. Frustrated by lack of space to accommodate all who wanted to join, Twin Oakers decided to start another community nearby. The new community, Acorn, would provide space for people to grow a community while being financially and socially connected to Twin Oaks.

Twin Oaks appeared to be fulfilling its dream of building like-minded communities. But today these are the only two communities Twin Oaks has founded. East Wind is now a thriving community with 75 members and a nut butter processing business that supports the community at a higher level of income than the Twin Oaks hammock business. East Wind still makes hammocks for Twin Oaks, but at a much reduced level. Acorn is more of a daughter community than a sister community. It has not had as much success in attracting and keeping members as Twin Oaks or East Wind. Until recently, Acorn was economically dependent on Twin Oaks' hammock and tofu production, Acorn members purchased a Heritage Seed Company in 1999. They hope that the new enterprise will help them become financially independent soon.

Although Twin Oaks has not founded more communities, some new communities use Twin Oaks as a model for structuring their community systems. Twin Oaks is a leader in egalitarian income-sharing community design. Many communities have joined Twin Oaks, East Wind, and Acorn in a labor exchange program, a system in which members from one community can work in another and receive labor credits that are applied to their home community. All communities involved in the program are either full members in the Federation of Egalitarian Communities or hold a position as one of the Communities in Dialog (CID). Communities in Dialog are communities with interests and structures closely related to FEC communities, but that have not become members. Twin Oaks, the other FEC communities, and the CIDs make up a community of communities.

The growth and evolution of Twin Oaks has been one of trial and error. The long-term members have lived through times of intense poverty. Personal income has grown from 25 cents a week to 20 dollars a week, and the community gross income is over a million dollars a year. They have an investment account worth six figures. The historical accounts from the quarterly newsletter, *The Leaves*, tell of the many people who have worked together and sacrificed over the years to build the physical and economic structures that the community now enjoys. When asked about the differences now compared to the earlier days, one long-time member said, "Well, the food is better now. We have better gardeners and we are able to buy more food that we can't grow. We have better and more comfortable living standards. And we have more money now. Everything is better now."

Twin Oaks' institutional structure is a hybrid design developed over the years by the members as experience dictated. Some programs are hybrids of organizational systems presented in *Walden Two*. Two of these systems are the Labor Credit (LC) system and the Planner/Manager system of governance.

The labor credit system requires all members, residents, and visitors to fulfill a weekly quota of hours and assures that all Twin Oakers participate in the work of the community. The minimum number of hours required is 45.5 hours a week, but the quota is subject to yearly fluctuation according to the budgetary needs of the community. Budgets are set each year by the planner/managers and all community members through the Trade-off Game. The Trade-off Game is played every December when the planners and

managers have computed the expected needs, in dollars and in hours, for the following year. Members are given the list with the recommendations and they have one week to make suggested revisions. Guests are permitted to live in the community for three weeks before they are expected to participate in community work. Although this plan sounds as though Twin Oakers work the same number of hours per week that mainstream people work, the nature of the work is very different.

Work in Twin Oaks is anything that makes the community home: house cleaning, cooking, laundry, community and hammock office work, FIC organizational work, hammock production, tofu production, book indexing, the outreach teaching program, dairy barn, cheese making, auto and bicycle repair, construction and maintenance, vegetable and herb gardening, yard work, child care, and many other daily and seasonal chores that are outside mainstream workers' job descriptions. Many of the work activities are those that mainstream people have to accomplish individually in addition to their income-producing work each week.

Twin Oakers choose the work they want to do, when they want to do it, and how long they do it; they do not have clocks to punch or employers to worry about. Gender does not determine tasks--women wield chainsaws and fix cars and men cook, clean, and do child care. Members choose their work based on their interests. All work is equal--one hour of cleaning is equal to one hour of office work or one hour of sawmill time or one hour of hammock production. This was not always the case. Initially, they tried to assign more hours to chores that were generally perceived as unpleasant, such as washing dishes. But the system did not work well and was changed to equal hours for all work. The only work required of everyone is washing dishes, which is accomplished in groups of at least three people. Members opt out of even this chore, but only by cleaning their residence kitchens on a regular schedule.

The Planner/Manager system is made up of Planners, Managers, Teams, and Councils. Planners make long-range, community-wide decisions. Managers act as planners in specific work-related areas, such as the dairy, the gardens, and the kitchen. The community has over one hundred manager positions. Not all manager positions are filled at all times and some members manage multiple work areas. Some work areas are

co-managed by more than one member. The group managers make up Teams: the Membership Team, the Health Team, and the Mental Health Team. All Teams participate in the membership process.

The Councils are made up of Managers in related work areas, such as agriculture or community businesses. Councils organize work schedules, solve problems, and settle disputes that a manager may not have been able to resolve. All decision-making in Twin Oaks is open to all the members, but not everyone participates. Community decision-making is a lengthy process of oral dialogue and uses a variety of written communication systems to communicate the issues and ideas.

The community communication system revolves around the Opinion and Idea (aka. Issues) board (O & I board) and the 3 x 5 board, both located in Zhankoye (ZK)--the community dining facility. The O & I board has clipboards hanging on hooks for members, visitors, planners, and management committees to post letters and proposals. Members read them and some write responses or questions. Sometimes the written responses inspire someone to add a comment of their own. Blank pages are always available for these written dialogs. Twin Oakers have face-to-face dialogs about the issues of great importance or high interest level. The diversity of the membership assures variations in perceptions of importance. Consequently, the issues and topics of discussion vary in intensity and attention. Once the pages are removed from the O & I Board, they are stored in the community archives. The papers from the first decade were taken to the University of Virginia for researchers' easy access and for storage purposes.

The 3 x 5 board is for short notices, announcements, requests for help in different work areas, and lost-and-found items. Other topics inform members of community dances and celebrations, movies of the week, notices of member achievements, notices of membership voting and results, meeting times and places, rides to different places, and notices of new guests in the community.

Twin Oakers believe in everyone having a voice in the community, and this principle is assured through the community information boards. Both systems of written communication have existed in Twin Oaks from the beginning. All the postings from the O & I board are taken down after a decision has been reached or it becomes outdated. Some

issues persist for years, for example: the 17 year debate surrounding the construction of the swimming pond. Some wanted a pool, some wanted it in a different place than proposed, and some did not want a pool at all. If a member, however new, believes that something in the community does not work, it is always addressed with serious discussion, even when the subject has been discussed and resolved prior to the new member's joining the community. Although some Twin Oakers reported difficulty in the decision-making process when they first joined, they now totally support it.

All property in Twin Oaks is held in common--land, money, physical structures, and material goods are shared by everyone. All papers and policy books are open to anyone at any time. The only private spaces are the residential rooms. It has always been this way and will continue because it works for Twin Oaks.

Twin Oaks is a collective made up of individuals whose personal ideologies differ so dramatically¹ that one wonders how it continues. But continue it does, and the differences stimulate an interesting system of interactions framed by the institutional structure that, while allowing for tremendous diversity, provides common ground for working through the differences and conflicts that inevitably arise.

From the Intentional Communities Directory, Twin Oaks' self-description reads as follows:

Twin Oaks is an ecovillage of 100 people living on 450 acres of farmland and forest land in rural Virginia. The ecovillage was founded in 1967, and our lifestyles reflects our values of egalitarianism, ecology, and nonviolence. We welcome scheduled visitors throughout the year.

We are economically self-sufficient and income sharing. Our hammocks and chairs business generates most of our income; indexing books and making tofu provide most of the rest. These businesses provide about one-third of our work; the balance goes into a variety of tasks that benefit our quality of life--including organic gardening, milking cows, equipment and building maintenance, office work, and much more. Our work schedules are very flexible.

Twin Oaks has developed an elaborate community culture. Our everyday lives include many recreational activities--social and support groups, performances, music, games, dance, and art. Our culture values tolerance of diversity and sustainable living. We share our vehicles, we build our own buildings, and we have little internal use of money.

Some of us work actively for peace and justice, ecology, and feminism. Each summer we host a women's gathering. We also host

a communities conference every fall, open to experienced communards, those seeking community and forming communities.

We offer a three-hour tour on many Saturday afternoons; please call during business hours to reserve a tour. Our three-week visitor program is a prerequisite for membership and must be arranged by letter or e-mail well in advance of the proposed stay. Information about visiting is available on our Web site or by mail. For information about books and newsletters written about Twin Oaks, contact Community Bookshelf. (Nov. 98) (IC Directory 2000)

The community today is significantly different than it was in 1967, but in some ways it is similar. Although they have succeeded in their industries and have become more affluent, they still search for members. They still need members who are committed to staying in the community over the long term, but short term members, residents, and guests are just as welcome. Residents are people who wish to live in Twin Oaks but, for personal reasons, cannot join. Personal reasons can range from outstanding student loans the community will not take on to US citizenship issues. As noted by Kincade, even those who only stay for a short time bring new things to the community and contribute much while they are in residence. But consistency of membership can help Twin Oaks to not only continue to survive, but to thrive. In the next section I analyze the geographical and biophysical aspects of the community and then the sociocultural aspects.

Geographical and Biophysical Aspects

The geographical and biophysical aspects represent elements of place-making. The section is divided into three segments: the geographical aspects of the community, the biophysical aspects, and members's perceptions of the geographical and biophysical facts.

The geographical section first locates the community in the context of the region and then presents a detailed description of the community itself. The biophysical section describes the land, soil, flora and fauna, and the water systems and courses of the region and the community. Maps of the community can be found on A196.

Geographical Aspects

Louisa County Virginia is geographically located at latitude 37.987 north and longitude 77.957 west. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the county population in

July 1999 was 25,029, which represented a 2 percent increase from 1998 to 1999. Twin Oaks' 356 acres is located in the south-western area of the county, 5 miles northeast of Interstate 64. The South Anna River forms the northern property line. Virginia Highway 640 forms the southern border. They also own 100 acres of hayfield seven miles to the north.

The town of Louisa is the county seat and the postal address for Twin Oaks. U.S. Highway 33 is the main road through Louisa. The newly renovated 19th century brick courthouse is located in the town center where Highway 33 and Virginia Highway 208 intersect. Twin Oaks is 10.5 miles southwest of Louisa. Mineral, 4 miles east of Louisa, is the only other incorporated town in the county. A nuclear power plant is located in the northeast section of the county on the banks of the South Anna River.

The northern section of the county, located on the South Anna River, is developing as a bedroom community for both Richmond, 40 miles to the southeast and Washington D.C., 90 miles to the northeast. Consequently, Louisa County's land values are rising. Urban planners in the region project that, in the next ten years, the land along Interstate 64 between Richmond and Charlottesville, 20 miles north of Twin Oaks, will be completely urbanized.

The proximity of Twin Oaks to Interstate 64 makes access to the community easier than the Farm. The community is 5.5 miles from Interstate 64, if one takes the Shannon Hill Road exit (Virginia Highway 605) north. Farm, pastures, and woodlands border the two lane country road the 4.5 miles to the intersection with Yancyville Road (Route 646). The absence of commercial establishments along the way is noticeable. Taking a left turn onto Yancyville Road, the traveler must go .5 miles to where Vigor Road forms a T-section on the right with Yancyville Road. On the corner of Vigor Road and Yancyville Road, under a willow tree, an old mill slowly decays alongside the South Anna River. A nine foot spillway into the mill pond forces canoers to portage if they choose to navigate the river in a southerly direction from Twin Oaks. The paved road ends .3 miles down Vigor Road as it passes by a farm and a two story modern suburban-type family home. Another .3 mile beyond the end of the pavement, Tupelo Ridge Road T-sections into Vigor Road on the left.

Tupelo Ridge Road is the first entry into Twin Oaks and is used primarily by members. Turning into the community on Tupelo Ridge Road, the dirt and gravel road passes pastures and the dairy barn on the left where the community milks and tends 14 dairy cows. More pastures and an apple orchard are on the right. Community buildings that surround the courtyard can be seen beyond the pastures and orchards.

The first community building past the dairy is Modern Times, the vehicle repair facility. It is located across from the parking area for the community's 18 vehicles. To the left (east) of Tupelo Road behind a hedgerow that borders the parking area is Aurora, the visitor's residence. A service road passes behind the hedgerow and runs in front of Aurora to the Tofu Hut and the community kitchen in Zhankoye (ZK), the central dining hall.

Back out on Vigor Road, .3 miles beyond Tupelo Ridge Road, is Twin Oaks Road, the primary road into Twin Oaks. Turning left between the trees onto Twin Oaks Road, the dirt and gravel road curves past the two acre garden and ends at the community buildings that surround the central courtyard. The original farmhouse, known as Llano, serves as the community office, and the community address, 138 Twin Oaks Road, is posted above the front door. The entrance into the community courtyard is through a 15 foot wide walkway between Llano to the right and the hammock business offices in Tachi to the left.

The courtyard is bounded by these two structures, Llano and Tachi, and two others, Oneida and Harmony. The hammock offices and workshop are located on the first floor of Tachi. Off the hammock workshop is a living room with a sunken floor in front of a stone fireplace. This is the only room in the community with an air conditioner, but it is rarely used. Fifteen resident rooms and a bathroom are located on the second story of Tachi. Oneida, a residential building, is just beyond Tachi to the east. Between Tachi and Oneida is the entrance to the herb garden where both culinary and medicinal herbs are grown during the spring, summer, and fall. Large white pigeons and Angora rabbits live here. The pigeons are pets and the rabbits provide yarn for weaving scarves and hats during the winter months. A cement walkway crosses the courtyard on a diagonal and leads to Harmony on the left, the first residential building constructed in Twin Oaks. A map of Twin Oaks community can be seen on page 122.

Harmony encloses the courtyard. It is situated perpendicular to Oneida and across from Llano. The ground floor in Harmony also houses a woodworking shop, the community laundry room, and the Commie Closet in the attic. The Commie Closet is the community closet where their clothes, accessories, and bedding are kept. A sewing machine for mending is in a small room next to the main room. Every fall and spring the clothes are sorted for the seasonal change. The past season's clothes are stored until they are needed the following year. The attic also has two resident rooms to the right of the stairway.

The courtyard formed by these four buildings is the site of many community activities, weather permitting. The activities range from groups sorting and cleaning harvests from the garden to pairs of people weaving hammocks at jigs that are scattered around the area. Finished hammocks hang between trees for relaxation, and hammock chairs swing above the deck outside of Tachi where meetings are often held. A picnic table is next to a walkway that runs parallel to Llano and leads to the courtyard kitchen located behind the front offices. Llano's kitchen was once the community kitchen, but now serves the three residences around the courtyard, the only residences without kitchens. Between Llano's kitchen and the front offices is the cheese manufacturing area.

Beyond Llano, off the kitchen, on the west side of the courtyard is the Compost Cafe. The Compost Cafe began as an experiment with composting toilets, but the design and placement were wrong and they closed it. The building was transformed into what it is today--a small, bi-level, two room structure used by musicians and smokers. Smoking is tolerated only in specified areas in the community. A picnic table is outside the Cafe and a hammock swings between two trees just beyond. This hammock and the Compost Cafe are on the edge of a hill that overlooks the swimming pond to the north. Across the swimming pond, the land rises to the highest point in Twin Oaks, known as Pagan Ridge. This is the site of the May Day Dance and other outdoor festivals and celebrations. Most of the time, however, it is used as a cow pasture. The community's sewage treatment facility is located a quarter mile to the west (right) of the Compost Cafe away from all community activities. All the buildings in Twin Oaks are hooked into the sewage treatment system.

Crossing the courtyard on a diagonal, from Tachi to Harmony's southern corner, is a cement walkway that passes an irregularly-shaped flower garden in the center. Following this walkway, you can exit the courtyard between Harmony and the community clothesline. According to some members, walking by the clothesline is the best way to "shop" for clothes. The community bicycle stand is here on the clothesline side of the courtyard. Bicycles and walking are the primary means of transportation in Twin Oaks. Adult and children's bikes are usually available to anyone. The community also has seven electric golf carts for the elderly and disabled. Beyond the clotheslines are woodframe storage buildings and the original barn that line the right side of the dirt and gravel road. Vineyards, asparagus beds, and more garden acreage are on the left. Looking past the garden field, one can see the orchards, pastures, and the dairy barn in the distance where Tupelo Ridge Road enters the property.

Ahead, on the corner where the road from the courtyard intersects with Tupelo Ridge Road, is Modern Times (MT)--the motor repair shop. Modern Times is two stories and also houses the health clinic and an art studio. An open cement porch upstairs has two hanging hammock chairs where members sometimes watch the sunset. To the right, off the primary road, a dirt and gravel walking path passes behind Modern Times and connects to Tupelo Ridge Road near ZK (Zhankoye). A flower garden that blooms throughout the summer with a variety of annuals and perennials is on the south side of MT. A narrow path leads through the garden up to Tupelo Ridge Road and the large equipment storage barn. This path is also a shortcut to ZK.

Tupelo Ridge Road is the main thoroughfare into the rest of the community and traverses the length of it. The road is wide enough for cars (12'), but few drive inside the community. Wood distribution and recycling pickups are the primary reasons for automobile traffic within the community. Occasionally, the tractor makes use of the road going from the dairy and gardens to the industrial section at the southern end of the property.

Tupelo Ridge Road is lined by 30 year old trees that have grown to form a canopy over the road. The road passes between ZK--the dining hall on the left, and Degania--the children's house, Morningstar--a residence, Kaweah (pronounced Ka-way-ah) and

Sunrise, and the new compost toilets and a hot tub room on the right. Just beyond on the left is Nashoba--the only single story residence in the community. Nashoba contains the community infirmary and is the geographic center of the Twin Oaks community. Consequently, the community wood piles are located here next to the road for easy stacking and distribution. Tupelo Ridge Road forks a short distance beyond Nashoba. The left fork ends at Tupelo--the largest residence in the community where many parties are held. Tupelo has 18 private rooms, 4 living rooms, and a large kitchen. The right fork narrows into a six foot forest path to Emerald City (EC), the industrial area of the community located at the southern most point of the property.

Emerald City is the community industrial complex and is made up of numerous buildings. The largest structure is the hammock warehouse, which also houses the rope manufacturing rooms and woodworking shops for the hammock stretchers. Across a breezeway off the woodworking shop is Oz. Oz is the wood staining room where the cut, punched, and planed stretchers are stained. Up a short hill and across the road is the sawmill where oak logs are cut to size. Directly across the road from the sawmill are the drying barns where the first stage of wood drying and curing takes place. The kilns, used for the final stage in the drying process, are located to the west just off a large parking area. One kiln is wood-fired and the other is solar. All the buildings in EC are located around a circular driveway that is wide enough for semitrailer trucks for shipping and the timber trucks that deliver the oak logs to the sawmill. EC is conveniently located on Virginia Highway 640. The hammock business begins with the raw resource of logs and ends with retail and wholesale marketing of the finished product. Twin Oaks is the second largest producer of hammocks in the United States.

The distance from Emerald City on the south to the northern border on the South Anna River is 1.5 miles, but travel time is measured by walking minutes in Twin Oaks. It takes about 25 minutes to walk the length of the property. It takes about fifteen minutes to walk the mile from the courtyard to Emerald City. The distance from the courtyard to ZK is a five minute walk.

The community uses the state roads around the property to move the wooden stretchers from Emerald City to the hammock shop in Tachi. Finished hammocks are then

moved along this external route from Tachi to the warehouse. Although it takes a little more time, the 2.5 mile drive around eliminates automobile traffic within the community.

The transportation routes within the community are made up of a network of four-foot wide dirt and gravel pathways. The paths weave through the forest connecting all the physical structures and work sites in Twin Oaks. The forest surrounds all structures in the community except the dairy and the courtyard. Some of the paths have small, low, unobtrusive lights along either side, but most do not. The members' mental maps are so well developed that they can traverse even the narrowest paths in the dark of night.

Two play areas have been built for children in the woods. The community has set up hammocks, swings, nets, climbing apparatuses and jungle gyms. One play area is located between ZK and Nashoba on the south side of Tupelo Ridge Road, and the other is in the woods behind Kaweah/Sunrise. Most of the children live in Morningstar and Kaweah, but three live in Tupelo. These are the child friendly residences in Twin Oaks. All the residences have individual sets of norms that are devised and agreed to by the group of residents living in the house. These groups are known as small living groups (SLGs) and each have their own norms and personalities. For example, the Oneida SLG developed the norm of women only on the first floor of Oneida after six in the evening. Why this norm was developed in a community of equals is not known, but this is the only gender-specific norm found in the community residences.

The woodland areas, like the community, are crisscrossed with paths throughout the property. A small stream runs from south to north through the woods behind ZK. A tree house has been built near a bend in the stream. Some of the members enjoy tree climbing and have rigged a few of the larger beech trees with climbing ropes. Members who desire time away from the everyday social life of the community may request time in a retreat cabin located in the woods between Tupelo and EC. A third of a mile beyond the retreat cabin is the campground, just east of EC. The campground is the gathering site for conferences such as the Women's Gathering and the Community Conference, both sponsored yearly by Twin Oaks.

The campground and gathering site is as organized as the community itself. It has a fully functional covered kitchen area with double sinks, refrigerators, stove, and oven.

Behind the kitchen is a large pizza oven. Hot and cold running water supplies both the kitchen and one of two showers in the area. A covered pavilion is on the west side of the kitchen area. A large bonfire circle is centrally located in the open space in front of the kitchen and pavilion. To retain the quiet and privacy of the primary community, a walking trail through the forest leads from the campsite to the South Anna River for swimming, canoeing, and sweating in the community sweat lodge. The forest path keeps outsiders from going into the central community area that is home to the diverse community population. Not all members participate in the gatherings, nor do they like outsiders in the community.

The community cemetery is located near the western property border at the southeastern end of Pagan Ridge. The area is called High South and is a beautiful high-canopied forested area on a slightly sloping hill next to a meadow. Five graves are located here. Two graves are of members who committed suicide. One grave is the resting place of a young man who lived in the community and died of cancer. The most recent grave marks the site of a long-time resident and the community woodworker. He died unexpectedly of a heart attack in the summer of 2000. He was also a musician and popular community chief.

Biophysical Aspects

Louisa County is in the Piedmont region of the Mid Atlantic region of the United States. The topography of the land is flat to rolling hills with a few ridges. According to the web site for the Natural Resource Conservation Service with the United States Department of Agriculture, the climate is temperate with winter average temperatures of 34.2 degrees and summer average in July of 75.7 degrees. Rainfall is fairly consistent over the year with an average in January of 3.01" and in July of 2.96". The growing season can run from mid-April to mid-October.

The soil in the county near and on Twin Oaks is a silty clay with a well-drained subsoil of sandy clay loam. The sandy clay is acidic, especially in forested areas with oaks and hickory. Limestone is characteristic of this region, but is not as prevalent on Twin Oaks' property. An abundance of quartz outcroppings can be seen rising above the soil

surface around the property. Smooth river rocks and chunks of quartz continually rise to the surface of all the cultivated fields and must be removed every year before planting. The Piedmont region, where Twin Oaks is located, is an alluvial plain created from prehistoric glacial movement. Continual rising of rock is characteristic of scarified land located on alluvial plains.

Near Twin Oaks, the county roads wind through rural farms, pastureland and deciduous hardwood forests of a variety of oaks, maple, hickory, poplar, sweet gum, willow, iron wood, and beech. The region is also home to a variety of pine and other evergreens such as hemlock. The understory is made up of dogwood, sumac, laurel, and rhododendrons, blackberry, and shadberry. Some elderberry can be found around Twin Oaks and the surrounding region. Deer, groundhogs, foxes, skunks, raccoons, possums, bears, rabbits, and a wide variety of snakes are a few of the native animals found in this region. The deer and groundhogs cause problems with the gardens.

When Twin Oaks was first established, most of the land around the farm had been clearcut. Today, the second growth trees have reached 30 to 40 feet with some even larger. The timber industry is active and large clearcut sections can be seen around the county, but the primary agricultural product of the county is cows--dairy and beef. Sheep and goats are also reported by the County Agriculture office to be produced in the county.

Louisa County is part of the larger Chesapeake Bay watershed district. Twin Oaks itself is part of the South Anna watershed district. A small unnamed stream flows south to north the length of the property and joins the South Anna River. Twin Oaks has two wells: one supplies the community with drinking water and the other is used for agricultural purposes.

Members' Perceptions of Geographic and Biophysical Facts

Twin Oaks describes itself as an ecovillage. As with all issues in Twin Oaks, everyone seems to have their own opinion about how ecologically-minded the community is or wants to be. Some want more ecological systems implemented, even if it means a reduction in the standard of living. Examples of this attitude are the people who do not want computers in the community, nor do they want the community to purchase food

products from the outside. At the other extreme are those who want to be able to have air conditioners in their residences.

In spite of the extremes, everyone seems to have an appreciation and a respect for the natural environment. The relationships with the environment range from the pagan sense of the sacred to a rational-minded respect for the health and beauty of it. They all seem to understand the symbiotic relationship that exists between all levels of living systems--both human and non-human.

The community uses alternative fuel sources for their heating needs. Wood heat is used in all physical structures. Most of the buildings were built before the technology was available for incorporating solar energy into the infrastructure, but all the physical structures do have solar hot water systems. Virginia building codes and regulations apply in all building projects. The newest residential construction project, Sunrise, which is totally off the grid, got around the codes and regulations by building onto the existing structure of Kaweah. Sunrise is beautiful, comfortable, and lacks none of the amenities of modern living.

The land underscores and defines the physical and social make up of the community. The open land is used for growing food and recreation--the garden, pastures, dairy, orchard, and swimming pond. The forest gives privacy not only for individuals spending time away from social interactions, but also for the residences. The second-growth trees form a canopy shading the pathways and most of the buildings. The trees also provide heat energy for the community from fallen trees and selective harvesting from their forest. The forestry crew works during the winter months to cut, gather, and store the wood used by the whole community. The water in the main kitchen and in the tofu barn is heated year-round by wood.

Examples of the diverse environmental concerns of the members are expressed in an ongoing discussion about hammock production. The debate centers around the use of the petroleum-based polypropylene rope used in manufacturing the hammocks as opposed to using cotton rope. Both sides argue from environmentally-based positions. Some would prefer the use of cotton rope because it is a renewable resource, but the externalized cost of cotton production with the use of pesticides and herbicides, and the use of fossil

fuel in growing, harvesting, and transporting the cotton are factored into the environmental debate. In addition, Twin Oakers cite the higher production cost of cotton hammocks, which takes longer and involves more labor. The overriding argument is that the polypropylene hammock outlasts a cotton hammock on average five times longer. The members are intellectually well-versed in the trade offs they make when they consciously decide to use the polypropylene rope, but the issue comes up over and over again in community dialog, usually in response to new members' concerns.

Alternative energy sources are always considered in Twin Oaks. Members pride themselves in their ability to minimize electricity use, but the need always seems to grow as the community moves into computer technology and becomes more affluent. The community has investigated the use of the South Anna River as an alternative energy source. The mill nearby has a 9'6" drop that could provide hydropower for most, if not all, the community's energy needs. The problem has been the lack of knowledge of any community members to construct it and the lack of funds to accomplish the project. Also, the property is owned by a neighbor, rather than by Twin Oaks. The community would be placed in an uncomfortable situation, if the neighbor decided to sell the land. Members would be forced to either buy the land or lose their source of energy.

Other ways the community expresses its environmental attitudes can be seen in the extensive recycling of material. Members separate 15 solid waste products, substantially reducing their waste stream to the local landfill. Each residence has recycling bins located nearby. Even the toilet paper wrappers and rolls are separated. Some see the extensive effort to recycle as ridiculous, but the culture of the community supports it entirely. The office uses all paper, front and back before sending it into the recycling system. All their kitchen waste is composted and used in gardens. Humanure is a new system the community is trying now that they have the compost toilet system worked out. All members take seriously the principle of reduce, reuse, and recycle. All community products are purchased in bulk, minimizing the ever-expanding individual packaging systems used in the consumptive practices of mainstream modern society.

Sharing resources further reduces the impact on the earth. The community shares 18 vehicles for up to 90 people. One tractor is used for all the gardens, hayfields, and

industrial area jobs. One push lawn mower is used for mowing all community lawns. Shared food processing and cooking practices minimize energy use and the resource of time. Biking and walking are the primary modes of inter-community transportation. No building or activity is more than a 15 minute walk away.

Although Twin Oaks is not totally self-sustaining, it comes closer than most mainstream and intentional communities. Members grow 70 percent of the food they consume. One of the difficulties in becoming more environmentally self-sufficient is the prohibitively high costs of retrofitting the older structures. Other obstacles are presented by county building codes and regulations that do not permit various forms of building construction or sewage treatment systems. Also, Twin Oaks grew up in an American culture of efficiency and foregoing the few amenities they currently enjoy is not a popular idea. For example, when a member suggested moving toward permaculture systems, which includes the use of animals such as draft horses in place of the tractor, the majority of members did not agree. However, Twin Oaks do continually seek to use appropriate technology that is grounded in environmentally sensitive ways. But they do not want to do anything that will reduce of the standard of living that provides a comfortable and healthy environment to all members.

Twin Oaks are directly in touch with their biophysical environment. The physical structures are directly connected to the environment through the use of wood heat and the solar hot water systems. The fact that they walk or bicycle to all the sites of activities keeps them directly in touch with the environment on a daily basis. A few members mentioned during interviews their appreciation of going outside to feel and smell the air and to listen to the wind in the trees. Members' perceptions of the geographic and biophysical facts represent the sense of place they feel in Twin Oaks. I will now turn to the sociocultural aspects of Twin Oaks community.

Sociocultural Aspects

The historical aspect of the community, its geographical and biophysical aspects, and members' perceptions of the geographical and biophysical facts have been presented as the context in which to view the sociocultural aspects. This section continues the human

dimension research model by describing the sociocultural aspects of Twin Oaks and addresses the following research question: How are a sense of community and a sense of place created and maintained?

My description of Twin Oaks employs the same organization as chapter Four by using the elements of place and community to structure the presentation of material. The first segment presents the sociodemographics of the community. The following two reflect two of Hillery's elements of community: Common Purpose and The Institutional System of Family. The third segment combines Hillery's element of interaction with Sack's elements of social relations and meaning to reduce overlap and redundancy.

Sociodemographics

Sociodemographics information was obtained via observations, informal interviews, and survey responses. Although the survey sample from the Twin Oaks is small ($n=15$), the results were consistent with field observations and considered representative of Twin Oaks community.

Twin Oaks has seven residential structures and can provide private rooms for 90 adults. The community's population is always in flux. At the time of the field study, the community had 65 members and 12 visitors, guests, and residents. The community has 16 children in residence who are not included in the membership roster but are full members of the community. Their ages range from infant to adolescent. According to the survey, the average age of a Twin Oaker is 47 but the community estimates it at 42. The turnover rate has increased from three months in the beginning to seven years today.

Individual income levels for 1999, computed each year for the Internal Revenue Service, were reported to be \$8,000, but this figure is for tax purposes only. Income per member is based on total community income and divided by the total number of members who lived in the community over the year. Money is unnecessary in Twin Oaks because all basic needs are supplied by the community, but each member receives a monthly stipend for personal items. During the year 2000, each member received \$60 per month. The stipend is held in an account that is drawn from as items are purchased throughout the month. If the member does not spend the total stipend, it accrues over time and may be

used for personal projects or vacations. Many members are active travelers to and from other communities, conferences, and political activities. Some members have income sources outside the community; however, few exceed \$15,000 (appendix B219).

Question eight asked the respondent how *politically active* they are by asking about their level of participation in elections. The question was contained three levels of electoral participation: local, state, and national elections. Twin Oakers (n=13) appeared divided between *yes* (46.2%) they do and *no* (53.8%) they do not vote at the *local level*. However, Twin Oakers appear to participate in *state and national* levels.

Question nine asked the respondents about their *political views*. The three categories provided were *liberal*, *moderate*, and *conservative*, but respondents wrote in answers that became the *none listed* category. Seven Twin Oakers expressed their political diversity by listing individual political categories: *radical*, *radical left*, *anarchist*, *personally conservative yet liberal and independent*, and *utopian socialist*. Two others checked *liberal*, but wrote in *socialist* and *socially responsible libertarian*. From both the marked and the written answers, it would be a safe estimate that members of Twin Oaks fall into the liberal to far left categories, with three *anarchists* in the Twin Oaks sample. Anarchy is a popular viewpoint in the community and much discussion revolves around it.

Question twenty-four asked the respondents to list their *spiritual beliefs and religiosity*. Eight items were provided along with "other." If they followed multiple philosophies, they were asked to mark them in order of importance. As with political groupings, communards can not easily be classified: five Twin Oakers (n=12) listed *other* and wrote in *Taoist*, *Agnostic*, *Atheist*, *Gaian*, *Quaker*, *Secular*, *Humanist*, and *Ecumenical*. three marked *Animist* first, one *Christian*, one *Judaism*, and two *Buddhism* and two *Paganism*. See appendix B213-223 for the complete statistical evaluation.

Twin Oaks is a community that thrives on diversity. The people who live there come from all economic levels of mainstream society. Some are reclusive and others engage in frequent interactions with people inside and outside the community. For Twin Oaks, it takes all of them equally to make a community, and community is the underlying common purpose for all the members. But what does this mean? The next section discusses the common purpose(s) of Twin Oaks.

Common Purpose

Twin Oaks spells out the community's primary purpose(s) and how to achieve it in the By-laws under Article 1, Paragraph 2: to create, maintain, and expand their system of living that is based on cooperation, sharing, equality. They would like to see other communities form based on these principles. Twin Oakers believe in treating each other with "honesty, in gentle kindness and fairness, without violence or competition" (www.twinoaks.org/by-laws). According to Twin Oaks, behavioral responsibility is an important function in the production and consumption of goods. They believe that responsible behavior does not support classism, sexism, racism, ageism, or the abuse of natural resources. They believe in a non-hierarchical system of government without special privilege to any position or any group. Finally, they believe the community should assume responsibility for supplying material and social needs by working toward self-reliance through the production of as much as possible of the goods and services necessary for community maintenance. Community functions are based on the principle "from each according to cos ability; to each according to cos need" (By-laws). "Co" is a genderless pronoun coined by the National Organization for Women in the 1970s and adopted by Twin Oakers.

Since the beginning, the broadest common purpose has been preserving the community as a free space in which everyone can live life in the manner most comfortable to them. Members speak of having a wide choice of meaningful things to do. The diversity of work areas is related to the purpose of keeping the community moving forward. Because of this related common purpose, everyone is expected to do their share of productive work. Productive work ranges from keeping the bathrooms stocked with toiletries to running the sawmill or dairy barn. The community's common purpose has both economic and non-economic aspects that makes Twin Oaks home to all the members.

To assure that everyone is productive, Twin Oaks uses the Labor Credit system, which requires equal hours of labor from each member. It also assures that everyone shares in unpleasant jobs such as dish washing. The system is constantly debated, but it works and unless they can agree on another system that works as well, it will continue. The choices for fulfilling the weekly labor quota cover a broad spectrum of jobs--

economic, non-economic, and social--that all represent the achievement of the common purpose of the community.

Economic activities provide members with a wide variety of jobs. Community industries are the manufacturing of hammocks, the production of soy products, and the indexing of books. Indexing is the process of creating reference indexes found in the back of books. These activities rely on the active participation of the members. The work needed to produce the finished product is open for any member who is interested and willing. Some jobs need more specialized knowledge than others, but in Twin Oaks anyone who desires to learn is taught. Equality in labor is one of the oldest community tenets. It allows anyone to do any job in which they are interested, as long as the work desired is beneficial to the community. The community is always open to new ideas for economic industry. They would like to find an industry that provides a higher rate of return for the time spent. But they have requirements for new ideas that must be met, such as the required skills are learnable and executable by more than a few people. They have confronted situations in the past in which the one person who knew the skills for a job left the community, leaving the job undone. The most recent economic venture is a web page design business in cooperation with other egalitarian communities. Computer skills are not widely shared, but the proponents maintain that they are easily taught.

The process of hammock manufacturing exemplifies the community activity directed toward the common purpose of income for the community. Oak logs are purchased from local timber companies. Hammock production begins at the sawmill where the raw resource, oak logs, are cut to size and then stored in the drying barns for 18 months. Drying is finished off in wood and solar heated kilns. The boards are then cut to specific sizes for hammocks or hammock chairs, sanded, holes punched and stained. The rope is woven from spools of yarn on large rope machines. The stretchers and spools of rope are delivered to the work shops where the hammocks are woven and attached to the stretchers. Once the finished hammocks have been inspected, they are packaged and taken back to the warehouse in Emerald City for storage and eventual shipping. The office team manages the retail web site, oversees the wholesale orders, sales, and transmits the orders to the various workshops to fill the orders. The manufacturing process is multifaceted and

takes a concerted effort by most of the members. All members are expected to contribute to the production process, but it can be boring. To entice people to participate in hammock production, both the hammock shop and the industrial workshops have snacks, juice, and hot coffee--regular and decaffeinated. Every year Twin Oaks participates in a national trade show in Chicago that is attended by four community members.

All Twin Oakers work collectively to maintain the economic stability of the community, but they are not all required to work in hammock production. They manufacture tofu, tempeh, soysage, and soy milk, which is not only sold to regional stores, but also used in the community. The work involved in the production of these soy products is varied. The jobs range from the cooking process to the packaging of the finished product. Indexing is the other source of income, but the jobs associated with indexing are not as diverse or plentiful as they are in the manufacturing and production of hammocks and soy products.

The community has many other work areas that are not income producers but are important to the common purpose of community stability. Twin Oaks organically grows 70 percent of their own food. They have a two acre garden, a three acre field, and a small greenhouse. The greenhouse is used for early starts for vegetable production. The three acre field is used for grapes, asparagus, strawberries (some rows of strawberries are also in the garden area), and potatoes. Food production jobs also include work in the dairy barn. The dairy provides the community with fresh cream, milk, and beef. The bulk of the milk is used for making various kinds of cheese--cheddar, mozzarella, blue, Parmesan or romano, and cream cheese. Other non-economic jobs are community office and reception duties, tour guide, visitor program liaisons, labor assigner, food processing, Commie clothes (washing and organizing), haying in the summer, forestry in the winter, wood delivery, stray animal control, town runs (called tripping) to pick up supplies and take people to appointments, and archival filing of O&I board postings and community papers. This list is not complete, but it shows the breadth of creditable activity in the community. As Kincade mentions in her book, unemployment does not exist in Twin Oaks (1994).

Twin Oaks is a large community, and although the members form a close-knit collective, smaller groups work together toward common purposes. The most

institutionalized common purposes are found in the residences. The residents form small living groups (SLGs) who work together for the common purpose of creating and maintaining their residence as a home. SLGs work together to define the norms of the home, such as quiet times, kitchen and bathroom schedules, nudity norms, levels of cleanliness, and other topics specific to the residents' needs and concerns. Tupelo's common purpose is fun and group interactions. The youngest members and the most socially inclined live here. Many community parties take place in Tupelo. Other residences are oriented toward child rearing.

But just as the residents are part of the larger social community, the residences are part of the larger physical design of the community. Five out of the seven residences have some type of workspace located within the floor plan. The hammock shop is in Tachi. Harmony has the wood working shop. Nashoba houses the archives and the infirmary. Kaweah has both the pillow shop and the Bijou, the community video and group exercise room. Morningstar has a small exercise room with strength training machines. Hammock chair seats are woven in Tupelo, where musical instruments and equipment are also located.

To accomplish the community's common purpose with the most flexibility for the members, all work areas are open all the time. Doors are never locked in Twin Oaks. People work at the times and jobs they choose, day or night. Kitchen cleanup duties are the only required work assignments in which everyone has to participate.

The community also maintains a library. Since television is not allowed in Twin Oaks, reading is a preferred form of entertainment. Every residence has a living room area with bookshelves that make up the sections of the library system. Hallways are also lined with books. Each building has a basic theme for that section of the library. For example, Tachi library has a selection of environmental books, both fiction and nonfiction. Oneida has science fiction and fiction. The community wood working shop has an extensive library on the mechanics of wood working, from beginner level to experienced. Books are collected from yard sales, thrift shops, some new books, and friends and ex-members occasionally send them boxes of books. The community has a \$200 a year book budget and people make requests to the book manager. Videos are rented each week and members

can make requests to the video manager as well. Enjoyment of life is a common purpose in the community.

Another aspect of Twin Oaks' common purpose is in the emotional and physical health and well-being of the members. The physical space is organized to facilitate this goal. All structures and activity sites are within easy walking distance. Most of the members eat lunch and dinner together in ZK. They live and work intimately with one another on a daily basis. Because of the close regular interactions, people are more aware of each other's mental and physical health than in mainstream settings. At Twin Oaks, the process of living is an ecological system in which all parts are integrated to form the community. But the diverse population does tend to have different interests that are expressed inside and outside the community.

As in the Farm community, Twin Oaks members choose to participate in a variety of smaller common purposes that take them outside the community. Many Twin Oakers are activists, both political and social, but they do not protest or march under the Twin Oaks name. They must protest or participate under their individual names. Small groups often share a car to drive to a demonstration or rally. Others participate in letter-writing campaigns. Topics of activism found in Twin Oaks are: anarchism, gay rights, nuclear energy, prison reform, death penalty, human rights, and outreach programs. These topics are not common purposes of the community, but of small groups within the community.

Twin Oakers work collectively to maintain and continue to build the community. Although some smaller common purposes exist, the community is the most overarching, socially connecting purpose for all the members. The intimacy in which they live creates a feeling of family. I will now turn to the institution of the family

The Institutional System of Family

According to Hillery, the concept of family encompasses the elements of shared norms, sentiment, religion, socialization, and recreation. This section addresses each element of the family, Twin Oaks style.

The institutional system of family in Twin Oaks is loosely based, flexible, and diverse. In the sense that all things are shared equally, Twin Oaks is a large family, but the

institutional systems of family are as diverse as the members themselves. One member reported that "we're a village, not an extended family," but some do consider the community an extended family. Family values--loyalty, trust, respect, acceptance, sharing and selflessness--are expressed daily among the members. Like a family, the community provides the members with all income and basic needs.

Loyalty is a characteristic of family. Outsiders can find themselves quickly reprimanded should a statement be made questioning a member's behavior. Concern for each other's well-being is common among the members, some more so than others. The members are supported to live the lifestyle they choose. Some prefer a reclusive life with little social interaction. Others enjoy living in community and the social interaction with other adults, but do not wish to have children around. All voices in Twin Oaks are heard and respected as much as possible; hence, the three residences that are designated child friendly and four that are not.

Family decisions, such as the whether or not to have a child, are not a personal choice, but a community choice. The decision to have a child is made by the community child board, not by the biological parent(s). The reason for such deep and personal community involvement in the decision-making process is because the community as a whole bears the costs of raising a child. The community pays for the birthing costs, health care, clothing and feeding, emotional and physical support, and education, even to the college level. Presently there are sixteen children in Twin Oaks.

The community has a child quota that is based on a ratio formula: one child per five productive adults. When someone submits an application for a child, the child board applies the formula based on the community population at that time. They must figure in the seniors who have lower weekly labor quotas--anyone 55 or over gets one hour per week deducted for every year over 55. If the total number of productive hours are found to equal the cost of a child, then the application is granted. Sometimes the applicant is asked to wait a year, but no one has ever been flatly denied.

The system of child care has evolved over the years. Originally, Twin Oaks incorporated the Walden Two child care philosophy and built Degania. Degania was built to house all children born in the community. They were cared for by community members

called "metas" (a term taken from the Israeli kibbutz). But today child care is much more individualistic. Children live with their biological parents, but other members participate in the care of the child. Some act as teachers of art, martial arts, and yoga, or any interest the child has that a member is able to provide. Some members form close bonds with the child and they are called primaries. Primaries help the biological parent with the care and support of the child. The primaries follow the dictates of the parent(s) in disciplinary methods. Parents and primaries get labor credits for child care. Many Twin Oaks children are home schooled up to middle school level, and then they go to the public schools in Louisa.

The only time the community gets involved with a child is when their behavior impacts those outside the sphere of the child, such as increased noise levels, or the child's behavior involves the community as a whole. For example, some Twin Oaks teens had a slumber party in Degania with some local friends. Inappropriate behavior occurred and letters were posted on the O & I board about the event and the perceived lack of adult supervision by adults. The community's reputation in the local community was at stake. Thus, the subject of children in Twin Oaks became a focus the community. The papers and the discussion continued over the summer months.

Initially, the O& I board dialog centered around child behavior in the community and relations with the outside. Over the weeks and months, the postings began to focus on where and how children could be involved in the community, the number of children the community could support, and should more families with children be allowed membership. By Labor Day 2000, one of the O & I papers suggested that perhaps Twin Oaks should become more child friendly. The paper argued that welcoming more families into the community would increase the membership and help spread the labor burden across more people. The paper also suggested that children should be allowed to participate with their parents in the work areas. The acculturation of children to work is seen as an important aspect in child-rearing yet the Twin Oaks policy does not allow it. Change is slow in Twin Oaks. Patience and persistence in communication is the only way to further the dialog and keep the community focused on an issue over time. Should the dialog diminish, the desired change does not have a chance. If dialog persists, the Child Board will oversee the process and make a decision based on input from members. They determine child budgets

and suggest the number of labor credits available for child care each year. As with all community decisions, the process of addressing questions about children is complex and is made more so because of the broad spectrum of opinions held by the members, all of whom can, if they wish, have a say in the decisions.

Twin Oaks has many non-traditional forms of relationships. Although three or four couples are legally married, others are committed to a relationship without legal papers. A Pagan celebration called a Hand-Fasting, similar to a mainstream wedding, was held in the spring of 2000. Friendships in Twin Oaks are often more intimate than in mainstream society. As Kincade mentions, cuddling with a friend is one of the best things about Twin Oaks culture. Although no homosexual couples live in Twin Oaks, homosexuals, bisexuals, and polyamorous groups are in residence. All forms of sexuality and genderization are accepted in Twin Oaks. It is said that couples in committed relationships who join rarely remain committed after living in Twin Oaks for a time. The intimacy inherent in the daily interactions and the freedom to be whoever a person wants to be tends to create tension within a preexisting relationship. While some members may hold judgments, relationships between consenting adults are fully accepted. Sexual relationships between adults and children are prohibited.

One significant difference between relationships in Twin Oaks and the larger society is that children undergo less emotional upheaval if their parents decide to separate. Because the communal financial arrangement takes away the burden of money, the couples do not feel as strong a need to stay in unhappy relationships. Unlike mainstream divorce, intentional community parents remain friendlier and in closer contact with each other and the child. Without the negative energy from financial disputes between parents, as well as the child having contact with other caring adults, the emotional impact of parental separation is minimized. However true this may be, one young child was acting out and a primary speculated that the parents' relationship issues might be causing the behavior. Community support for children and parents is unwavering and the children are protected by the community. This support is exemplified when visitors are requested not to be alone with any of the community children.

Like most families, personal boundaries are minimal in the community. A norm designed to alleviate the problem is introduced to visitors the first evening. If you want to talk to or ask Twin Oakers a question, it is customary to ask permission first. This norm allows them to say yes or no. During lunch or dinner, permission is also required to sit with others at any table not specified as a "fun table." Fun tables are free of serious conversation. People at other tables may be having a meeting or be involved in a personal discussion. When the answer is no, it is acknowledged that the negative response is not a personal affront or rejection. In Twin Oaks culture, personal space is respected by everyone. As long as members do not harm themselves, others, the environment, or the community, they are free to be.

The recreational aspects of the Twin Oaks family are as diverse as the members. Many find working in groups recreational. But parties and celebrations are liberally scattered throughout the year. Although almost everyone participates in the anniversary celebrations and the community gives everyone the day off by giving each member six labor credits, no other events are organized this way. Traditional holidays are not always noticed in Twin Oaks. When my visitor period started it was Good Friday and Easter weekend, but they didn't realize it until I presented the Easter lilies I brought with me. But May Day was elaborately celebrated with participants walking through stations representing water, earth, wind and fire and ending at the Maypole for lively singing and dancing. Twin Oakers celebrate whatever they want to celebrate, and they know how to have great parties. The books about Twin Oaks tout their parties and dances. People of all ages live in Twin Oaks and almost everybody dances. Some of the other recreational activities include volleyball, canoeing, hiking, tree climbing, card games, juggling, and playing music.

Adopting and being adopted by the community family is not as easy as it may seem to outsiders. Some new members have a difficult time with the freedom to be who they are or want to be. It is said that the first three months can be the most difficult and the loneliest. The community is a busy place and, even surrounded by members, a new member may not feel a part of the community. The social relations and daily patterns are well established by members-in-residence, while the new member experiences everything as new and unfamiliar. It takes time to acquire the sense of the place and commonality with

the members. The sense of place and commonality felt by members is related to their relationships with each other and with the community. We will now turn to the social relations in the community as they are experienced through interactions.

Social Relations through Interactions

This chapter has presented elements of the Twin Oaks community that combine to create a sense of place, a place where commonality enhances members' ability to feel a sense of community. The history of Twin Oaks presented the Twin Oakers' intentions and activities that created and built the physical and social structure of the community. Geographical and biophysical aspects described the setting to provide the context of the community. The segment describing Twin Oaks' common purpose identified projects on which members work together to address. The institutional system of the family described the norms and values that are expressed through identification and the achievement of internal goals--child rearing, personal support systems, recreational events. This section offers information that represents both Hillery's elements of social and personal interaction and Sack's elements of social relations and meaning. Place is created and maintained by these elements and the perspectives that the self utilizes to define, understand, and relate to the place. According to Sack, it is reciprocity between the elements and the self that creates a sense of place.

Twin Oaks has a larger population than most intentional communities. Most of the members interact with each other daily in the work settings. This interaction is what Hillery calls social interaction. Personal interactions take place during dining hours in ZK and on a smaller scale in the individual community residences. Twin Oaks social settings are all connected to the community as a whole and as a home. Boundaries in work, recreation, and social settings are somewhat vague in the community. Because the community is also home, work can take place in social settings and recreational events can take place in work settings. But the settings can be defined by the community. For example, the hammock shop, EC, the garden, the Tofu Hut, and the kitchen are examples of work settings. The residences, ZK, and the Compost Cafe are examples of social and recreational settings, but socializing and recreation are found throughout the community,

both indoors and outdoors and work is carried out in many social and residential settings. Roles in Twin Oaks are as flexible as settings. Members fill many positions and the positions are subject to change by the day or by the season. But in spite of the flexibility, the community has settings and social positions that offer insights into the social relations within the community framework as the members interact with one another.

Social relations are observed when people of different or similar social positions interact and by defining role expectations (Cuff et al, 1992). Institutionalized social positions and roles in Twin Oaks are: planners, managers, councils, teams, boards, members, guests, visitors, and children. The role expectations of political positions--planners, managers, councils, and teams--carry an underlying assumption that no one has any more power than anyone else in the community. Overall, role expectations for all social positions are minimal in Twin Oaks. The most basic community expectation is responsibility and trust--trust that people will act in a responsible manner in their daily activities.

The community has three planners, each holding the position for 18 month terms. Community continuity is maintained by staggering the planner positions, with a new planner elected every six months. If 20 percent of the population vetoes the nominee, they are not elected. They meet two to three times a week, usually in the hammock shop or the courtyard if the weather permits. Meeting times are posted on the 3 x 5 board and any member, resident, or visitor can attend, but they rarely do. Most Twin Oakers do not like political meetings or responsibility because it reminds them of bureaucracy and power issues. Others don't like conflict and believe it is difficult to hold the position without being in conflict. Many anarchists live in Twin Oaks and they prefer less structure.

Planners have the greatest responsibility of all social positions. The pressure and responsibility of the position makes it an unpopular role for most Twin Oakers. If no one steps up at the time of a change-over, the planners make a list of possible members. The members are then approached and gentle social pressures are applied. The chosen members are compelled to take the position through flattery, cajoling, and calling on their sense of community responsibility.

All community decisions by the planners are made with the community as a whole in mind. Decisions based on personal gain or interest group pressures are unacceptable forms of behavior. However, with a population as diverse as Twin Oaks', interest groups do exist. Because of the egalitarianism of the community, their issues are always considered and the position of planner entails being available and in contact with all the members. They are the community decision-makers, but the decisions they make are based on the input they acquire from the community population through surveys, responses to proposals posted on the O & I board, and through face-to-face interactions. The O & I board gives everyone the opportunity to voice an opinion for or against any proposal. Decisions in Twin Oaks come slowly. Members spoke of their early days and the difficulty they had with the slow and tedious process. "When I first moved into the community, I used to get so frustrated. They never make any decisions at the first meeting. They would have the meeting and then everybody would leave. Sometimes decisions wouldn't be made for two or three meetings. Now I like it. Its a great process where everybody gets heard. I can't imagine doing it any other way." This refrain was common among long-term members.

Planners oversee the community as a whole with the assistance of the managers, teams, and councils. The managers supply the planners with labor and monetary budget requests. Planners also mediate and arbitrate unresolved conflicts between members who have not resolved the issue through alternative channels. Channels for resolution follow a prescribed pattern. If problems between workers and managers cannot be resolved between the two parties, the problem is presented to the council. If the issue is still unresolved, it is presented to the planners, who make decisions based on the circumstances and arguments. Planner arbitration also occurs if the membership committee and the general population have a difference of opinion over a prospective member, the difference is presented to the planners. All planner decisions can be overruled by the community if 50 percent plus one vote to overrule.

Manager positions are held by people who want the position and, preferably, know the system from previously working on the job. They are not elected positions. Managers organize the work schedules, the crews, and the labor credits needed for specific jobs.

They are also responsible for submitting the labor and monetary budget to the planners. Managers of related fields, such as the agricultural enterprises and the economic production area, also make up the councils. Members can hold a managerial position for as long as they want. The dairy manager has held the position for eleven years. When a manager wants to retire, a notice is posted on the 3 x 5 board announcing the intention and requesting that someone fill the position. Anyone who wants the job is interviewed by the council in that field. The community has more managerial positions than members. Many members hold multiple managerships because they often only require minimal attention or are seasonal jobs, such as timber selection in the winter. Some managerships remain unfilled until a new member joins who wants to take it on.

Twin Oaks presently has three Teams--the Membership Team, the Health Team, and the Mental Health Team. The number of people on a team depends on the number of people in the community and how many are willing and able to serve. Presently, there are two to six members on each team. The Membership Team is the largest, with six members. They share the responsibility of interviewing visitors who want to apply for membership. The Health Team has two full-time and one part-time co-managers. They are nurses or people with some health care experience. They keep the community medicine cabinet supplied, conduct the orientation meetings for visitors; work with individuals suffering from a variety of health problems, help members set up appointments in town, and organize systems to deal with pest infestations such as lice or crabs, or contagious illnesses. They are also on hand for emergencies. One of the Health Team managers also manages the herb garden, which has a bed of medicinal herbs for community use. The Mental Health Team has three co-managers. The members who fill this role are trusted members of the community, but they do not hold any degrees in the mental health field. Both teams help members set up appropriate appointments with the community's local physician or any specialist deemed necessary by the physician, including mental health professionals. The teams work in conjunction with each other, especially in the membership process.

Twin Oaks has a structured process for membership. If a visitor wants to join the community, s/he must go through a lengthy interview. Even ex-members have to go

through the visitor period and interview process. The membership interview is deeply personal and the committee members take their responsibility seriously. The interview process begins by the applicant meeting with three members from the Membership Committee. The meeting can last from an hour and half to three hours. During the first part of the interview, the applicants are asked to talk about themselves--about the formation of their value systems, their personality make-up and idiosyncrasies, important turning points in their lives, and their reasons for wanting to join Twin Oaks. Once they have related this information to the satisfaction of the team, the team asks probing questions for about an hour. The questions concern the visitor's perception of Twin Oaks and its environment; self-assessment of how well the visitor would fit in with the community; and the likely reactions to everyday communal events in the community. Living in community can be difficult for many people because it forces them to confront themselves, their emotions, and their reactions much more often than anonymous life in mainstream settings. To help new members settle into the community, members volunteer as mentors for the first six months. But the mentor program has limited participation since members are busy with other tasks and new members tend to feel they do not need help. The personal and social intensity of living in community may be a cause for turnover and cause a visitor to decide against membership.

The Membership Team also inquires about health issues--physical and mental. The community has had some difficult experiences with people who decided to stop taking a prescribed medication for mental illness. The two suicides are extreme examples of these difficulties; most of the disturbances are related to recovering alcoholics who have a relapse or to manic depressives who stop taking their medications. People in Twin Oaks are caring, but their patterns of life keep them busy and they tend to give each other considerable personal space. Unless someone notices a problem with a member or the member reaches out, no one may know a problem exists until it manifests into some sort of dramatic event. If a prospective member has a physical or mental illness, they are referred to the team that oversees these issues. If the applicant is referred to the Mental Health Team, a member from the membership team accompanies them. This practice has two

purposes: the individual will have support by someone who already knows of their problem; and the member can make sure the problem is fully shared without minimizing it.

At the end of the three-week visitor period, the prospective member must leave the community for thirty days. Three reasons are behind this request: the individual has time to contemplate their experience outside the setting; Twin Oaks is not a cult and the time away is meant to reassure the applicant's family and the larger society that the person is not coerced into joining; and the community needs time to evaluate and freely discuss the person, their work habits, and personality traits as they relate to community life and its purposes. The community discussion takes place on the first Sunday night after the visitors leave. Any interested member can join in the review of the applicants. The final decision belongs to the membership committee, but they take into account the reports and concerns of the members, especially the reports and concerns from members who worked and interacted with the applicant.

The Membership Team makes its decision within ten days of the applicant's departure. They telephone the applicant to tell them of the decision. If the person is accepted, an information packet is mailed to them that contains a welcome letter with details of scheduling the move into the community, a form requesting personal asset and income information, a form requesting the release of the applicant's complete medical records to Twin Oaks Health Team, and a four page Confidential Health Information form. The medical records must show the applicant has had a complete physical within the last six months. The applicant is considered a Provisional Member for six months. During this time, medications, eye glasses and other medical expenses are the responsibility of the new member. At the end of six months, the community votes for or against acceptance as a Full Member.

Twin Oaks has a structured membership process that has evolved over the years as experience dictated. An example of the evolution of Twin Oaks and its membership process was uncovered after reviewing files in the archives. During the mid-1990s, a member was discovered having a covert sexual relationship with a community adolescent. The Membership Committee now asks applicants if they have a problem with the norm of not having sexual relations with underage children.

Twin Oakers are careful in their consideration for accepting applicants. Occasionally, applicants are requested to "visit again." Many reasons can cause the community to request a prospective member to visit again: an unexplored prejudicial behavior such as vague or momentary displays of sexism or racism; a perceived, but undetermined, aptitude for anger or violence; or any social, medical, or personal problem that prohibited Twin Oakers from getting to know them.

Although it is difficult for some applicants to arrange for three weeks away from their lives, it is necessary to be considered for membership. I found the norm understandable after experiencing the full three weeks. The first week is spent learning where things are located, how to work in the hammock shop or other areas, and, in general, working within the Twin Oaks labor and social system. The second week, various "visitor friendly" members became more familiar and recognizable. The social barriers begin to decrease and interactions between the members and myself increased. By the third week, I felt acclimated, somewhat acculturated, and more at ease. Consequently, I became more open and self-expressive. If visitors go through the membership interview, members become more open and interactive with the visitor. They say that the reason for this basic hesitation to interact is that, with so many visitors passing through the community, it is draining and distracting to expend the energy to interact with new people. If the visitor is seriously considering joining, the energy to interact is seen as expendable and beneficial.

Social relations with visitors are varied. Some members are indifferent, some enthusiastic, and some are much opposed to outsiders coming into their home. For the latter group, the visitor program is difficult due to the steady stream of visitors the community hosts. The Visitor Program hosts groups of up to 12 people eleven months out of the year with one visitor-free week between them. The Christmas and New Years holiday season is the only time Twin Oakers take for themselves.

They have devised the Visitor Program for people interested in joining the community. Over the three weeks, the visitors are immersed in the community. They participate in the community activities and in as many work settings as they wish. The labor assigners schedule full labor sheets with 45.5 hours of labor every week. The

visitor's experience is intended to introduce them to the community and the community to them. While the community does offer one-week visitor periods, the three-week program is required for consideration for membership.

The norms of the community are shared with visitors on their first night in residence. Visitors begin their three week stay by developing norms for their SLG. These norms include whether or not nudity is acceptable in common areas; when quiet time begins and ends; bathroom and kitchen etiquette; and when, where, and what kind of music can be played. Each residence has an agreed upon set of norms and they vary. The norms at Twin Oaks are different and sometimes uncomfortable for new people, especially the norm of leaving the bathroom door open so others can use the facility at the same time. The norm developed in the early days because the number of bathrooms was limited. They also believed in saving water and this led to the development of another bathroom norm difficult for some visitors: "If it's yellow, let it mellow; if it's brown flush it down" toilet use. These bathroom norms have been relaxed over the years for the visitors, but are still followed by most members.

Clothing norms in Twin Oaks are different from mainstream. Traditional social pressures and judgments related to dress, mannerisms, identity, or any form of self-expression do not exist in Twin Oaks. People in Twin Oaks are free to express themselves any way they wish without fear of judgment or ridicule. It is not unusual to see men wearing skirts and women working topless. One of the members who shops for the Commie Closet commented that she has to remember the men who like to wear skirts when she is looking through the area thrift stores, "They tend to like more colorful skirts with large patterns or flowers." The men in the community decided that, out of respect for women, they would keep their shirts on in areas where nudity is not optional such as the courtyard and the garden because they are near the front entrance where deliveries are made, visitors arrive, or tour groups may be. Nudity is optional at all hours in some areas, such as the swimming pond and certain residences. Clothing is optional anywhere after nine o'clock at night.

Dining has its own set of norms. People are urged to wash their hands before getting in line for the steam table to reduce the spread of illness. It is unacceptable to get

into conversations that hold up the line to the steam table. Because many people have meetings or personal discussions during lunch and dinner, two tables are designated as "fun tables" where anybody can sit--one inside and one outside. Sitting at any other table requires asking the diners if you can join them. Twin Oakers are relaxed but busy people and they need to have some personal boundary systems. Visitors are requested to respect members' space.

Group activities come and go in Twin Oaks, depending on members' interest. Presently the community has numerous groups organized by members, including a woman's circle, weekly card games, a community band, juggling, religious and spiritual meetings, dances, and celebrations. Dances in Twin Oaks are the pride of the community. People dance like "nobody is watching"--by themselves, in couples, and in groups. A more accurate statement might be that they dance like "nobody is judging." Members of all ages participate. One member said that social revolution will not be won in the streets, it will be won with parties.

Some Twin Oakers' meetings are like parties. Meetings held to name a new vehicle or machine are called naming parties. A naming party for a new van was held during my field study. Requests for names are announced on the 3 x 5 board and a blank sheet for name submissions is put up on the O & I board for a week. Visitors are encouraged to participate. The meeting/party is scheduled to meet in the hammock shop. The long list of names is reduced as they all vote on each one. If a name receives less than five votes, it is eliminated. The members were reminded early in the selection process that the vehicle manager must register the vehicle with the county to obtain the tag and was once embarrassed by the name the community selected: Atomic Dildo. Of 58 suggested names, the final five were Angry White Van, Whitey Will Pay, Wasp-A-Go-Go, Ecocide, and Jonathan Lesbian Seagull. Jonathan Lesbian Seagull won with Ecocide a close second. Ecocide was a visitor suggestion.

Other settings in which social relations were observed were work settings, relationships, and recreational activities. Members tend to organize their work schedules with friends. This is especially so in the kitchen, but also in the Tofu Hut, EC, the garden, and the hammock shop. The hammock shop is the most social work area in the

community. It is structured for conversation and enjoyment. Hammock production is the primary source of income for the community and everyone is expected to work at least some hours producing hammocks. The hammock shop is the site of most meetings so people can attend the meeting and fulfill or add hours to their hammock labor quota. Each work station is set up to allow two people to work facing each other and converse. An elaborate stereo system has been set up which allows every work station access to a wide variety of music. Personal headphone attachments hang overhead that connect to the radio, CD player, tape player, and the computer. The set up solved the problem of disputes between members with a diverse musical taste. Once a week, music is played over the speaker system, but notices announce when this will occur. Respect for others and enjoyment of life are considered important parts of the culture of Twin Oaks.

Their social and personal interactions are as diverse as the population, but cooperation is a principle. For Twin Oaks to succeed, cooperation is imperative, but everyone has a different opinion of how cooperation is enacted. One reason for the differences, besides the different ideologies, is the Labor Credit (LC) system. Although the LC system is used in other egalitarian communities, the intensity, complexity, and oversight by the community seems unique to Twin Oaks. It is "how the work gets done" and members see it as a system that assures everyone equal status, but it is a source of contention. Some members thought that giving LCs for activities such as caring for a sick friend or a child tends to reduce "the natural, spontaneous acts of human kindness." Some think labor credit should be available for recreational activities because Twin Oakers are too serious and do not take enough time for fun. One member commented that "cooperation should not be structured, it should be voluntary." Still other members think that 45.5 hours is too much. But the system has been in place since the beginning and everyone in the community has input on the yearly budgeting of LCs.

Members participate in the yearly budget every December when they play the Tradeoff Game. The Labor Credit system is extremely complex and is based on the overall dollar budget each year (\$7 = 1 hour). Managers submit their budgets to the planners in the fall. The planners attempt to balance the needs and wants of each work area to create a list of community plans with suggested budgets for each work area and community system.

The list is given to all members, who then have one week to make suggestions and requests. Some members want more or less money/hours than what is listed. Once the community input is collected, the planners set up the next year's budget based on data gathered from the Tradeoff Game.

The LC system allows members to assign themselves to jobs they prefer as long as the manager of the preferred work area needs help and has labor credits available. When work is needed and no one wants to do it, managers can request help from the labor assignors who fill out the labor sheets each week. They can also put up a 3 x 5 card in ZK to enlist help with a job. Visitors are allowed to request certain work areas, but they are often assigned the jobs requested by managers unless it entails special knowledge.

Labor assignors schedule the members based on their requests and interests, which are kept on file. When people join, they fill out cards with jobs preferences in order of desirability. Visitors also fill out cards listing their preferred work areas. The labor assignors use these cards to fill out weekly labor schedules. Tentative labor schedules are given to the members in the lounge on Wednesday nights by dinner time. The members examine them and request revisions if they want. The labor schedules are finalized and distributed on Friday morning. Weeks begin on Friday morning and end Thursday night. At the beginning of each week, the completed labor schedules are submitted and new ones obtained. If a member works more than the required hours, the extra hours accumulate in a vacation earnings (VE) account. The member can use vacation time inside or outside the community.

The labor system is an honor system and represents the trust Twin Oakers have in one another. Labor schedules look like class schedules with columns for days and rows for job descriptions. Work is scheduled in time periods of hours, half hours, and quarter hours. Completing a labor schedule involves totaling the hours worked each day, and then for the week. Although work projects may take longer than members are scheduled for, they are only asked to put in the specified time. Once the time has been completed the members are free to leave. Often, another work shift somewhere else has been scheduled, but even if there is not, they still tend to leave after the specified hours are filled. For people accustomed to getting a job done, this attitude is highly annoying and is one of the

more difficult aspects of living in Twin Oaks. The laissez faire work ethic exhibited by some members and members' responses to it were observed during the field study. When a guest insisted on finishing a job, the supervising member's reaction was surprise and appreciation. The community member was accustomed to people simply leaving, no matter how close the project was to completion.

The attitude of "someone else will finish it" provides lessons in patience to those who have a different view of life and work. Mutual aid in Twin Oaks sometimes seems to go only as far as the labor credits available. Some are so frustrated by the attitude that they choose to leave the community rather than learn to live with it. It may also influence the decision of a visitor who is considering joining Twin Oaks.

Trust is the basic premise underlying the LC system, but if members become lax and not fulfill their weekly quota, they are considered "in the labor hole" and owe the community the backlog of hours. If the hole gets too large, the labor manager handles the situation in a cooperative manner by arranging a contract with the individual. They meet to discuss the work scene and design a schedule that will fulfill the labor backlog in a specific amount of time. The entire community is made aware of the contract. Once the contract has been fulfilled, an announcement is placed on the 3 x 5 board.

However, such a lax attitude is rare in the community. The majority of the members exhibit a sense of responsibility and practice cooperation. Help is usually available when someone is in need. Trust in others to follow this behavioral norm is one of the things Kincade cites as an important reason for living in community. Unlike people living in mainstream society, no one has to carry life's burdens alone. The words in the by-laws are practiced everyday in Twin Oaks, and the feelings of acceptance and lack of prejudicial judgments that are so frequently used for oppression of personal idiosyncrasies in mainstream society are conspicuously absent in Twin Oaks. Working cooperatively in Twin Oaks builds common bonds of trust and community.

Visitors are introduced to community building and cooperation through a juggling workshop. The members who lead the workshop make and sell juggling bags. The proceeds go to the community. The art of juggling has been mythologized by one of the members. He has developed it into a community building process and a group experience.

He calls his philosophy of juggling Ensangha. Ensangha is a hybrid word he created by combining the words ensemble and sangha. Ensemble means a group who works in close unison and cooperation, and sangha is the Buddhist practice of community. During the workshop, he explains how the art of group juggling creates a flow of energy between participants that is similar to bonds built in successful communities. The reliance and cooperation necessary when juggling with other people is an expression of community interaction. The internet link to Green's juggling web site from Twin Oaks web site (www.twinoaks.org) explains this philosophy in detail, but a short quote from it follows:

Along with the classes, we've formed an Ensangha "pilot project" with a group of kindred spirits. We all juggle together daily after lunch for 15 minutes and are imagining and experimenting in the art of juggling for higher consciousness. We're learning to use juggling as a "psychological yeast", that lightens the heavy dough of every-day consciousness. We see juggling as a skillful means for furthering the enlightenment of all beings. It's so easily integrated with other activities. Groups in diverse contexts can use juggling for an energy tune up! Just whip out the bags and warm up the needed intentions: Lightness, forgiveness, persistence, humility, openness, etc. Then have your meeting, cook that dinner, build that barn.... (Green, 2000)

Twin Oaks' communal egalitarian social structure forms a cooperative culture that has eliminated competitive activities. Even game playing involves cooperative systems. For example, the volleyball court is used as a whole court rather than two competitive sides. The rotation for serving the ball includes all the players from both sides as the members circle underneath the net in a large continuous circle of one team. Because of the lack of competition in Twin Oaks, the line between personal and social interactions are less defined.

Although all Twin Oakers practice cooperation, conflict does occur, as is natural for any human system. The ways members deal with it vary according to their personal preferences. Over the years, the community has tried various conflict resolution methods. When conflicts arise among individuals, it is addressed either through dialog or with the aid of a mediator. Some members are trained mediators who are available when individuals cannot resolve their differences. However, resolution of differences is not a community-wide norm. Some people choose to ignore those with whom they have issues. Social

avoidance is a problem because it creates tensions between members and in the community that may never get resolved.

Twin Oaks has a process for addressing personal conflicts that are large enough to influence the community as a whole. The process is most often used with provisional members who may be having difficulties fitting into the community. When the tension becomes too great or a provisional member's acceptance is in question, a feedback session is called. However, the person who the feedback is called for has the freedom to respond or not. If the person does not attend, the pressure from social disapproval makes life difficult for the individual. The end result may entail the member leaving the community. For some members who strongly believe in conflict resolution, the difficulty in resolving tensions among members has led them to leave the community. However, many members view conflict, both internal and external, as a pathway to personal growth. This view was expressed by members in most interviews.

Twin Oaks has had very little problem with theft. Most "stealing" occurs from the kitchens and refrigerators where members label and store personal food items. Ice cream is a tempting treat for Twin Oakers and sometimes the temptation is too great. Money or material theft has only occurred a few times in the 33 year history. Once, some locals crossed into Twin Oaks through the surrounding woods and stole equipment and tools. The perpetrators were caught, but the community refused to file charges. Instead, they asked the officials to let them talk to them. It was all worked out and nothing similar has happened again. Some members have exhibited unacceptable behavior, but the social pressures tend to be enough to either change the person or force them to leave. If this is not enough, the community has a book of policies that they can use for most any infraction. The policy book is made up of community directives developed by members as issues arose. However, the policy book is rarely used in Twin Oaks, but it is available if a problem occurs that social pressure alone cannot handle.

The freedom to be free is one of the most important features of Twin Oaks. When asked "What does this community mean to you?" freedom was the most common answer. Freedom was expressed in many ways. It is the freedom to enjoy meaningful work of their choosing without an employer looking over their shoulder and without feeling exploited by

a system they have no control over; the freedom to choose what they want to do, when they want to do it; the freedom to be as involved as they want to be in all the decision-making processes of the community. Members spoke of the freedom to explore and express their personal inner world without fear of oppressive or limiting judgments by others and the freedom to walk in the woods and feel safe. As one member expressed it, "This place does not intrude so much that I can't be what I need to be."

To the majority of members, Twin Oaks is a place where the beauty of the natural environment and human activity conjoin to create a different "way to live and work." As Sack asserts, "social relations have enormous effects on meaning" (1997, p.72). In Twin Oaks, work is an integral part of everyday life. It is not something separate from personal social lives. Work is as much a part of their personal lives as laughing, singing, dancing, and loving. Living and working are so integrated in Twin Oaks society that the members mix the two as they define the community.

But the freedom felt by so many Twin Oakers goes beyond the personal to the national and the global. Many expressed the freedom one feels when you know you are making a difference in the world by how you are living. As a community, they are a model for numerous other intentional communities. One member called Twin Oaks "a reluctant vanguard--a model of what the world needs to move towards." Twin Oaks has no unemployment or homelessness. The equality of sexes, ages, and races is not rhetorical, but real. Economic and social stratification is nonexistent. The meanings behind traditional social roles do not have any application in Twin Oaks. Members are free to create their own individual meanings. If someone chooses to change themselves according to who they think they are, they are not only free to do so, but supported in it. Freedom in Twin Oaks gives members a sense of belonging. The bottom line in Twin Oaks is to do no harm to yourself, to others, or to the environment. They extend this maxim to the world outside their borders.

Twin Oaks values its relationship with neighbors and the local population outside. Developing a neighborly relationship with the local population is an important aspect of successfully forming and maintaining any intentional community. The overall image of Twin Oaks by neighbors as a friendly, helpful, and responsible community has been built

over many years. A few members teach local children to read with a system called Reading Windows that was developed by a Twin Oaker. They have also been involved with a social program to feed the poor in Richmond. Many members are activists, and Washington D.C. is only 90 miles away. In April 2000, many Twin Oakers were in the nation's capitol protesting the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank meeting. Numerous people who live in Twin Oaks are anarchists who protest the capitalist corporate economic system. The magazines subscribed to by the community reveal an eclectic view of the modern world: *Virginia Organizing*, *Sea Shepherd Log*, *The Greenmoney Journal*, *NOW*, *The Defense Monitor*, and *The National Times*. Some members do not protest anything and only wish to live a quiet, rural, simple life.

Twin Oaks is highly self-sufficient. According to some members, it could continue to function in a healthy, sustainable way even if they were cut off from the rest of the world. They say they are able to withstand any political or economic shift that could take place at the regional, national or global level without making many adjustments in their lifestyle. But their membership level is affected by events in mainstream. The community population swelled to maximum capacity in 1999 as people prepared for the millennial change. Twin Oakers reported that membership levels tend to be lower when the national economy is good and rise with economic downturns. But, throughout the economic upswing of the 1990s, Twin Oaks has not only survived, but prospered.

The greatest meaning the Twin Oakers give to the community is freedom, and ability to create freedom is what they would like to promote through their work with the FIC. Twin Oaks has helped and will continue to help other intentional communities find ways to survive, prosper and be free. The community is an active member of the FIC, which promotes communitarianism around the world. The intention to become a model community for many others to follow has become a reality as they continue to live together in a free and diverse culture of their own creation. The sense of place felt by members in addition to a sense of commonality has built a sense of community in Twin Oaks.

Values associated with the sense of community felt by members were reflected in part one in the survey questionnaire's value rankings and ratings. Question one provided a list of value types from Schwartz's typology (1994) from which to rank in order of

importance. Twin Oakers listed two values in question one as highly important, *benevolence* (1.73) and *universalism* (1.86). Two values, security and conformity, were divided into two categories in question three to discern a difference in importance members place on these values when provided with the context of the community as opposed to the greater society. The average means of the value ratings differed slightly from question one. They listed *universalism* (1.71), *security in community* (1.71), and *benevolence* (1.77) as the most important values. Values of *self-direction*, *achievement*, *security*, *stimulation*, and *hedonism* were all ranked in the mid-range (5.0 to 5.73) as important. See tables 5.1 and 5.2 on page 157.

The least important values to Twin Oakers are relevant to the feeling of community, Twin Oaks style. Values ranked least important in question one were *power* (8.80) followed by *conformity* (8.26). The value of *tradition* (7.60) was found to be third least important. In question three, Twin Oaks rated *conformity to country* (4.50) as extremely unimportant, with *power* (4.43) second least important, followed by *tradition* (4.29), which held its position as third least important.

Utilizing the means from tables 5.1 and 5.2 (page 160), Spearman's r was employed to calculate the correlation coefficient between the value rankings in question one and ratings in question three.

$$r_s = \frac{1 - 6(\sum d^2)}{1 - n(n^2 - 1)}$$

A high correlation was found between Q1 and Q3: $r_s = .903$. The resultant mean ranking of values in each question supported the empirical findings found in the field. Universalism carries the single values of protecting the environment, a world of beauty, unity with others, broad minded, social justice, wisdom, equality, a world at peace, and inner harmony (Schwartz 1994). Single values associated with benevolence are helpful, honest, forgiving, loyal, responsible, true friendship, a spiritual life, mature love, and meaning in life.

Question 1 - Twin Oaks	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Benevolence	15	1.00	3.00	1.7333	.7037
Universalism	15	1.00	5.00	1.8667	1.0601
Self-direction	15	1.00	10.00	5.0000	2.2678
Achievement	15	3.00	8.00	5.2000	1.3732
Security	15	1.00	9.00	5.2667	2.6313
Stimulation	15	1.00	9.00	5.5333	2.2636
Hedonism	15	3.00	9.00	5.7333	1.9074
Tradition	15	3.00	10.00	7.6000	2.0976
Conformity	15	5.00	10.00	8.2667	1.5796
Power	15	5.00	10.00	8.8000	1.6562

Table 5.1

Statistical mean rankings of values in question one listed by Twin Oaks' members (May 2000).

Question 3 - Twin Oaks	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Universalism	14	1	3	1.71	.83
Security/Community	14	1	3	1.71	.73
Benevolence	13	1	3	1.77	.83
Self-direction	14	1	3	1.79	.80
Stimulation	14	1	4	2.14	.86
Security/Country	13	1	5	2.69	1.44
Hedonism	14	1	5	2.71	1.14
Conformity/Community	14	1	5	3.07	1.00
Achievement	13	2	5	3.31	1.03
Tradition	14	3	5	4.29	.73
Power	14	4	5	4.43	.51
Conformity/Country	14	3	5	4.50	.65

Table 5.2

Statistical mean ratings of values using the Likert Scale in context from question three by Twin Oaks' members (May 2000).

The population of Twin Oaks is as diverse as the mainstream population, but members express a deeper level of acceptance of each other. Twin Oaks thrives on its diversity. The only ideological belief system that binds the members together are the three concepts of egalitarianism, cooperation, and nonviolence. Everyone in the community lives and works under these ideals. All live and work together creating and recreating their egalitarian community. Hillery's notion of homogeneity of the population is apparent in Twin Oaks, but may be better described as homogeneous diversity (Carey, 2000). This term is borrowed from forestry which identifies an area of forest that, from a distance, has a homogeneous appearance due to the larger member species of the ecosystem. But, upon closer inspection a diversity of life is found that makes up the larger system in a complex web of interrelations. Twin Oaks is a complex community of individuals working together to live as simply, yet as comfortably, as possible in today's world.

While the culture of Twin Oaks is very different from the culture of the Farm, the communities are equally successful in longevity. They also have both been successful in creating and maintaining a sense of community. But do their similarities unveil factors necessary to build and maintain a sense of community? I compare the communities in the next chapter.

Chapter Six

Comparative Analysis

This chapter discusses the similarities and differences between Twin Oaks and the Farm. The two communities have significantly different social, political, and economic structures. The similarities between the communities expose factors involved in building and maintaining the sense of community. The sense of community is a result of members' perception of the sense of place combined with their shared commonality.

Historical, physical and social factors combine to build a sense of place and commonality among members of a community. All three factors work to create the feeling of belonging to something greater than the individual. When these factors are present, the feeling of community is created. The literature indicates that a sense of place is created by a common history and a close, personal awareness of the physical environment. Place-making entails members' perceptions, social definitions of a named and bounded area, and the interactions between the people and their environment through the cultural norms and values of the society. The sense of commonality is built through common experiences in daily living in work settings, recreational activities, and the practice of conflict resolution. My analysis addresses the sense of place and the sense of commonality. I will conclude the chapter with generalizations that show how the elements work together to build the sense of community.

Similarities and Differences: Sense of Place and Commonality

The community's creation of the sense of place can be found in the historical, physical, and social factors. Members' perceptions are constructed when elements of these factors combine to create the culture through norms, values, and the imaginations of the actors themselves. First, I will present the historical comparison followed by the physical factors, both geographical and biophysical. The social factors, created through the activities and interactions of the members, are presented by comparing similarities and differences found in the common purposes, family structures, and the social relations and interactions of the case studies. Members' perceptions ultimately define a place in which

they feel a sense of belonging. Therefore, each section will incorporate members' perceptions.

Historical

The communities have similar historical longevity: both are 30 or more years old. Both communities maintain archival records, but the Farmies verbally express their common history more often than the Oakers. This active historical perception among Farmies is a result of their length of residency. While Oakers have a shared sense of history, it is expressed differently due to the turnover rate and the diverse personal histories of the members.

The majority of current Farm members have lived in the community since the early communal days and are still influenced by it. The group experience of building the community was entirely based on their spiritual beliefs, which were also used to bind the members to each other, the land, and the community. However, the experiences during the Changeover and the individual, cooperative nature of the community during the past 17 years have eroded some of the trust among members. This loss of trust has reduced the strength of some of the personal bonds between Farmies, but it has not reduced their bonds with the land. Personal trust is an issue in the community as members remind each other of their community agreements through the newsletters and meetings.

Although slightly older, Twin Oaks retains few members remaining from the first decade, but the communal social system and physical structures combine to create a sense of history in the community. The social and physical systems represent the work of many people who have joined together over time to create the free space in which they live. The sense of common history does not take long for new members to develop, as they are immersed in the ongoing activities of community maintenance. As the Oakers live and work together toward common internal goals, the interaction between long-term and new members quickly creates bonds and builds a personal historical perspective. The new member feels a part of an ongoing experience. New members who have difficulty fitting in to the historically-patterned social and economic life of the community tend to leave.

In comparison, few new members have joined the Farm since the Changeover. They are presently expanding their efforts to attract new members by creating avenues for interested people to experience the community. The history of the community is an important part of the Farm Experience Weekend. As they attract new members, it will be interesting to see how the Farm community evolves with an expanded population. The deep common experience of the long-term members creates the possibility of a two-tiered society where the new members form groups that do not have the commonality of origin.

History is celebrated and honored in both communities. The communities' anniversary dates are declared holidays. The member's perceptions of the communal history are expressed when they talk of the accomplishments inside and outside the community borders. Both communities' members believe in the positive impact they have had and are still having in the world.

Physical Factors: Geographical and Biophysical

Physical factors contributing to the sense of place include the location of the community in relation to its region, proximity and characteristics of man-made structures within the community borders, and the natural environments. Geographically, while both communities are rural, Twin Oaks is less isolated than the Farm. This accessibility is due to Twin Oaks' proximity to major metro areas of the Mid Atlantic region and the ease of entry onto and exit off of Interstate 64.

Regional proximity tends to affect the populations of each community. Characteristics of the regions provide both opportunities and constraints for the members. Twin Oaks' easy access and central location allow for economic and social growth; in contrast, the Farm's isolation constrains growth of both kinds. Because of the cooperative, dues-paying nature of the Farm, Farmies *must* work for personal income in jobs either on or off the property. The minimal job opportunities of the region surrounding the Farm limit the population because of the cooperative structure and the small number of community businesses. Until the Farm can find ways for more income-producing industries or attract members with new ideas or existing business enterprises, the community will not be appealing to people without strong financial grounding. Twin Oaks' income-sharing

communal structure provides all the basic needs for the members and its location provides more opportunities for outside activities, work, and recreation than does the Farm's structure and regional location.

Property size and the proximity of the structures within the borders influence members' perceptions of the community and their place in it. These factors work together to create a sense of commonality experienced by the members. Differences between the communal and cooperative systems affect the proximity of members to members. The Farm's private housing and income production supports personal agendas. Twin Oaks' communal housing and daily social interactions through common residences, the sharing of common spaces in work, recreation, and dining all support increased levels of commonality between members.

The physical structures in each community have a few similarities and many differences. Most buildings in both communities are constructed of wood, but some concrete block buildings are also present. Wood heat is used in both communities' homes. Solar panels for the production of hot water are used in all Twin Oaks' structures. On the Farm, the Ecovillage and the Farm School are the only structures that utilize solar energy. Many of the differences are a result of the different social systems--cooperative and communal. Most Farm structures are single-family homes or duplexes, and the businesses are located in independent separate structures. All buildings in Twin Oaks are communal--work, business activities, recreational rooms, and living spaces utilize the same buildings. The only physical structures that are work-specific are the warehouse, the sawmill area, and the dairy.

The natural environment is another element of the physical space of the communities that influences both the sense of place and sense of commonality. The Farm is large and spread out compared with the compact, tightly-knit organization of Twin Oaks' property. People in Twin Oaks not only experience the land and natural environment more frequently as a result of the community design and transportation modes, they experience each other more often because of these factors. Twin Oakers walk or bicycle and the Farmies drive cars. The Farm's main road is long, paved, and connects the physical sites, which are farther apart than those in Twin Oaks. The distances within the Farm create the

need for faster forms of transportation, especially since the Farmies now work individually to meet their personal needs. Individual cooking and running errands that takes up more time in the daily lives of the Farm members. Time is more constraining since the Farm changed to a cooperative. In comparison, Twin Oaks' main road is a tree-canopied dirt and gravel pathway running the length of the community. Distances in Twin Oaks are measured in walking time, and nothing in the community is more than a 15 minute walk. The modes of transportation reflect not only differences in the roads and the size of the property but also members' sense of connection to the land, the community, and each other.

Because of the ratio of the larger natural environment to the man-made structures, seasonal changes play a large role in members' lives in both communities. The members work in gardens and join in outdoor recreational activities during the spring, summer, and fall. During the winter, the rain and cold force members to remain indoors. But Twin Oakers experience the natural environment more often because of having to walk between the physical structures to accomplish the daily work routines and their communal dining twice a day. They also interact more often because of their management practices, which utilize selective tree harvesting and communal gardening for the community's food and fuel production. These activities force them to be outside on a year round schedule. Planning and managing the land as Twin Oaks does allows for a closer, more personal relationship, at least for members who participate in those activities.

Both communities focus on living harmoniously with the natural environment. They consider themselves ecovillages and use the term in their self-descriptions. Conscious awareness of the interrelationship of ecosystems is expressed through decisions about community businesses, building site locations, buildings and their energy systems, and through members' common worldviews. Members' worldviews in both communities include deep respect for the natural environment, the practice of organic gardening methods, and intensive reuse and recycling efforts.

Farmies are more individualistic in their relationship with the environment, but their worldview of the natural environment as sacred ground is more homogeneous than that of Twin Oakers. Twin Oakers respect and appreciate the natural beauty of their community,

but the members have diverse views on the natural environment. However, whether homogeneous or heterogeneous, the worldviews that have an underlying environmental appreciation held by all members form a strong sense of place and commonality in both communities, in which the land is perceived as something to be cared for by everyone.

The physical design of the communal versus the cooperative environment affects the daily personal connections that members have with one another. The frequency of interaction, a social factor directly influenced by physical factors, is an important aspect in members' perceptions of the community as a place to which they belong. The result of frequent daily interaction is an increased personal knowledge of the members. Most of the Farm members become nostalgic when they talk of the communal days and the closeness they felt with everyone. The nostalgia for the communal days reflects the Farm members' perception of a reduced sense of place and commonality. But the physical factors are only a fraction of the creation of place and commonality. Social factors may be seen as the framework in which the creation of community plays an even larger role.

Social Factors

The social factors at work in the communities are found in the elements used to organize the sociocultural section of the findings: common purpose, family, social relations and interactions. The most important common purpose for both communities is the persistence of the community itself. Although the organizational structures are different, the egalitarianism found in both creates a feeling of equality among members. If no one person has any more power than anyone else, then the political and social competition found in mainstream society is eliminated and trust in others is maximized. The community members of the Farm and Twin Oaks believe in trust and responsibility. They also have a very strong belief that the *idea* of building and maintaining community involves active participation.

The common value systems held by members of both communities affect the development of member perceptions and their behaviors. Using Spearman's r to see the similarities between the value systems of the communitarians in each community, I found a near perfect correlation: Q1, $r_s=.903$ and Q3, $r_s=.927$ (appendix B215-216). The analysis

shows the highest ranked values of self-direction, universalism, and benevolence are held by the majority of members in both communities. The values of least importance, conformity, tradition, and power, were equally correlated. Using the field observations and the survey instrument, attributes such as concern for others, trust, responsibility, and active participation in all aspects of the community are the strongest social factors in building a sense of place and commonality.

Community work is a key aspect of both communities, but the Farm and Twin Oaks differ in community-focused activities. Community work in Twin Oaks revolves around the common purpose of the community, both for income and as a home. Community work in the Farm is more similar to mainstream communities in that it is separate from income-producing work. Nonetheless, when members work together, the activity not only produces some physical-material benefit to the community, but also strengthens the social bonds among members. The Farm intentionally works to maintain their community through what is known as work days--in the blueberry patch, the community garden, and housing assistance projects. Workshops, seminars, classes, and community recreational activities also aid in promoting commonality and sense of place among members.

Working cooperatively with each other and with outsiders is common to both communities. The sense of who they are, what they are doing, and where they are going is expressed in the projects to which they are committed. The strong sense of purpose felt in both communities is evident in their outreach programs--the Farm's Plenty program and the Swan Creek Land Trust and Twin Oaks work with the FIC, the FEC, and the local outreach services. The communities' intentions are fulfilled through such programs and, in the process, social bonds are extended to include those outside the borders.

Work is not the only bond-builder in these communities; parties and recreational events also contribute to social cohesion. Sharing time, eating together in community dinners, and having parties strengthen the personal connections of people living in community. Twin Oaks' communal structure assures such experiences daily. In contrast, the Farm is more individualistic: small groups tend to gather more often than do large-scale groups. But both communities extol the virtues of partying, especially through dance and

music. Sharing life through joyful celebration creates strong bonds and is another aspect of building commonality and place. Finally, participating in the life cycle of the members further strengthens their connections.

When humans share lives through daily living in these communities, conflict is inherent. As in all communities and families, conflicts emerge. But conflict can be a very strong catalyst for building the sense of place and commonality. Conflict in community is different than in mainstream society. The difference between the two societies is attributable to the common value of nonviolence in the communities. Conflict in mainstream society tends to include culturally-accepted violence--physical, verbal, and/or emotional. Although mainstream norms do provide rhetorical guidelines against violence, other norms encourage and even reward aggressive behavior. But in intentional communities, the norm of nonviolence is unwaveringly practiced. Although physical violence is never acceptable behavior in either community, verbal and emotional violence sometimes occurs. But these forms of violence are equally unacceptable and members have devised processes for resolving such conflicts. Social bonds are further strengthened in the resolution process. Leaving a conflict unresolved is one of the most difficult things for members of both communities to tolerate. However, they do admit that sometimes, when the individuals will not meet, conflictual attitudes do persist. But the majority of members in each community are always open and looking for new systems that might contribute to better understanding of each other.

In both communities, the norms of non-violence, respect, and trust create a pervasive community-wide feeling of safety. This sense of safety is especially noticeable for women and children. Letters published from visitors in the Farm's Free Press frequently include comments about the freedom they felt during their visits. Women and parents in both communities also spoke of the sense of security experienced in such a setting. But men also expressed appreciation for the security created by active participation in the norm of non-violence.

Equality of members in both communities contributes to the sense of place and commonality. The women not only feel safe, they are equal partners in the community culture. In Twin Oaks, one member said that when she first joined, she was told of the

cultural power of women in the community but she didn't believe it. She came to realize its truth and recognized the importance of being considered an equal partner in deciding the cultural direction of the community. The Farm women did not verbally express this trait, but the behavioral interactions between members demonstrated that women's roles and opinions are equally valued, but perhaps not as strong as the Twin Oaks community. One interviewee, in discussing ongoing community conflicts, suggested that the men were responsible, not only for continuing the conflicts, but also for the solutions. She thought the solution to many problems in the Farm community would be to lock all the men in the community center, give them organic psychedelics, and leave them there as long as it takes to work things out between them. This comment suggests to me that either the Farm women are not as involved in the decision-making process or the men have more difficulty than women in resolving differences.

The social factors related to the economics, politics, and governing systems of the two intentional communities play important roles in building the sense of place and commonality. The communities are strikingly different in their institutional systems of governance, but identical in their underlying ideologies that govern the governors. Both cultures believe in an egalitarianistic system in which everyone has equal access to leadership roles in governance. They both expect and support input from everyone in the community. Neither one achieves the ideal state in which everyone participates, but the option to do so is available.

Due to the communal structure, Twin Oaks comes closest to equality in politics, economics, and social standing. Although the Farm's cooperative culture has achieved equality in politics and social standing, economic disparity does exist. Some members explained that the economic disparity has two influencing factors: minimal income-producing opportunities in the isolated rural region of south central Tennessee; and the individual's personal choice--improving their economic situation is not a priority. Farmies of lower income do not appear much different from those of higher income because the Farmies do not practice social competition through increasing material consumption. The only evidence of the disparity is seen in the housing conditions.

The lack of competition in the communities relieves members of many of the social pressures that characterize mainstream society. Both communities practice acceptance of people as they are. Judgments about personal dress, appearance, and behavior may be present, but they are not used in oppressive ways. Acceptance, sharing, and cooperation support social interactions that, not only connect the members in positive ways, but also reduce the human impact on the environment. Harmful practices, whether toward others or to the natural environment, are unacceptable in both intentional communities.

Community continuance is an important factor for any community. Both communities are concerned with attracting new members, but the task is more difficult for Farmies than for Twin Oakers. Although data on the number of visitors each year was not collected, I estimate the number to be higher for Twin Oaks than for the Farm. Visitations are affected by the communities' visitor programs, which are structured differently. Twin Oaks has multiple ways to visit for varying lengths of time, and the visits are well-structured and continue throughout the year. In contrast, the Farm's visitor program is new, infrequent, and offers only a short weekend experience. Twin Oaks' population fluctuates between 65 and 90 members, as new members join and others move out. Some members from both communities, after moving out, remain in the immediate region and continue personal interactions with members of the communities.

The communards live closely with their surroundings and are keenly aware of changes that occur in the natural cycles of life. They share common values of universalism and benevolence that include care and concern for each other and the environment. The sense of place created by living and working toward the common purpose of the communities also creates the sense of commonality. The people define the place, but it is their activities and behaviors that build a sense of community.

Generalizations

Building the sense of community involves interactive relationships that support and involve people interacting with each other and with the environment in which they live. Defining a place begins the historical process that is shared by those who have lived it and with those who move into it. The place is a space that has borders known to those within

and to those without the community. And internal goals, identified by Hillery as a community characteristic, are sources of commonality for the members. For example, the familial connection among people rearing children, the working together toward common community or economic goals, and celebrating together in organized or spontaneous events are all expressions of internal goals.

When the norms and values of the culture are actively expressed with intentions based in respect and trust, they work together to create the sense of place and sense of commonality. Equality of members of all genders, ages, and races is the essence of commonality. Equality of members also provides a definition of the place that is more inclusive and enhances members' sense of belonging to the place. Extending the concept of equality to view humans as a part of environmental systems helps them perceive their lives as interrelated with the cyclical life that characterizes the natural systems. Use of slower modes of transportation creates an awareness of people's surroundings that includes others, the seasons, the land, and the community.

The scale of distance and the proximity and design of the physical structures and work sites are critical to the experience of a sense of place. Daily interaction with the natural environment through walking or bicycling builds a deeper awareness of physical surroundings and contributes to a sense of place. Physical structures that support close, daily social interactions build a stronger sense of belonging and commonality.

The feeling of safety is directly related to the lack of cultural aggression expressed by both men and women in mainstream settings. Personal safety in the communities gives a peace of mind not found in mainstream settings. The freedom to walk safely alone anywhere in the community at any time of the day or night is one of the most prominent attributes of both communities and one of the most distinct differences from mainstream society. For parents, the knowledge that children are safe and cared for by everyone in the community relieves an angst that is common in the larger society. But safety also involves a sense of ease when people are interacting, even in conflictual situations. Acceptance, the lack of competition, and lowered material consumption reduce behavior associated with socially oppressive behaviors expressed in class-based power struggles found in decision-making practices designed to further selfish interests rather than collective interests. Value

systems that place a high priority on concern and respect for others enhance the sense of safety and belonging.

Another important factor in developing the sense of safety and belonging is trust. When people trust each other, it is easier for them to join together in work, recreation, and dialog. Dancing exemplifies the energy created by trust. During the communities' dances, energy sweeps the room and pulls everyone into the moment. Near (1980) describes the feeling as a fleeting moment of ecstasy that, once experienced, is something one wants to reexperience. Commonality grows when people create and experience this feeling together and the community becomes more defined as a place where they belong. Some mainstream settings, such as churches and concerts, can also create this feeling, but when it happens in a community on a regular basis, the community is defined as home and the members as family. The community becomes part of the person and the person part of the community.

The alternative cultures found in the case studies integrate the social and the personal interactions through strong bonds in large-scale and small-scale groups. Both communities are described by the members as being a family and home. Trust, respect, responsibility, nonviolence, and mutual concern are all incorporated in the community systems. The experience of living in community tends to influence the members whether they remain in the intentional community, move to another, or decide to live in mainstream settings. It appears that, once people have the experience of a community life in which they have felt a sense of community, they attempt to recreate the experience wherever they live.

Feeling a sense of place and a sense of commonality provides the soil in which a sense of community can grow. The general ingredients and attributes for building sense of community are identified as: a defined space where people are free to use their imagination; perseverance to get through difficult situations in order to build a common history; shared values that give a high priority to caring for self and others; trust in self and others; responsibility for self and others; common activities, projects and purposes; institutionalized flexibility in the way things are accomplished; acceptance of others; total agreement in nonviolence of any form; and a strong belief in the constructive process of conflict resolution.

Conclusions

The attitude of cooperation and nonviolence provides intentional communities with a basic common purpose. Whether cooperative activity is centered on the community's socioeconomic well-being as a whole, as in the case of Twin Oaks, or on the cooperative enterprises of community maintenance found on the Farm, the result is a strengthening of community bonds. Holding the value of nonviolence allowed for inevitable disagreements or feelings of mistrust to be entered into without intimidation or fear by the participants or the observers. Other cooperative activities such as mutual aid, learning, cooking and eating together, games, rituals, and celebrations also enhance the sense of community.

The use of the word *acceptance*, rather than *tolerance*, is intentional. It is used to express the observed behavior within the two communities toward diversity. Tolerance suggests something that one does not like, which creates a feeling of resentment or disgust-forbearance. This was not often found in either community. Instead, members of both communities demonstrate acceptance of each other's personal idiosyncrasies. As long as the members do no harm to themselves, others, or the environment, community members support and encourage diversity. While the diversity does at times cause difficulty in the decision-making process, they are proud of it and believe that it makes the community stronger and more versatile. The diversity also makes community life more interesting to the members. This aspect of intentional community life is one of the differences between contemporary communities and historical ones in which homogeneity was not only expected, but demanded, according to Kanter and others.

This comparative study suggests agreements of successful communities must support and incorporate simple norms and values for interactions, both social and personal. The historically bound tradition of violence to resolve conflicts has been eliminated from the cultures of these two communities. The most important ingredient for the maintenance of the sense of community is a positive, proactive, nonviolent attitude toward conflict by the majority of members. Conflict as a positive, constructive force rather than a destructive force is part of the worldview of communitarians. Practicing a variety of conflict resolution systems in a community is a strong determinant in feeling connected or disconnected.

Therefore, norms reflecting the values of nonviolence, respect, responsibility, trust, and cooperation should include norms for conflict resolution.

Competition, a characteristic of the larger society, has been eliminated from the personal and social organization of these communities. The idea of a win-win culture has reduced the level of conflict often found in competitive win-lose cultures. Violent behavior is often associated with competitive win-lose situations. Conflict in these communities primarily stems from perceptions of others not cooperating with the personally understood agreements, rather than from someone winning or losing.

I began this project with a set of research problems. How did the members of these intentional communities build a sense of community? The sense of community is not something that, once built, never changes. The communities are continually in the process of building and maintaining the sense of community. The sense of community can ebb and flow, but if members work together in ways described in the analysis, the sense of community is maintained. Through the continuing process that requires active participation, the sense of commonality grows to include a sense of belonging.

How have they created a sense of place in which and to which they feel connected? They created a sense of place by living the community experience within a bounded space that has a name and a historical background. The work that has historically taken place within the community provides physical evidence for the development of mental maps. Members pass through the space at a pace that makes them aware of subtleties that influence their cognitive knowing. Through social relationships and interactions, members develop a deep meaning of community that they describe as home, family, and a free space.

Finally, what is members' relationship to nature and the natural environment, and what do they do that supports living in harmony with the environment? Members' value systems place a high priority on natural beauty and a healthy environment. Rather than considering themselves outside the natural systems, they are part of them. The production of food, the selective management of resources, and the systems of living with the least environmental impact reflect their relationship with the environment. Although they have yet to reach the ideal of an ecovillage, their imaginations visualize what this means and the decisions they make take the natural environment into consideration.

What are the larger implications of these findings? Chapter Seven offers some reflection on the contributions of the findings to the field of knowledge, and some thoughts about further research.

Chapter Seven

What's Left, What's Right?

Can we go beyond civilization's hierarchical social systems as Quinn suggests? The answer depends on the personal choices of individuals. We have seen that alternative social systems within the greater society are possible. The people who populate intentional communities have chosen to live in alternative cultures that they create and recreate everyday. It is the people and their activities who define the place. The activities and behaviors involved in the process of place-making create a sense of commonality among the members. The value systems held by the members support self-direction, concern for others including the natural environment, cooperation, nonviolence, trust, responsibility, and egalitarianism. It is these values that frame their lifestyles and give meaning to their lives. Without the social pressures that come from expressions of prejudice and the violence and competition found in mainstream culture, people are freer to act in ways that support both individual and community growth.

The term *alternative* is frequently used in literature and language to suggest something different. Intentional communities are often referred to as "alternative cultures." The alternative they offer is life *without* violence and *with* cooperation and consideration for others, the self, and the natural environment. These communities also offer examples of a society that lacks oppressive and exploitive moral judgments, prejudices toward cultural and ethnic diversity, and all the -isms of our times--classism, ageism, sexism, racism--and gender related issues. The absence of negative moral judgments combined with an active sense of responsibility creates a deeper sense of community and allows for more meaningful interactions and activities. Life becomes an easier school in which to learn, and alternative problem-solving becomes more acceptable and innovative.

The two intentional communities in this study, as well as many others, are role models for learning how to change from the patriarchal social system on which most societies are now based, to a more balanced, less aggressive system which supports a variety of ways to socially construct our culture and society. Perhaps we need to think of it as "growing" rather than "going" beyond civilization.

Contributions to the Field

While commitment practices are important in contemporary communities, they do not seem to be the force behind building a sense of community. The two communities are equally successful in longevity and they vary in levels of commitment by the members. While the Farm has a strong sense of commitment with many long-term members who plan on living and dying there, Twin Oaks seems to have less overall commitment as seen in the turnover rate. But Twin Oaks does have some long-term members, who may provide a stabilizing force for the community as new members come and go. What may be more influential in the process of creating and maintaining a sense of community than commitment by individual members is the flexibility built into their social structure and their decision-making processes. Another aspect of commitment not discussed in earlier studies that could be related to community building is commitment to one's value system. Although the members varied in commitment to Twin Oaks, they are all committed to values that support the idea of living in community.

Unlike the 19th century communities studied by Kanter in which the collective is more important than the member, in contemporary intentional communities the collective and the members have a reciprocal relationship that places equal importance on both. As Zablocki noted, the freedom of the individual has become an integral part of contemporary community building. The belief, held by community members in the case studies, that a healthy collective provides a free space for individual personal growth is different from the villages and traditional communities described by early sociologists such as Durkheim, Weber, and Tonnies.

Another finding relevant to the field of sociology is related to the characteristics of Durkheim's concepts of mechanical *and* organic solidarity. Both communities work toward communally-oriented goals--mechanical solidarity--and both feature divisions of labor that are interdependent--organic solidarity. Hillery (1968) also found both types of solidarity in his analysis of community. He reported that the solidarity types were associated with age levels: the youth and the elderly utilize mechanical solidarity and the adults exhibit aspects of organic solidarity. This association with age was not found in the two cases. Instead, I found something that combined both forms of solidarity with

Zablocki's something new--individual freedom. Contemporary intentional communities exhibit attributes that suggest a variety of ways to "beyond civilization." The relationship between individuals and the community has become more reciprocal within intentional community. The attribute of responsibility exhibited by the members in these communities, both internal responsibility to the self and external responsibility to the social and physical world, is expressed through the reciprocity between the individual and the community. When our definitions of situations include expectations of responsibility and the expectation is consistently realized, trust in others becomes incorporated into of the definition.

Our modern social system has emphasized individualism to the detriment of the collective and the environment. Individualism has even spread to nuclear families as children and parents pursue their own goals, unshared and often unknown to each other. At the same time, self-responsibility has decreased. Modern social systems are rife with role models teaching the values of individualism. The hierarchical bureaucratic systems we live and work in teach workers to shift responsibility for irresponsible or inadequate acts from themselves to others or to the system itself. This belief system allows people to feel disconnected from each other and from their environment.

Intentional communities demonstrate that by reincorporating responsibility to the collective *and* to the self, new forms of social systems are possible within mainstream society. They have shown that responsibility to the collective must also include responsibility to the environment. Human systems are part of biophysical systems and a reciprocal relationship exists. Human systems rely on the health of the biophysical systems and the healthier it is, the healthier we are: physically, emotionally, and spiritually.

This realization of the three-way system of reciprocity in the collective life of these communities may be the major contribution of this work. While the norm of reciprocity is not new, it is weaker in culture of the United States "because friendship relations are less institutionalized" (Gouldner 1960, p. 171). Friendship ties are highly institutionalized in intentional communities and these ties extend to the natural environment as well as to other members. According to Gouldner, the norm of reciprocity "makes two interrelated, minimal demands: (1) people should help those who have helped them, and (2) people should not injure those who have helped them" (p.171). Active awareness of the

reciprocity between ourselves *and* our environment is an evolutionary step in community building. Where humans once lived for the collective at the expense of the individual, they have evolved into a complex society in which individual goals have become primary. Until the last quarter of the 20th century, the reciprocity between human systems and biophysical systems was not considered. Perhaps the mainstream society humans continually construct will evolve into a society that places equal value on all three entities: the collective, the individual, and the natural environment.

The desire and impetus for people to join together to create community is still present in society. Interest is apparent in both academic circles and the popular culture. Communards and people like Donahue are actively working to build community, but academic studies of intentional communities have not helped those people struggling in mainstream society to improve their conditions. Perhaps this study will suggest avenues for those struggling to find a way to live a better life.

Contributions to Building Community in Mainstream Settings

Intentional communities are descriptions of different ways for humans to live; they do not define how humans live. Nor does mainstream society. Just because mainstream society is larger does not make it any more a definition for society than an intentional community. We must break free of the cultural attachment to the belief that there is "one right way and that is our way." Holding on to this worldview leads to endless debates over definitions, systems, and programs. When Baker, from the Dunmire Hollow community, submitted his description of an intentional community, he referred to the attribute of mutual concern. According to Quinn, mutual concern is also a tribal concept. It can be directed toward anything from a self-contained community to an occupation. Mutual concern is defined by group members.

The findings show that the most important first step in the process lies in the agreements made among group members. These agreements reflect the dissolution of the patriarchal, cultural concepts of bureaucratic hierarchies: violence and competition. For the successful creation of a sense of community, the agreements should reflect the following simple basic values: a broad sense of respect and responsibility; trust; cooperation;

nonviolence--physical, verbal, and emotional; and acceptance of diversity. These single values are seen in Schwartz's value types of universalism and benevolence and are the values shared by communitarians. Respect and responsibility of each member, to themselves, to others, and to the earth is a general requirement. If all members, or at least the majority, expressed these single values in their behavior, then trust seemed to permeate the daily lives of the communitarians.

I began this project asking "what is community?" I found that community is a feeling more than a place, and the places where people have a sense of community are created by their values and imaginations. Many people are creating different levels of community everyday. We have witnessed this phenomenon in works by community organizations such as Habitat for Humanity and charity organizations feeding the homeless and hungry. The two case studies suggest that, if you want community, you just have to get out there and do it. If people want to develop agreements to frame their "ideal" community they must define and stay focused on the vision; be flexible and open to alternative ideas; maintain the energy to continue moving forward together; and practice patience and cooperation with each other. The ideal may never be realized, as the two case studies indicate, but if the focus is maintained, the longevity and working together *in* cooperation and *through* conflict will build strong community-based social bonds.

Although a sense of community is decreasing or even absent from most American neighborhoods, the disenfranchised inner city neighborhoods are the farthest removed from such community ideals. Urban redevelopment plans from the 1950s meant to rebuild decayed urban areas have actually deconstructed communities. Desegregation, meant to begin an equalization process, seems to have supported the separation of people in poverty from those whose values and social positions support successful social integration and relations. Successful social role models are rarely found in the inner cities. The African American population, who make up the majority of inner city neighborhoods, may not be willing to move to rural areas where many intentional communities are located, but cohousing communities based on nonhierarchical systems are a possibility. But programs created by outsiders will never be successful. The people who desire to build community

where they live must be the ones to develop their own agreements that reflect their own needs and values.

The need to understand the factors involved in building and maintaining a sense of community is not only important for mainstream settings, but also for new settings that are being created from our increasing technology and human curiosity. Some of these new settings are NASA's international space station, deep sea explorations, and year-round polar expeditions. These are places where, without the support and cooperation of all members of the community, survival is jeopardized. The importance of the sense of community as a life-enhancing experience has not only been communicated by the communards in this study, but also by an individual who lived in the international community at the South Pole. Jerri Nielsen's story (2001) of her fight for survival in the face of breast cancer at the South Pole community includes descriptions of her life that sound similar to life in the two case studies. Were it not for the mutual aid, trust, respect, and responsibility of all the Polies, as they are called, Nielsen would not have survived. The people who endured this experience together found out first-hand how it feels to have a strong sense of community. Nielson herself described it as the best experience of her life--she expressed it as never having felt more happy or alive than when she was on the ice. Experiencing a sense of community does not solve social problems, but it does make working on social problems easier because everyone is involved in the process. Inclusion rather than exclusion, respect, responsibility, and concern for self, others, and the earth, as well as the ability to see the good in others, even in the midst of conflict, are all values that must be present if people are going to join together to build communities in which they feel safe, trusted, and cared about.

My study has shortcomings. The project would have been better and more complete with a composite map referred to in chapter three. Data collection could have been expanded to include sampling from mainstream settings for a broader comparison of the values. And I would like to have visually represented the findings in a video to accompany this thesis.

Future Research

Future research efforts could involve application of a value survey to uncover value systems of people who live in the inner cities and in communities already experiencing a reduced sense of community. Values of universalism and benevolence must be present for people to begin to rebuild communities where safety and security can provide a free space for social and economic innovation. More extensive studies comparing the micro interactions of both communitarians and mainstream community members could increase understandings of the interactional differences between people whose lives are guided by mainstream individualism as opposed to those guided by communitarian values. Collective movement studies could benefit from the study of intentional communities. The FIC organization appears to have characteristics of a social movement organization (SMO) that is strongly connected to many other SMOs through the activities of member communities, as well as individual communitarians, many of whom are involved in a broad spectrum of social movement activities and organizations.

Finally, an idea for future research directed toward community-building in academia. The idea evolved as I progressed through the academic system and culminated during the literature review for this study. The roots of social science knowledge have grown from similar theoretical origins. The philosophers of the Enlightenment inspired the Scientific Revolution, the philosophers became scientists, ideas and concepts became more complex and the personal interest of scientists branched into specialized fields of study. Field-specific terminology developed which further separated the fields. Today academicians focus within their specific field, but often refer to the theoretical perspectives from the same roots. Academicians teach the importance of building knowledge, but the knowledge being built remains separate. But over the decade of the 1990s, a shift to interdisciplinary education has occurred. Interdisciplinary cross fields of study to better understand and explain their topics of interest. After reviewing both sociological and geographical literatures, and finding the same or similar concepts explicated using different terms, I believe a comparative study of the social science literature could be beneficial to expanding the abilities of interdisciplinarians. A comparative review of the literature from the social sciences would provide avenues for more expansive and inclusive social and

cultural studies. Social life is complex and the separation of fields of study has been a rational pursuit, but the quest to build knowledge known only in specialized fields places limits on the use of this knowledge. Furthermore, much of the knowledge that has been compiled is only available to academics due to the verbosity of professionals. Using the tools of knowledge that have been compiled throughout the centuries to help, not harm, the interrelated spheres of life should be a primary pursuit of scientists and laypeople. This comparative research would be a lifetime work for a multitude of people and it may be idealist suggestion from a dreamer, but pursuing dreams and using the imagination has been a guiding force behind the construction of our society. As we have found, actively working together with respect and cooperation to solve problems builds community. Why not in academia?

Notes from Chapter 4:

1. Section 501(d) has three basic requirements established by Congress. These three are:

- * The organization must have a religious character.
- * The organization must have a community treasury, one in which every member has an equal, but non-divisible, share.
- * The net earnings from the corporation must be allocated to each of the members equally and taken up on member's individual tax returns, just as if the corporation were a partnership.
- * Every asset of any member need not be part of the community treasury (i.e.: there is no vow of poverty requirement), and individuals may have outside sources of income that do not pass through the treasury.
- * The corporation must engage in at least one collectively-owned business enterprise.
- * There is no limitation on individual or group wealth or on the private ownership of property (poverty is optional).
- * Members need not assume responsibility for each other's debts and liabilities, nor does the organization have to accept responsibility for the unauthorized actions of its members. (www.thefarm.org)

2. The Global Ecovillage Network is an international network of villages working together to "coordinate the activities of a number of regional ecovillage networks around the world: to promote information exchange and international initiatives of various kinds, including global services and partnerships, dialogue with legislators, public policy formulation, conferences, meetings, educational programs, joint fundraising, allocation of funds and development of guidelines for ecovillages" (Jackson and Svensson, p.1)

3. From the Farm web site, we can get a general idea of the agreements as they were constructed in the beginning:

From this central theme--we are all one--all other agreements followed with reasonably coherent logic: 'it doesn't help to turn anyone into meat,' 'telepathy is real,' 'anger and fear are optional,' 'how you chose to be makes a difference for everyone,' 'enlightenment is just being adult,' change is a constant,' 'vegetarianism is good ecology,' 'truth heals.'

How to get out of Hell? You have to plug up the holes in your bucket, then you get higher. Most people who are in Hell are complaining. They think they're complaining because they're in Hell...uh-uh. They're in Hell because they're complaining.

They say...the sin that hangs you up is to sin against the Holy Ghost...that network of compassion that exists between all sentient beings...it's the level where we're just like the monkeys...just like the waves and the trees and the grass.

If you shut yourself off, it'll take you a long time to get open again. And you have to make a commitment to stay open...and help other people stay open...help them relax. Don't do things in ways that put other people uptight. Pay attention to the whole thing that's happening around you.

The key to the future is service.

(www.thefarm.org).

Notes from Chapter 5:

1. Ideological differences in Twin Oaks range from anarchists who believe less structure is better to radical socialists, and many Twin Oakers are nonpolitical. Spiritually, Twin Oakers appear to represent an eclectic assortment from pagans and animists to Quakers and Unitarians. Some Twin Oakers are child-oriented while others have no desire to have children in their presence. Twin Oaks has no common ideology other than egalitarianism and nonviolent living.

Bibliography

Bibliography

- Amin, Ash and Nigel Thrift. 1995. "Globalization, Institutional "Thickness" and the Local Economy." *Managing Cities: The New Urban Context*. ed. P. Healey, S. Cameron, S. Davoudi, S. Graham and A. Madani-Pour. London: John Wiley & Sons.
- Bouvard, Marguerite. 1975. *The Intentional Community Movement*. Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press.
- Butcher, Allen. Winter 1987. "Foundations of Egalitarian Community." *Communities*. 73:48-52.
- Buttel, Frederick H.. 1987. "New Directions in Environmental Sociology." *American Review Sociologue*. 13:465-88.
- _____. Spring 1996. "Environmental and Resource Sociology: Theoretical Issues and Opportunities for Synthesis." *Rural Sociology*. 61:1:56-76.
- Cable, Sherry and Charles Cable. 1995. *Environmental Problems Grassroots Solutions: The Politics of Grassroots Environmental Conflict*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Carey, Andy. September 2000. "Broadening the Definition of Ecosystem Management." *Science Findings*. 27: 2.
- Catton, W.R. Jr. and Riley E. Dunlap. 1989. "Competing Functions of the Environment: Living Space, Supply Depot, and Waste Repository." Paper presented at the Rural Sociological Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.
- Clearwater, Jeff. 2000. "Engaging the Americas in Common Effort...." *Communities: A Journal of Cooperative Living*. 107:18-19.
- Cuff, E.C., W.W. Sharrock, and D.W. Francis. 1992. *Perspectives in Sociology*. 3rd ed.. London: Routledge.
- Donahue, Brian. 1999. *Reclaiming the Commons*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Dunlap, Riley E. 1979. "Environmental Sociology." *American Review Sociologue*. 5:243-273.
- _____. and Rik Scarce. 1991. "The Polls --Poll Trends: Environmental Problems and Protection." *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 55:4:651-672.
- _____. 1995. "Public Opinion and Environmental Policy" *Environmental Politics and Policy*. James K. Lester ed. London: Duke University Press.
- Durkheim, Émile. (1893) 1960. *The Division of Labor in Society*. tr. George Simpson. Fourth printing. US: Macmillan.
- _____. (1912) 1947. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. tr. Joseph Edward Swain (1915). Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

- Ewert, Alan W..1996. "Human Dimensions Research and Natural Resource Management." *Natural Resource Management: The Human Dimension*. ed. Alan W. Ewert. pp. 5-12.
- Fellowship for Intentional Community. 1996. *Communities Directory*. Ann Arbor, MI: Cushing-Malloy.
- Fike, Rupert. 1998. *Voices from The Farm: Adventures in Community Living*. Summertown, TN: Book Publishing Company.
- Flanagan, Richard M.. November 1997. "The Housing Act of 1954: The Sea Change in National Urban Policy." *Urban Affairs Review*. 33:2 :265-286.
- Freudenburg, William B. and Robert Emmett Jones. Winter 1991. "Criminal Behavior and Rapid Community Growth: Examining the Evidence." *Rural Sociology*. 56(4):619-645.
- Etzioni, Amitai. Summer 1996. "The Community of Communities." *The Washington Quarterly*. 19:3:127-138.
- Geis, Karlyn J. and Catherine E. Ross. September 1998. "A New Look at Urban Alienation: The Effect of Neighborhood Disorder on Perceived Powerlessness." *Social Psychology Quarterly*. 61:3:232-246.
- Gregory, Derek and John Urry. 1985. "Introduction." *Social Relations and Spatial Structure*. ed. Derek Gregory and John Urry. Hong Kong: MacMillan.
- Gregory, Derek. 1985. "Suspended Animation: The Stasis of Diffusion Theory." *Social Relations and Spatial Structure*. ed. Derek Gregory and John Urry. Hong Kong: MacMillan.
- _____. 1994 "Social Theory and Human Geography." *Human Geography*. Derek Gregory, Ron Martin, and Graham Smith. eds. Houndmills: MacMillan Press.
- _____, Ron Martin, and Graham Smith. 1994. "Introduction: Human Geography, Social Change and Social Science." *Human Geography*. Houndmills: MacMillan Press.
- Giddens, Anthony. 1972. *Émile Durkheim: Selected Writings*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- _____. 1985. "Time, Space, and Regionalism." *Social Relations and Spatial Structure*. ed. Derek Gregory and John Urry. Hong Kong: MacMillan.
- Gouldner, Alvin W. 1960. "The Norm of Reciprocity: A Preliminary Statement." *American Sociological review*. 25:161-178.
- Gramling, Robert and William R. Freudenburg. March 1996. "Environmental Sociology: Toward a Paradigm for the 21st Century." *Sociological Spectrum*. 16:347-370.

- Greider, Thomas and Lorraine Garkovich. 1994. "Landscapes: The Social Construction of Nature and the Environment." *Rural Sociology*. 59:1:1-21.
- Hechter, Michael. April 1990. "The Attainment of Solidarity in Intentional Communities." *Rationality and Society*. 2:2:142-155.
- Hillery, George A. Jr.. 1968. *Communal Organizations: A Study of Local Societies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hochschild, Arlie Russell. 1973. *The Unexpected Community*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Howe, Jim, Ed McMahon, and Luther Propst. 1997. *Balancing Nature and Commerce in Gateway Communities*. Washington DC: Island Press.
- Intentional Communities Directory: A Guide to Cooperative Living*. 2000. Rutledge, Missouri: Fellowship for Intentional Communities.
- Jackson, Hildur and Karen Svensson. January 2000. "Welcome." *Ecovillage Millennium: News From the Global Ecovillage Network*. GEN International. 1:1:1
- Jones, Robert Emmet, and Riley E. Dunlap. Spring 1992. "The Social Bases of Environmental Concern: Have They Changed over Time?" *Rural Sociology*. 57:1:28-47.
- Kanter, Rosabeth Moss. 1972. *Commitment and Community: Communes and Utopias in Sociological perspective*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- _____. 1973. *Communes: Creating and Managing the Collective Life*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Kellert, Stephan R. 1996. *The Values of Life*. Washington DC: Island Press.
- Keston, Seymour. 1993. *Utopian Episodes: Daily Life in Experimental Colonies Dedicated to Changing the World*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- Keyes, Corey Lee M.. June 1998. "Social Well-Being." *Social Psychology Quarterly*. 61:2:121-140.
- Kincade, Kathleen. 1972. *A Walden Two Experiment*. New York: Quill.
- _____. 1994. *Is It Utopia Yet?*. Ann Arbor, MI: Cushing-Malloy.
- Komar, Ingrid. 1983. *Living the Dream: A documentary Study of the Twin Oaks Community*. Vol. 1 Communal Societies and Utopian Studies Book Series. Norwood, PA: Norwood Editions.
- Kozeny, Geoph. Summer 2000. "Community Spirit, Community 'Glue'." *Communities: A Journal of Cooperative Living*. 107:49-51.

- Lewis, Pierce. 1983. "Learning from Looking: Geographic and Other Writing About the American Cultural Landscape." *American Quarterly*. 35:242-61.
- Lukes, Steven. 1937. *Émile Durkheim: His Life and Works*. London: Allen Lane / Penguin Press.
- Lumpen Society. 1997. "The End of Community? Forms, Process, and Pattern." *Research in Community Sociology*. 7:21-59.
- Machlis, Gary, Jo Ellen Force, and William R. Burch Jr.. 1997. "The Human Ecosystem Part I: The Human Ecosystem as an Organizing Concept in Ecosystem Management." *Society and Natural Resources*. 10:347-367.
- McAdam, Doug and David A. Snow. 1997. "Social Movements: Conceptual and Theoretical Issues." *Social Movements: Readings on Their Emergence, Mobilization and Dynamics*. Los Angeles: Roxbury Publishing.
- McLaughlin, Corrine and Gordon Davidson. 1985. *Builders of the Dawn: Community Lifestyles in a Changing World*. Walpole, NH: Stillpoint Publishing.
- McKendrick, John H.. 1999. "Multi-Method Research: an Introduction to Its Application in Population Geography." *The Professional Geographer*. 51:40-50.
- Marcuse, Peter. November 1997. "The Enclave, The Citadel, and the Ghetto: What Has Changed in the Post-Fordist U.S. City." *Urban Affairs Review*. 33:2:228-264.
- Metcalf, Bill. Winter 1996. "Intentional Communities Are...Everywhere." *Communities*. 93:16-17.
- _____. Summer 1997. "Riverside Community." *Communities*. 95:55-56.
- Mesch, Gustavo. 1998. "Community Empowerment and Collective Action." *Research in Community Sociology*. 8:43-63. Greenwich, CN: JAI Press.
- Near, Henry. 1989. "The Collective Experience." *Utopian Thought and Communal Experience*. Dennis Hardy and Lorna Davidson eds. Geography and Planning Paper #7 pp.37-43..
- Neuman, W. Lawrence. 1994. *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Nielsen, Jerri. 2000. *Icebound. A Doctor's Incredible Battle for Survival at the South Pole*. New York: Hyperion.
- Nisbet, Robert A.. 1966. *The Sociological Tradition*. New York: Basic Books.
- Nisbet, Robert A.. 1953. *The Quest for Community: A Study in the Ethics of Order and Freedom*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Norwood, Ken and Kathleen Smith. 1995. *Rebuilding Community in America: Housing for Ecological Living, Personal Empowerment, and the New Extended Family*. Berkeley: Shared Living Resource Center.

- Pitzer, Donald E.. 1989. Developmental Communalism: An Alternative Approach to Communal Studies." *Utopian Thought and Communal Experience*. Dennis Hardy and Lorna Davidson eds. Geography and Planning Paper #24.
- Pitzer, Donald E.. ed. 1997. *America's Communal Utopias*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Pulsipher, Lydia Mihelic. 1999. *World Regional Geography*. New York: W.H. Freeman.
- Questenberry, Dan. ed 1996. "Who We Are: An Exploration of What 'Intentional Community' Means." *Intentional Communities Directory: A Guide to Cooperative Living*. Rutledge, Missouri: Fellowship for Intentional Communities.
- Rigby, Andrew. 1974. *Communes in Britain*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Rohrbach, Cynthia. December 1997. *Changes in Invertebrate Community Structure of First-Order Streams after Canopy Removal*. Middle Tennessee State University. Master's Thesis.
- Rubenstein, James M. and Robert S. Bacon. 1983. *The Cultural Landscape: An Introduction to Human Geography*. Saint Paul: West Publishing Company.
- Sack, Robert D.. 1997. *Homo Geographicus*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- _____. March 1999. "A Sketch of a Geographic Theory of Morality." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. 89:1:26-44. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Sarason, Seymour B.. 1974. *The Psychological Sense of Community: Prospects for a Community Psychology*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Schwartz, Shalom. 1996. "Value Priorities and Behavior: Applying a Theory of Integrated Value Systems." *The Psychology of Value*. ed. Clive Seligman, J. Olson, & Mark Zanner. The Ontario Symposium; Values 8. Mahamah, NJ: Larwence Erlbaum Society.
- Seeman, Melvin. 1983. "Alienation Motifs in Contemporary Theorizing: The Hidden Continuity of the Classic Themes." *Social Psychology Quarterly*. 46:3:171-184.
- Seligman, Clive, Geoffrey J. Syme, and Rae Gilchrist. 1994. "The Role of Values and Ethical Principles in Judgements of Environmental Dilemmas." *Journal of Social Issues*. 50:3:105-119.
- Sennett, Richard. 1969. *Classic Essays on the Culture of Cities*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
- Smith, William L.. 1996. "The Contemporary Communal Movement." *Research in Community Sociology*. 6:239-261. Greenwich, CN: JAI Press.
- Schnaiberg, Alan and Kenneth Alan Gould.. 1994. *Environment and Society: The Enduring Conflict*. New York: St.Martin's Press.

- Taylor, Ralph B. and Jeanette Covington. August 1993. "Community Structural Change and Fear of Crime." *Social Problems*. 40:3:374-395.
- Tickmeyer, Ann. 1999. *Contemporary Sociology: A Journal of Reviews*. March. 28:2:203 American Sociological Society Publication.
- Traugot, Michael. 1994. *A Short History of The Farm*. Summertown, TN: Self published.
- Turner, Jonathon H. and Norman A. Dolch. 1996. "Using Classical Theorists to Reconceptualize Community Dynamics." *Research in Community Sociology*. 6:1936 Greenwich, CN: JAI Press.
- Tuan, Yi-Fu. 1974. *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perceptions, Attitudes, and Values*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- _____. 1989. *Morality and Imagination*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- _____. 1993. *Passing Strange and Wonderful*. Washington D.C.: Island Press.
- Whyte, William Foot. 1993 (4th ed.). *Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Zablocki, Benjamin. 1971. *The Joyful Community*. Baltimore: Penguin Books.
- _____. 1980. *Alienation and Charisma: A Study of Contemporary American Communes*. New York: Free Press.
- Zicklin, Gilbert. 1983. *Countercultural Communes: A Sociological Perspective*. Westport, CN: Greenwood Press.

Electronic Bibliography

- Federation of Intentional Communities. Accessed Summer 2000. <http://www.ic.org>
Organizational queries via email: fic@ic.org. Respondent: Tree. Webmaster: FIC Web Weavers.
- The Farm. Accessed Fall 1999. <http://www.thefarm.com/> "Frequently Asked Questions." <http://www.thefarm.org/general/farmfaq.html> Webmaster: Albert Bates.
- Green, Craig. Accessed Fall 2000. <http://www.twinoaks.org/members/center/home.htm>.
"Juggling and the Practice of Evolutionary Enjoyment."
<http://www.twinoaks.org/members/center/Ecstasy.htm>
- National Resource Conservation Service. Accessed Spring 2001. www.nrcs.usda.gov.
"General Information." <http://www.nrcs.usda.gov/GenInfo.html>
<http://www.nrcs.usda.gov/TechRes.html> NRCS Data Resources. National Weather and Climate Center. "Climate."
<http://www.wcc.nrcs.usda.gov/water/climate/Louisa>.

<http://www.wcc.nrcs.usda.gov/water/climate/climchoice.pl?state=va&county>
<http://www.wcc.nrcs.usda.gov/water/climate/foguide.html#frost>

Twin Oaks. Accessed Winter 2000. <http://www.twinoaks.org>. "Policies."
<http://medusa.twinoaks.org/cmt/policies/>.
<http://medusa.twinoaks.org/cmt/policies/Bylaws.htm>. Webmaster: Nexus

United States Census Data. Accessed Fall 2000. www.census.gov/tn/index. Geography:
Maps. <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/47/47101.html>. Tennessee: Lewis
County.

United States Census Data. Accessed Fall 2000. www.census.gov/tn/index.
"Geography/Maps." <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/47/47101.html>.
Virginia: Louisa County.

Appendices

Appendix A
Interview Schedules

Interview Schedule: The Farm

I) Community Residence Profile--"I'd like to know more about you."

- 1) How old were you when you joined this community?
What year was that?
- 2) Do you come from a close-knit family?
- 3) Do your parents and siblings share similar values as yours?
- 4) Why did you to join this community?
- 5) Do you have any friends or relatives living in any other intentional community?
- 6) Have you ever lived or visited another intentional community?
- 7) How long do think you'll live here?
- 8) If you leave, do you think you'd move to another intentional community or would you live in mainstream society?
Where? Why?
- 9) If you were going to design a postcard of The Farm, what would it look like? What image would you use?

II) Community Membership Information--"Now I'd like to know your thoughts about your relationship with your community."

- 1) Are you a member of the Second Foundation?
If so, will you tell me about it?
- 2) What does this community "mean" to you?
- 3) Name 3 things you like about living in this community?
- 3) Name 3 things you like least about living in this community?
- 4) What do you think is the most important aspect of this community that gives you a feeling of belonging, of community?
- 5) Do you like the community structure better now or when it was communal?
- 6) Is there any issue that the community focuses on the most?
- 7) Is there anything that you think the community should focus on more?
- 8) What do you think about the way the community makes decisions?
- 9) This seems to be a transition time for The Farm. What do you think and how do you feel about this?

- 10) Do you now or have you ever held any positions of responsibility in the community?
What are / were they?
- 11) Can you tell me a little about how both community and interpersonal conflicts are managed and resolved?
- 12) I know physical abuse is cause for lose of membership and eviction, but what about verbal abuse? Is this considered a problem of violence? If so, how is it dealt with? Could a member be evicted for it?
- 13) If you could, is there any thing that you'd change about this community?
- 14) What do you think about Stephen's project, Rocinante? Would you move there?
- 15) How would you describe your relationship to the natural environment?
- 16) Do you think the community could do more in the way of caring for the natural environment?
- 17) Is there any thing that you can think of that works in this community that could be used to help people create a sense of community in mainstream settings?
- 18) Is there a specific person in the community you think I should interview?
- 19) Do you have any thoughts or stories you'd like to share that we may not have covered in this interview?

Interview Schedule: Twin Oaks

I) Community Residence Profile--"I'd like to know more about you."

- 1) How old were you when you joined this community?
What year was that?
- 2) Do you come from a close-knit family?
- 3) Do your parents and siblings share similar values as yours?
- 4) Why did you to join this community?
- 5) Do you have any friends or relatives living in any other intentional community?
- 6) Have you ever lived or visited another intentional community?
- 7) How long do think you'll live here?
- 8) If you leave, do you think you'd move to another intentional community or would you live in mainstream society?
Where? Why?
- 9) If you were going to design a postcard of The Farm, what would it look like? What image would you use?

II) Community Membership Information--"Now I'd like to know your thoughts about your relationship with your community."

- 1) What does this community "mean" to you?
- 2) Name 3 things you like about living in this community?
- 3) Name 3 things you like least about living in this community?
- 4) Is there any issue that the community focuses on the most?
- 5) What do you think about the way the community makes decisions?
- 6) Is there anything that you think the community should focus on more?
- 7) Do you now or have you ever held any positions of responsibility in the community?
What are / were they?
- 8) What do you think and how do you feel about the issues facing Twin Oaks today?
- 9) Can you tell me a little about how both community and interpersonal conflicts are managed and resolved?
- 10) How would you describe your relationship to the natural environment?

- 11) Do you think the community could do more in the way of caring for the natural environment?
- 12) What do you think is the most important aspect of this community that gives you a feeling of belonging, of community?
- 13) If you could, is there any thing that you'd change about this community?
- 14) Is there any thing that you can think of that works in this community that could be used to help people create a sense of community in mainstream settings?
- 15) Is there a specific person in the community you think I should interview?
- 16) Do you have any thoughts or stories you'd like to share that we may not have covered in this interview?

Appendix B
Survey Questionnaire,
Survey Key Code,
And
Statistical Evaluation

Survey Questionnaire

1) Value ordering system

This section is made up of questions regarding your values. My reason for the values sections is based on studies that have shown how our value systems tend to be motivating factors in our life choices and our behaviors. I would like to determine what kind of value system members of your community hold. Be sure to review the complete list before proceeding. Please feel free to make comments.

Directions

Please review the entire list before proceeding. Below each value type (words in **bold**) is a subset of single values. They are listed to give you an idea of the single values that relate to the value type. You may check any of these items in the subset that you relate to.

1) From the list of value types below (single words in **bold**), place them in order of their importance on the lines provided below, with one (1) being the highest value and ten (10) being the lowest. Put either the letter attendant to the value type or print the word on the Value Priority List. Example: 1 j) Security highest.

a) **Power**

Social power ___ Authority ___ Wealth ___ Preserving my public image
Social recognition ___

b) **Achievement**

Successful ___ Capable ___ Ambitious ___ Influential ___
Intelligent ___ Self respect ___

c) **Hedonism**

Pleasure ___ Enjoying life ___

d) **Stimulation**

Daring ___ A varied life ___ An exciting life ___

e) **Self-direction**

Creativity ___ Curiosity ___ Freedom ___ Choosing own goals ___
Independent ___

f) **Universalism**

Protecting the environment ___ A world of beauty ___ Unity with others ___
Broad minded ___ Social justice ___ Wisdom ___ Equality ___
A world at peace ___ Inner harmony ___

g) **Benevolence**

Helpful ___ Honest ___ Forgiving ___ Loyal ___ Responsible ___
True friendship ___ A spiritual life ___ Mature love ___ Meaning in life ___

h) **Tradition**

Devout ___ Accepting lot in life ___ Humble ___ Moderate ___
Respect for tradition ___ Detachment ___

i) **Conformity**

Politeness ___ Honoring parents & others ___ Obedient ___ Self-discipline ___

j) **Security**

Clean ___ National security ___ Social order ___ Family security ___
Reciprocation of favors ___ Healthy ___ Sense of belonging ___

Value Priority List

1 _____ highest 4 _____ 7 _____ 10 _____ lowest
 2 _____ 5 _____ 8 _____
 3 _____ 6 _____ 9 _____

2) Is there any situation where you feel the value structure you listed would change. What would that situation be and how would the listing change? (Please print)

3) The following items pertain to values that motivate people. Using a scale from 1 through 5 with 1= extremely important and 5= not important at all, please tell me how important each value is in motivating you by checking the appropriate number.

- a) It is 1__ 2__ 3__ 4__ 5__ to me to preserve and enhance the welfare of people who I know.
- b) It is 1__ 2__ 3__ 4__ 5__ to me to have control or dominance over people and resources.
- c) It is 1__ 2__ 3__ 4__ 5__ to me to appreciate and protect the welfare of all people and nature.
- d) It is 1__ 2__ 3__ 4__ 5__ to me to have personal success and achievement.
- e) It is 1__ 2__ 3__ 4__ 5__ to me to obtain personal pleasure and gratification.
- f) It is 1__ 2__ 3__ 4__ 5__ to me to conform to social expectations and norms of my community.
- g) It is 1__ 2__ 3__ 4__ 5__ to me to conform to social expectations and norms of my country.
- h) It is 1__ 2__ 3__ 4__ 5__ to me to accept the customs and ideas that traditional cultures and religions provide.
- i) It is 1__ 2__ 3__ 4__ 5__ to me to be safe and secure in myself, my relationships, and in the community where I live.
- j) It is 1__ 2__ 3__ 4__ 5__ to me to be safe and secure in the country where I live.
- k) It is 1__ 2__ 3__ 4__ 5__ to me to think independently and to act accordingly.
- l) It is 1__ 2__ 3__ 4__ 5__ to me to be exposed to new things and new challenges.

4) Would you say your value priorities are the same or different since joining this community? Why?

5) Would you say that your values are similar to your parents values? Yes__ No__
 If no, how are they different?

6) If you have brothers or sisters, are their values similar to yours? Yes__ No__
 If no, how are they different?

II) Activism History--I'd like to know a little about your political viewpoint?

- 1) Are you an activist? Yes ___ No ___
If so, what social issues are you involved with? _____
What organizations are you affiliated with? _____
- 2) Are you politically active?
Do you vote in local? Yes ___ No ___; state? Yes ___ No ___; national elections? Yes ___ No ___
- 3) How would you describe your political views? Liberal? ___ Moderate? ___ Conservative? ___
Would you like to elaborate? _____

III) Demographic information--This section addresses you and your background.
(Please print)

- 1) What is your age? _____
- 2) Where were you born? _____ Raised? _____
- 3) Do you have any brothers and / or sisters? _____ Older? ___ Younger? ___
- 4) Do you have children? Yes ___ No ___ If yes, how many? ___
Education level(s)? _____
- 5) How would you describe your upbringing? _____
- 6) What was your parents income level during your childhood?
Over \$100,000 _____
\$50,000 to \$100,000 _____
\$30,000 to \$50,000 _____
\$15,000 to \$30,000 _____
\$8,000 to \$15,000 _____
Below \$8,000 _____
- 7) What level of education have you attained? (Check the highest level)
Some high school _____
Graduated high school or high school equivalency _____
Some college _____
Graduated college _____ Degree and Major _____
Some graduate school _____
Completed graduate school _____ Degree and major _____
- 8) What is your gender? Female _____ Male _____
Have you changed it? Yes ___ No ___
- 9) If you have siblings, do they live in this or any other intentional community? _____

- 10) Have you ever lived in another intentional community? Yes__ No__
 If so, where? _____ For how long? _____
 Why did you leave? _____
- 11) How long have you lived in this community? _____
 What year did you join? _____
- 12) How long do you anticipate living in this community? _____
- 13) If you leave, do you think you'd move to another intentional community?
 Where? _____ Why? _____
 If so, would you live in mainstream society?
 Where? _____ Why? _____
- 14) What income level best describes you now? (Check one)
 Over \$100,000 _____
 \$50,000 to \$100,000 _____
 \$30,000 to \$50,000 _____
 \$15,000 to \$30,000 _____
 \$8,000 to \$15,000 _____
 Below \$8,000 _____
- 15) What best describes your spiritual / religious belief system? (Check one or, if you feel a connection to more than one, please use a number system to indicate the most important (#1) to least important.)
 Animist__ Buddhist__ Christian__ Hinduism__ Judaism__ Moslem__
 Pagan__ Wiccan__ Other_____ (Please print)
- 16) Is there any information you would like to comment on? (Use back page to print comment if you need more room).

Survey Master Key Code
Statistical Program: SPSS 8.0 for Windows

Each item is labeled Q1, Q2, Q3...

for any questions with multiple items, they will be labeled Q1a, Q1b,

Q1. 1) From the list of value types below (single words in **bold**), place them in order of their importance on the lines provided below, with one (1) being the highest value and ten (10) being the lowest. Put either the letter attendant to the value type or print the word on the Value Priority List. Example: 1 j) **Security** highest.

Value Label

1 = **Power**

2 = **Achievement**

3 = **Hedonism**

4 = **Stimulation**

5 = **Self-direction**

6 = **Universalism**

7 = **Benevolence**

8 = **Tradition**

9 = **Conformity**

10 = **Security**

I) Value Priority List

a) Highest b) c) d) e) f) g) h) i) j) Lowest

Q2. Is there any situation where you feel the value structure you listed would change?

a) What would that situation be and how would the listing change? string

Value Label

Missing value

1 = yes

2 = no

13 = no answer

Q3. The following items pertain to values that motivate people. Using a scale from 1 through 5 with 1= extremely important and 5= not important at all, please tell me how important each value is in motivating you by checking the appropriate number.

Reflected Values

Item

Benevolence:

a) It is 1__ 2__ 3__ 4__ 5__ to me to preserve and enhance the welfare of people I know.

Power:

b) It is 1__ 2__ 3__ 4__ 5__ to me to have control or dominance over people and resources.

Universalism:

c) It is 1__ 2__ 3__ 4__ 5__ to me to appreciate and protect the welfare of all people and nature.

Achievement:

d) It is 1__ 2__ 3__ 4__ 5__ to me to have personal success and achievement.

Hedonism:

e) It is 1__ 2__ 3__ 4__ 5__ to me to obtain personal pleasure and gratification.

- Conformity/community: f) It is 1__ 2__ 3__ 4__ 5__ to me to conform to social expectations and norms of my community.
- Conformity/country: g) It is 1__ 2__ 3__ 4__ 5__ to me to conform to social expectations and norms of my country.
- Tradition: h) It is 1__ 2__ 3__ 4__ 5__ to me to accept the customs and ideas that traditional cultures and religions provide.
- Security/community: i) It is 1__ 2__ 3__ 4__ 5__ to me to be safe and secure in myself, my relationships, and in the community where I live.
- Security/country: j) It is 1__ 2__ 3__ 4__ 5__ to me to be safe and secure in the country where I live.
- Self-Direction: k) It is 1__ 2__ 3__ 4__ 5__ to me to think independently and to act accordingly.
- Stimulation: l) It is 1__ 2__ 3__ 4__ 5__ to me to be exposed to new things and new challenges.

Value	Label	Missing value
1	= extremely important	13 = no answer
2	= somewhat important	
3	= important	
4	= somewhat unimportant	
5	= not important at all	

Q4. Would you say your value priorities are the same or different since joining this community?

a) Why? string

Value	Label	Missing values
1	= same	3 = don't know
2	= different	13 = no answer

Q5. Would you say that your values are similar to your parents values? Yes No

a) If no, how are they different? string

Value	Label	Missing value
1	= Yes	13 = no answer
2	= No	

Q6. If you have brothers or sisters, are their values similar to yours? Yes No

a) If no, how are they different? string

Value	Label	Missing value
1	= Yes	13 = no answer
2	= No	

II) Activism History

Q7. Are you an activist? Yes No

- a) If so, what social issues are you involved with? string
b) What organizations are you affiliated with? string

Value	Label	Missing value
1	= Yes	13 = no answer
2	= No	

Q8. Are you politically active?

Value	Label	Missing value
1	= yes	13 = no answer
2	= no	

Q8 a-c. Do you vote in:

- | | | |
|------------------------|-----|----|
| a) local elections? | Yes | No |
| b) state elections | Yes | No |
| c) national elections? | Yes | No |

Value	Label	Missing value
a) 1	= Yes	13 = no answer
2	= No	
b) 1	= Yes	
2	= No	
c) 1	= Yes	
2	= No	

Q9. How would you describe your political views? Liberal? Moderate? Conservative?

- a) Would you like to elaborate? string

Value	Label	Missing value
1	= Liberal	13 = no answer
2	= Moderate	
3	= Conservative	
4	= other listed	

III) Demographic information

Q10. What is your age?

Q11. Where were you born? Place / location strings

a) Raised? string

Q12. Do you have any brothers and / or sisters? Yes No

a) Older Younger

Value Label Missing value

1 = Yes
2 = No
13 = no answer

a) 1 = Older
2 = Younger

Q13. Do you have children? Yes No

a) If yes, how many? Number of children
b) Education level(s)

Value Label Missing value

1 = Yes
2 = No
13 = no answer

b) 1 = Finished High School
2 = Some College
3 = Finished College
4 = Graduate level

Q14. How would you describe your upbringing? string

Q15. What was your parents income level during your childhood?

Value Label Missing value

5 = \$50,000 or above
4 = \$30,000 to \$50,000
3 = \$15,000 to \$30,000
2 = \$8,000 to \$15,000
1 = Below \$8,000
13 = no answer

Q16. What level of education have you attained? (Check the highest level)

Value Label

1 = Graduated high school or high school equivalency

2 = Some college

3 = Graduated college

a) Degree & Major: string

4 = Some graduate school

5 = Completed graduate school

a) Degree & major: string

Missing value

13 = no answer

Q17. What is your gender?

Female

Male

a) Have you changed it?

Yes

No

Value Label

Missing value

1 = Female

13 = no answer

2 = Male

a) 1 = Yes

2 = No

Q18. If you have siblings, do they live in this or any other intentional community?

Value Label

Missing value

1 = Yes

13 = no answer

2 = No

Q19. Have you ever lived in another intentional community?

Yes

No

a) If so, where?

place/location

b) For how long?

in years

c) Why did you leave?

string

Value Label

Missing value

1 = Yes

13 = no answer

2 = No

Q20. How long have you lived in this community? In years

a) What year did you join? Date

Q21. How long do you anticipate living in this community? In years

Q22. If you leave, do you think you'd move to another intentional community?

- a) Where? place / location
- b) Why? string

Value	Label	Missing values
-------	-------	----------------

- | | | |
|---------|--|----------------|
| 1 = Yes | | 3 = not sure |
| 2 = No | | 13 = no answer |

b) If you leave, would you live in mainstream society?

- a) Where? place/location
- b) Why? string

Value	Label	Missing values
-------	-------	----------------

- | | | |
|---------|--|----------------|
| 1 = Yes | | 3 = not sure |
| 2 = No | | 13 = no answer |

Q23. What income level best describes you now? (Check one)

Value	Label	Missing value
-------	-------	---------------

- | | | |
|---------------------------|--|----------------|
| 6 = over \$100,000 | | 13 = no answer |
| 5 = \$50,000 to \$100,000 | | |
| 4 = \$30,000 to \$50,000 | | |
| 3 = \$15,000 to \$30,000 | | |
| 2 = \$8,000 to \$15,000 | | |
| 1 = Below \$8,000 | | |

Q23r. What income level best describes you now? (Check one)

Value	Label	Missing value
-------	-------	---------------

- | | | |
|--------------------------|--|----------------|
| 4 = \$50,000 or above | | 13 = no answer |
| 3 = \$15,000 to \$50,000 | | |
| 2 = \$8,000 to \$15,000 | | |
| 1 = Below \$8,000 | | |

Q24. What best describes your spiritual / religious belief system? (Check one or, if you feel a connection to more than one, please use a number system to indicate the most important (#1) to least important.)

Value	Label	Missing value
1	Animist	13 = no answer
2	Buddhist	
3	Christian	
4	Hinduism	
5	Judaism	
6	Moslem	
7	Pagan	
8	Wiccan	
9	Other (Categorize)	

Q25. Is there any information you would like to comment on? string

Statistical Evaluation

From the Survey Administered to Members from The Farm and Twin Oaks

The questionnaire was divided into three parts: values, political activism, and demographic information. Survey questions one through six addressed values held by community members. Some questions requested elaboration or other ethnographic information and were coded as the question number followed by "a" and/or "b". For example, question 2 asked the respondent to elaborate on their answer and the question was coded as 2a. Open-ended questions were not quantified nor statistically analyzed. Means, Spearman's r , cross tabulations, and Chi square were used for the statistical analysis. Because this was primarily a qualitative analysis, the statistical aspect was used as a tool for comparative purposes and to support or question the observed field data. Out of 100 voting members on the Farm, 13 (13%) surveys were returned. Twin Oaks had 65 members at the time of the study and 15 surveys (23%) were returned.

Although the sample size was small, it is believed to be relatively reflective of the overall population of the two communities when compared with the empirical findings. However, sample bias could be a problem. Members who responded were either sympathetic to research or to the researcher personally. Therefore, the community cross section provided by the respondents may represent a select portion of the community population.

Question one requested the respondent to *rank their values in order of priority* using Schwartz's value typology (1994). The respondents were given ten value types to rank in order of importance. The values were: *power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity, and security*. A list of single values found by Schwartz in his cross-cultural study were provided with each value type to aid in respondent understanding. The respondents were requested to begin the ranking with the *highest value* to the *lowest*.

Question three utilized the Likert scale to rate values as *extremely important* to *not important at all*. The redundancy of questions one and three was meant to compare measures by presenting different forms of the same values. Also, the ranking and rating

systems were designed to reflect a difference, if there was one, between a respondent's prioritizing of values in an abstract general life context and value importance in specific situations. The items in question three came from Dr. Robert Jones, professor of sociology at University of Tennessee, Knoxville. Two items in question three, security and conformity, were expanded into specific dimensions to express the value differences of the members toward the community and the country-at-large. Members expressed less importance on values associated with the greater society than within their community.

Question one, because of the ten value types, was listed and defined from 1a, the *highest value*, through 1j, which represented the *lowest value* (Farm n=12; Twin Oaks n=15). For comparison purposes between questions one and three, variables 1a through 1j were ranked into new variables for descriptive statistical analysis to compare the mean ranking of each variable listed by each respondent. Items in question three were also analyzed using *descriptive statistics* for the same reason. See tables 1, 2, 3, and 4 on pages 215 and 216.

Using the means, Spearman's r was applied to calculate the correlation coefficient between questions one and three within each community and between communities.

$$r_s = \frac{1 - 6(\sum d^2)}{1 - n(n^2 - 1)}$$

High correlations were found at all levels: between questions one and three, $r_s = .964$ for Farm members and $r_s = .903$ for Twin Oakers; between communities in question one, $r_s = .903$; and between communities in question three, $r_s = .927$. The high correlations showed like-minded value systems between intentional community members. This correlation suggested the highest values, universalism, benevolence, and self-direction, are shared by members in both communities, and necessary in building and maintaining a sense of community. So, too, with the lowest values, conformity, tradition, and power.

Question 1 - Farm	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Universalism	12	1.00	6.00	1.5833	1.4434
Self-direction	12	1.00	6.00	2.8333	1.4668
Benevolence	12	1.00	9.00	3.3333	2.3094
Stimulation	12	3.00	7.00	5.1667	1.3371
Security	12	2.00	8.00	5.4167	1.8320
Achievement	11	2.00	9.00	5.9091	2.0226
Hedonism	12	5.00	9.00	6.9167	1.4434
Tradition	12	3.00	10.00	7.0000	2.5937
Power	12	2.00	10.00	8.5833	2.2747
Conformity	11	5.00	10.00	8.6364	1.6895

Question 1 - Twin Oaks	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Benevolence	15	1.00	3.00	1.7333	.7037
Universalism	15	1.00	5.00	1.8667	1.0601
Self-direction	15	1.00	10.00	5.0000	2.2678
Achievement	15	3.00	8.00	5.2000	1.3732
Security	15	1.00	9.00	5.2667	2.6313
Stimulation	15	1.00	9.00	5.5333	2.2636
Hedonism	15	3.00	9.00	5.7333	1.9074
Tradition	15	3.00	10.00	7.6000	2.0976
Conformity	15	5.00	10.00	8.2667	1.5796
Power	15	5.00	10.00	8.8000	1.6562

Tables 1 & 2

Mean rankings for the Farm and Twin Oaks showing the average means of 10 value types ranked in question 1. See page 1 in survey questionnaire for listed value types.

Question 3 - Farm	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Self-direction	13	1	5	1.46	1.13
Security/Community	13	1	4	1.54	.88
Universalism	13	1	5	1.62	1.19
Benevolence	12	1	4	1.67	.98
Stimulation	13	1	5	2.15	1.21
Achievement	13	1	4	2.31	.95
Security/Country	13	1	5	2.46	1.27
Hedonism	13	2	3	2.46	.52
Conformity/Community	13	1	5	3.46	1.13
Tradition	13	2	5	3.62	1.26
Conformity/Country	13	1	5	4.08	1.12
Power	13	1	5	4.23	1.36

Question 3 - Twin Oaks	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Universalism	14	1	3	1.71	.83
Security/Community	14	1	3	1.71	.73
Benevolence	13	1	3	1.77	.83
Self-direction	14	1	3	1.79	.80
Stimulation	14	1	4	2.14	.86
Security/Country	13	1	5	2.69	1.44
Hedonism	14	1	5	2.71	1.14
Conformity/Community	14	1	5	3.07	1.00
Achievement	13	2	5	3.31	1.03
Tradition	14	3	5	4.29	.73
Power	14	4	5	4.43	.51
Conformity/Country	14	3	5	4.50	.65

Tables 3 & 4

Mean ranking for the Farm and Twin Oaks showing the average means of value types rated in question 3. See page 2 in survey questionnaire for Likert scale rating items.

In most of the questions, Chi square expressed *no significant differences* between the intentional communities; however, the following questions did show *significant differences* ($p < .05$):

Q8a) Do you vote in local elections?	Chi Sq = 4.248	df = 1	$p = .039$
Q13. Do you have children?	Chi Sq = 6.651	df = 1	$p = .010$
Q23. What income level best describes you now?	Chi Sq = 11.333	df = 3	$p = .010$

Question eight asked the respondent how *politically active* they are by stating their level of participation in elections. The question was broken into three levels of electoral participation--a) local, b) state, and c) national elections. No significant differences were found between the two community's voting activity at the state ($p = .148$) and national ($p = .144$) levels, but there was a *significant difference* at the *local level* ($p = .039$). The majority of Farmies ($n=13$) said *yes* (84.6%), they vote at the *local level*, while Twin Oakers ($n=13$) appeared divided between *yes* (46.2%), they do and *no* (53.8%), they do not vote at the *local level* (see table 5 on page 217).

			Question 8a		
			Yes	No	Total
IC Group	Farm	Count	11	2	13
		% within ICGRP	84.6%	15.4%	100.0%
	Twin Oaks	Count	6	7	13
		% within ICGRP	46.2%	53.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	17	9	26
		% within ICGRP	65.4%	34.6%	100.0%

Chi-Square=4.248, df=1, $p=.039$

Table 5

Crosstabulation of the Farm and Twin Oaks showing percentages of members in each community who vote in local elections (from question 8a). Note Chi Square and p values.

The Farmies seemed to be *more politically active* on the *local level* than Twin Oakers. This finding supported the historical findings of each community. The Farm's genesis was based on participatory social activism under the guidance of Gaskin, Twin Oaks began with Skinner's *Walden Two* as a blueprint and, although the behavioral elements were eliminated, the independence from the greater society was not. The community's intention, then and now, is toward building the community and supporting the collective. However, the *Walden Two* model does not explain their participation at the state and national levels. Although more study should be conducted, the political activity of Twin Oakers may be explained by the political views of those who choose to live in the community: many members are activists, both social and political, with liberal to anarchist political viewpoints.

Although most of the questions showed no significant differences between the two communities, questions nine illustrated the heterogeneity of Twin Oaks and the homogeneity of the Farm. Question nine asked the respondents about their *political views*. Three categories were provided: *liberal*, *moderate*, and *conservative*. However, respondents from both communities wrote in answers that became the *none listed* category. Seven Twin Oakers expressed their political diversity by listing individual political categories: *radical*, *radical left*, *anarchist*, *personally conservative yet liberal and independent*, and *utopian socialist*. Two other Twin Oakers checked *liberal*, but wrote in *socialist* and *socially responsible libertarian*. One Farmie wrote in *radical left*, and two marked *liberal*, but wrote in *progressive socialist* and *libertarian*. From the marked and the written answers, members of both communities fell into the liberal to far left categories with three anarchists from the Twin Oaks sample.

While the survey questions expressed the diversity of Twin Oaks and the homogeneity of the Farm population, questions fifteen (*parental income*) and sixteen, *education level*, underscored previous research that has shown that most intentional community members are educated and come from middle class families. Race was not

factored into this survey, but the field observations found most members to be Caucasian. During the field study, the Farm to had 2 African American families, one Asian American and one Italian. Twin Oaks has 3 African American members, 2 Germans (1 member, 1 resident), 1 Scotsman, and 1 Dutch. One African American woman has 2 children that live in the community.

Question twenty-three expressed significant differences in *income levels* ($p=.010$) between the two communities, with the Farm having a higher income level. The Farm is a cooperative community where each member is responsible for their own income. Twin Oaks is an egalitarian, income-sharing community. Although some Twin Oakers have outside sources of income, the majority of members do not. The incomes for Twin Oaks are computed every year for tax purposes and the members do not actually receive the income reported. See table 6 on page 219.

			Question 23			
			Below \$8,000	\$8,000 - 15,000	\$15,000 - 30,000	\$30,000 - 50,000
IC Group	Farm	Count	2	3	4	4
		% within ICGRP	15.4%	23.1%	30.8%	30.8%
	Twin Oaks	Count	10	2	1	
		% within ICGRP	76.9%	15.4%	7.7%	
Total		Count	12	5	5	4
		% within ICGRP	46.2%	19.2%	19.2%	15.4%

Chi-Square=11.333, df=3, $p=.010$

Table 6

Crosstabulation of the Farm and Twin Oaks showing disparity of income levels between the two communities. Note the Chi Square and p value in caption.

Independent t-tests were run on variables with broad distributions or where comparison of the statistical mean could be informative. Questions fitting these descriptions are:

Q10. What is your age?

Q13a) How many children do you have?

Q20. How long have you lived in this community? In years.

Statistics for question ten, *age*, suggested that the communities had similar average ages: Farm ($n = 13$), 51.62; Twin Oaks ($n = 15$), 47.47. The *t*-test showed $t = .842$, with a *degree of freedom* of 26, and $p = .005$. Although the average age was similar, the range of ages between communities, the standard deviations expressed significant differences: Farm *standard deviation*, 6.21; Twin Oaks *standard deviation*, 16.75. According to the sample, ages in Twin Oaks range from 24 to 76. In contrast, Farmies ages range from 45 to 65. Once again, the statistics seemed to reveal the diversity of Twin Oaks population and the homogeneity of the Farm. See table 7, page 220.

Descriptive Statistics^a

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Q10	13	45	65	51.62	6.21
Valid N (listwise)	13				

a. IC = Farm

Descriptive Statistics^a

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Q10	15	24	76	47.47	16.75
Valid N (listwise)	15				

a. IC = Twin Oaks

Table 7

Descriptive statistics showing the average age of community members in the Farm and Twin Oaks.

Question thirteen had two parts: part one asked whether or not the members have children. The crosstabs, shown below, expressed the differences (in percentages) between the communities' members with children: Farmies ($n = 13$), 92.3% answered *yes*, they have *children* compared with Twin Oakers ($n = 15$) who were divided between *yes* (46.7%) and *no* (53.3%). Question 13a) asked the respondents to report *how many children* they have. The saliency is suspect for two reasons: because the question did not consider whether the children were grown or not and, because the *n value* for Twin Oaks is extremely low, $n = 7$. However, the statistical data from the first part of question thirteen supports the empirical findings of the Farm as more homogeneous family-oriented

community than Twin Oaks. The importance of family was one of the doctrines in the early foundational teachings of Gaskin. See table 8, page 221.

			Question 13		
			Yes	No	Total
IC Group	Farm	Count	12	1	13
		% within ICGRP	92.3%	7.7%	100.0%
	Twin Oaks	Count	7	8	15
		% within ICGRP	46.7%	53.3%	100.0%
Total	Count		19	9	28
	% within ICGRP		67.9%	32.1%	100.0%

Chi-Square=6.651, df=1, p=.010

Table 8

Crosstabulation showing percentage of community members who have children from both the Farm and Twin Oaks.

Question twenty asked members about *length of residency*. The results also reflected the Farm's orientation toward the family. The mean *length of residency* for Farmies was 23.23 years compared with 8.62 years for Twin Oaks. The *t-test* statistics showed a significant difference between the communities: $t = 6.72$, $df = 26$, $p = .001$. The Farm has a traditional family-oriented structure that hearkens back to the early days of the community. The charismatic leader endorsed monogamy among his hippie students and the midwifery program offered all pregnant women, members and non-members, free pre and post natal care. Any unwanted children were taken in and even, in some cases, adopted by community families. Children made up almost half of the Farm population during the first decade of the community's existence.

In contrast, Twin Oaks, as an income-sharing community, carries the social and financial responsibility of child-rearing. Therefore, it is the community as a whole that controls the birth rate. During the first 15 years, they attempted to duplicate child-rearing techniques from the Walden Two model. They built a separate residence, Degania, for the community children who were cared for by "metas" rather than the biological parents. This

system was abandoned in favor of child-rearing by biological parents. Over the years, the community has lost numerous families due to the diverse population of Twin Oaks, which is not family-oriented. *Residential stability* reflected these ideological differences between the two communities. See table 9, page 222.

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Q20	13	12.0	29.0	23.231	4.799
Valid N (listwise)	13				

a. IC = Farm

Descriptive Statistics^a

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Q20	15	.3	20.0	8.622	6.420
Valid N (listwise)	15				

a. IC = Twin Oaks

	IC Group	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Question 20	Farm	13	23.231	4.799	1.331
	Twin Oaks	15	8.622	6.420	1.658

Table 9

Crosstabulation showing differences in length of residency between the Farm and Twin Oaks.

Question twenty-four contained information that illustrates the heterogeneity of Twin Oaks and the homogeneity of the Farm. It asked the respondents to list their *spiritual beliefs and religiosity*. Eight religions and spiritual philosophies were provided along with the category "other." The respondents were asked to mark them in order of importance if they followed multiple philosophies. As with political groupings, the communards wrote in a broad range of responses. Half of the sample of Farmies (n =12), listed Buddhist as their first level of spirituality, 2 marked *Animist* and 2 marked *Paganism*. Two Farmies marked *other*: 1 wrote in *psychedelic free thinker*, and 1 wrote in *non-superstitious scientist*. One Farmie, who marked *Animist*, also wrote in *Native American*. Five Twin Oakers (n =12) listed *other* and wrote in *Taoist*, *agnostic*, *atheist*, *Gaian*, *Quaker*, *secular*, *humanist*, and *Ecumenical*. Three Twin Oakers marked *Animist* first, one Christian, one

Judaism, and two Buddhist. Twin Oaks showed their diversity again by having at least 1 marked in each of the categories.

In conclusion, the statistical evidence appeared to support my assumption that members of intentional communities share values systems and these value systems support building and maintaining a sense of community. The evidence also supported the difference between communities and the idea that there is no one right way to live out our everyday lives. The sense of community can be created and maintained in different social structures, but the values of the residents must be supportive of this process. Universalism, benevolence, and self-direction are values related to successful community relations. Power, conformity, and tradition, especially to larger systems, are values that appear unimportant to members of intentional communities who have been able to maintain the sense of community over time. Further research of mainstream members in inner city neighborhoods, suburban communities, and rural boomtowns would be useful for comparison with these findings.

Vita

Marsha Martin Hupfel was born in Stuart, Florida on November 19, 1954. She attended Martin County public schools in Stuart, Florida. Her high school education was completed by taking the Florida General Educational Development (GED) test in 1973. In 1974, she enrolled in Brooks College in Long Beach, California for an Associate in Arts Degree in Interior Design. Upon completion, she found employment in the Los Angeles area practicing the art of Interior Design. In 1977, she moved back to Stuart, Florida. Following an educational sabbatical, she enrolled in Pellissippi State Technical Community College in 1991. When she transferred to the University of Tennessee, Knoxville in 1994, she entered the Environmental Sociology program. She received a Bachelor of Arts in Sociology in 1996 when she graduated Summa Cum Laude. In the fall of 1997, she enrolled in the Environmental Sociology Master's program at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. She plans to graduate in May 2001 from the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. Her future plans involve working toward making the world a safer, less violent place to live.