

AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE GEMEINSCHAFT,  
GESELLSCHAFT, AND CONSCIOUSNESS  
EXPANSION CHARACTERISTICS OF  
INTENTIONAL COMMUNITIES

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

In the last decade this country has experienced an incontestable increase in the number of people who express disenchantment with the nature of the present political, economic, and social systems.

There are charges that the family is losing its function as an institution; that there is a need for a revived spirit of community which is virtually non-existent in the milieu of urban-industrialism. Modern technocracy and bureaucracy are charged with having contributed to the impersonalization of human relationships so common in modern societies.

Man is seen as subordinate to the institutions he himself created. He is a prisoner of his own machines. They cannot operate without him and he cannot function without them.

These charges are of course not novelties of the twentieth century. Their foundations are deeply rooted in the major conflicts which arose out of the development of industrialism and the modern State. Manifested in the Industrial and French Revolutions they have been a primary focus in ideological conflicts between old order "community" and modern "society" concepts.

With regard to the relationship mentioned above between man and his institutions, there seems to have arisen out of this symbiotic relationship, a phobia consisting of the fear of changing, rearranging

or replacing the machines of society to best suit the purposes of mankind. To do this seems to threaten security provided by the perceived stability of the present structures.

This fear is not an unwarranted one. Changing the structures which support a social system does involve risk of the existing stability of the system. However, while maintenance of the status quo seems to provide security it does not follow that the nature of both the structure and processes of the existing system provide a free atmosphere for human growth to take place.

It has been suggested by Alan Watts and others that in modern man there is a tendency to substitute the symbols of reality for reality itself. Concepts of relationships between and among human beings have superceded the relationships themselves and have emerged as separate entities, existing not only in the absence of a concrete counter-part but receiving a primary focus over and above concrete reality.

When one becomes aware of this he begins to realize that the fear to change involves the fear of breaking down a conceptual framework or reality which has been represented as concrete reality. In another way: concepts with an abstract origin have been emphasized over concepts with a concrete origin. Of course, the use of abstractly originated concepts is a part of the intellectual tool and without this capacity man would be extremely handicapped but we must keep in mind that there is a difference between abstract reality and concrete reality.

With this understanding, the fear of change can be reduced, for now it is apparent that the dependency of man on his machines is more conceptual than concrete; that it is possible to change the conceptualizations and their values in an attempt to balance the relationship

between conceptual reality and concrete reality. This balancing involves changing one's perspective of reality. It involves allowing myself to look at the world and self in ways uncluttered by traditional conceptualizations.

Some of the disenchanted people of this society seek to change their perspective; and one way to do so is to experiment with different social systems. I am referring now to the increasing number of people who are experimenting with the nature of human relationships and human groups. I am referring moreover to the growth taking place today in the area of experimental or intentional communities.

Activity in communal experiments in the last decade, until roughly the middle sixties, consisted mainly of "urban" (and rural) crash pads (free sleeping places) and a handful of intellectual Utopian and Christian conservative communes.<sup>1</sup>

The greatest growth in the number of experimental communities has taken place in the last two years during which time the number grew from an estimated three or four hundred in 1968 to over two-thousand in 1970.<sup>2</sup>

I have expressed some of my understandings of the reasons more people are experimenting with or are considering alternatives to the present system. Henry Winthrop<sup>3</sup> has observed the movement of disenchantment and experimentation with alternative social structures and offers his understandings of the situation:

They (those seeking alternative social systems) resent the alienation of modern, western bureaucratic society, with its emphasis on Industrial Juggernauts, their problems and their needs, as a central concern of our lives, together with the dehumanization, depersonalization and bureaucraticization that this emphasis has created. They resent the dysgenic values created by excessive urbanization, industrialization and institutionalization which cut down on the individual's degree



of freedom to achieve self-actualization...the intentional community is....one which rejects the anomie which derives from the misuse of our leisure...the decline in our sense of organic community, the failure of existential motifs in face-to-face relationships, the role-playing which militates against the pursuit of inner directedness and the thrust of unnecessary social complexity into our patterns of living. Members of intentional communities fear and distrust increasingly unencumbered bureaucracy and centralization.

For the past two years I have been interested in the movement in communal experiments and decentralization. In an effort to understand the nature of this movement (here I resist the use of the term "social movement" for in my mind it connotes an organized effort) and what is actually taking place I have read newsletters and magazines published by a variety of communities and other organizations connected with communities. Through these, plus periodicals I subscribe to personally<sup>4</sup> I have gained at least a grasp of the movement in experimental communities.

In addition to this, last summer I visited several communes in the Taos, New Mexico area. The experience was invaluable to me and provided even further feeling for the nature of contemporary communalism.

During my visits I was not a participant observer. Neither did I have a research oriented motive. My motive was one of personal interest.

I also have interest in the communal movement in this country which was strong during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Many of the communal settlements of that period were outgrowths of the European communal movement. I found through the works of Nordhoff<sup>5</sup> and Calverton<sup>6</sup> as well as others that the early movement in this country was dominated by communities which were founded on philosophies

of either religion or economics.

With particular regard to group typologies in social thought which have their developmental foundations in the contrasting ideological precepts of European medievalism and modern Westernism, I have found that the early movement in this country contained both characteristics suggestive of the concept of "old community" of Gemeinschaft and characteristics found in "modern mass society" which, to borrow Tonnies terminology again, could be described as being Gesellschaft in nature.

The mainstream of contemporary communalism of course also contains Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft characteristics. However, today's movement also contains elements which cannot be described in terms of Gemeinschaft or Gesellschaft; elements which are beyond that uncompassed in group typologies. While some of the ideological emphases of today's experiments can be represented by the concepts of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft there is also present an emphasis in many communities on the development of a more whole human consciousness or awareness. This emphasis is a focus on man's becoming more receptive to and in tune with himself, his fellow man, and the rest of nature.

### Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study are:

(1) To illustrate the contrasts between the ideologies of European medievalism and modern Westernism through a survey of social thought and history during the period of the Industrial and French Revolutions.

(2) To present the characteristics of a selection of group typologies which developed out of the theses and anti-theses of these

contrasts which will be represented by a general application of the concepts of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft.

(3) To develop the phenomenon of consciousness expansion or growth in human awareness as a means to mental and spiritual growth. This approach to growth and personal freedom as well, is illustrated in this study by the works of Martin Buber in his concepts of "I-Thou" and Charles Reichs development of the concepts of Consciousness III.

(4) To present a selection of intentional communities both within the past and contemporary communal movements in this country illustrating, in the descriptions of these communities the varying degrees of ideological emphasis of Gemeinschaft, Gesellschaft, and the phenomenon of expanding consciousness as they influence group structure and human relationships.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Richard I. Fairfield, "Utopias U.S.A.," Modern Utopian, Vol. 5, No. 1, 2, and 3 (1971, p. 4).

<sup>2</sup>New York Times, "Survey on Communes," (Dec. 17, 1970).

<sup>3</sup>Henry Winthrop, "Humanistic Psychology and Intentional Community," Journal of Humanistic Psychology, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 42-55.

<sup>4</sup>The Modern Utopian and Alternative Newsletter.

<sup>5</sup>Charles Nordhoff, The Communistic Societies of the United States, Hillary House, New York, 1960.

<sup>6</sup>V. F. Calverton, Where Angels Dared to Tread, The Bobbs, Merrill Co., New York, 1941.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

#### Community Vs. Society

Through the Enlightenment and the Age of Reason came the forces that split European feudalistic medievalism from equalitarian modernism. The tremendous forces of the split can be seen as manifested in both the Industrial and French Revolutions.

The European regime of medieval history had its foundations on kinship social class, local community, land, religion and monarchy.<sup>1</sup> The power of industrialism in Europe placed crushing pressures on community, kinship, land, and traditionalism similar to those that the revolutionary democratic philosophies of the French Revolution placed on social class, religion and monarchy. The result was the collapse of the old order and moreover a general disorganization of the state of both economic and social systems. Western thought was a mass of ideological conflicts. The future of Western history was a questionable one. As Nisbet states:

The nature of community, the location of power, the stratification of wealth and privileges, the role of the individual in emerging mass society, the reconciliation of sacred values with political and economic realities, the direction of Western society-all of these are rich themes in the nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

Looking at both revolutions and realizing the powerful forces within each leaves the question of which one was most historically significant open to debate.

The aspects of the Industrial Revolution which appear to me to have been most crucial and most significant are: (1) the development of the factory system itself which in turn resulted in (2) the development of the industrial city; (3) the growth of what was to be called the labor or working class; (4) the transformation of property.<sup>3</sup>

The conservatives of the period found threatening the factory system as well as other systems emerging out of the age which seemed destined to break down the old order, abolishing not only the integrity of the artisan but the family and local community as well.

Among those who voiced dissent toward modernism was Carlyle who wrote: "Not the external and physical alone is now managed by machinery but the internal and spiritual also...Men are grown mechanical in head and in heart as well as in hand..."<sup>4</sup> Tocqueville saw that all was given to the machine in the context of human energy was taken out of the human spirit "leaving him weak, narrow minded and dependent."<sup>5</sup>

There was among radicals a different but not wholly opposite reaction to factory system. However, the words of Engels are reflective of what emerged in the writings of many radicals of the period; "Wanting to abolish authority in large scale industry is tantamount to wanting to abolish industry itself, to destroy the power loom in order to return to the spinning wheel."<sup>6</sup>

In regard to urbanism the development of the industrial city in Western Europe was met with mixed reactions between radicals such as Marx who accepted urbanism as a necessary step toward socialism and conservatives who "emphasized the degree to which European culture... was based on the rhythms of the countryside, the succession of seasons, the alternation of natural elements and the deep relation between man

and soil."<sup>7</sup>

Obviously the radicals with exceptions would support this aspect of the movement toward modernism as a progressive and therefore, healthy step. Engels however did not share this point of view. He had gained insights into urbanism from his study of the English working classes which led him to reject urbanism as a healthy aspect of social organization: "We know well enough that isolation of the individual...is everywhere the fundamental principle of modern society. But, nowhere is this selfish egotism so blatantly evident as in the frantic bustle of the great city."<sup>8</sup>

Those writers experiencing the rapid growth of capitalism around them were also experiencing what Southey saw as an ever enlarging gap between the working classes and the capitalistic owner classes:

...it is the tendency of the commercial, and more especially of the manufacturing system, to collect wealth rather than to diffuse it...great capitalists became like pikes in a fish pond who devour the weaker fish; and it is but to certain that the poverty of one part of the people seems to increase in the same ratio as the riches of another.<sup>9</sup>

Basic to the old order of Feudalism was the ownership of land. The conservatives who desired a return to the ideologies of the old regime charged that property was the indispensable basis of family, church, state and all other major social groups.<sup>10</sup> For the radicals of the period it was imperative that the absolute dominance of Feudalistic land ownership be never more a part of European history.

Thus we see that the expansion of the industrial movement was a powerful force in splitting the old from the new Western world.

"The French Revolution," states Nisbet, "was no less shattering in its impact upon cherished dogma and traditional feeling."<sup>11</sup> Though

the major themes in this revolution such as individualism, centralization, equalitarianism, nationalistic collectiveism, secularism, bureaucracy and generally a rational approach to human relationships did not originate in the Revolution itself they were the major foundations from which the development of the revolution drew its impetus.

Social thinkers found themselves involved in a contrasting atmosphere manifested in the Revolution: tradition versus reason and law, religion versus state, the nature of property, the relation of social classes, and equalitarianism.

The rationalistic, centralizing flavor of the Revolution is apparent in the famous Declaration of the Rights of Man which set forth the principles that the source of sovereignty is essentially in the nation; nobody, no individual could exercise any authority that did not proceed from it in plain terms.

The equalitarian principles of the declaration maintained that all citizens were equal and should be equally eligible to public freedoms. Legislation stemming from the Revolution illustrates some of the major shifts in and dislocations of the existing social institutions.<sup>12</sup> In 1791 there was legislated the abolition of guilds and trade corporations. This was the destruction of corporation within the state, and it helped lay the ground for the shift to the industrial corporation as an economic power structure. Marriage was changed to a civil contract and several grounds for divorce were made accessible in a law legislated in 1792. This act threatened the traditional stability and rigidity of the family, which was a central support for the old order. In 1793 as one more example of its dedication to the liberation of



individuals from ancient traditional authority, the government took from the family the control of education. Centralizing and broadening education, the government made it not only the right but the duty of all citizens.<sup>13</sup> Educating the people was seen as important in making the transition from the old order to the new, for change can take place more rapidly if the people are prepared perhaps channeled for it.

Religion being a major power in the old regime it was the focus of major attacks by the radicalism of the Revolution. The state was to replace the position of power in spiritualism previously held by religion:

The state is supreme in all things; any distinction between temporal power and spiritual power is a palpable absurdity, and there cannot be more than a sole and single jurisdiction throughout in matters where public utility has to be provided for or defended.<sup>14</sup>

The property of the Church was confiscated by the state justified on the "unnaturalness" of the corporation that the church represented. The Church was not a real person and was not represented by the will of an equalitarian body of individuals and therefore could not be allowed to make claim to anything real.<sup>15</sup> In this attack one of the most powerful forces in the European old order, the Church, was relieved of much of its power in the sphere of economics.

What did the revolutionary changes taking place in the Western world reflect in terms of what would be in store for human beings in interpersonal relationships? I have presented above some of the major forces present before, during and following the French Revolution. As well, I have attempted to relate some of the basic changes which took place in Western Europe and later in the Western world in general as a result of expanding industrialism and revolutionary

democratic ideology virtually personified in that Revolution.

The individual seemed to be more and more separated from the communal structures of village community, church, and guild. There seemed to be a general movement from relationships based on union to relationships based on association. Society was beginning to be seen as a "vast, impersonal, almost mechanical, aggregate of discrete voters, tradesman, sellers, buyers, workers, worshippers, as in short, separated units of a population rather than as parts of an organic system."<sup>16</sup>

Out of the growing depersonalization of human social relationships as a result of the core of rationalism present in the powerful social philosophy of the eighteenth century, a transition from community and family to nation began to take place. Men began to see each other in terms of members of a class or aggregate as opposed to particular individuals. Factory owners began to view those working for them as "workmen." Conversely the workmen viewed the factory owner as "capitalist" or "employer."

Ostrogorski observes: "Not being brought into immediate contact they formed a conception of each other by mentally eliminating the special characteristics of the individual and retaining only what he had in common with the other members of his class."<sup>17</sup>

What the Industrial Revolution accomplished in the economic sphere revolutionary democracy did in the political.

In each instance the particularism of the old order... disappeared along with its localism. The same tendency to think now increasingly in terms of the working class,

the poor, the capitalists, expressed itself with equal force in the tendency to think in terms of voters, bureaucracy, the citizenery, and so on.<sup>18</sup>

The functions and stability of the family were undermined by the loosening of the bond of marriage, the ascribing of the responsibility of education to the state or government and the breaking down of the interdependence within the family as a unit of providers for economic needs, an interdependence which the new industrial system no longer required. Equalitarianism illustrated by the Declaration of the Rights of Man disputed the legitimacy of social status according to class. The church was stripped of its economic and temporal moral powers, participation in affairs at the local community level was de-emphasized and monarchy was to be abolished forever. These shifts in the basic nature of the power structure within the social system in Europe are major forces influencing the shift from old European Medievalism to progressive modernism; a shift which expanded generally to the rest of the Western world of modern societies.

#### Development of Group Typologies

As social thought developed in the nineteenth century many of the social forces at work in society reflected in the major social theorists of the age. There was a movement among writers of social philosophy as well as in other areas of thought toward a revitalization of community. The movement in social power structures, that is political administration, was still strongly linked to the rationalism so dominant in the period.

Social thinkers however, were beginning to delve into the realm of community, true community and its relationship to the individual.

Such people as Rousseau, Carlyle, Haller, Bonald, Burke, Morris and Disraeli focused strongly on the basic nature of and need for the community that was so fundamental to the social order of Medieval Europe. Community could be seen as a fusion of feeling and thought, of tradition and commitment, of membership and volition. The archetype of community could be seen in the family, its processes and its structure. "Fundamental to the strength of the bond of community," states Nisbet, "is the real or imagined antithesis formed in the same social setting by the non-communal relations of competition or conflict, utility or contractual assent. These, by their relative impersonality and anonymity highlight the close personal ties of community."<sup>19</sup>

In social thought the conceptual contrast represented by rational and non-rational, communal and non-communal relationships has been a foundation for social theories concerned with the nature and characteristics of human groups. These broad contrasts between traditionalism and modernism were the basis for the development of group typologies. This endeavor occupied the minds of major social thinkers throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>20</sup>

But, probably the major work in this area was that of Tonnies who developed an elaborate set of concepts to represent the medieval-modern contrast. In his typology he defined the former as Gemeinschaft or "community" and the latter as Gesellschaft or "larger, mass society." Volumes have been dedicated to elaboration on the concepts represented in Tonnies typology.

Tonnies theory of community and society was of course not uninfluenced by previous or contemporary social thought. Among the major

influences was Otto von Gierke's work dealing with a contrast drawn between (1) "medieval social structure," based on ascribed status, membership, the organic unity of all communal and corporate groups before the law, upon legal decentralization and (2) the fundamental distinction between state and society, and the "modern nation state," rooted in centralization of political power, individualism with abolishment of traditionalism of the past. The terms employed by Gierke to represent this polarization are respectively Genossenschaft and Herrschaft.<sup>21</sup>

Among other influences was the contrast observed by Maine in which he saw the development of societies as having a tendency to move from status to contract relationships.<sup>22</sup> In ancient society Maine saw that the fate of the individual was fixed by his status in the family as was true in Medieval Society. The patriarchal foundation of society did not allow much room for contractual relationships. He maintains however, that in the historical development of societies contractual relationships began to emerge and broaden: "If then we employ status...to signify these personal conditions only...we may say that the movement of the progressive societies has hitherto been a movement from Status to Contract."<sup>23</sup> The broadening of contractual relationships can be viewed not only as a result of the breakdown of the strength of the family structure thus weakening the powerful patriarch of the Medieval family, but also as a result of the breakdown of the monarchy of the medieval social order and generally a movement away from status based on the norms and values, social as well as economic, of Medievalism to contract based on the values of revolutionary modernism.

Martindale maintains that Tonnies' Gesellschaft was intended to represent Hobbes' concept of society in the sense that the state is viewed as originating out of the need for self-preservation: "the need to escape the natural condition of war. The state is a real individual replacing the many."<sup>24</sup> However in my understanding, Tonnies did not suggest that a Gesellschaft type society would alleviate the problem of war by developing of a rationally formed government called the "State." Tonnies' concept of Gesellschaft was not developed as an approach to social reform but merely as a conceptual model presenting the shifting emphasis in Europe from Medievalism to modernism; more generally from a community based social system to a mass society based social system.

Along with those presented there are undeniably other theories of community and society which were familiar to Tonnies. Not only did some of them undoubtedly aid him in the development of his typology but they represent some of the most fertile social thought produced regarding the nature of human groups.

I would now like to turn to a selection of these typologies in an effort to illustrate the generally centralized content of group typologies as a whole returning later to further discussion of Tonnies' concepts which I feel represent a synthesis of the other work in the area.

Durkheim, in his study of the division of labor polarized society into two types.<sup>25</sup> In the first type which he called the mechanical solidary society, people are homogeneous both morally and mentally, resulting in communities which are uniform and without atomization.

Within this concept Durkheim injects another concept describing the state in which all beliefs and sentiments common to man exist. He calls this the "conscience collective." It is not the product of the members of society at any one point in time which gives it a characteristic of externally exerted force, outside the individual and the group. The membership of such a society can never morally refute the collective conscience. This provides a characteristic of stability in the social structure.<sup>20</sup>

In the opposite polar type which Durkheim suggests is the direction of social historical development, society is held together by the interdependence of its parts. This type is called the organically solidary society. The members of this type of society tend to be heterogeneous; the division of labor is present and basic to the diversification and individualism characteristic in the social system.<sup>27</sup>

Formerly separated collectivities begin to make social contracts. Spontaneous relations between individuals are replaced by contractual associations. "Within the framework of organic solidarity there can be a general disengagement of men from the traditional restraints of kinship, class, localism, and the generalized social conscience."<sup>28</sup> The removal of these traditional restraints is illustrated in the liberating forces of the French Revolution and the "Declaration of the Rights of Man" discussed earlier in regard to the development of progressive modernism out of European Medievalism.

Durkheim's typology related to his philosophy of the development of societies is complex and its treatment in this discussion as well as the treatment of the typologies to follow is general, the purpose being to illustrate the basic concepts of group typological models.

In his concepts of the "primary group" Cooley perceived the importance of interactive process of mutual influence between group and individual. Of major importance in groups of this nature are the elements of: (1) face-to-face association (2) unspecialized character of that association (3) relative permanence of the group (4) small number of persons involved (5) relative intimacy among group members.<sup>29</sup>

This type of group is fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual in Cooley's understanding. The result of intimate association, psychologically "is a certain fusion of individualities in a common whole, so that one's very self...is the common life and purpose of the group."<sup>30</sup>

Cooley did not actually develop the term "secondary group," leaving the antithesis of his construct unnamed.

In Redfield's Folk-Urban model of society there is an ideal type "folk-society", a small collectivity containing no more people with it than can know each other intimately. "It is an isolate, nonliterate, homogeneous grouping with a strong sense of solidarity."<sup>31</sup>

Technology with such groups is simple and the division of labor is low. Relationships among members tends to be spontaneous, traditional, and personal with a trend toward experimentation. Kinship is central to all actions and traditions are sacred. Activities including the meeting of economic needs are ends in themselves rather than means to a higher more abstract goal.

This "folk-society" is contrasted to a polar type implied as "urban-society." The urban-type society is represented by the opposite attributes of its counter-part the folk-type.

As in all ideal type constructs the "folk-urban" type is not



suggested to have a concrete reality but only a conceptual one. It is reasonable to conclude that Redfield synthesized several of the group typologies developed before his: namely the works of Maine, Durkheim and Tonnies as well.

Although several theorists, among them Robert Park, contributed work to the concepts of sacred and secular characteristics of societies the major work in this area is that of Howard Becker.<sup>32</sup> The sacredly characterized society involves isolation both socially and mentally. There is a fear of experimenting with any behavior outside that prescribed by tradition. The concrete simplistic reality is emphasized and abstraction avoided as much as possible. Social contacts of the nature suggested in Cooley's "primary group" characterize the relationships; economic activities and interpersonal relationships are also dominated by sacredness and cemented in traditionalism. Kinship ties are strong and are centered around a concept of "great family." Redfield's treatment of communal organization also stressed the importance of the solidarity and closeness of kinship relationships.

Super naturalism and non-rational behavior are emphasized as opposed to reason and the rational.

In the secular societal type there is again a polar extreme represented by characteristics virtually opposite those found in the sacred type. Here there is a mentally and socially accessible social system. There are fewer social barriers which facilitates social circulation of the members. Because of an accessibility to the social structure the fixation of habits is difficult. Tradition and ritual are at low levels and there is a complex labor division. Rationality dominates the spectrum of behavior with emphasis on science and

technology.<sup>33</sup> The kinship group takes the form of the conjugal family. In addition, change is viewed as progressive; therefore, innovation is frequent. There is a conspicuous weakness in informal sanctions and most sanctions are provided through law. "Legal contracts are the rule. Individuation is prominent in society, and the value system is permeable."<sup>34</sup>

Returning to Tonnies and his treatment of community and society Nisbet<sup>35</sup> views Tonnies' typology as being greatly influenced by the works of two social philosophers already discussed, Greike and Maine, and a third man Fustel de Coulanges, whose observations on the transition of Western ideas from sacred-communal to the secular-associational were more than vaguely familiar to Tonnies.

In the Gemeinschaft concept Tonnies is suggestive of the mechanical solidarity described by Durkheim. The relationships among the members of this "community" concept are seen as having the nature of that found in Cooley's "primary groups." The stress of simple technology, homogeneity, low division of labor, and kinship in Redfield's "folk-society" are also suggestive of Tonnies' ideal community. The fear of experimentation with social relationships and the sacred-non-rational emphasis of the sacred society illustrated in Becker's model is also present.

In the antithesis, Gesellschaft, Tonnies' typology includes the major elements found in the respective antithesis of other typologies. A comparison of general characteristics contained in Tonnies ideal types has been developed which is helpful in illustrating the concepts there in. (Table I)

TABLE I

COMPARISON OF GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS CONTAINED IN TONNIES'  
CONCEPTS OF GEMEINSCHAFT AND GESELLSCHAFT

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS	SOCIETAL TYPE	
	Gemeinschaft	Gesellschaft
Dominant Social Relationship	Fellowship Kinship Neighborliness	Exchange Rational Calculation
Central Institutions	Family Law Extended Kingroup	State Capitalistic Economy
The Individual in the Social Order	Self	Person
Characteristic Form of Wealth	Land	Money
Type of Law	Family Law	Law of Contracts
Ordering of Institutions	Family Life Rural Village Life Town Life	City Life Rational Life Cosmopolitan Life
Type of Social Control	Concord Folkways and Mores Religion	Convention Legislation Public Opinion

Source: Martindale, Don. The Nature and Types of Social Theory, 1960, p. 84.

One final point which has been touched on previously but deserves repeating is that in working with typologies the polarized nature of the types is of course for the purpose of conceptualization and

rational analysis. To assume that the types represent a counter part in the concrete world would be to distort Tonnies' intentions.

What can be said; however, is that within a community or society there will most likely be found combinations of characteristics represented in both Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft. Furthermore, it may be possible to observe the characteristics of one or the other type to be dominant. General comparisons and implications can be made regarding group characteristics from this level. However, more complex analysis requires further abstraction.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Robert S. Nisbet The Sociological Tradition, (New York, 1966), p. 21.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>4</sup>Raymond Williams, The Age of Revolution, (New York, 1964), p. 79.

<sup>5</sup>Nisbet, p. 31.

<sup>6</sup>Carl Marx, Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party, Ed. Feuer; Lewis S. Garden City, 1959, p. 483.

<sup>7</sup>Nisbet, p. 29.

<sup>8</sup>Asa Biggs and John Saveille, Essays in Labour History, (London, 1960), p. 47.

<sup>9</sup>Williams, p. 26.

<sup>10</sup>Nisbet, p. 26.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>12</sup>Norman Hampson, A Social History of the French Revolution, (London, 1963).

<sup>13</sup>Nisbet, p. 38.

<sup>14</sup>Charles Guignebert, A Short History of the French People, F. Richmond, trans., (New York, 1930), II. 265.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Nisbet, p. 43.

<sup>17</sup>Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties, (London, 1902), p. 48.

<sup>18</sup>Nisbet, p. 44.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 48.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 71.

<sup>21</sup>Don Martindale, The Nature and Types of Sociological Theory, Cambridge (1960), p. 86.

<sup>22</sup>Nisbet, p. 72.

<sup>23</sup>Martindale, p. 85.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 85.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 87.

<sup>26</sup>Ferdinand Tonnies, Community and Society, trans. and ed., Charles P. Loomis, (Michigan State University Press, Lansing, 1957), p. 13.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>28</sup>Nisbet, pp. 84-85.

<sup>29</sup>Tonnies, p. 14.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>32</sup>Howard Becker and Harry E. Barns, Social Thought From Lore to Science, 2nd Edition. (Washington, D. C., 1952).

<sup>33</sup>Tonies, p. 17.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>35</sup>Nisbet, p. 71.

## CHAPTER III

### PHENOMENON OF CONSCIOUSNESS EXPANSION

The development of group typologies has been valuable to the study of human social behavior. The Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft model can be applied to the study of human groups in a manner which allows comparison of a uni-level nature or in other words comparison on a continuum. In this plane of conceptualizing it is possible to observe motivational forces of human behavior patterns and social structures which could be described as having the general characteristics of either a Gemeinschaft or a Gesellschaft type.

Ideologies which incorporate as a basis for social life a focus on either of these types represent a level of consciousness or more accurately, a level of thinking in which concepts dominate the focus of life direction for the individual.

In a different plane on another level there is an approach to life direction in which there is an attempt to change the nature of human consciousness through freeing the mind from heavy dependencies not merely on the concepts of prescribed social structures and processes but from dependencies on any concepts. This is no attempt to discard the valuable ability of man to conceptualize for that would be disastrous to human existence. The human mental process must work with concepts for they are our picture of reality and without them consciousness would either be drastically handicapped, perhaps even

non-existent.

The point is that concepts, like stars, are pictures of the past, not dynamically in tune with present reality. Too heavy a dependence on pictures of the past therefore limits our outlook on and meetings with the reality of the present.

The movement away from dependencies on concepts involves being open and receptive to reality; not predisposed to concepts used to describe reality-used to prescribe and proscribe life style. It results in being more "aware" of the disadvantages as well as the advantages of a life style depicted by Gemeinschaft as well as a life style more Gesellschaft in nature.

The openness and receptiveness I am referring to represents a movement toward the development of an expanded human consciousness--a more full awareness of the world we live in--of "present reality."

Such a development is described by Charles A. Reich as "Consciousness III."<sup>1</sup> This level of consciousness as seen by Reich involves his understandings of a growing movement within this society toward personal freedom; freedom of the mind and spirit as well as the body.

To gain an understanding of what Reich describes as the "new" consciousness or Consciousness III it is necessary to know what this consciousness is being contrasted to.

Reich describes two other levels of consciousness; Consciousness I and Consciousness II.

Consciousness I is illustrated in the early American rugged individual who focused objectively on nature, including fellow human beings, separating himself from the rest of the world. It is every man for himself (or his family) at this level of consciousness. Hard work



is the key to a rewarding and satisfying life.

This level of consciousness is, of course, very present in today's society. Those who are a part of it maintain that there will always be aggression and struggle for power; that "the American dream is still possible" and that "success is determined by character, morality, hard work, and self denial."

This description by Reich includes a generally loose categorization consisting of farmers, owners of small businesses, immigrants who retain their sense of nationality, A.M.A. type doctors, many members of Congress, gangsters, Republicans and "just plain folks."

Among those described at the Consciousness II<sup>2</sup> level there is a feeling that the individual must realize that he cannot be directed from within. For he is too dependent on the "system." Conforming to more or less prescribed channels to accomplish goals is just part of the game--part of the price one pays for getting ahead. Not that reform is absent within Consciousness II people. It is present but in a channeled rational attempt to realize a vague notion of equalitarianism among men in which there are so many repressive limitations that major changes are not likely.

Technique is very important in Consciousness II thinking. There is a supreme attempt to find a rationally secure prescription, a plan for management and control of society. "Thus the Nixon view is that government is a problem in management; a professor of law would see the function of law as "social ordering" and a social scientist would see such problems as traffic jams, air pollution, or inadequate public housing as failures to apply planning and rationality."<sup>3</sup>

In Consciousness II there is present a "duty" to higher goals.

Self sacrifice is considered a virtue and with this a person denies the importance of his own feelings. The higher goal or purpose may be nation, job, or other organization.

Another part of the reality of Consciousness II thinking is that there is a "public" man and a "private" man within each individual. This split reality is rejected by Consciousness III thinking as are many of the characteristics of both Consciousness I and II.

Within the level of Consciousness II, Reich includes such people as: liberal intellectuals, educated professionals and technicians, middle class suburbanites, labor union leaders, old line leftists and members of the American Communist Party.

Consciousness III<sup>4</sup> emerges out of two main interacting forces: (1) The promise of life that is made to Americans and really the Western World as a result of highly developed technology, affluence, liberation and ideals and (2) the threat that appears as a potential destroyer of this promise including situations from the war in Vietnam to the meaningless and powerlessness experienced in occupations within the corporate industrial system.

Other directedness, so present in this society, is reduced and does not control the individual who is at the Consciousness III level. He is glad to be what he is and not completely controlled by the "oughtness" that limits or delimits personal freedom. There is a transcending of the perceived external "social force" imposed on the individual which has been charged with being a causative agent in the crystalizing of social roles, neo-phobia, and meaningless tradition. This perceived force and behavior based the assumption that this force is real and omnipotent gives relevance to Thomas' "definition

of the situation." For those who perceive that they must be or at least are directed from outside themselves other directedness becomes a reality. For those who do not, other alternatives are open.

In my understanding of Consciousness III this transcendence is called "liberation"<sup>5</sup> which is considered the foundation for expanding of the conscious. A person shifts from ques or social directives taken from outside societal goals to directives from within based on personal needs. The self begins to be discovered not in selfishness but in love of self, appreciation of uniqueness as well as relatedness to the world.

The measuring of and competition among human beings is seen as the setting up of a barrier between them which limits the depth of personal relationships. In the measuring of another human being it is important to remember that objectifying is taking place. This is a process of dehumanization and is vehemently rejected by those at the Consciousness III level. With this two basic characteristics of our culture are rejected: the attainment of status based on a merit system and attainment of high merit rating through competition with others.

There is a refusal to evaluate people by general standards; classifying and analyzing them. Universal brotherhood is a basic assumption at the Consciousness III level. "The world is a community."<sup>6</sup> We are all in this world together and one man does not reject another's integrity as a human being. Everyone has a right to his dignity and hangups and inadequacies are present in every human being. These do not detract from human worth.

Being wholly honest not only with others but with self is seen as

a prerequisite to becoming more conscious; aware, in reality. Altering oneself for the purpose of pleasing or of not displeasing someone else is unjustified and is seen as manipulation, using, coercing which is another characteristic of object orientation in human relationships.

In terms of political activism and third level consciousness, there is a rejection of giving oneself to a cause to be used as an object, a means to for example accomplish some politically oriented goal. This is seen as unnatural and destructive to personal integrity. If a person feels he can help accomplish a needed change he does so through his relationships with other human beings. The person realizes that he is unique and has the ability to be inner directed but this does not mean that outside influences on himself, those around him, the world he lives in should be met with the individualism of early American pioneers. A person who joins with others in a shared effort to accomplish, for example, a change in the social structure which affects them all does not necessarily lose his Self. For it is through the needs of the Self and the needs of others that he is acting. This approach can be seen as an act of taking "personal responsibility." Such an approach is not original in the notion of Consciousness III but is seen in other approaches to human growth toward wholeness including that of Perls in Gestalt therapy.<sup>7</sup> It involves taking hold of one's life; accepting my existence in the reality of the present and taking responsibility for my present existence as well as taking the necessary actions to meet future needs, personally.

The liberal can say, relates Reich, "I oppose air pollution but

in my job I have nothing to do with it, no responsibility in that direction." This to the Consciousness III person is irresponsibility. With regard to problems in human relations, specifically race relations, Eldridge Cleaver, in his book Soul On Ice charges that if you're not part of the solution, then you're part of the problem. This charge has no doubt caused uneasiness among liberals.

While consciousness can be seen as increasing in our society there is an apparent need within the culture of Consciousness III to "restore, protect and foster human consciousness."<sup>8</sup>

The major effort in this area is two fold: resisting the imposed pseudo-consciousness and counter acting those aspects of our society which reduce sensitivity.

The false consciousness seen as imposed on our society includes the domination of man by his machines-machines of industry as well as machines of the corporate state and other social structures. These machines emerged with a highly developed technocratic, bureaucratic mass society. It is not proposed in Consciousness III thinking (nor is it really possible) to reject the products and achievements of modern society. What is proposed however, is to put them in a different perspective realizing that they are the creations of men and are to be used by men instead of being superordinated. This is what Eric Fromm describes in The Revolution of Hope in which he calls for the "humanization of technology."

Another effort to shake off the pseudo-consciousness or old consciousness involves reducing the emphasis placed on role playing; that is, of trying to be several different people simultaneously. Such behavior is viewed as generally unhealthy because of the disinte-

grating effect it has on the unity of the Self. This is illustrated by the schizoid characteristics of the man who tries to be a different person publicly than he is privately. This aspect of social behavior falls under discussions of role conflict and its psychological importance is sometimes slighted. The person who subscribes to such an approach to social life is as most of us are to some degree, schizoid. His world is a split one and the unity of Self is not possible. The split must be reduced as much as possible in order for a person to gain a more full receptiveness to reality through meeting life more wholly, thereby expanding consciousness.

The resisting of imposed limited consciousness is integrated with the counteracting of blunted consciousness. For as the mind and the will become more free, less burdened by the weight of perceived outside control, the person can become more free to absorb his life experiences. He becomes more sensitive, more alert and aware of not only himself but of his surroundings. He is more free to "get into" other human beings and nature as a whole.

The social setting for growth in consciousness or awareness, as I call it, is one of a feeling of relatedness of human beings to each other both physically and psychologically. Basically this is felt as community.

The idea of community in Consciousness III and expanded consciousness generally has major foundations in two basic concepts: A high regard and sincere respect for the uniquenesses of individuals and a sharing of the feeling of being together in time if not space. The phrase "get together" does not mean only or necessarily to come together physically but more than this it means feeling, mutually, a

relation to and a flowing with other human beings and the world. In community the true relationship among people is that all are students as well as teachers. It is a sharing of life energies, a mutual appreciation of and involvement in life and living itself. The development of reality consciousness and the discovery of the individual's relatedness to and integration with the world he lives in has received a major contribution in the works of Martin Buber. In his book I and Thou Buber illustrates what I consider to be the basic foundation of Reichs' development of the concepts of Consciousness III: I have little doubt that Buber's works are familiar to Reich. Later in the discussion of communities it will be apparent that developments in the philosophical area of consciousness expansion have influenced experiments in the contemporary communal movement.

Buber's main thesis is that there is a radical difference between man's attitude toward "other men" and his attitude toward "things." The attitude toward men is a relationship between persons, to things it is a connection with objects.

In the personal relationships one subject "I" confronts another subject "Thou." In the connection with things the subject contemplates and experiences an object. These two attitudes represent the basic twofold situation of human life, the former constitutes the "world of Thou" and the latter the "world of It."

The other person (Thou) is shown to be a reality that is given to me but not limited by me. I meet the other person and in this meeting there is no process of reduction taking place; no reducing or abstracting of the person to make him an object to experience; no subjective process with myself as manipulator.

In the world of objects or things; however, there is a single center of consciousness, one subject. Men begin to relate to other men accordingly. They objectify others like they do the world of things in an attempt to understand their relationships. As this happens the "Thou" becomes an "It."

Put another way R. G. Smith states in the introduction to I and Thou,

...this primary distinction between the two orders in which men live concerns on the one hand the meaning of community, and on the other hand the meaning of organization. Community consists in the relation of persons, organizations in the connection between things.

Concrete reality for Buber is the situation where responsible persons confront one another in living mutual relation. An abstract kind of reality exists where an "I" disintegrates the unity of what he confronts, making an object out of what he is relating to; taking "It" apart. In this manner I rationally analyze the world, "my" world. I must continually do this; however, for without abstraction my existence would be absurdly chaotic. But each time I do this the Thou is reduced, relatedness and unity become less noticeable and the separation between "I" and the rest of the world increases.

Buber, assuming that..."in the beginning there is relationship"...<sup>10</sup> through which the I-Thou relationships can be lived, suggests to me that the living of experiences is an I-It relationship which is bound to and limited by the past; memories, conceptualizations and assumptions built from descriptions of the experiences in life. But the experience of living is an I-Thou relationship which is an existence more in present reality; the living of and through the "now".

The relationships of living in the present are not lived as part



of a continuous and organized sequence, but are lived in a duration; acting and acted upon, not as a result of a causal pattern but in mutualness between I and Thou.

The order of the world today has been constructed largely from experiences of an I - It perspective of life. For a rationally based order can only be constructed from descriptions and conceptualizations of the past; projecting these into the future as a means to security through attempts to "predict and control" in the Comteian sense.

For Buber this is living in the world of the past - the order of the world as constructed from the past.

Just as living in the "past" is not living in present reality the constructed order of the world is not world order. The relationships in the state of living in the present are not organized to make the world order but each is a sign of the world order.

In this way the world of the present appears to be unreliable and unpredictable for it continuously takes on new and different meaning. It cannot be dissected and analyzed for it is a flowing together of all existence. I cannot predict when understanding and growth will emerge and when I hold discoveries of awareness tightly I lose part of their value by destroying their dynamic qualities.

Even at this moment as I write I am constructing and abstracting my understanding of the nature of the world of the present and as I do so I set up a separation between the experience and myself. The result is that I enter a relationship of "I - It" and the experience of relationship shifts from present to past - from concrete to abstract.

This, of course, is unavoidable and that Buber suggests we can

exist in the present at all times would be to misunderstand his position and to ignore the dynamic characteristics of life itself.

The dynamic nature of reality is what accounts for a future and without precautions being taken through insights from the past existence would only be a primitive response to stimulations; an existence which would most likely be short lived.

Although it is not possible to live totally in the present it is possible to live almost so in the past. For only in the world of the past, that of conceptual reality, may life be organized to satisfy the strong desire in man for rational security.<sup>11</sup>

Buber on this point, maintains that while man cannot exist without an "It", an objective, conceptual perspective, he cannot be whole if he lives in the objective world; for this is not where life flows.

The I-It world is one of living past experiences. The flow of life exists where man experiences living in the I - Thou world. The rest is reflection and projection.

The spirit of man as Buber sees it is not in the I but between I and Thou. To be whole, man must live in the spirit and the only way he can do so is to enter the relationship with Thou; with his whole being.

The world of It relationships is a world where objects are experienced and used. It is to Buber from such relationships that knowledge is attained. A major problem arises however, from the fact that the more intense or dominating the I - It relationships become, the less power a man has to enter into relation in the I - Thou sense. As this occurs man places his "reality focus" and confidence in the

former. Knowledge can become the focus for reality seeking and thus man limits himself more to the I - It separation scheme.

A man limited to these relationships does so with his fellow human beings as well as with inanimate objects. He categorizes men into types, classes and worth. His institutions become more structure than content, illustrated by the formal nature of human relationships in these institutions. "Institutions are "outside", where all sorts of aims are pursued; where a man works, negotiates bears influences, ...concurs, and organizes."<sup>12</sup>

Feelings are bound up inside, withdrawn from the institutions and from the relationships of men within them. So, the personal life of feeling is separated from the public life of "business and negotiation."

This it seems is a tragic result of a domination of I - It relationships between men which keep them from developing as more whole human beings related to each other in spirit. Buber synthesises:

True public and true personal life are two forms of connective. In that they come into being and endure, feelings (the changing content) and institutions (the constant form) are necessary; but put together they do not create life: this is done by the third, the central presence of the Thou, or rather, more truly stated, by the central Thou that has been received in the present.<sup>13</sup>

In his exploration of the I Buber carefully distinguishes the I of the I - Thou from the I of the I - It.

The I of the former emerges as individuality with an "ism" implied. The I becomes conscious of itself as subject of experiencing and using. The I of the latter emerges as "person" and becomes conscious of itself as subjectively unpossessed.

Individuality depends on a differentiation from other individu-

alities while a person emerges through entering into relations with other persons. The one is the "spiritual form of natural detachment", the other the "spiritual form of natural solidarity of connection."<sup>14</sup>

A human being is never pure "person" or pure "individuality". Every man enters both I - It and I - Thou relationships. It is; however, possible for a human being to enter more of one of these types of relationships than the other, that is meet the world around him with more of his whole being or with an isolated individuality, separating himself from the world and reality.

In this latter type of relationship, I remove from reality a perceived "part" in an attempt to study or "know" it. I remove the figure from the ground. This is unavoidable and of course useful in the furtherance of knowledge and awareness unless I fail to realize that a vital aspect of the nature of this part is that it flows with dynamic reality only when integrated with the whole from which I have abstracted it. Separate, by itself it may have form but not life.

An illustration will cast light on this point. Alan Watts<sup>15</sup> speaks of a man who, overcome by the beauty of a flowing river decides that he wants to preserve its beauty. He fills a bucket with water from the flowing river that he might take its beauty home with him. Looking into the bucket of water he has drawn he realizes that something is missing, the water is not flowing. By abstracting or taking from the whole he had destroyed its dynamic nature and a great part of its beauty.

When I enter a relationship of an I - Thou nature I do not do so with the intent to separate either the parts of what I am meeting from the whole or myself from the whole. I enter such a relationship aware

that I am really an inseparable aspect of what I am relating to.

When this takes place in me understandings grow and growth of understanding results in increased "awareness" of self, relatedness and unity. There is not a taking from "It" to gain knowledge but an openness to receive understanding.

Buber expresses this in terms of a "Presence in Power" in which he describes the fullness of a "real mutual action" and meaningfulness within the relationship.<sup>16</sup> The question of the meaning of life no longer exists. The meaning is not explainable and there is no need felt to explain it. The meaning is not another life, removed from this world but life in the present world. There is a confirmation of the relationship with this world. It is a confirmation of my aliveness and relation with a world in which I am flowing with; integrated into.

This relationship does not have its source and spirit in I nor does it in Thou. The spirit and foundation of the relationship is in the meeting, the mutual understanding of a relatedness of I and Thou. Each receiving the other rather than each taking from the other results in awareness and understanding of relatedness, of wholeness.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Charles A. Reich, The Greening of America, Random House, (New York, 1970), pp. 21-58.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 59-87.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 70.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 217-264.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 225.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 227.

<sup>7</sup>Frederick S. Perls, Gestalt Therapy Verbatim, Real People Press, Lafayette, California, 1969.

<sup>8</sup>Reich, p. 254.

<sup>9</sup>Martin Buber, I and Thou, T & T Clark, Trans. R. G. Smith (Edinburgh, 1937).

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 43.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 46.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 62.

<sup>15</sup>Alan Watts, The Wisdom of Insecurity, Vintage Books, New York, 1951.

<sup>16</sup>Buber, p. 110.

## CHAPTER IV

### EARLY AMERICAN COMMUNALISM

#### Introduction

In 18th century Europe there was much dissatisfaction among the peasant classes. They were oppressed by both the economic and social structure of medieval Europe. The solution to the injustices of the existing system seemed to be revolution. As the ground was laid for this seemingly unavoidable destiny, numbers of Europeans found that they needed immediate relief from their oppressive state. These people initiated what was to emerge as a communal movement throughout Europe. With hopes that they could achieve some degree of religious, economic, and social freedom beyond what they had known by breaking away from the existing system these people became the highly criticized "Communists" of 18th and 19th century Europe.

The communal movement in Europe was gradually felt in other parts of the world mostly as a result of immigration of some of the communalists out of Europe. In that day one of the areas thought to be almost ideal for communal settlements was North America. There was plenty of land, few people and the economic and social structures of the people were apparently loose and had not had hundreds of years to develop the ingrained oppressiveness of the peasants so characteristic of European societies.

With the hopes of a brighter future and the idealistic outlook

of true Utopians these people helped initiate the communal movement in America. By the middle of the 19th century the movement in this country was well established. The ideological foundations of the numerous settlements were usually variations on philosophies of economics or religion or a combination of the two.

### Harmony Society

An example of the spread of communalism from Europe to America is illustrated by the establishment of an early 19th century communal settlement in this country called Harmony Society.<sup>1</sup> The settlement was led by George Rapp, a leader in the separatist religious movement in Germany. Father Rapp, as he was called, and his following had been severely criticized and abused for their religious beliefs and decided in 1803 that in America they would have the freedom to practice their beliefs.

Rapp's followers were of industrial working class of Germany. They were strong in mind and spirit. They were tired of the oppression of their class and communalism as well as a new atmosphere represented a bright alternative to their present social and economic state. Upon starting the Harmony Society the members agreed to place all possessions into a common fund, to adopt a simple dress style and to keep all things in common. They also felt that each should labor for the common good of the whole.

Rapp taught his followers that they should live a sincere and religious life, that they were not to labor for wealth or to look forward anxiously for prosperity; that the coming of the Lord was near and for this they were waiting as his chosen ones, "separated" from



the world.

As a practical application to their daily lives, Rapp taught humility, simplicity in living, self-sacrifice, love to your neighbor, regular industry (working as good therapy for the soul), prayer, and self-examination.

In the basic ideology of the community it was maintained that the community should as much as possible produce and make everything it used. Therefore, the settlement grew most of the crops needed and raised animals for meat and clothing. A wool mill was built and the community was almost self-sufficient.

By 1832 and after a factional split by some members, the Harmonists after several moves had settled at Economy, Pennsylvania. They had existed for over twenty years and had built three towns during which time they had maintained a comfortable life and stable social order. Over all they were more secure and healthy than the individual settlers of the period.

By 1875 however, the community had nearly lost its strength on all levels. A practice of celibacy incorporated into the religious doctrine had resulted in the membership being drastically reduced and the wait for Christ's return was disparaging. George Rapp, who had claimed he would live to see the return, died in 1847. Though the community was weak the members still maintained the hope that they would still be delivered to eternity and that God would take care of them.

In terms of the basic nature of the Harmony Society with regard to the basic model of Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft, this community, like many settlements of the early movement, was characteristically

Gemeinschaft. The central theme of living in this world was that it should be lived in the time spirit of Christian Communism taught and practiced by the early Christians. It is the closeness and interdependence of members for welfare, the one-ness of mind or "conscience collective" as Durkheim described, and the supernatural religious beliefs described in Becker's sacred society type that gives Harmony its strong Gemeinschaft qualities.

#### Amana Community

Another illustration of the movement of religious freedom seeking people from Europe to the United States is found in the Amana Society,<sup>2</sup> pietists who believed it was possible to be inspired directly by God if one was pure enough. Most of the members of this community came from Germany where they were farmers, weavers or industrial workers within the peasant class. They came wishing to live only as a Christian congregation not in community but found it necessary to live communally for reasons of economics.

Their first settlement was initiated in 1842 near Buffalo, New York. Later they expanded and moved to Iowa where they developed a larger more complex community. They developed their own factories for making goods as well as tools needed in the community. Farming, wool, lumber, and leather tanning were among the other industries developed by the society. There was even a railroad station built. A council chosen by a board of trustees met every morning to lay out the daily work schedule in the community's industries. This settlement was probably one of the most self-sufficient communities in the history of American communalism.

Families at Amana lived in separate houses but meals and, of course, church were communal. Children were given daily lessons consisting of learning skills of industry and the virtues of being a good Christian. Sexuality was considered a threat to Christian purity and peace of mind so dress of women was very plain, shawls being worn to give them a monotonous appearance. Sexual segregation was practiced in many activities. Although marriage was allowed, it was considered a danger to virtue and if one desired "higher" piety, he should not only remain single but forever celibate. Nevertheless marriages continuously took place and many couples lived what would be described at Amana as "impure" relationships. The temporal powers as well as all other spheres of power were exclusively male dominated in an authoritarian manner. Both women and children were socially subordinate to men. As mentioned, Christianity was the religious theme of the community. Within the general Christian doctrine Amana ideology maintained a belief in the resurrection of the dead and final judgment but not eternal punishment, believing rather that fire will purify the soul in the course of time - longer or shorter according to the degree of "wickedness."

Again, as in the Harmony Society when we compare the Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft model to the characteristics of this community we find the strong solidarity necessary for the maintenance of independence and self-sufficiency. There is present the super-naturalism in the sacredness of human spiritual existence which Becker described in his sacred-secular model. These characteristics reveal the Gemeinschaft nature of Amana. The development of industry in the community along with the complex division of labor required in such a system illustrate

the nature of the organic solidarity model developed by Durkheim and the Gesellschaft characteristics of the Amana Society.

### Oneida Perfectionists

As the European communal movement spread to the United States, some people already living in this country who were not satisfied with their present conditions began to look to communalism as an alternative. Oneida Community is an example of a community consisting almost entirely of American members.

Originally John Humphrey Noyes, the leader of the community, was not a communist, but his philosophy shifted in the communal direction and he began to preach communism to the following he had gathered as a religious "Perfectionist" subscriber. Perfectionism as Noyes saw it, involved the total cessation from sin through total intercourse with God. Noyes was urging that this can best be accomplished through communal living.

In 1846 in Putney, Vermont the followers of John Humphrey Noyes began an experiment in communal living which brought hostility from the local towns people and resulted in mobs driving these "separatists" out of the area. In 1848 they joined some people of like faith and practice at Onieda in Madison County, New York.

The original members were mostly New England farmers. At first they looked to agriculture and horticulture as a major source of income and later added other trades. They constructed saw mills, a blacksmith shop, raised small fruits, made rustic furniture, and raised and sold cattle.

The Perfectionists like many other "separatists" held the Bible

to be the text book of life. The Gospel to them provided for complete salvation from sin. A sinless life was the standard of the community to which all members were taught to aspire. Hence, the name "Perfectionists." Communism was believed to be the social state of the resurrection according to Noyes. Community of goods and of persons were believed to have been strongly taught by Jesus. The Onieda Perfectionists under the guidance of Noyes maintained that there was ... "no intrinsic difference between property in persons and property in things and the same spirit which abolished exclusiveness in regard to money would abolish, if circumstances allowed full scope to it, exclusiveness in regard to women and children."<sup>3</sup> This gives clue to the extraordinary social system the Perfectionists developed in which there was no marriage, or more specifically, where complex marriage replaced simple marriage. By complex marriage it is meant that two people within the community could cohabit if they gained the consent of each other through the arbitration of a third party and not privately between themselves. Exclusive bonds between two people were considered sinful, selfish, and idolatrous.

The community also practiced their own version of planned parenthood. They did so for several reasons including the economic burden of population growth. They also tried a form of selective procreation between males and females paired because of their high degree of piety as practicing "Perfectionists". This went on for some time as an experiment of a form of eugenics. There was, however, a problem present throughout the history of the community concerning couples becoming attached to each other and wanting to stay together even though such relationships were strongly prohibited.

As a part of the practical life and improvement of personal attitude the community employed a practice of "criticism" which was a main instrument of government. In this practice a person volunteered to sit before a group of members and listen to their criticisms of him, to give him what can be described as a "direct" example of Cooley's "looking glass self" concept. The practice of criticism was thought to give the subject of criticism a broader perspective regarding what other people thought about him and to those criticizing a release for any building animosity or hostility.

With regard to the Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft model Onieda Community represents the former in the strong commitment to communalism apparent in their attempt to practice it in all aspects of living. As in the two previous communities discussed characteristics of Gemeinschaft are also illustrated in Onieda's attempt to develop and maintain a community independent of the larger social system and the subscribing to a super-naturalistic type of treatment of the fate of the human spirit or soul.

Characteristics of a Gesellschaft nature are also present in this community, namely; experimenting with the conventional institution of marriage even though the motivation for the experiment was based on a communal philosophy; the invoking of a population controlling practice; and further manipulation of mate practices through a plan of pairing the most virtuous males and females. The experimenting with conventional social structures and experimentations with tradition in general is emphasized in Redfield's antithesis of the "folk" type model of society. The Rationalistic reform approach required for population control and Onieda's form of eugenics

practices is illustrated in Becker's model of the secular society type. Onieda Community then could be described as having strong characteristics of Gemeinschaft as well as those of Gesellschaft.

### Brook Farm

Here is another example of an American originated community. This endeavor was truly Utopian in its approach to human existence. The founders of Brook Farm<sup>4</sup> sought to convert the mundane world into a better place. Among the members and supporters of this endeavor at various periods were R. W. Emerson, Nathaniel Hawthorn and Horace Greeley. The community was located in the Boston area.

Brook Farm originated in 1841 from the ideas and ideals of George Ripley, a Unitarian minister who believed that advancement in mankind was possible through the development of the "Christian way of life." While many societies were concerned with a Christian life only because it was a means of achieving eternal life, Ripley was concerned with the Christian doctrine as a means of achieving a way to a "better order." Ripley believed that social order in this world could only be mastered by an act of will or volition; specifically that of man.

Concretely, Ripley's conception was:

A community is to be formed to promote more effectually the great purpose of human culture; to apply the principles of justice and love to social organizations; to substitute brotherly co-operation for selfish competition; to prevent anxiety in men by a competent supplying in them of necessary wants; to guarantee each other the means of support.<sup>5</sup>

Brook Farm had a school and it was one of the most progressive in the country. Ripley introduced the concept of kindergarten in America long before the name was known here. In the community school there was an emphasis on learning from experience, teaching children

from life and not from books, and from observation instead of authority. The aim was to combine the practical with the theoretical. One of the community's aims was to live life freely and to enjoy the fullness of life. There was in this community an absence of many of the rigid taboos and limitations found in other communities such as the Amana Society.

The philosophy at Brook Farm was rooted in the Unitarian doctrine but was generally Transcendental in nature. Transcendentalism represented a reaction against the materialistic and "realistic" philosophies of the eighteenth century. As the community evolved however, Ripley and the other community members started leaning more in the direction of a more rational reform approach as a result of strong influences from the reform movement in France, particularly that of Fourier, a prominent French reformist. The shift in Ripley's philosophy to a more reformist nature involved an ideological premise that individuals had to be fitted into a social order to give them meaningful significance in society. This shift caused a split in the community between those who desired a more free transcendental philosophy and those who agreed to a more rational reform philosophy. It was this split which caused a loss in the community's following and contained the seeds of the dissolution of the colony. The finishing blow was felt when a fire burned down the most vital building in the community. Brook Farm was terminated in 1847.

Although Brook Farm was an endeavor which involved decentralization, co-operative provision of economic needs, and close personal relationships among members, all characteristics of Gemeinschaft, the evolving theme in the colony seemed to have a Gesellschaft trend.



As the influences of European social reformists which represent the rationalistic social progressiveness suggested by Tonnies in Gesellschaft were integrated into the philosophy espoused by Ripley, the philosophy of the colony, which Ripley led at least in part, evolved to a more rationally based, reformistic, Gesellschaft nature. The better world order once seen by Ripley as attainable through Christian ethics was now seen to be accomplished through fitting man into the social structure.

### Summary

Brook Farm as a Utopian endeavor represents an example of some of the intellectual efforts in this country's early communal movement. Along with the Onieda Community Brook Farm also contained a flavor of the rationalism and secularism that was widespread in social theories of the period. Onieda contained along with these characteristics a rigid Christian religious doctrine not present in Brook Farm ideology. A strict religious philosophy is to be found in many if not most of the major communities of the early movement and is found in both the Amana and Harmonist communities. It was for this reason that they were chosen to represent the trend of early American communalism in this study. Both Nordhoff and Calverton maintain that most of the communal endeavors of the early movement gave little importance to intellectual pursuits and placed most of their emphasis on some religious doctrine, usually Christian based.

By 1940 most of the major efforts established in early American communalism were only a part of the history of Utopian movements. The movement in this country was dead. Amana today brings to most people's

minds only the thought of a refrigerator and not of the flourishing communities of the Amana Society of the 19th century. It was not until the 1960's that communalism was revitalized as a Utopian movement, an alternative to or a chance to improve the existing social and economic systems.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Charles Nordhoff, The Communistic Societies of the United States, New York, Hillary House, 1960.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> John Humphrey Noyes, History of American Socialisms, Hillary House, New York, 1961, p. 625.

<sup>4</sup> V. F. Calverton, Where Angels Dared to Tread, New York, Bobbs-Merrill, 1941.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 198.

## CHAPTER V

### DESCRIPTION OF A SELECTION OF EXPERIMENTAL COMMUNITIES IN THE CONTEMPORARY COMMUNAL MOVEMENT

I would like at this point to present a descriptive discussion of a selection of intentional communities found in the contemporary communal movement in this country; a movement suggestive of not only a revived conflict between some of the precepts of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft oriented ideologies but of a movement in this society through which people are seeking alternative life styles, more meaningful human relationships and more meaning in life itself.

Realizing that there are thousands of experiments now in existence I make no pretense to be representing the movement as a whole. I am however, presenting what I consider to be generally representative of the movement as I have been exposed to it through both the literature and my personal contacts with communities.

I am attempting this realizing the personal biases of my observations with regard to the literature and in my visits to communities: the limited accessibility of literature on social movement in this area and the biases I no doubt have as a result of my having visited communities in only one section of the country. In an effort to counter this bias information has been drawn from periodical literature particularly from The Modern Utopian and Green Revolution, two magazines which publish accounts and general information on experi-

mental communities throughout the country.

In the discussion of these experiments I will attempt to bring out the characteristics of the communities with respect to the three main points of focus presented thus far in this study; Gemeinschaft, Gesellschaft and consciousness expansion.

The descriptions will include: (1) The characteristics of Gemeinschaft or community as a broadly applied concept. This characteristic is of course inherently present in the movement as a whole in the sense that experimental communities usually involve some emphasis on decentralization breaking away from the larger society; (2) characteristics Gesellschaft in nature: This concept will also receive a generalized application; (3) characteristics of the communities suggestive of the movement toward the development or expansion of consciousness and awareness of man discussed in a previous chapter.

Regarding the first two themes I have, as was previously set forth, taken the liberty of allowing Tonnie's concepts of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft to represent the dominant characteristics of not only his typology but also of the other typologies selected and presented earlier. I have chosen to make this generalization with the assumption that the level of abstraction used in the discussion will be sufficiently low enough to allow an application of the two concepts without distorting the content of their original meanings.

#### Lama Foundation

Lama is a rural community located in the Sangre de Cristo mountains of New Mexico. It could be described as a modern religious commune but not in the sense that there is a specific religious

doctrine.

The consciousness theme is apparent in that the Foundation serves its purpose as an instrument for the "awakening of consciousness."<sup>1</sup>

The people in this community feel that it is important to emphasize the open fluid and experimental in the development of consciousness.

The religious flavor of the philosophy dominant in this community emerges as a consensus that there is a need for outside discipline if the individual is to grow.

The daily schedule at Lama includes meditation, chanting, and body movement exercises such Tai Chi Chuan and Yoga. Becoming more aware is considered work and this work proceeds in three areas..."the physical, the emotional, and the mental...with the hope that this directed effort will facilitate the growth of self-knowledge."<sup>2</sup>

This common effort provides a focus for a community of people who share these basic aspirations..."to know who we are, why we are here, and what our relationship is to ourselves, our fellow men, and the universe."<sup>3</sup>

Basic to the program of Lama Foundation is the assumption that nothing exists in isolation. To exist is to be related. At the level of the individual this understanding emerges as an effort to integrate body and mind. At the interpersonal level it is expressed in the over-all community program which places a primary emphasis on strong tribal bonds. A third level of the basic concern for wholeness involves a focus on education in the field of ecology.

The members want to become as self-sufficient as possible. This involves growing their own food and constructing and maintaining their

own buildings. Apparent in the community is a high respect for the old Indian style of life such as that of the Hopi Indian. There is more than a hint of the sacredness, simplicity of life, and solidarity of Gemeinschaft in this community. One member relates: "The whole Hopi world or the world that makes sense, is a world where each man and each woman lives out time and the cycles of the seasons...where the duty to maintain the cosmos is dependent on everybody..."<sup>4</sup>

While there is at Lama an apparent desire to subscribe to a basic life style more Gemeinschaft in nature in order to revive human spirit, there is a feeling that, as mentioned above, the development of the human spirit, consciousness and body awareness necessitates a discipline program.

The days at Lama are highly structured. In addition to the religious activities already mentioned there are meetings all day following breakfast. There is some time reserved for private activities in the interval between supper and the evening meeting which is followed by chanting and a period of silence. The weekends are free after Saturday morning activities.

There appears to be an approach to total or whole consciousness through the living of a simple close to the earth life of the "folk" nature. This however, is through a rational human reform program. The consensus is that man must be brought back to the basic life from which he has strayed through modification of his behavior. This is by nature a Gesellschaft characteristic.

In this community there are strong elements of both Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft. This is, of course, as discussed previously, the case in most if not all human social structures. The theme of

consciousness expansion is present in the community's emphasis on the "awakening" of consciousness through "open fluid and experimental approaches."

### Heathcote Center - School of Living

The School of Living at Heathcote in Maryland was founded in 1965 as an extension of the School of Living Organization which was initiated by Ralph Borsodi in 1936. His primary intention at that time was to develop a homesteading movement in this country.

Heathcote communitarians maintain that there is a need to "decentralize our systems of government, education, and labor."<sup>5</sup> They feel that extended type family relationships offer the individual the best environment for personal growth. They suggest however, that this relationship need not be restricted to biological relationships but that it should involve people living together who share a common desire to return to the land and live in a manner suggestive of tribalism and Gemeinschaft.<sup>6</sup> Self sufficiency is desired among these people but my personal contacts with two of the members of this community revealed that this is more of an ideal than a reality.

Also, in my conversations with one of the members of this commune I found that there is an emphasis on growth in human awareness in the individual. There is no rigid structure of daily activities nor is there a strict discipline. However, a philosophical consensus in the community is that growth in consciousness involves thinking feeling and acting on several levels. "It includes the physical--growing and processing food, caring for land animals, building and maintaining shelter. It includes the psychological--sharing and interacting on



as close and as intimate a level as we can. It includes the intellectual--reflection, study, reading, discussions, seminars. It includes the social--developing new practices and institutions like group holding of land (or land Trusts), cooperative credit, mutual exchanges of goods and labor, etc. It includes the cosmic--meditation on the nature of man and Universe, exercises (for some it's Yoga) for stilling the body and mind and experiencing the Ultimate."<sup>7</sup>

The return to the land and desire for a tribal system family in some respects is, as mentioned, suggestive of Gemeinschaft. The pursuit of experimentation with different social structures and institutions as well as the aspect of growth through "intellectual reflection" is suggestive of Gesellschaft rationalism and secularness of social institutions. The theme of "growth in human awareness or expanded human consciousness is obvious as described in the "levels of human response".

#### Twin Oaks Community

In my contacts with intentional communities I have found relatively few with a scientific philosophy as an ideological foundation. One of the most successful and widely known communities of this variety is Twin Oaks, located in a rural area near Louisa, Virginia.

This experimental community founded in 1966 attained its scientifically oriented ideology from the behavioristic psychology approach to community described by B. F. Skinner in his fiction, Walden II, a novel of what Utopia might be.<sup>8</sup>

The membership at Twin Oaks is less than twenty and has been

closed to new membership several times as a result of a lack of physical facilities and a conservative approach to expansion. When membership is open potential members coming to Twin Oaks are accepted into the community after a vote of all members is taken and there are no dissenting votes.

Much like the practice of many nineteenth century communities this vote follows a trial period during which time the prospective member lives at the community and becomes acquainted with the members.

The governing structure is of a type of oligarchy in which there is a Board of Planners who were originally chosen by the whole community membership but are now self-appointing. The planners have only permissive authority and a change in the Board or any of the by-laws takes only a two-thirds majority vote by the membership: The rationally organized nature of the governing body as well as the general nature of the experiment is explicitly Gesellschaft oriented.

The distribution of labor in the community also has a rational basis and it seems to work quite well. Work is distributed by a bidding on the principle of supply and demand. Credits are given for so many hours spent on a particular job. The credits for work are greater as the willingness to do the job is less. This approach to labor illustrates the positive reinforcement principle of behavioristic psychology.

The community has a practice of tension releasing and constructive criticism which they refer to as "mutual criticism". This was no doubt borrowed directly from the nineteenth century Oneida Community and its leader John Humphrey Noyes.<sup>9</sup> In this practice each week at one meeting a different member volunteers to be the subject of criticism

for the other members.

Gemeinschaft natured solidarity, homogeneity, and independence are suggested in the community's desire to have a self-sufficient community and to provide enough work inside the community through the manufacturing of hammocks and other articles so that members will not be forced to work outside the community. As one member expressed: "The community is conceived as an intense concentration in the group and it is considered extremely difficult to the community for members to have contrasting incomes from jobs outside the community."<sup>10</sup>

Sexual relationships in the community are the private concerns of the individuals involved and there are no rigid religious or spiritual activities required or expected of members.

Although the foundation for the community is one of a rational behaviorism and the members maintain that behaviorism is a valid approach to human growth, the philosophy at Twin Oaks is in reality only suggestive of the elaborate design for community constructed by Skinner in Walden II.

Behind all of the details of the community philosophy is one central and solidifying belief among members: The community is offering an alternative to working for the military industrial complex, an alternative to aggressive, violent opposition to the "system", and an alternative to the consciousness limiting characteristics of high level bureaucratization and corporatism.<sup>11</sup>

#### New Buffalo

When the Haight-Asbury scene began to break up around 1967 and people were moving out of the cities, many from the San Francisco area

as well as other parts of California went to New Mexico.

New Buffalo was a result of this movement. The people who formed this community, which is located about seven miles north of Taos, were seeking a non-aggressive, unbureaucratic back to the land tribalism.<sup>12</sup> They were searching for the closeness in interpersonal relationships, the unity and sacredness of group or family solidarity associated with Gemeinschaft relationships. Self sufficiency through subsistence-type farming is an ideal in the community that is all but impossible considering the ruggedness of the land and the extreme climate of hot summers and very cold winters characteristic of that section of the country.

Approximately a year ago, (July 1970), I visited New Buffalo at which time there was a membership of around twenty. The preceding winter their numbers had been reduced to twelve. In the beginning the community was closed to new membership but gradually it began to open to the extent that those who came and seemed to work in were allowed to stay.

The social structure of New Buffalo is a fluid one with an underlying philosophy by nature anarchistic. There are no rules to govern activities of the members. There seems to be a sort of understanding in the group that everyone should help get the work done. Most of the decisions which have to be made such as where and how structures should be built, who works in the garden, preparation of meals and cleaning up the area, and generally maintaining a healthy environment are made through group discussions and consensus.

Interpersonal relationships are not the direct concern of the community unless a major conflict arises and the unity of the group

seems to be threatened. In this situation there is a discussion among the members and again a consensus is hopefully reached which will resolve the problem.

In my exposures to intentional communities those with low structure seem generally to be less efficient with regard to division of labor and completion of initiated projects than those with a more complex structure. However, on my visit to New Buffalo I found several nicely constructed adobe structures including a central dome shaped building where a combination kitchen and dining room were located. This building also included a round recreation and meeting room with a large fire place. There were several smaller structures connected to the central building which I was told were private sleeping and living quarters. A short distance away were several single unit buildings also private.

I walked down into a small valley on the community property where an organic vegetable garden was located. It was roughly imposed on the rocky land and I wondered if irrigation was a problem. It was.

These people had obviously worked hard. They had accomplished a great deal in the absence of a rigid social structure. It seemed that a spirit of togetherness, a tribal spirit, was a strong force in this community. This together with the commonly held philosophy that all were helping provide for themselves as well as the others an "alternative to the aggressive society" as it was stated by one member, seemed to be the central bond of New Buffalo.

Getting back to the land, "becoming part of the earth, and entering into unstructured relationships with other human beings is a part of what the members of New Buffalo feel is necessary for a person to

develop a broader more whole awareness of his "relatedness to the universe."<sup>13</sup>

### Morning Star Ranch

This open-land community is located in Samona County, California.

The basic premise in the community is that all land should be available to those who wish to use it. God is considered to be the sole owner of the earth and men should not fight over the land but rather share it.

There are no rules, regulations or organization at Morning Star. Instead there is a natural selection philosophy among the members which includes the assumption that the "land itself selects the people". Those who do not work hard to build shelter and provide for their basic needs do not survive on the land. If the land becomes over crowded some of the people will spread out, others will leave.

The ideal at Morning Star is "voluntary primitivism", which is a term coined by one of the founders of the community and which means "the reunion of man with his greater self-Gods' nature". This includes living in harmony with the elements, and building your own home out of mud, twigs dead branches and old lumber. It means giving up electricity, gas, running water and telephones. Living in harmony with the elements also means carrying your own drinking water and your own wood for cooking; planting crops and harvesting them without the conveniences of machinery. In this respect Morning Star illustrates an attempt to "get in tune" with the wholeness of man and world by reducing the physical, mental, and spiritual distance man has developed between himself and the rest of nature.

The community was founded in 1966. Lou Gottlieb owner of the land opened it to anyone who wanted to live there. In the beginning days the community maintained a population of around a half-dozen and for this number of people there was no need felt to have a structured social atmosphere. All decisions were made by consensus. But as word began to spread that Morning Star was an open-land commune more people began to move in, particularly from the cities. Most of these people knew little or nothing about living on the land.

As the number of people increased, the number of problems did likewise. There were many transients who took free food and did not contribute to maintaining the community.

Eventually a weekly meeting was instituted which was the only formal structured arrangement of the community. In view of the fact that there were no mechanics for decision making, no prohibitions of any specific act and no organization for such complex long range projects such as building communal facilities, the community managed to deal well with some of the major problems such as maintaining fairly healthy facilities. An organic garden was planted and regular removal of trash was initiated.

The attempts made by the community to maintain the area were burdened by the influx of people moving onto the land. County health officials had an injunction placed on the land and ordered all people off with the exception of the owner and all structures were bulldozed because of the alleged health hazard present. The case was taken to court by Gottlieb and was still there as of February, 1971.

As in most intentional communities Morning Star emphasized decentralization. There was also emphasis against subscribing to state

and nationalistic philosophy. This combined with a generalized sacred, patriarchal relationship between God and man with God as controller and man as his children comprised the central ideology of Morning Star. An ideology heavily Gemeinschaft in nature.

### The Family

I came into contact with this community while staying in Taos, New Mexico. I had read about this commune of around fifty people who were all living in one house and I wanted to see how they managed it. I later found out that there were actually forty-five adult members and nine children.

The Family originated in Berkeley, California. Five men and women from an encounter group decided to live together. With about one-hundred dollars between them they went to Las Vegas where they won several thousand dollars. Following this they traveled to New Mexico. After moving around nomadically for almost two years they settled in Taos where they helped run a health food store, medicinal clinic and information center for local residents. During that period in Taos their membership was expanded.

I visited their store which was called the "General Store" and from my understandings they now either own the store or have interest in it.

I browsed around inside the store for a while. The stock included organically grown fruits and vegetables, a selection of clothing, some hand crafted vests and dresses, used books, and old copies of underground magazines and newspapers from San Francisco and Berkeley.

I picked up some grapes and took them up to the counter. When I



asked how much they would cost the clerk said I could have them free.

I talked to the people there for a while inquiring about the nature of their commune. I asked one girl what "their thing" was, referring to the basic philosophy in the community. She replied that I was their thing; that people were their thing.

With over fifty people living in one house (although it is large) it seemed to me that there would be a great deal of interpersonal tension and conflict.

The crowdedness of this community was not indeliberate. It was chosen and it required the members to be together. Physically isolated privacy is considered to be unnecessary and is seen as an invalid human need. "Privacy is in your head".<sup>15</sup> There was present in this communal effort a "forced" togetherness. No one is to isolate themselves. This goes for couples as well as individuals. Sexual and mate relationships are to be left to the discretion of the individuals involved provided there is no possessiveness or isolation.

The emphasis in The Family has always been on interpersonal relations "or each others growth rather than on possessiveness".<sup>16</sup>

The members of the community maintain that there is a group flexibility, no elaborate structure, rules and requirements. The organization of such structure is viewed as evolving with the group needs. There were; however, a few basic rules which emerged through group consensus: (1) No drugs; this was more of a strong suggestion to members rather than an absolute rule. The community is aware that drugs can become a problem if people get hung-up on them or if their presence in the community is suspected by law officials. (2) No attachments to material possessions; everything is to be shared

freely. (3) No long hair on guys; the local community is conservative and there had been tension between the immigrated long haired people and the native community for some time. (4) Required individual flexibility and openness to group demands; a person should be willing, members maintained, to adjust his behavior if the group feels that he is hung up in some area.

While it appears that the individual is not the primary focus in the ideology of The Family as seen in the Gemeinschaft nature of sacredness of group, forced togetherness and discouragement of individual physical privacy, there is an importance placed on individual fulfillment. There is within the community a collective movement toward individual growth and self realization. This is seen as best achieved through "others being mirrors for the individual" in much the same sense as Cooley's "looking glass self" concept.

#### Bear Tribe

Recently I had the opportunity to meet the founder of a communal endeavor of which the primary goal is to incorporate a large number of communities in becoming a self-sufficient movement back to the land or "Earth Mother" as the movements central figure, Sun Bear expresses it.

I had been lightly exposed to the Bear Tribe through the periodical "The Green Revolution". I understood that the communal headquarters was in Sacramento and that Sun Bear, a Chippewa Indian from Minnesota was traveling around the country as part of an effort to spread homesteading and communal tribalism.

Sun Bear expressed to me his belief that there could be an

incorporation of a large number of communal homesteads into a large tribal relation and that through this incorporation there could be channels provided for exchange of goods; a sort of connecting network of trade among communities. He said that the communities which had already been incorporated were exchanging goods needed for various purposes including preparation of canned goods as well as a variety of raw materials for other uses.

The over all theme Sun Bear presented seemed to be Gemeinschaft in nature. He believes that the "white man's system" is failing miserably and that it's only a matter of time before the system collapses. Decentralization of political and economic power is a primary focus for the movement. Sun Bear sees technology and science as having been developed to an unhealthy extreme in this country and to the most natural way to resolve this over-emphasis is to return to the tradition and tribalism of the Indian.

Through my contact with Sun Bear I met two young women who were traveling with him. I could not help but notice that their relationships with him were one of a submissive nature and I wondered at the time if male domination or authoritarianism was included in the traditionalism and tribalism he proposed. I strongly suspect so.

#### Hidden Springs

This community is another example of new left communalism. It is a rural community located in the South, Acworth, New Hampshire area. The land and structures are held under a land "Trust" and decisions of a legal nature are made by limited consensus action. The Trust is intended to meet only extremely complex problems that cannot be re-

solved by the community through consensus.

Living quarters and common buildings were constructed by the members and are built of very basic materials to avoid high expenses and to develop self sufficiency in living.

Community meetings occur about once a week or whenever the members decide there is need to meet. Along with a theme of "new leftism" in the philosophy of Hidden Springs members there is also a focus on a life style with dominant Gemeinschaft characteristics as illustrated in their simplistic approach to living. However, the communities openness to experiment with unconventional social structures is a characteristic Gesellschaft in nature.

The members believe that they must transcend the institutions of our society. They feel that man needs to "think about and create alternatives to narrow patriotism, til death-do-us-part marriage, highly structured education, the need for one's own estate, excessive police protection, defense against communism, sexual fantasy, drugs to calm or excite the mind, insurance against everything, building codes, professional contractors, and credit holders".<sup>18</sup> This list is not an exhaustive one and is, of course, very utopian. Idealistic thought, however, is an important aspect of the realization of change in a society.

Hidden Springs has a start on the realization of their ideals in that they are living communally, not totally however for they are still working on the problem involved in the nature of private property. They have removed themselves from the pressures of the social structures experienced in city living. They are realizing an alternative to standard education by taking part in a free school

organized in nearby Acworth.

The new consciousness or conscious expansion theme is present in the ideals of Hidden Springs. The members help each other "overcome individual fears and develop new talents for using the whole being to respond to the environment...seeking E.S.P., strength of body, creative talents, and intergrated learning".<sup>19</sup>

They seek to improve their insights and increase their understandings of the natural environment, "...to feel real and sustained love for each other and ourselves...to experiment with self-realization and extra sensory skills..."<sup>20</sup>

#### Sun Rise Hill Community

This final example of experimental communities was an out growth of relationships developed among some of the people who attended the 1966 Intentional Community Conference which was sponsored jointly by the School of Living and the New York Federation of Anarchists.

Although the community was short lived I feel that its nature is one which falls in the mainstream of the contemporary communal movement in this country. The community was located on a forty acre plot of land seven miles outside Greenfield, Massachusetts. The land had been improved by the owner who was also a member of the community. The improvements included a nine room house, a barn, chicken house and garden.

The community holdings (land, etc.) were registered in a "Trust" with all members as beneficiaries in whose interest three Trustees were chosen to make legal decisions. Aside from this, Sun Hill was more of an anarchistic experiment. It did not develop according to

any clear plan. Policy decisions were made only as needed and in many cases only when urgent.<sup>21</sup>

The sentiment toward community work was generally that it not be structured, scheduled or delegated; but rather left to be "spontaneously" accomplished by those ready and willing to contribute.

For Sun Rise this approach did not work well. Meals prepared in accordance with this philosophy were usually thrown together and a standard meal time was impossible. Food was left out and spoiled, dishes and trash piled up. There was an attempt to construct an additional building but work was erratic and often those who were to be working on it would quit early or not even show.

Gradually, a system of loose labor specialization did evolve at Sun Rise, with certain individuals volunteering to accept responsibility for some of the necessary regular functions of the community. This; however, was no improvement for the community as a group for it shifted the central focus of responsibility to a few allowing others to justify a "not-responsible" attitude.

Religion at Sun Rise was undefined. However, religiosity was present among the members in that they believed that "Life" itself was holy and therefore living is by nature religious. Beyond this, group religion was only evidenced by blessings during meals and some group meditation.

The general consensus regarding the use of drugs was that because of the danger of conflicts with legal authorities it should be discouraged. If for example marijuana was to be kept on the property it should be done in secrecy.

The community consensus on sexual mores was a sort of group

inter-love where "all members were lovers, though stable and permanent partnerships were seen as valuable and co-existent with wider love".<sup>22</sup> The consensus was more idealistic than realistic and sexual relationships revolved mainly around mated couples.

Sun Rise was never really self-sufficient. Outside jobs were necessary to maintain the community. Communalism in the economic sense was less than total. Members contributed what they desired to from interests held previous to the forming of the community. Both of these aspects of Sun Rise limited the development of community spirit.

In addition, there seemed to be a dicotomy of the intended degree of group involvement among the members. Some felt that the community should be an "extended family" and should act as each others' brothers, sisters and lovers. This would call for intimate and constant Gemeinschaft natured relationships along with open and receptive consciousness of individual feelings as well as the feelings of the other members. Growth in awareness and consciousness was taking place among the members through group meditation. This practice resulted in valuable discoveries by members regarding their own nature as individuals as well as of the community as a whole.<sup>23</sup> Here in lies the theme of consciousness growth which is found in so many experimental communities today.

Representing the other half of the dicotomy in regard to the degree of group involvement was a commitment to an anarchistic ideal which apparently incorporated a laissez-faire practice toward each other with a minimum of interpersonal interference in individual growth.

This split in ideology along with several major interpersonal

conflicts and a general lack of initiative within the membership are in my estimation the major contributing factors to the decline and eventual disbandment of Sun Rise Hill.

### Summary

It is appropriate at this point to summarize the presence of themes of Gemeinschaft, Gesellschaft and consciousness expansion in the communities I have presented above.

Characteristics of a Gemeinschaft nature are found in all of the communities. In the philosophy at Lama Foundation this consists of the Indian style back-to-the-earth approach and the sacredness of simple life style. At Heathcote Center the return to the land theme is also present. With respect to Twin Oaks ideology we see the theme brought forth in the community's attempt to become as independent and as self sufficient as possible. At New Buffalo again, back to the land tribalism and group solidarity. Morning Star Ranch stresses the abolishing of all nationalistic type philosophy. This community also subscribes to a sacred, supernatural philosophy of God as controller of man and earth. The Family from Taos, New Mexico emphasizes sacredness of the group and discourages privacy. Sun Bear's philosophy for the Bear Tribe incorporates homesteading, communal tribalism and decentralization of political and economic structures in this society. The community of Hidden Springs illustrates Gemeinschaft characteristics by expressing the belief that technology should be simple as should the general life style of human beings. The general and somewhat internally conflicting philosophy of the now defunct Sun Rise Hill Community reflected desire among some of the members for an "extended



family" closeness in relationships. However this was not to include the usual sexual taboos found in biologically based extended family systems.

In only four of the communities do we find significant signs of a Gesellschaft theme. At Lama it is present in a human reform program to personal growth. At Heathcote it is apparent in that there is a rational emphasis on "intellectual reflection" and experimentation with social structures and traditional forms of social relationships. The behavioristic human reform rationalism present in the Twin Oaks ideology illustrates this community's Gesellschaft theme and at Hidden Springs it emerges in the form of experimentation with various social structures in an attempt to break away from traditional institutional forms. New Buffalo, Morning Star Ranch, The Family, Bear Tribe, and Sun Rise Hill do not contain significant characteristics of the Gesellschaft theme.

The theme of consciousness expansion is present in seven of the nine communities presented. Lama philosophy expresses it in the assumption that nothing exists in isolation; the integration of body and mind, and; the notion of "awakening of consciousness". This awakening was accomplished however, with the aid of a human reform approach which would be classified as more a Gesellschaft than a consciousness expansion characteristic. Heathcote community emphasizes the theme in a desire to increase the levels of human response in the physical, psychological, intellectual, social, and cosmic areas. The ideology of Twin Oaks community members expressed the belief that growth in conscious awareness is limited by high level bureaucratization and corporatism and that their community offered an alternative

to this problem by providing to at least some degree a place to exist outside the system. The philosophy at New Buffalo reflects an approach to broaden awareness and relatedness of man and universe characteristic of the consciousness expansion theme, but the approach is based on getting back to the earth almost exclusively which is a part of the Gemeinschaft theme. The Family places great importance on personal growth and individual fulfillment which suggests the presence of the consciousness theme. They call this process "self realization" but do not elaborate on the approach. Hidden Springs philosophy nurtures the desire to become less dependent on tradition bound institutions and development of "whole being" responses to the environment, both characteristics of the consciousness expansion theme. Finally, Sun Rise Hill emphasized a fluid social structure and a form of community meditation free of rigid structure depending only on the openness and receptiveness of the members. This approach to human relationships contains characteristics of the consciousness expansion theme. Only two communities presented here; Bear Tribe and Morning Star Ranch do not contain significant elements of consciousness expansion. It is interesting to note also that neither of these two communities reflected the Gesellschaft theme. The reason for the absence of these two themes is that both the Bear Tribe and Morning Star Ranch are exclusively Gemeinschaft oriented in philosophy as can be seen in their descriptions.

## FOOTNOTES

- <sup>1</sup>Mod. U. Vol. 4, #2.
- <sup>2</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>3</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>4</sup>Mod. Utopia, Utopias - USA - Fairfield, Dick (1971), p. 17.
- <sup>5</sup>Mod. U, Vol. 2, #2, p. 39.
- <sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 39.
- <sup>7</sup>Utopias, USA, p. 47.
- <sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 48.
- <sup>9</sup>Charles Nordhoff, Communistic Societies in the United States, 1907.
- <sup>10</sup>An Intentional Community Handbook, The Community Fellowship, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 1970, p. 3.
- <sup>11</sup>Utopias USA, p. 37.
- <sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 89.
- <sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 88
- <sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 110.
- <sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 138.
- <sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 139.
- <sup>17</sup>Alternative Newsletter, Alternatives, Vol. 2, No. 2, p. 12.
- <sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 12.
- <sup>19</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>20</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>21</sup>Alternative Society, Vol. 3, No. 3, April, 1971.
- <sup>22</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>23</sup>Ibid.

## CHAPTER VI

### EPILOGUE

The typologies presented earlier in this study represent the two major ways we have looked at group structure in sociology. In this century and particularly in this last decade however, there has emerged an approach to structure which focuses not exclusively on the world of Gemeinschaft or that of Gesellschaft but on the integration of the individual with the world he lives in without limiting him to the conceptualized world "out there".

The nature of such an approach to life has been illustrated in the presentation of Buber's I-Thou relationship phenomenon. In Charles Reich's observations of the development of a level of consciousness he labels "Consciousness III", there is evidence of a growing movement in this society, predominantly among the younger generations, toward more personal freedom through what has been described by a variety of terms, among them: "personal integration", "broadened awareness", "expanded consciousness", and "natural intuneness".

The theme of consciousness expansion is present in the intentional community movement today. As it can be observed from the descriptions of seven of the nine communities I selected for this study, this theme is variously manifested and often mixed with emphasis of Gemeinschaft and or Gesellschaft. This point is brought out in the summary of the presentation of the contemporary movement.

As in the nineteenth century following the Revolution in Europe there are today those who want to ignore the realities of modern society and would have man return to the simple, concrete, community known in primitive societies. This reactionary movement is seen as a means to rediscovering of community and understanding as well as integration of Self and the rest of nature. Bear Tribe and Morning Star Ranch communities illustrate this movement.

More prominent; however, are those who believe that the direction of mankind should be one of expanding the rational, abstract world of conceptualization in a "progressive" attempt to break down, analyze and consequently understand more about man and the universe. Rational social reform is often the tool employed to impose this ideology on society. This is illustrated by the philosophies of Brook Farm and Onieda in the early communal movement and by the philosophies of Lama Foundation and Twin Oaks in the contemporary communal movement.

The desire to return to community as was known in primitive societies is a nostalgic "trip" and is unfeasible if not impossible for people who have been exposed to modern society. Setting ideal Gemeinschaft as a goal for a human group as some utopians have done is like trying to return exclusively to the level of "significant other" human relationships described by Mead, after having developed the capacity to relate at the "generalized other" level. Stated another way, it is as unfeasible as attempting to remove or disown one's capacity to abstract and conceptualize at complex levels. To attempt this is denial of a part of human nature; denial of a part of the human mental process. Denying a part of myself is not accepting myself as a whole. Without acceptance of myself as whole I cannot relate to

the world with my whole being. This limits my awareness, my consciousness. Man is constantly evolving, physically and mentally. Those who resist or deny this are attempting to escape the fact that they live in this world and not in a world of the past.

The antithesis of returning to primitive community; the expansion of and exclusive focus on the rational, the objective, the world of conceptual abstractions also prevents the development of wholeness of human beings. This approach to reality as discussed earlier in Buber's concepts results in a separation between man and his object of focus, between man and the world of objects. Also discussed earlier is the point that the world of concepts is a world in the past. In modern rational society as well as in primitive community, domination of conceptual reality be it concrete or abstract destroys the ability of a human being to experience the dynamic nature of reality and therefore life itself.

Many of our attempts to adjust the conceptual world to make it more in tune with reality are frustrating and unsuccessful. We adjust political structures, economic systems are manipulated, humanitarian programs are brought up to "progressive standards". Such adjustments involve the replacement of old crystalized, hard to remove concepts with new concepts which will in time become crystalized, obsolete and also hard to remove from the "dead hand of the past". All of this time there is a frustrating lag between: (1) approaching reality through concepts used to describe and (2) reality in the absence of conceptual description, undistorted by inadequate interpretation. The concepts themselves are not the real problem if it is realized that they are distorted representations of reality. It is the

employer of the concepts who does not realize this who is continuously frustrated by the real discontinuity between the individual and his perceived reality.

Looking at this phenomenon more in depth it is clear that the individual is dynamic in nature. The situation or "reality" an individual inhabits is dynamic. However, concepts are not dynamic. They are static; boxes of ideas filed in some order by the human mental process. We as individuals use concepts to describe analyze, interpret and otherwise understand our situation. A conflict is now apparent. The dynamic human being through this process can cut himself off from the dynamic nature of the situation when he depends too heavily on concepts to understand or grasp the situation or reality.

Through the integration of self and universe a person learns that experience in, not description of, reality is the key to flowing with reality or the world of "now". With this change in perspective the dynamic characteristic of reality, of the situation, becomes a part of human reality and one can feel the movement of life within himself and around him--not as the same movement always but inseparable nonetheless.

What I have been describing here is only the essence of what I have earlier referred to as integration and expansion of consciousness. The expression of this phenomenon is limited by the limits of concepts themselves as in the sense discussed throughout this study.

Where the theme of integration and consciousness expansion exists in an intentional community no longer can we look at this group as either Gemeinschaft or Gesellschaft. No longer can we describe this

group as being informal or formal in nature. We can no longer see motivation of social behavior as emerging from the unconscious level in which predisposition and traditionalism, dominate or the conscious level where rationality, objectivity and technique dominate. For the notion of "total consciousness" opens a broader spectrum not yet seen by many understood by even fewer.

The emphasis on consciousness expansion in some contemporary communal experiments suggests to me that at least some of the people involved in this movement are beginning to understand that neither a return exclusively to Gemeinschaft simplicity nor an exclusive focus on rationally progressive Gesellschaft are alternatives which provide the social and psychological environment searched for in the desire for more healthy more meaningful human relationships. Instead, to some of those involved in today's movement it is the growth of awareness of self and world and the discovery of individual relatedness to whole through increased sensitivity and receptiveness that results in more fulfilling relationships and generally more meaning in life experiences. I do not observe the presence of this phenomenon in the early American communal movement and I feel that its recent development represents a major distinction between communal movement of the past and some of the experiments being formed today.

If the consciousness expansion theme is a distinguishing characteristic of the contemporary communal movement, separating it from the earlier movement does this indicate a direction of evolution with regard to American communalism? This is a difficult question. It is true that in the communities I have been exposed to both of the early and contemporary movements I have observed only in the latter the



phenomenon described by Buber and Reich emphasizing living in the present and not in the conceptual past, being open and receptive in relationships, de-emphasizing the focus on removing the "figure" from the "ground" in our relationships with ourselves and the rest of the world (the I-It relationships described by Buber), and to more fully realize that more meaningful relationships develop in the light of such an approach to living.

In his theory of social evolution Durkheim suggests that modern societies have evolved from the stage of mechanical solidarity into the stage of organic solidarity. Redfield suggests that there has been a movement from "folk" to "urban" type societies. The latter he did not name however. In terms of the model developed by Tonnies both Durkheim and Redfield are suggesting a movement from Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft.

In his description of individual human psychological and social development Mead suggests that the human being during early childhood approaches the world at what has been called the "significant other" level. At this level of consciousness there is a low level of abstraction, relationships are close and, behavior is strongly directed by immediate not projected needs. Such characteristics suggest relationships of a Gemeinschaft nature. As the child grows his relationships with the world change. He begins to abstract more for his world is more complex and generalizations about himself and others are utilized to help him comprehend a cluttered, expanded universe. He begins to view human beings increasingly in terms of generalized roles and he anticipates his needs and desires past the immediate level. By the time a human being is an adult he has de-

veloped a more generalized approach to human beings and to world. This Mead describes as consciousness at the "generalized other" level.

Neither Durkheim nor Redfield suggests social development past the Gesellschaft level. This is true also in Mead's concepts of human growth and mental development from the "significant other" level which is Gemeinschaft in nature to the "generalized other" level in which the characteristics are suggested of a Gesellschaft approach. Is there then a possibility that human consciousness has developed beyond this "second" level assuming that we can look at social evolution in terms of a continuum where Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft represent respectively the first two evolutionary steps?

I feel that the answer to the question of whether or not the consciousness expansion theme in today's communal movement indicates an evolutionary direction in American communalism is conclusively, yes.....that its presence is real and valid and represents a trend in the evolution of communalism in this country. This being the case, it is not likely that this phenomenon would be contained exclusively in the intentional communal movement. I am aware that this trend within the communal experiments in this country does not reflect the same movement in society at large. However, I do feel that there is, particularly within the younger generations, movement which is illustrated by an approach to life and living characteristically described by the phenomenon of the expansion of human consciousness.<sup>1</sup>

Further I feel that the point can be made that the presence of this phenomenon in the communal movement, which in my observation is comprised generally of the younger generations, reflects an

unmeasurable element of the phenomenon in the youth of this society. It is my contention that its presence and effects on the nature of man and society will, in the future, be a major concern of all those who study human behavior, sociologists and psychologists alike.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>The literature referring directly or indirectly to the phenomenon of consciousness expansion is increasing. Some examples of works which elude to the phenomenon's influence on man and society now and in the possible future are listed below. These works would be valuable in further study and investigations of the phenomenon.

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